



A. Cense

Old Buginese and Macassarese diaries

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OLD BUGINESE AND MACASSARESE DIARIES¹

To the Indonesian peoples, who already for centuries had had inter-island contact and had attained a reputation far outside their own lands, belong the Macassarese and Buginese, two closely related peoples from south-west Celebes. It is from the Macassarese homeland that, of old, ships sailed through the whole Archipelago. Their journeys extended even to the north coast of Australia and today Macassarese praus still appear regularly in many harbours in Indonesia. But with an even greater wanderlust than the Macassarese were the Buginese. Their swarming abroad led to the establishment of settlements all along the coast of Celebes, in Borneo and in many other places in the Archipelago; on the east coast of Borneo several of these colonies have developed into self-governing areas. In the history of Indonesia we are repeatedly confronted by the Buginese; thus they have, for example, taken part in wars in Java in the 17th and 18th centuries and succeeded in gaining political power in the Riau-Lingga Archipelago. In the chronicles of the principalities on the Malay peninsula mention is made many times of Buginese influence on the affairs of these lands.

Now, if one perhaps expected that extensive navigation and relations with other areas would have exercised a deep-going influence on the society in the mother country, and that one would be able to ascertain a wearing away of old traditions in great measure in the case of a people so little tied to their home, one finds that this is not at all the case. Certainly influences from outside have acted upon the society of South Celebes. Much that strangers have brought has been eagerly taken over, but there have been no radical changes in the structure of the society to talk about. Thus after central government interference had

¹ This article is a slightly modified text of a paper read before the General Meeting of the Members of the Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology at the Hague on March 19, 1966.

become much more intensive at the beginning of this century because of new political relationships, and the old *adat* organisation was fitted into a modern administrative framework, this society maintained its essentially traditional character.

Attachment to that which had existed of old also finds expression amongst these peoples in the great interest they show in the history of their country. On the one hand there is the attempt to consult as much as possible the directives laid down by their forebears and on the other, a desire to record the events and decisions of the present time so that posterity, in its turn, might be able to benefit. Thus, in the course of time, an extensive historical literature has grown up in these areas. One finds described in local chronicles the internal history of the country with its many principalities, which have all in their turn been built up from smaller, originally independent, units. In these the sketch made of the oldest times, contains legendary characteristics. However, the treatment of the period for which the compilers had at their disposal written information, and the reports made about happenings of their own day, make a business-like impression. A chronicle of the Wadjo' region has been published by Noorduyn² and made more widely known by supplementary translation and notes. Before him Matthes and Niemann had already published local chronicles³ but because they did not accompany the Buginese and Macassarese texts of these chronicles with a translation, these works have acquired little attention.

I will now however not deal with these *patturioloang* and *attoriolông*, as the Macassarese and Buginese call these "histories of the people of past ages". It is my intention, following upon what I have already remarked about this subject in 1951⁴, and following upon what Noorduyn has written in his contribution to Soedjatmoko's book about

² J. Noorduyn, *Een achttiende-eeuwse kroniek van Wadjo'* (An eighteenth-century Chronicle of Wajo'), The Hague, 1955.

³ B. F. Matthes, *Boeginesche chrestomathie* (Buginese Chrestomathy), Macassar and Amsterdam, 1864 and 1872.
id., *Makassaarsche chrestomathie* (Macassarese Chrestomathy), 2nd ed., The Hague, 1883.

G. K. Niemann, *Geschiedenis van Tanette : Boeginesche tekst met aantekeningen* (History of Tanete: Buginese text together with notes), The Hague, 1883.

⁴ A. A. Cense, *Enige aantekeningen over Makassaars-Boeginese geschiedschrijving* (Some notes on Macassar-Buginese Historiography), BKI, CVII (1951), p. 42-60.

the historiography of Indonesia⁵, now just to concentrate upon one type of manuscript which is pre-eminently characterized by a sober conciseness, and which, as far as I know, is met with in Indonesia only in South Celebes and a few other areas which have undergone influence from the Macassarese and Buginese: these are the diaries.

A diary is a manuscript on European paper, of Dutch or English make; in the 19th century European office books were also readily used. Mostly one finds a year indicated according to the Christian system of dating written on the left hand side of the pages and on the opposite page the corresponding year according to the Islamic *hidjra*-system. The classification is based on the months of the solar year which are almost always denoted by their Portuguese names. It is only late in the 19th century that Dutch names are also used. In a few manuscripts the names of the months of the Arabic solar year (*kānūn* II, *shubāt*, *ādhār*, etc.) are mentioned alongside the European names of the months. The first month of the Islamic year, *Muḥarram*, is noted in the margin, as is the beginning of the following months. Friday, *djuma'* is mostly noted with red ink. In leap years, under February 29th, *bisesetu* (= Port. bissexto) is frequently written.

Many manuscripts note also the first day of old Buginese time cycles; thus the first days of a cycle divided into 3 periods of 20 days, the so-called *bilang duappulo*, i.e. Pong Bisaka, Pong Djuruwatta and Pong Banawa, and also sometimes the first days of the cycles of 9, 5 and of 3 days, are indicated. Tables of these old Buginese cycles are often added to the actual diary. These tables, in which a characteristic of each day is also given, are the source of information consulted in order to know whether for a particular purpose a day is favourable or unfavourable. A study of these tables, in which several days are denoted with names that are clearly of Sanskrit origin, and comparison with similar time-tables from other parts of Indonesia might perhaps bring to light interesting associations.

When setting the completely jumbled and mutilated pages of various diaries in order, I have found how useful these varied indications of time can be for the undertaking of such a work after the first rough arrangement of the pages has been made on the basis of the water-marks of the paper, especially when the tops of the pages where the year and month are mentioned are missing.

⁵ J. Noorduyn, *Origins of South Celebes Historical Writing*. In *An Introduction to Indonesian Historiography*, ed. by Soedjatmoko a.o., Ithaca, New York, 1965, p. 137-155.

Although the division of the diary is, in the main, according to the Christian reckoning of time, only the Islamic *hidjra* system plays a role in the determination of facts pertaining to personal life, e.g. the calculation of a birthday. In notes such as "to-day my year is round (i.e. to-day is my birthday); I am so many years old" the number in Islamic years is always meant.

The reading of a diary does not afford an opportunity for relaxation. The habit writers have of making somewhat more detailed notes around the edges of the pages and between other notes, sometimes makes it difficult to keep track of the sense. Because the lines that the notations take make many curves, they appear upsidedown, making it necessary for one to continually turn the manuscript around.

In order to be able to find certain facts quickly on the closely written pages, the Arabic formulas, which regularly follow information about certain facts, are useful. Examples of such stereotyped formulas which unintentionally act as reading guides, are:

innā lillāhi wainnā ilaihi rādji 'ūn, "we are of God and return to Him", when cases of death are recorded; for births, the formula *ṭawwala 'llāhu 'umrahu* or *'umrahā*, "God lengthen his or her life" is used; for a birthday, *ṭawwala 'llāhu 'umri bitūli 'amālī*, "God lengthen my life to the length of my works"; in reports of disasters, e.g. fire, *a'ūdhu billāhi minhā*, "I seek my protection against this with God"; in reports of natural phenomena, for example, eclipses of the moon, *subhāna Allāh*, "God be praised"; of contracts, *wakafā billāhi shahīdan*, "God is sufficient witness". Too, the monotony of the written lines is now and again broken by a small sign, for example, a squiggle representing a house, next to reports of building activity.

In Macassarese the name for diaries is *lontara' bilang*. Originally in South Celebes the name for writings on lontar leaves, *lontara'* has later become a name for writings in general. A *lontara' bilang* is therefore a work in which "numbers", "dates", are incorporated, a work arranged in chronological order, i.e. a diary. Now and then one strikes this name also in Buginese, but in the Buginese areas the name *surē' bilang* (literally in Malay: *surat bilang*) is more general. A diary is nearly always a book of jottings too. The two empty pages which are always kept between two years in the diary are preferred, but the empty pages at the end of the manuscript are also used for notes of whatever size, which lie outside the scope of the diary.

In Macassarese the name *ṭangngalla' taung*, and in Buginese *law-taung*, literally "piece left between the (different) years", is used for

these inbetween pages. As with the diary, these collections of loose notes are also referred to by *lontara' bilang* and *surë' bilang*. A less common name for the diary and collection of notes is *pa'djumëllàng*, "collected notes".

The entries in the diaries deal with all sorts of subjects. They may deal with the small things of daily life, as, for example, when a high functionary from Bone sadly noted on July 24th, 1815 that the first grey hair had appeared in his beard, and on November 9th of that year the hen belonging to a friend had hatched out nine chickens. They can, however, also have to do with important events such as the concluding of agreements with other states and of martial exploits in wars carried on with varying fortune. Of course notes of births, marriages and deaths have an important place. The deaths of kings are commemorated at set times for a long time afterwards; I even found mention of the commemoration of the 10,000th day of the death of Arumpone Matinroe ri Malimongëng in 1775.

Sometimes the notes are full but also they can be so short that they quite clearly have only served the owner of the diary as reminders, and mean little to outsiders without some explanation. Remarks which show the reaction of the writer to incidents which he witnessed, moods in which he found himself, or thoughts which have occupied him, shall be encountered only rarely. For the most part one will seek in vain for mention of motives which have lead to particular actions. Because of this, these writings have much more the character of diaries written up as part of the duties of government service than of private diaries in which one's own experiences and reflections are set down in a more or less literary form.

In the part of the *surë' bilang* that is filled with all kinds of notes, one finds a variegated mixture of memoranda recorded by the keepers of the diaries. Here one sometimes finds a more extensive form of notes already entered in the diary; the registration of the text of an outgoing letter or the copy of an incoming one is often recorded in it, or an extensive report is given of a meeting which is only mentioned in short under a particular date in the diary. One finds property comprehensively described; resolutions to set slaves free appear repeatedly; fragments of historical or juridical nature are met in full measure; an agricultural calendar is often appended to the diary, etc.; there is place for poems, mystical utterances, Arabic sayings, etc.

Many notes give witness of the interest the Macassarese and Buginese have in figures and numbers. They give for instance lists of the

measurements of the foremost palaces in South Celebes, record the number of miles that separate Holland from Djakarta and Djakarta from Macassar, mentioning in passing a number of names for measurements of distance in Portuguese, Spanish and Dutch. That they did not shy away from more complicated calculations can be seen when one examines a manuscript (of which one copy is found in Leyden and two in the British Museum) which contains information on artillery, ballistics and pyrotechnics, along with tables of the range of different sorts of cannon and information about the relationship between the weight of projectiles and the required amount of gunpowder.⁶

Since those who were accustomed to keeping the diaries for the most part belonged to the higher levels of society, the life of the community was actually only viewed from above, so that a glance into the lives of those who are described by the Macassarese and Buginese as "the common people" (also a sphere of life in other societies about which historical sources usually tell us the very least) is only permitted in those cases when some event or other brings them into contact with the higher levels of the society. However in spite of this bias the information which has come down to us in this way is very interesting.

What strikes us first in these diaries is the central position that the king takes up in the midst of the nobility and the great of the land. He is exalted family head of a great multitude of prominent people in the land who are bound together by many ties of marriage, ties which are not restricted to the region, but also stretch far outside it. The honour which the lowly are required to show to the higher orders culminates in the minutely regulated homage that is rendered to the king on official occasions and during special visits. In his high office the king watches over the maintenance of the social order in which everyone and everything has its traditional place, and by the maintenance of the *adat* organisation he furthers the welfare of the whole community. There was, however, no question of real centralization of administration or of the influence of the king and his council reaching into every corner of the realm; the different parts of the realm which had of old either voluntarily or under pressure grouped themselves

⁶ Ms. 151 of the Collection of Macassarese and Buginese Mss. of the Netherlands Bible Society in the Leiden University Library and Add. Mss. of the British Museum, 12358 and 12365 (see B. F. Matthes, *Kort verslag aangaande alle mij in Europa bekende Makassaarsche en Boeginesche handschriften, vooral die van het Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap te Amsterdam* (Short Account of all Macassarese and Buginese Mss. in Europe, which are known to me, especially those of the Netherl. Bibl. Soc. at Amsterdam), Amsterdam, 1875.

around a particular region which had gained some prestige, continued to maintain their internal independence and only gave evidence of their ties with the king of the central region, who was recognised as supreme ruler, by homage at set times and by assistance in times of war.

When one turns over the pages of the diaries of high functionaries one sees how much time the highest authorities had to spend at ceremonies and festivities within the circle of the noble families. For days on end their presence there was demanded, and from the standpoint of the reporter this part of their work was certainly of no less importance than other duties of an administrative and judicial nature associated with their position. The recording of gifts which had been made on such occasions was carried out accurately. It is clear that these were not only intended as a means of maintaining friendship but must be understood to be, in essence, indication of the recognition of existing relations.

The oldest diary, as far as I know, is that of the Kings of Goa and Tallo'⁷ that was published in transcription with translation by Ligtvoet. It dates from the beginning of the 17th century, at a time when these Macassarese kingdoms had many contacts with the outside world. The use of Portuguese names for the months of the year makes one think that the Portuguese, who have been teachers of the Macassarese in other matters, have also been influential in bringing into existence the custom of keeping diaries.

The oldest Buginese diary that has come to my notice is the *surè' bilang* of the famous Arung Palakka, the ally of the Company in the war against Goa in the 17th century. In the years before World War II it was preserved in the local Buginese government office at Watampone. The Matthes Foundation at Macassar had a copy of it. In the British Museum and India Office originals and copies of the diaries of Bonese kings from the 17th, 18th and beginning of the 19th century are kept. While arranging a collection of papers put at my disposal by the king of Goa in 1949 I found them to contain a number of Buginese and Macassarese diaries from the 18th, 19th and 20th century and among them also diaries of kings of Bone.

Although the keeping of diaries appears to have come into existence at the beginning of the 17th century, a few of these manuscripts contain

⁷ A. Ligtvoet, *Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello met vertaling en aantekeningen* (Transcription of the Diary of the Kings of Goa and Tallo', together with a translation and notes), BKI, XXVIII (1880), p. 1-259.

at the beginning also short lists of dates from the 16th century and even in the case of one manuscript dates concerning distant lands from much earlier periods. The dates from the 16th century seem to have been calculated by counting back. For example, in the case where the age of a person or the number of years of his rule was known, it was possible to ascertain the approximate year of birth. Where events are concerned which took place beyond the horizon of the Buginese and Macassarese the dates are certainly based on the written and oral information of foreigners. Thus, for example, we find at the beginning of a diary covering the years 1834 to 1840 a number of dates amongst which were: 1187 Jerusalem occupied by the Muslims (this is indeed the year in which the city was conquered by Saladin); 1303, for the first time someone makes a compass; 1380, in this year cannons were made for the first time. The Macassarese and Buginese were very interested in the question, who did something for the first time, or when something happened for the first time. The chronicle of Goa contains examples of this. Other dates in the list sound fantastic, e.g. 1251 B.C. the first ship is built! On the other hand, the list of dates of the first appearance of the East India Company beginning with the opening of trade at Bantam in 1596 corresponds well with the facts.

The identity of the writer (in the case of a diary, written predominantly in the first person) is sometimes difficult to determine from the works which have come down, always anonymously, to us. If it is the king himself speaking, then this appears clearly to be the case after the reading of several pages. The information given sometimes indicates that the writer is a prominent person in the government of the country but not always in so clear a language that the office of the writer comes readily to light. Consultation with the members of the prominent families amongst Buginese and Macassarese might produce results in this matter since one can find in the usually innumerable notes about family happenings pointers to the identity of the person who is speaking.

On a number of occasions we can be lucky with the establishment of the identity of an author if other information besides the diary helps us along the way. This happened to me some weeks ago when I was busy with a diary covering the years 1856 to 1859. First from a note it appeared that the writer was a subordinate of the Arumpone, and then I read that the man on one occasion was said to have prayed for the king, the *kali* and the son of 'Abd al-Fattāh. Afterwards I saw in the colophon of an Arabic work bound to the diary that the writer or copyist announced the work to have been finished in the month

Rabī' II 1276 (October 1859) in Mecca at the house of his Shaikh Muhammad Sāliḥ b. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ al-Būkis. He then described himself as Ḥusain b. Ṣarawa' al-Būkis, scribe of the Arumpone (king of Bone), by birth a Macassarrese who belonged to the Shāfi'ite school of Islamic law and the Shādhiliya tarikat.

After what has just been said about the contents of the diaries one can well ask whether the recording of memorabilia can be characterized as an historiographical activity. It is, of course, not correct to say that the work of the keepers of the diary is in line with that of the chronicle writers who compile a chronicle from stories, which have been handed down by oral tradition, or from extant written material. If, however, we pay attention to the intention with which certain events are ascertained and the use that is made of these diaries and collections of notes, then I indeed believe that a description, which brings this sort of work into association with the work of historians, is in its place.

I will now cite several of many examples in the diaries in order to give an idea of the function of these works in the Macassarrese and Buginese society.

Thus a Macassarrese diary on July 21st, 1896 mentions, "the reasons why this is recorded is that it shall be easily found again and consulted whenever something similar might crop up". In a genealogical note about the ancestors of a certain Rukka in a Macassarrese diary of the year 1836 it is said, "this is the reason why I record this; I do this in case posterity should ask about it".

If one came up against certain difficulties, then one, more often than not, had recourse to diaries in order to find out how the ancestors behaved in such a situation.

There are many quotations from older diaries that one finds quoted in later works, very often with mention of sources; for example, "I have copied this from the diary of the Arumpone who died in Nagaulēng (the successor of Arung Palakka, his nephew Lapatau', who died in 1714)"; or, "I found this in the diary of Tomarilāng, So-and-So". In a Buginese diary which covers the years 1791 to 1798 the writer of the diary says that he *mangngaru'*ed to the Arumpone on the occasion of his appointment on October 8th, 1795 as *dulung*, general over the *lilī' rilau'*, a particular group of Bone's vassals. *Mangngaru'* is a form of homage to the king during which one swears allegiance to the king in exalted terms, the hand striking the hilt of the kris, and the foot being stamped on the ground. He goes on then that the

Arumpone, after he had listened to his homage, remarked, "Your words agree partially with what the Tomariläläng, who died in Goa, said on the occasion of his appointment as general". "I then asked the Arumpone", he says, "how the words sounded". The Arumpone then said, "I read this in the *lontara' bilang* of Matinroe ri Malimonggëng (died in 1775)", and then cited the *mangngaru'* words of the Tomariläläng. After having reacted politely to what the Arumpone said, the writer of this note then asked the Arumpone to give him in writing the mutual obligations of the general and those under his command. The Arumpone then said, "I will look it up and have it copied for you, and have the messenger La Pate' bring it to you this evening". Then follows a detailed note beginning with the words, "This is the copy of the note that the Arumpone had brought to me by La Pate'".

During my stay in South Celebes I witnessed on several occasions how, for the arranging of important ceremonies, old diaries and note books were consulted. I can mention here the arranging of the official inauguration of a king of Bone in 1931 when the Government had decided to fill once again, the office of Arumpone, vacant for nearly 25 years. For the arrangement of the ceremony, use was made of the description of the installation of a king in the 18th century that one had found described in different *surë' bilang*. And when in 1935 the old queen of Luwu' was buried, it was once again the old writings which presented pointers for the ceremonial to be complied with, and the prescribed contributions for this occasion.

Finally a few words about the field of Indonesian history that the notes in the diaries cover. Of course they are in the first place important for the knowledge of the history of the Macassarese and Buginese principalities in South Celebes. But numerous also are the notes which contain useful information about the lands outside South Celebes. For example, so far as relations with the lands in the eastern part of the archipelago are concerned, I am able here to cite Buton, Bima and Sumbawa and also, in a lesser degree, some information in letters about relations with the coastal states of Borneo.

There is little evidence that the Macassarese and Buginese kept a diary during stays abroad. However I will mention here two diaries in which this is the case: the diary of Arung Palakka from the second half of the 17th century, already mentioned by me, in which events which occurred during his military campaign into the Toradja territory and during his stay in Java, are recorded; and also the diary of a

Buginese Tomarilalëng, covering the years 1804-1819, in which many events from the years 1813-1818 are recorded during his stay, for the most part a forced stay, in Djakarta (Djakëttara in Buginese) Bengal and the Moluccas.

While the ordinary things of daily life in one's own country and the many customs in vogue are so familiar that one can see little reason to mention them, a stay abroad can provide the writer of a diary with the opportunity to be somewhat more detailed in his notes; this is the case with the diary of the Tomarilalëng.

From his notes made during the eight months that he lived in Batavia during the English interregnum the vivid picture of this bustling town with its international population rises before our eyes. We make acquaintance with the circle in which this Buginese nobleman moved; we meet the Arabic saiyid, the revered descendent of the profit Muhammad, the teacher of religion, the doctor of medicine from India, the merchant in precious stones, the captain of one of the junks coming from China, and the friendly Macassarese wife of one of his European friends who willingly helped him with all sorts of cooking utensils and let him take away the products of her kitchen. We accompany him on his drives to Kota Intan, the fort of the East India Company, which was then already abandoned. We visit the well known grave of Saiyid Hüsain al 'Aidarüs in Luar Batang, and wander with him through Pasar Senen and Pasar Tanah Abang where many desirable wares were offered for sale. Some of his notes, in particular some concerning his relationship with the English Lieutenant-Governor Raffles,⁸ I will now present at length.

May 17th, 1814.

I rode together with Major Dalége (= Dalgairns, J.) to Bogor at 6 o'clock; at half past twelve we arrived in Bogor. I went immediately into the house of the *Djinërala'*. With me I had brought a head shawl of Moluccan stitchwork and also sarongs of fine material for *Memporo'* (Mevrouw, Mrs. Raffles). *Memporo'* said: "Thank you (terimakasih'), royal messenger, for the head shawl and the sarongs that you brought for me." She unfolded the shawl and looked at it together with the *Djinërala'*. They said: "Baik ini (beautiful)! Who made this cloth?" I said, "My stepmother, the daughter of the Radja Bone Muda." I then handed the *Djinërala'* the "five articles"⁹, which I had translated into

⁸ In Macassarese and Buginese the Governor General is always called *Djenerala'*, *Djinërala'* (General). Also the Lieutenant Governor is indicated by this name.

⁹ Probably the (draft of a) contract, dated March 1812, is meant, the text of which, written in Malay and containing 5 articles, is found in this same diary between the pages December 1815 and January 1816. In this contract the relations between the king of Bone and the British are said to be based *mutatis*

Malay. The *Djinërala'* said, "It is good that you have shown me this." The Major General (probably Nightingall) shall go to Macassar in my place to put matters in order and to strengthen the alliance between the Company and Bone. I said to the *Djinërala'*, "I am grateful that you shall commission the Major General to go to Macassar on your behalf to put matters in order and to strengthen the alliance between Bone and the Company." Then I said to the *Djinërala'*, "I want to say something to you because I notice that you have a warm spot in your heart for me." The *Djinërala'* said, "Go ahead." I said, "I ask for the Radja Bone a sealed letter that the Radja can take as a token of his alliance with you." "Good, I shall think it over." The *Djinërala'* then said, "Let us go and eat." We went then to eat with the *Djinërala'*. When I had eaten, the *Djinërala'* took me around his garden. When we had finished our stroll, he instructed Major Dalège to take me to the house that had been made ready for me. Then the *Djinërala'* said, "Come back here at 8 o'clock this evening for a banquet."

The evening of May 17th.

Then a messenger came from the *Djinërala'* with three carriages. I took my place in a carriage and set out with Arung Tibodjong, the *djemma tongëng* (a Bonese functionary) and the princes who were with me and we went into the house of the *Djinërala'* to dine there. During the dinner the *Djinërala'* proposed a toast to the Arumpone and then to my wife, my children and myself. When we had eaten with the *Djinërala'* he invited me to go to the top floor (*loteng*). The *Djinërala'* then danced with his wife. He and *Memporo'* told me to dance too. So I danced with *Memporo'*. The *Djinërala'* danced again as we did. After we had danced the *Djinërala'* took me inside and instructed the Chinese to begin their conjuring act. We all looked on. When we had looked on he told me to go to the house where I had taken up residence.

May 31st, 1814.

A messenger from Major Dalège came and brought me a carriage. I went in this carriage to the Bola Bitjara (Council House) in Karuku' (Krokot) to look for the portrait (drawing, painting) of our Lord To-risompae.¹⁰ Together with the Major I went into all the rooms of the Council House but I did not find the portrait of our Lord. Together with the Major I drove to his house.

June 4th, 1814.

The *Djinërala'* gave a great banquet because it was the birthday of the King of England. The *Djinërala'* invited me to come and to take part in the banquet.¹¹

With the incorporation of the principalities of South Celebes by the N.I. Government in the years 1905-1908, gradually an end came to the habit of writing diaries. In the younger generation, grown up

mutandis on the old contract which was concluded in the 17th century between the Dutch admiral Speelman and the king of Goa, with the exception of a few articles which are stated to be cancelled.

¹⁰ *To-risompae*, "He, to whom homage is paid", a name by which the king of Bone Arung Palakka (1634-1696) is generally known in the Buginese countries.

¹¹ C. E. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, London, 1954, p. 350, mentions the festivities on this day in honour of the birthday of George III.

in a society in which government institutions handled all sorts of things which were once dealt with by *adat* functionaries in a less official way, and in which an extended administrative apparatus laid down in writing that which was formerly recorded in private notes, no zeal for the keeping of diaries is to be seen anymore. Some individuals, however, continued the tradition for a time. Thus in the thirties I knew a member of the Goarese royal house, who faithfully kept his *lontara' bilang*; the members of his family who, in general, considered him as an eccentric, laughingly assured me that I could be certain that my visits to the old gentleman were meticulously recorded. Stimulated by the presence of the many manuscripts among which we worked, a Malayo-Macassarese official in my office in Macassar Nuruddin Daeng Magassing, who was a man of great influence in South Celebes, willingly rousing his compatriots to maintain good traditions, introduced a diary in which notes about what went on in our office were recorded in Macassarese.

Now, however, the diary belongs to the past. Will the interest seen in the diaries for the facts of the day once again find expression in new literary forms? Before the war it could already be seen in different areas of Indonesia that authors wrote by preference in Indonesian whenever they dealt with subjects and problems of this time. How the Indonesian language of unity shall develop in relation to the local languages cannot be forecast, and the same goes for the question whether once again local literatures shall be able to flourish in the different language areas. Whether or not the modern literatures shall prefer the national language, or whether there shall remain an important preserve for the local languages, there might still be increasingly wider opportunities for the development of the typical talents of all groups of the population.

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