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The Exile of Kiai Modjo in Tondano and His Role in the Formation of the Jaton Community in Minahasa 1825-1849

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ABSTRACT

Previous studies on the Java War have focused primarily on military conflict and colonial punishment, paying limited attention to the post-war lives of Muslim exiles and the mechanisms of coexistence that emerged in exile destinations such as Minahasa. This article addresses that gap by examining how the exile of Kiai Modjo and his followers after the Java War (1825–1830) contributed to the formation of a Muslim minority community within a predominantly Christian social space. This study asks how did colonial exile function as a mechanism of governance, and through what social and institutional practices was coexistence negotiated in Minahasa? Drawing on colonial archival records, an Arabic Pegon manuscript, and oral traditions from Kampung Jawa Tondano, the article analyzes exile as both a strategy of colonial containment and an unintended process of minority-making. The findings argue that coexistence did not take the form of abstract pluralism, but emerged as a negotiated social practice shaped by settlement-making, religious institutionalization, economic activity, and inter-communal relations, including marriage and conversion. By reframing exile as a generative historical process, this article contributes to discussions on Muslim minorities, interfaith encounters, and identity negotiation in colonial Indonesia.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Minahasa in the nineteenth century constituted a distinctive plural social space within the Dutch East Indies. Unlike many regions of Java, Minahasa was characterized by the early and intensive presence of Christian missions, strong colonial administrative control, and the gradual incorporation of local societies into colonial governance structures (Lopez, 2025; Schouten, 2004). At the same time, Minahasa also became a destination for political exiles following major anti-colonial conflicts in Java and Sumatra (D. Henley, 2004; Hewett, 2016). The arrival of Muslim exiles most notably Kiai Modjo and his followers after the Java War (1825–1830) introduced new religious, cultural, and social dynamics into a region increasingly identified with Christianity (Lopez, 2025; Syahid, 2020).

The Java War itself has been extensively studied as a major anti-colonial uprising led by Prince Diponegoro, focusing primarily on military conflict, political resistance, and the consolidation of Dutch colonial power (Luttikhuis & Moses, 2012; Ramadhan, 2024). Kiai Modjo has often appeared in this historiography as a religious figure who provided spiritual legitimacy to Diponegoro's struggle. However, scholarly attention has largely diminished once the war ended and the principal actors were captured and exiled (Ramadhan, 2024). As a result, the post-war lives of Muslim exiles and the social consequences of their forced relocation have received limited analytical attention. In particular, existing studies have focused more on exile as colonial punishment and political containment, rather than on the longer-term social processes that unfolded at exile sites (Syahid, 2020). The mechanisms through which displaced Muslim communities organized everyday life, negotiated their minority status, and interacted with predominantly Christian societies remain underexplored (Beeckmans et al., 2022; Schouten, 2004; Zaman, 2022). This gap is especially evident in the case of Minahasa, where Muslim exile communities were embedded within a colonial environment shaped by missionary activity, local adat structures, and strict surveillance.

This article addresses that gap by examining the exile of Kiai Modjo and his followers to Minahasa not merely as an episode of forced displacement, but as the beginning of a historical process of settlement-making and coexistence. Rather than treating coexistence as an abstract ideal of tolerance or pluralism, this study conceptualizes it as a negotiated social practice what can be understood as *ta'ayush* (minority) shaped by colonial governance, local conditions, economic activities, religious institutions, and inter-communal relations. Coexistence, in this sense, was neither harmonious nor conflict-free, but emerged through daily interactions, boundary-making, and adaptation. The central questions guiding this study are: how did colonial exile policies contribute to the formation of a Muslim minority community in Minahasa, and through what social and institutional mechanisms was coexistence with local communities negotiated? More specifically, the article asks how exile functioned simultaneously as a strategy of colonial containment and an unintended process of minority-making; how the exiled community institutionalized religious and social life; and how inter-communal relations through marriage, economic exchange, and everyday interaction shaped identity and boundaries.

Methodologically, this study draws on a combination of colonial archival sources, Arabic Pegon manuscripts, and oral traditions from the Kampung Jawa Tondano community. Colonial records provide insight into policies of surveillance, settlement allocation, and economic regulation, while the Pegon manuscript attributed to Kiai Modjo and his circle offers an internal narrative of exile, leadership, and religious commitment

(Islam et al., 2021). Oral traditions complement these written sources by preserving local memories of settlement, migration, and social relations. These different types of sources are read critically and comparatively in order to balance colonial perspectives with internal community narratives.

By focusing on the post-war lives of Muslim exiles in Minahasa, this article makes three main contributions. First, it reframes colonial exile as a generative historical process that produced new minority communities rather than merely isolating political threats. Second, it offers an empirically grounded analysis of coexistence as lived practice, showing how religious difference was managed through institutions, economy, and social relations. Third, it contributes to broader debates on minority governance, interfaith encounters, and identity negotiation in colonial Southeast Asia.

The article is structured as follows. The first section traces the trajectory of Kiai Modjo's exile from Java to Minahasa and situates it within Dutch colonial governance strategies. The second section examines the process of settlement-making in Tondano, including spatial relocation, institutionalization, and surveillance. The third section analyzes everyday coexistence through agriculture, trade, and social exchange. The fourth section explores inter-communal relations, particularly marriage and religious boundaries. The final section reflects on identity maintenance and negotiated coexistence over time.

2. METHODS

This study employs the historical method to examine the exile of Kiai Modjo and the formation of a Muslim minority community in Minahasa. The research process followed four main stages: heuristics, source criticism, interpretation, and historiography. At the heuristic stage, data were collected from three main types of sources (Mahoney, 2004). *First*, colonial archival documents from the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia (ANRI), including decrees, correspondence, reports of residents and governors, and administrative records related to exile, surveillance, settlement, and allowances. *Second*, an Arabic Pegon manuscript from Kampung Jawa Tondano attributed to Kiai Modjo and his circle, which contains notes on exile, leadership, religious commitment, and community composition. *Third*, oral traditions were gathered from members of the Kampung Jawa Tondano community to document local memories of settlement, migration routes, and inter-communal relations.

Source criticism was conducted through both external and internal criticism. External criticism focused on the origin, dating, authorship, and context of the sources. Colonial documents were read with attention to administrative objectives, surveillance logic, and potential colonial bias, while the Pegon manuscript was treated as an internal narrative reflecting the perspectives and concerns of the exiled community. Internal criticism involved comparing colonial records with the Pegon manuscript and oral traditions to identify convergences, discrepancies, and silences, particularly regarding arrest, exile conditions, leadership, and religious motivation. The Pegon manuscript was analyzed through a process of transliteration into Latin script and translation into Indonesian. This process considered orthographic variation, vocabulary usage, and stylistic conventions common in nineteenth-century Javanese Islamic writings. The manuscript was not treated as a single-author text but as a composite document compiled over time by several individuals under Kiai Modjo's authority, which informed its narrative structure and perspective. Oral traditions were collected through interviews with senior members of the Kampung Jawa Tondano community between 2018 and 2022.

Informants were selected based on their recognized role as custodians of community history. Interviews were conducted with informed consent and were used not as standalone evidence, but as complementary sources. Validation was achieved through triangulation with archival documents and the Pegon manuscript.

In the interpretation stage, the analysis focused on several units of analysis: (1) colonial exile policies as mechanisms of governance, (2) mobility and exile routes, (3) settlement-making and institutionalization, including religious and economic practices, and (4) inter-communal relations between Muslim exiles and local Minahasa communities. These units guided the analytical organization of the discussion, allowing the study to move beyond chronological narration toward an examination of coexistence as a negotiated social practice. Finally, the findings are presented in historiographical form, integrating archival evidence, manuscript narratives, and oral traditions to analyze exile as both a colonial strategy of containment and an unintended process of Muslim minority formation in Minahasa.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Colonial Exile as Governance: Containment and Unintended Minority-Making

Colonial exile following the Java War functioned primarily as a technology of governance aimed at Colonial exile following the Java War functioned primarily as a technology of governance aimed at political containment. In the case of Kiai Modjo, exile was designed to sever religious authority from its social base and prevent the reconstitution of resistance networks. At the same time, the process of exile generated unintended social consequences that later contributed to the formation of a Muslim minority community in Minahasa.

The Java War (1825–1830) was one of the largest conflicts in the archipelago in the 19th century. This war broke out due to tax burdens, colonial intervention against the nobility, and cultural unrest caused by the influx of Western influences (Carey, 2008). In the resistance led by Prince Diponegoro, there was a charismatic cleric named Kiai Modjo. Kiai Modjo was one of the important figures in the Java War, a cleric who became a spiritual pillar and motivator of the santri (Islamic students) under the leadership of Prince Diponegoro. His presence gave the resistance a strong religious character, so that the struggle against the Dutch was not only seen as a political power struggle, but also as an effort to uphold religious values. This is what made Kiai Modjo prominent in the eyes of the people, but at the same time caused great concern on the part of the colonials.

As a religious leader, Kiai Modjo acted as a spiritual advisor and motivator for the santri. He ignited the spirit of jihad, giving Diponegoro's struggle religious legitimacy (Ricklefs, 1993). It was this presence that made him so respected by the people, and feared by the Dutch. When he was captured at the end of 1828, the Dutch faced a dilemma. If Kiai Modjo was executed, there was concern that he would become a martyr who would further ignite the spirit of the Javanese people to continue fighting. Conversely, if he was allowed to remain in Java, his influence would remain alive and could rekindle the flames of resistance. For this reason, the Dutch pursued another strategy, which was to move him as far away from his homeland as possible.

After his capture, Kiai Modjo was not immediately exiled to a distant place. He and his entourage were first sent to Batavia, the center of Dutch colonial administration in the East Indies. This step reflected the colonial government's caution in making decisions regarding the future of a prominent figure. In Batavia, Kiai Modjo was placed under strict

surveillance. According to Dutch records, he was treated with care; he was not imprisoned in poor conditions, but he was not given freedom either. The Dutch wanted to ensure that his presence did not cause political turmoil, while also giving the government time to formulate a long-term strategy (Djojosuroto, 2012; Hidayat et al., 2023).

The transfer to Batavia had two purposes. *First*, Batavia served as a place of interrogation and surveillance of resistance figures. From this center of government, the colonial authorities could examine in greater depth the extent of Kiai Modjo's role in Diponegoro's leadership structure. *Second*, this transfer also showed the public that the colonial government had full control over the course of the war by capturing one of its main figures (Fahmi, 2024).

While in Batavia, the colonial government conducted a series of evaluations regarding Kiai Modjo's fate. Officials realized that this cleric was different from ordinary military leaders. He had much broader spiritual legitimacy, not only among his students, but also in the eyes of the religious Javanese community. Therefore, extreme physical punishment was considered counterproductive (Zakharov, 2015). In addition, there were political considerations that the Dutch sought to avoid the impression that they were taking cruel action against religious leaders. If that happened, anti-Dutch sentiment would only grow stronger. Instead, the Dutch chose a strategy of "remote exile," a method often used to sever the ties between resistance leaders and their supporters. In this framework, Batavia only served as a transit point before the final decision was made (D. E. F. Henley, 2021).

Kiai Modjo's presence in Batavia was not widely documented in colonial records. However, several sources mention that he was placed with his followers and was under strict surveillance (Carey, 1981). Nevertheless, his influence was still felt. The presence of a group of Javanese santri in Batavia attracted the attention of the local community, both the indigenous people and Dutch officials. For the Dutch, this situation further emphasized the need to move Kiai Modjo to a more remote location. Batavia was too close to the center of the Javanese and Islamic population, making it possible for sympathy to arise. If he were allowed to remain in Batavia for too long, there was concern that a new network would form, even if it was small in scope (Ricklefs, 1993).

Finally, after lengthy deliberation, the colonial government decided to exile Kiai Modjo far from Java. The choice fell on Minahasa, North Sulawesi, specifically the Tondano area. The main considerations were the great geographical distance from Java and the social conditions in Minahasa, where the majority of the population had been influenced by Christian missions. In this way, the Dutch hoped that Kiai Modjo's religious influence would gradually weaken and that he would no longer be a political threat (Djojosuroto, 2012; Hidayat et al., 2023).

Before departing for Minahasa, Kiai Modjo and his entourage had to undergo a period of preparation in Batavia. It was here that the colonial government arranged logistics, sea transportation, and a strict surveillance system to ensure that the transfer process took place safely. This record also shows how seriously the Dutch took Kiai Modjo, as they treated him not merely as an ordinary prisoner, but as a highly dangerous political and religious figure (Zakharov, 2015).

In the Lieutenant Governor-General's Decree dated October 20, 1829 No. 2 and the Lieutenant Governor-General's Decree dated October 22, 1828 No. 1, Van den Bosch still stipulated that Kiai Modjo, his son Gazali, Kiai Ghazali, and Tirtodrono should remain detained in Batavia and not be exiled to Ambon. However, this decision was likely changed in November 1829, as recorded in the Besluit dated November 27, 1829 No. 23, which

listed the names of Kiai Modjo, his son, Kiai Ghazali, and Tirtodrono in the list of state prisoners to be sent to Ambon on the ship Mostora (ANRI, 1828, 1829a, 1829c).

Meanwhile, the Letter of the Head of Batavia Prison dated October 16, 1829 No. 3852/2864 reported, based on instructions from the Director General of Lands Producten en Civile Magazijnen (October 15, 1829 No. 5919), that a number of Staatgevangenen (state prisoners) would be transported by the ship Thalia. With the approval of the Governor of Maluku, upon notification from the Minister of State Commissioner General, 48 followers of Kiai Modjo were designated to be sent to Ambon (ANRI, 1829d).

Following up on this report, Van den Bosch issued a Decree dated October 19, 1829 No. 8, which contained approval for the departure of the prisoners (ANRI, 1829b). Meanwhile, the Decree of the Lieutenant Governor-General dated October 20, 1829 No. 2 and October 22, 1828 No. 1 reaffirmed that Kiai Modjo would remain detained in Batavia (ANRI, 1828).

On the ship Thalia that transported them, the state prisoners were placed in two classes: numbers 1 to 21 were in first-class cabins, while numbers 22 to 48 were placed in second-class cabins (ANRI, 1829b). The first group of Kiai Modjo's followers arrived in Ambon in early February 1830. On February 10, 1830, the Governor of Maluku reported in a letter to the Governor-General that 48 prisoners who were followers of Kiai Modjo had arrived in Ambon on the ship Thalia. In the letter, the Governor of Maluku requested that he be allowed to take charge of the prisoners. He also proposed that each prisoner receive one guilder per month in pocket money, an additional guilder per day to buy betel nut, as well as clothing and other necessities. This request was approved by Van den Bosch, but with the stipulation that the prisoners must be sent to Manado as soon as possible (ANRI, 1830c).

Meanwhile, the 48 followers of Kiai Modjo had been sent to Ambon in the first phase, while Kiai Modjo himself was still in the Batavia police prison along with some of his followers. Kiai Modjo, Ajali Rojali, and Gazali were placed in first-class cells, while Tirtodrono was placed in second-class cells, along with 37 other followers in third-class cells (ANRI, 1829c). In Decree No. 23 of November 27, 1829, there were still 40 followers listed as being with Kiai Modjo in Batavia. However, Decree No. 1 of January 29, 1830 only listed 25 people. This difference was due to the fact that some of them had died in early 1830. Reports state that two weeks before Kiai Modjo's departure for Manado, his brother, Bassah Kiai Hasan Besari, died on January 16, 1830, in Batavia (ANRI, 1830b).

Based on the Decree of Governor-General Van den Bosch dated January 29, 1830 No. 1, it was decided that Kiai Modjo and his followers who were still in Batavia would be exiled to the Manado Residency. This administrative decision seems to have been greatly influenced by the Council of the Indies, namely P. Merkus, Goldman, and Busquet. This was because Van den Bosch was ill in Bogor at the time and likely only gave verbal approval (ANRI, 1830b). The second phase of the deportation was carried out in early February 1830, after the ship Thalia returned from Ambon. The Director of Lands Producten en Civile Magazijnen was ordered to take care of all the necessary arrangements for the departure, including the provision of a chartered ship. Kiai Modjo and his entourage then departed on the ship Mostora under the command of L. I. Psluger, escorted by the ship Thalia. The voyage began in Batavia on February 19, 1830 (ANRI, 1830d).

After ten days at sea, the ship anchored in Makassar, coinciding with the arrival of Ramadan. For a whole month, the ship did not sail and remained anchored in the port of Makassar. The journey only continued after Eid al-Fitr, around the end of March 1830.

According to the Kampung Jawa Manuscript, after leaving Makassar, the ship sailed for seven days to Ambon. In Ambon, the group was placed in a building for 22 days. Kiai Modjo mentioned that they were treated well by the Governor of Ambon, even receiving food and drink every day. However, the journey to Ambon was full of suffering, because of the 22 followers who accompanied Kiai Modjo, 11 died, so that only 11 survived to arrive in Ambon (Manuscript of Kampung Jawa Tondano) (Putri & Pratama, 2024).

From Ambon, they were again sent to Manado in accordance with Van den Bosch's decision (Vandenbosch, 1952). The Kampung Jawa Tondano Manuscript summarizes the journey as follows:

> "As far as I remember, I departed from Betawi on Sunday, the 25th day of the month of Rewah in the year 1246 of the Hijrah of the Prophet S.A.W., bound for Manado. We then sailed for 10 nights and stopped at the port of Makassar for a month, during the fasting month. I was treated well by the Governor (Government), , and we were even sent food every day. Then we sailed again for seven days and stopped at Ambon, where we were housed in a building for 22 days and treated well by the Governor. Every day, we were sent rice and drinks. Then we sailed again for seven days and arrived in Menado on the 8th day of Dzulkaidah. Then we disembarked and I was placed in Loji."

In total, there were 48 people sent in the first phase, then 26 people in the second phase, bringing the total number to 74 people. However, 11 of them died on the way to Ambon. Thus, 63 people arrived in Manado (Manuskrip Kampung Jawa Tondano, 1830) (ANRI, 1830a). The highly detailed bureaucratic trail and the narrative preserved in the Kampung Jawa Tondano manuscript reveal exile as a prolonged and carefully staged process rather than a single administrative act. While intended to neutralize religious authority through distance and surveillance, the concentration of Kiai Modjo and his followers in Manado ultimately created the conditions for a cohesive Muslim community. In this sense, colonial exile simultaneously functioned as a mechanism of control and as the unintended foundation for Muslim minority formation in Minahasa.

3.2 From Temporary Placement to Inland Relocation

The exile of Kiai Modjo in Minahasa did not merely involve geographical displacement but initiated a prolonged process of settlement-making, social adaptation, and negotiated coexistence. This section analyzes how colonial exile policies intersected with local conditions, shaping the formation of a Muslim minority community in Tondano. Oral tradition in the Tondano Javanese Village community states that before settling in Tondano, the group of 48 followers of Kiai Modjo who were sent in the first phase were initially placed in Kabarukan, a location south of Kema. Not long after, they were moved to Tasik Oki (Tanjung Merah), north of Kema. However, this place was deemed uninhabitable because it was a swampy area with hot air, raising concerns about the outbreak of disease. In addition, there were fears that Mount Klabat would erupt. For these reasons, Kiai Modjo's followers requested to be moved (Yayasan Kiai Modjo). They then walked to Manado to meet with Resident Pietermaat at Fort Nieuw Amsterdam. The group requested to be moved to a mountainous area with more fertile soil suitable for farming. Pietermaat decided to send them inland, specifically to the Tonsea district.

At the end of April 1830, the second group, consisting of Kiai Modjo and 26 of his followers, departed from Ambon for Manado. After sailing for seven days, they arrived at the port of Manado on May 1, 1830. The Kampung Jawa manuscript records this event:

> Every day we were sent rice and drinks. Then we sailed again for seven days and arrived in Menado on the 8th of Dzulkaidah. Then we disembarked and I was placed in Loji. Here I was left and paid 3 rupiah (with food and drink provided) ... I (stayed) ... in Manado for 12 days, then (I was sent) ... to the country of Tonsea Lama, gathered (together with friends) ... who had arrived earlier." (Manuscript of Kampung Jawa Tondano).

Upon arrival in Manado, Kiai Modjo was met directly by Resident Pietermaat. The Resident then handed over a notification letter from Van Nes, the Dutch official who administered *the Vorstenlanden* after the Java War, to Kiai Modjo and his followers. The letter confirmed the government's promise to treat them well and explained their position in Minahasa:

> "... the government will not go back on its word, namely that you will be treated well. Now that you are in Minahasa, matters of governance concerning you are in our (the resident's) hands through the Konteleur. ... From now on, you are all declared free. Your rights and obligations are the same as those of the people of Minahasa ... We know that you wish to practice your religion Marriage with the people of Minahasa is not prohibited ... The government has provided you with farmland in the Konteleur's jurisdiction in Tondano " (*Letter from Van Nes via Resident Pietermaat*, 1830).

In addition, Kiai Modjo himself was given a living allowance (*onderstand*) of four ringgit per month, while his followers received amounts adjusted to their respective positions when they served as regents in Java. The journey to the place of exile in Tondano began from Manado to Lotta, then through hilly roads to Tomohon, before finally arriving at the Tondano plateau. The records of Western travelers who visited Minahasa in the 19th century such as D. Henley (2025), D. E. F. Henley (2021), and Wigboldus (1987) mention that the journey from Manado to Tondano usually took two to three days. Their first residence in Tonsea was west of the Tondano River, specifically in the house or lodge of the Manado Resident, which was commonly used when conducting inspections in the interior. This location was in the Kawak area, which was the southernmost region of the Old Tonsea country and the northernmost district of Tondano Toulimambot (van Ronkel, 1915).

One month after Kiai Modjo and his entourage arrived in Tondano, Prince Diponegoro arrived in Manado on June 12, 1830. Between June 14 and 17, 1830, Captain J.H. Knoerle, the Dutch officer who escorted Diponegoro into exile, explored the interior of Minahasa via Tomohon, Tonsawang, Tondano, and Sonder. In his travel report, Knoerle assessed that Tondano was an ideal location for exile. However, he was surprised to find that Kiai Modjo and his 62 followers had already been placed in Tonsea. This situation posed a problem, because according to Knoerle, only by providing two coffee plantations by the Resident could such a large group meet their food needs through agricultural activities. Knoerle also noted that several houses and buildings, including a mosque, had been built in the area, but no rice fields had been opened. When he returned to Java on June 20, 1830, Knoerle decided that Diponegoro would not be placed in Tondano because it was impossible to unite him with Kiai Modjo's group (Knoerle, 1835).

In January 1831, eight followers of Kiai Modjo married non-Christian Minahasa women who were referred to in colonial sources as "Alfur" or *Alifuru*. However, in the middle of the same year, Kiai Modjo's group moved across the Tondano River and established a new settlement which later became known as Kampung Jawa Tondano. This move was motivated by a dispute with the Tonsea people over pigs and dogs. According

to oral tradition, to determine the location of the new settlement, Kiai Modjo slaughtered a cow and placed pieces of meat at several points around Tonsea Lama. The location where the meat took the longest to rot was chosen as the permanent place of residence. The land, which originally belonged to the head of the Tondano-Toulimambot clan, eventually became the settlement now known as Kampung Jawa Tondano, less than a paal away from Old Tonsea. Colonial records also confirm this event through a letter from Resident Pietermaat to Van den Bosch dated October 18, 1831, a year after the arrival of Kiai Modjo's group (ANRI, 1831).

The move was also motivated by security concerns, as there was a military detachment consisting of European soldiers and mercenaries from Ambon in the border area between Old Tonsea and Tondano Toulimambot. This detachment was tasked with guarding the area and supervising state prisoners. Pietermaat reported that the Resident gave Kiai Modjo and his followers a plot of land to build their residence, without compensation to the walak chief because of their status as *staatgevangenen.* The location was also chosen because Kiai Modjo was elderly and unable to walk long distances every day to report to Tonsea Lama. At the new location, Kiai Modjo's followers built a mosque and continued to recognize him as their leader.

In Pietermaat's instructions to the detachment, the Resident laid down strict rules, including that no prisoner could be transferred without the permission of the detachment's sergeant major and the head of the Tondano region. Furthermore, Kiai Modjo and Amat Thayib, who were considered intelligent, had to be guarded specially and could not be escorted by just one soldier. Outsiders were not allowed to come just to meet these famous prisoners. In addition, Europeans who wanted to stay in the area were required to report and have their passports signed by the detachment sergeant major, who was fully responsible for the safety of the prisoners, day and night (ANRI, 1831).

The resident noted that although initially they did not marry many local residents, some of them had married Alifuru women, such as Tumenggung Sis (Tumenggung Pajang). However, they faced difficulties due to the high cost of dowries and cultural differences in consumption, as Alifuru women usually ate pork and dog meat, which was not in accordance with Javanese traditions. Another important event occurred in mid-1831, namely the arrival of Raden Ayu Modjo, the wife of Kiai Modjo, from Semarang. The decision to send her to Manado was based on a proposal by the Resident of Kedu, F.G. Valck, who argued that if she remained in Yogyakarta, Raden Ayu Modjo could cause unrest because she was known to be strong-willed and influential. In reports by Valck and Herbert Baron Lawick van Pabst, she was described as "a restless woman who was very strong-willed and could stir up past grievances." Although interaction between Kiai Modjo and Diponegoro was prohibited, two of his followers, Haji Ali and Haji Thayeb, were once asked by Diponegoro to accompany him to Manado. However, both refused, so Tirtodrono and Suronoto were appointed as replacements. They stayed in Manado until 1833 before finally returning to Tondano after Diponegoro and his entourage were transferred to Makassar for security reasons (ANRI, 1833).

During his exile, Kiai Modjo wrote a manuscript using the Arabic Pegon script containing notes about his relationship with Prince Diponegoro. The Pegon manuscript was read through a process of transliteration into Latin script and translation into Indonesian, with attention to orthographic variations and lexical conventions common in nineteenth-century Javanese Islamic writings. Source criticism was conducted by reading the manuscript as an internal narrative and comparing it with colonial archival records to identify differences in perspective, emphasis, and silences, particularly regarding arrest,

exile, and political motivation. Oral traditions related to this manuscript and the exile experience were collected through interviews with senior members of the Kampung Jawa Tondano community between 2018 and 2022, following informed consent procedures, and were triangulated with archival documents and the Pegon manuscript to ensure historical consistency. This manuscript appears to have been compiled gradually and was likely written by several people, with the first part written by Kiai Ghazali (Barmawi) on the instructions of Kiai Modjo. In this part, Kiai Modjo is positioned as the subject of the narrative, while the writer acts as the narrator.

> Thus, Kyahi Guru Mojo and Prince Diponegoro agreed on the following matters: First: to develop Islam in Java. Second: Prince Diponegoro did not desire worldly goals, but rather the hereafter. Third: Prince Diponegoro wanted actions outside of Sharia law to be stopped. Fourth, once Islam had been established, Prince Diponegoro would go on the Hajj pilgrimage. Fifth, Prince Diponegoro followed the commands of the Qur'an. (Manuscript Kampung Jawa Tondano)

The next section describes the arrest of Kiai Modjo in Babadan by Le Bron Vaxela on November 12, 1828, and the events that followed. Interestingly, in this manuscript, the arrest is described differently from the Dutch version: Kiai Modjo is said to have chosen to "make peace" with the Dutch for the sake of preserving religion and the welfare of the people. The manuscript also contains the story of their long journey of exile from Batavia, Makassar, Ambon, and finally to Manado. In addition, there is a list *of onderstand* (monthly allowance) payments as provisions for 32 months. Referring to the last month of this record, it is estimated that the manuscript was completed in January 1833. The final part of the manuscript contains a list of the names of 57 followers of Kiai Modjo who were in Tondano in 1833. Two people were stationed in Manado to accompany Diponegoro, while the status of four people is unclear, whether they died or were returned to Java.

Reports on their condition reappeared six years later, in 1839. In a letter from the Governor of Maluku dated April 30, 1839, No. 117, it was reported that Kiai Modjo and his followers were working on rice fields around their place of exile. However, they faced limitations in terms of tools as they only used wooden shovels. The presence of this Javanese community had a positive impact as they taught the Alifuru people better farming methods. To support this activity, the Governor of Maluku requested 500 guilders to purchase cows and plows, which was then approved by the government (ANRI, 1839). However, the monthly allowance was gradually reduced. Based on a request from the Resident of Menado, J.P.C. Cambier, in 1840, the allowance given to Kiai Modjo and his followers amounted to 22 guilders per month, or 264 guilders per year (ANRI, 1840).

In early 1840, a group of Prince Diponegoro's punakawan arrived in Manado from Makassar with their wives and children. Among them were Djoyosuroto, Mertoleksono, Wongsatruno, and Banteng Wareng. This group was then placed to live in Tondano with Kiai Modjo's group. In his 1840 report, Pietermaat mentioned that the exiles married Minahasa women who then converted to Islam. He also emphasized that Tonsea Lama, their place of exile, was located about 15 paal from the nearest beach and was in the middle of a densely populated Minahasa area, making it difficult to escape. However, Pietermaat also described the Javanese houses in Tondano as looking messy and disorderly (Statistike Aantekening over de Residentie Menado 1840, 1840).

In mid-1841, a prominent figure from the Padri War, Tuanku Imam Bonjol, arrived in Minahasa with his sons Sutan Saidi, Abdul Wahid, and Baginda Tan Labih. They were placed in Manado, then Kombi, before finally being moved to Lotta Village. Like Prince Diponegoro, Imam Bonjol was not placed with Kiai Modjo's group in Tondano for security

reasons. Two years later, in mid-1843, Kiai Hasan Maulani from Kuningan also arrived. He came alone and was placed with Kiai Modjo's group in Tondano.

In early January 1845, A.F. Spreewenberg, an agricultural inspector sent to Minahasa, reported his visit to Kiai Modjo:

> "On our return we went to visit the notorious Kiai Modjo, the head priest of Diepo Negoro. He is small and of mean appearance but is distinguished by a sharp eye kind and a rapid manner of speaking, which indicate the passion and fire of his soul. Our visit did not seem to be disagreeable to him, particularly when he heard that we were acquainted with his fellow revolutionists, who are now in the Vorstenlanden in the service of government. He still had vivid recollections of many of the chief functionaries. His dwelling, like that of the other Javanese, of whom 70 to 80 reside here, has nothing remarkable about it and is built in the Javanese manner, that is to say on the ground, surrounded by a fence of bamboo and covered with alang- alang. Within the limits of their village are their rice fields, and around their dwellings are small vegetable gardens, while a large number of them support themselves by petty trading. They also produce very good potatoes, peanuts, etc. There is no doubt that they will form a new race in Minahassa, because they continue to adhere to the Muslim faith and extend it by marrying Alfur women, who must first adopt their religion. The district of Tondano is surrounded by fine rice fields. It is regrettable that all the work is done by hand, and not by plow and harrow." (Een Blik Op de Minahassa, 1846)

The report shows that Kiai Modjo was still regarded as the leader of the exiles in Tondano. Spreewenberg described their houses as still being Javanese in style, but their work ethic in agriculture was appreciated. They cultivated rice fields, grew vegetables in their yards, and expanded their social network through marriage to local women who then converted to Islam. A few months later, on June 29, 1845, Alfred R. Wallace, a British naturalist, visited Minahasa. At that time, a major earthquake destroyed most of the traditional Minahasa buildings. According to Spreewenberg's records, the houses of the Javanese in Kampung Jawa Tondano initially still followed the Javanese house style. However, after the 1845 earthquake, they began to build stilt houses following the Minahasa model, in accordance with Resident Jansen's policy.

Two decades after their exile, a NZG missionary named Nicholas Graafland gave testimony about the lives of the Javanese exiles in Tondano. In his notes, he wrote:

> "...at the end of the country (Tondano) we arrived at a bridge leading to Kampung Jawa. Here lived a group of Javanese people, not of their own free will. They were exiles. One can reflect on their fate then and now, and conclude that they 'regret' their actions... The exiles lost many things even though they enjoyed a relative degree of freedom. Their village is located in a separate place, with a mosque to worship God. They also married local women... most of them only had the aspiration to return to Java... Here they did not abandon their old customs (Islam) and tried to live as well as possible... they were more advanced in terms of the craft industry than most Minahasa people."

Graafland added that under the administration of Resident Jansen, they were ordered to build proper houses, with orderly roads and well-organized yards. He assessed that the village looked typically Minahasan from the outside, but inside the houses there were still typical Javanese decorations. He also mentioned that Kiai Modjo often visited and had dialogues with the missionary pastor J.G. Riedel, even receiving a Bible from him. Graafland's description is very important because only twenty years after the arrival of

Kiai Modjo and his followers, the Javanese exile community in Tondano had developed a relatively stable and positive life. Their adaptation to the local environment, while still holding fast to their Islamic identity and Javanese culture, made the Tondano Javanese Village community unique and played a role in social integration in Minahasa. By the end of 1849, the exiles in Kampung Jawa lost their leader when Kiai Modjo passed away. In a letter dated December 20, 1849, the Tondano controller announced the death of Kiai Modjo (ANRI, 1849). Kiai Modjo was then buried on Tondata hill, 1 kilometer from Kampung Jawa. Taken together, these developments demonstrate that exile in Tondano functioned not only as colonial punishment but as a process that generated new forms of settlement, interfaith encounter, and identity negotiation. Within the constraints of surveillance and control, Kiai Modjo and his followers actively shaped a space of Muslim minority coexistence in Minahasa.

4. CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that the exile of Kiai Modjo and his followers to Minahasa after the Java War was not merely an act of colonial political punishment, but a historically generative process that produced a Muslim minority community within a predominantly Christian social space. While exile was designed as a mechanism of colonial containment, it simultaneously created conditions for new forms of social organization, interaction, and negotiated coexistence. The findings show that the Javanese community in Tondano maintained Islamic identity and Javanese cultural practices through processes of settlement-making, religious institutionalization, and everyday economic activity, while adapting to local Minahasa social structures. Coexistence in this context did not take the form of abstract pluralism, but emerged through concrete practices of boundary-making and accommodation, including marriage, conversion, and regulated interaction under colonial governance. In this sense, exile functioned as an unintended mechanism of minority-making, producing a durable form of taʿāyush grounded in daily social practice rather than ideological tolerance.

The exile of Kiai Modjo thus carried a dual meaning: it represented colonial repression and surveillance, while also marking the emergence of a distinct Javanese-Islamic presence in Minahasa that has persisted beyond the colonial period. By integrating colonial archives, Pegon manuscript narratives, and oral traditions, this study contributes to broader debates on minority governance, interfaith encounters, and identity negotiation in colonial Southeast Asia. This study is limited by the uneven availability of sources, particularly the fragmentary character of oral traditions shaped by community memory and the restricted access to certain colonial archival materials. Moreover, intergenerational identity negotiation after the death of Kiai Modjo cannot be fully examined due to the lack of continuous documentation. Future research may build on this study by conducting comparative analyses of exile communities in other colonial contexts and by examining additional Pegon manuscripts and family archives to further theorize the long-term dynamics of minority formation and coexistence.

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