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MAKASAR AND THE ISLAMIZATION OF BIMA*

The question of when and how Islam was adopted in Bima, Sumbawa, and the other kingdoms in the island of Sumbawa is closely connected with the history of Makasar in South Sulawesi in the early seventeenth century. For, in general, the sources available on various sides are unanimous in reporting that Islam was introduced in these kingdoms by force of arms by the Makasarese not long after they themselves had become Muslim and had Islamized the greater part of the South Sulawesi peninsula, which took place in the years 1605-1611. The following quotation from Bimanese written tradition, briefly summarizing the main facts in locally coloured Malay, as published in a transcription of a manuscript in Arabic script, may serve as an example here:

Adapun asal mulanya pada zaman
dahulukala tatkala dikalahkan
Bima oleh Mangkassar. Sebab tiada
mau membawa iman agama Islam,
maka oleh Paduka yang dipertuan
kita Raja Gowa akan menyuruh
alahkan Bima dengan senjata.
(Abdullah 1981/2:8.)

The origin lies in former times,
when Bima was defeated by
Makasar. Because it refused
to accept Islam,
H.M. the King of Gowa gave
orders to defeat Bima by
force of arms.

Karaeng Matoaya of Makasar and the Islamization of Bima

In order to understand this Makasar connection, attention must first be given to an extraordinary man who played a leading role in the Islamization of the entire region, including the island of Sumbawa, but in the first

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In the spelling of Buginese and Makasarese words, *q* represents glottal stop.

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place that of Makasar, that is, the united kingdoms of Goa and Talloq. He was I-Mallingkaang Daeng-Mannyonriq (1570-1636), King of Talloq and prime minister of Goa, who in later life was best known as Karaeng Matoaya ('the old prince'), and after his death as Tu-Mammenang-ri-agamana ('He who died in his religion'). The latter name was a posthumous tribute to his intense preoccupation with Islam from the time he embraced this religion and introduced it in his part of the world. Although second in rank to the King of Goa, he was the principal leader of the Makasarese kingdom and chief executor of its policies throughout his career, particularly in the early years when the King of Goa, who was his nephew and much his junior, was still a young man. As the life of this great man has recently been described in detail (Reid 1981:5-19), I shall here concentrate on his attitude to Islam and his role in the Islamization of the area.

Where the term 'Islamization' is used, this undeniably requires clarification. In one sense it denotes a slow process of long duration, a 'phénomène de temps long', as it has recently been described in the journal *Archipel* (29:107) – a truly long-term, even seemingly endless process, which is still going on at the present day. From this point of view it makes sense to write an essay on 'Six centuries of Islamization of Java' (Ricklefs 1976). What is being observed and described in this case is the growing influence on the regional culture and society – its effect, intensification and ever-increasing extension to other aspects of the society and of the personal lives of its members. It is a long-term process of cultural change, which differs in its particulars and in its detailed history according to the differences of the relevant individual regional cultures, and in the details of the continuous struggle, with its ups and downs, between Islam and adat, between the demands of the Muslim religion and what is alien to its law or in conflict with it.

This process even has a long previous history, beginning with the first contacts with foreign Muslims, their first settlements in the area, and the growing knowledge about Islam elsewhere and in neighbouring regions (Pelras 1985:107-110). This process, which, as Snouck Hurgronje has remarked, we may observe in the Archipelago from the 13th century onward, continues down to our own time (Snouck Hurgronje 1884, *Verspreide Geschriften* 4/1:8).

Besides this sociological conception of Islamization, there is another which is more in accordance with Islamic notions. If one looks at the history of a region like Makasar, the Islamization appears also to have had a precise beginning and an exact completion, marked by a few exactly datable events, the first of which was the official introduction and acceptance of Islam, first by Karaeng Matoaya personally. On the eve of Friday, 22 September 1605, 9 Jumād al-awwal 1014, he pronounced the profession of faith, the *shahāda*, called *sadaq* in Makasarese and Buginese, and by this simple but portentous act became a Muslim. According

to Islamic doctrine, an unbeliever becomes a Muslim by sincerely pronouncing the profession of faith, the 'two sentences': 'There is but one God, and Muhammad is the Apostle of God' (Gibb's translation, 1953: 53). This applies individually; but in the present case it was much more than a personal conversion, for it was intended to be the beginning of the Islamization of the whole area. That is why the date of this event was carefully recorded, and why Karaeng Matoaya further emphasized the significance of this event by adopting the Arabic name Sultan Abdullah Awwal-al-Islam, in this way pronouncing himself 'the first of Islam', with all that that expression implied.

Until recently it was not exactly known when his superior, the Karaeng (King) of Goa, followed his example. The Makasarese tradition did not seem to furnish the relevant information, and it was usually said to have been 'soon afterwards'. But now an examination of an older and more original version of the Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq has shown (Noorduyn, forthcoming) that the same date as that mentioned above is recorded for the conversion of the Karaeng of Goa, who on that occasion assumed the Arabic name Sultan Ala'uddin. Apparently both rulers acted jointly in this respect from the beginning, though Karaeng Matoaya remained the initiator, the first.

At the same time, measures must have been taken immediately to ensure that not only the two leaders of the state but also the whole population, the entire state as such, should become Muslim. This took two years. As it is described in a Buginese chronicle of Wajo' (Leiden Cod. Or. 1922:10a):

Dua ttaung sadaqna Karaénngé
nasadaq maneng to Goaré

Two years after the Karaeng(s)
pronounced the profession of faith,
the Goa people did likewise.

Once again this significant event was fixed on a special day and its date carefully recorded. On Friday the 19th of Rajab, 1016, that is, the 9th of November, 1607, the first communal Friday service was held in Talloq 'at the beginning of our being Muslim', as the Makasarese court diary records (Ligtvoet 1880:86). This was the occasion on which the Makasarese kingdom officially became a Muslim state (cf. Pelras 1985:109).

This can again be interpreted in the light of Islamic doctrine. According to Islamic law, this event marked the end of the status of the Makasar kingdom as part of the territory of the infidel, and the beginning of that as part of the territory of Islam, the *dār al-Islām*, the Muslim portion of the world. In that sense the Islamization of Makasar was completed on that day.

This must have been the intention and the interpretation of the event of Karaeng Matoaya himself, for in later life he proved himself a pious and knowledgeable Muslim, and posterity remembered him as such. The Makasarese Chronicle of Goa and Talloq gives special attention to,

among his many accomplishments, the zeal with which he complied with all the prescriptions of Muslim law, as illustrated by the following quotation, taken from the above-mentioned earlier version of the Chronicle, which contains better readings of a number of passages than the one published earlier (cf. Rahim and Borahima 1975: 19-20; Reid 1981: 14).

Anne Karaenga nikana tu-panritai,
tu-barani, tu-manngassengi, tu-
kapatiangi, tu-gannaq-aiki;
panrita-jamangi, manngassengi
mattannang, manngassengi karemeng
limanna naassengi jamang bainea
jamang buraqnea; malambusuki,
mataui, patoanai, masombereki;
manngassengi qBaca, manngassengi
battuq, manngandalaki ssuraq
Araq, majai kittaq nabaca; tinang
mammelakkai awattu bakuqna sallang
naanggenna matenna, passanngalinna
makkambanna bangkenna naniballei
balloq ri Anggarisika sampulo
assagantuju bannginna
tamassambayang; majai sambayang
sunnaq naerang, kontuya rawateka,
wittirika, alloaya, asabing,
taayoka.

Nakana I-Loqmoq ri Paotereka:
'Kaminang sikaqdeqna sambayang
bannginna ruang rakaka, kaminang
jaina sampuloya rakaaqna. Banngi
Jumaqmi nasambayanngammi sunnaq
tasdaqbea, ponna bulang Ramadang
banngi-banngi. Ssuluq sakkaq
bulaenna, sakkaq pannyeloroqna,
sakkaq asenna taung-taung. Majai
ising naamalaq, majai tongi
doang.'

Nakana Karaenga ri Ujumpandang:
'Majai sarapaq napappilajari ri
katteq Intang, ri Koja Manawaraq'.
(KIT 668/216:47-48.)

This man, deeply devoted as he was to the performance of his duties as a

This king was said to be a man of reflection and bold action, a learned man, a man of deep insight and wisdom; he was skilful and an able organizer; he was dexterous in both men's and women's crafts; he was upright, good-natured, hospitable and sociable; he was able to read and to understand what he read; he was adept at reading and writing Arabic [script] and well-read in Islamic literature; from the time he embraced Islam until his death he never once missed the ritual prayer; only at the time when he had a swollen foot and an Englishman treated him by giving him liquor did he omit to pray; he performed many supererogatory prayers, such as *rawātib*, *witr*, *aḍḍuhā*, *tasābīh* and *tahajjud*.

The Loqmoq of Paotereka [one of his widows] said: 'He performed at least two and at most ten ritual *raka'* each night. He performed the supererogatory *tasābīh* on the eve of each Friday, and in the month of Ramadan each night. He paid the religious tax out of his reserves of gold and his buffaloes and annually out of his stock of rice. He often gave permission for the performance of good works, and also often prayed in private.'

The Karaeng of Ujung Pandang said: 'He studied many works on Arabic morphology, taking lessons with *khatib* Intang and Manawar the Indian'.

Muslim, must also have been aware of his obligations as the head and leader of a Muslim state vis-à-vis neighbouring kingdoms still lying in the territory of the unbelievers. According to Islamic law, anything not belonging to the territory of Islam should count as *dār al-harb*, 'territory of war', and infidels must be converted by force of arms if exhortations and preaching prove fruitless (Snouck Hurgronje 1884:6; Juynboll 1930:344). That is exactly what he did. As the above-cited Buginese chronicle relates, three years after the Karaeng first pronounced the profession of faith he sent an envoy to his brother, the King of Bone, with some gifts to remind him of the treaty of friendship concluded by them in Meru (some 14 years previously), 'because he had seen a new road', as well as to kindly ask him in return to perform:

sadaq, makkasiwang ri Déwataé,	the recitation of the profession
sembajang, puasa.	of faith, the worship of God,
	the ritual prayer, and the fast.

Here we have the gist, if not the actual words, of the injunction sent by Makasar to Bone to accept Islam, couched in friendly terms, referring to existing bonds, but nevertheless firm and clear. The reply was no less friendly, but at the same time no less clear in its veiled though flat refusal. The King of Bone sent his thanks for the gifts and kind words, which he could not reject. As for the 'new road', he said,

'taroi kulao kuita, kucéraq i	'let me go and see it, let me
tédong sératuq. Déwata	slaughter one hundred buffaloes.
mappappuasaé nasuro paq si	Not until the God who
mappuasa kuappuasa.'	prescribes the fast orders me
	to observe it shall I fast.'

The Makasarese king understood the meaning of this and began what is known as the Islamic war, in Makasarese *bunduq kasallannganga*, by which he succeeded in the next four years in forcing the major Buginese kingdoms to accept Islam one by one, Bone as the last in 1611.

The extension of his Islamizing efforts to the overseas countries in the island of Sumbawa lying immediately south of Makasar, in the first place the most prominent of these, Bima, for him was a logical continuation of this successful endeavour.

Little is known about these countries in pre-Islamic times. Tomé Pires, writing in 1513, lists the commodities available in Sumbawa and Bima (Cortesaõ 1944:202–203). According to him there was a shipping route from Malaka to the Moluccas via Java and Bima, where the ships sold their merchandise from Java and bought cloth for Banda and the Moluccas (Cortesaõ 1944:220). A few Old Javanese remains which have been found in Bima testify to some Indo-Javanese influence.¹ The memory of these times is kept alive in a few legends and in the names of these two kingdoms. The autochthonous Bimanese name for the country

is Mbojo, the name Bima appearing to be extraneous and in some way or other to derive from Bhīma, the name of one of the great heroes of the Mahābhārata epic.² Sumbawa is a Portuguese corruption, Cumbava or Cimbava, of the original name Sambawa – possibly deriving from Shāmbhawa (Van Naerssen 1938:92) ‘related to Shambhu’, i.e. God Shiva (or from Sanskrit *sambhawa*, ‘existence, origin, ability’?) – for the kingdom in the western part of the island, by which name it is still known in Makasarese, and which has been eroded to Semawa in the language of the Sumbawanese themselves.

In pre-Islamic times the island’s main commercial and cultural relations seem to have been with the islands to its west, in the first place Java. This situation radically changed with the coming of Islam, which was introduced by Makasar. From that time onward Makasarese political and cultural influence was dominant.

No wonder that some of the historical information on the Islamization of the island is to be found in Makasarese records. The most enlightening are two rather brief passages preserved in a Makasarese manuscript written in the so-called Old Makasarese script. It is one of those collected by Crawford in Makasar in 1814, now kept in the British Library in London (Add. 12351). The second of these passages is also found in a slightly different version occurring in a recent copy.³ Because of their importance, I shall quote these passages, from here on designated Passage A and Passage B, in full in Roman transliteration and English translation. These then require and deserve detailed elucidation.

The Makasarese Passages concerning the Islamization of the Overseas Countries

A. Nanisuro I Kare Bagia angku-taqnangi Karaenta pannguqranginna ri butta i baqleang Dima Dompu Sambawa, ka betana ri Karaenga Tu-Ammenang-ri-agamana. Nanakana Karaenta: ‘Nibeta-kapereki, nipasallangi, nipareq-ngasengi ata ri Karaeng, passanngalinna Sanggaraq, ka nimaradekangi ri Karaenga, ka ia uru ampalantei qbonto. Apajintu Dima Dompu Sambawa namaqbuisiq tungguna taung-taung ri Karaenga nanipappalakki todong tungguna pakalawaki-jarang. Naantu ia Papekaka Kengkelua nisaqlakia

A. Kare Bagia was instructed to go and ask our Lord what he remembered about the overseas countries of Bima, Dompu, and Sumbawa, as they had been defeated by Karaeng Tu-Ammenang-ri-agamana. The Lord said: ‘They were defeated as infidels, were made to embrace Islam, and were all of them enslaved by the Karaeng except for Sanggar, which (country) he gave its freedom because it had been the first to allow him to come ashore. Bima, Dompu, and Sumbawa used to pay an annual tribute to the Karaeng and were also regularly asked to provide grooms. But the inhabitants of Papekat and Kengkelu were treated differently by

ri Karaenga, nipareq ata ri kale,
nipamangei ri Karaenta ri Popoq,
nisuro njannangi.

Antu nappapenteng Jumaq
butta i baqleanga Karaenga
ji eroq anggappai palana
mappareq mokking nalappasang
maradeka. Iatommi njo nikanaya
mokking maradeka, naia taqbalaka
ata ia.

Naantu nanitanggaq Karaeng
Sambawa maqbainenna, ka
nikana anaqnai Karaeng Sala-
parang Karaeng ri Sambawa.
Naantu Salaparanga taiai ata
ri Karaenga, tu-mae ji mantaq-
galaq ri Karaenga kamma tonji
Pasirika pattaqgalaqna ri olo
ri Karaenga.'

B. Anne kana-kananna nauru
maqbaine Karaenna Dimaya ri
Mangkasaraq. Karaenga Tu-
Ammenang-ri-gaukanna assuro-
baineangi iparaqna ri Mantau-
Wata-Wadu. Nanapatara limanna
nanakana: 'Mamallakaq bassung'.
Nanakanamo bedeng Karaenga:
'Inakke assuroko'. Naanaq mo
Tu-Menang-ri-ballaqjatinna.
Anjo ayana Tu-Menang-ri-
ballaqjatinna anaqnai Karaenta
ri Kasuarrang. Apa ji na ri
Sanrabone ja bedeng battu Tu-
Menang-ri-ballaqjatinna.
Tu-Menang pa ri-ballaqjatinna
anngalle adaq Mangkasaraq.
(Add. 12351 f. 34v)

the Karaeng. He made them his
personal slaves and placed them in
the charge of the Prince of Popoq,
whom he instructed to rule them for
him.

He instituted the Friday service in
those overseas countries because he
desired to gain heavenly reward by
appointing *mokkings* [guardians of
public worship] and then setting
them free. So the people styled
mokking were free, while the
common people were slaves.

The marriage proposal made by
the King of Sumbawa was accepted
because he was said to be a son of the
King of Selaparang, and the people
of Selaparang were not slaves of the
Karaeng. They only placed them-
selves under his protection, as the
people of Pasir [in East Borneo] had
done earlier.'

B. The following is the story about
the first time a King of Bima married
in the land of Makasar. King Tu-
Ammenang-ri-gaukanna [of Goa]
ordered [King] Mantau-Wata-Wadu
[of Bima] to marry his [i.e. the King
of Goa's] wife's sister. However, he
asked to be excused from doing so,
saying: 'I am afraid of committing
lese-majesty'. But the King is
reported to have said: 'I am ordering
you to'. Of this marriage was born
Tu-Menang-ri-ballaqjatinna. The
mother of Tu-Menang-ri-ballaq-
jatinna was the daughter of the
Prince of Kasuarrang. That is why it
is said that Tu-Menang-ri-ballaq-
jatinna came from Sanrabone. He
was the first to introduce Makasarese
customs.

The central theme of Passage A concerns the formal relations between

Makasar and the various kingdoms in the island of Sumbawa after the latter's defeat by the Makasarese and their compulsory conversion to Islam. There is no room for doubt that it was the Makasarese who introduced Islam to all the kingdoms of Sumbawa, and that they did so by force of arms. The fact that these kingdoms had not accepted Islam of their own free will but – with one exception – had offered armed resistance and had been defeated, determined their subsequent relation to Makasar, their conqueror. As a consequence of their defeat, the status of the kingdoms – with the same single exception – as well as of their inhabitants individually – at least as far as the common people were concerned, as is explicitly stated in this passage – was reduced to that of slaves of Makasar.

This was in accordance with a tradition which existed in South Sulawesi long before the coming of Islam. The formal relations obtaining between various Buginese and Makasarese kingdoms were indicated by means of terms originally denoting kinship positions or social status, in such a way as to express equality or inequality in several grades, ranging from complete equality to total subordination, in accordance with the relative size and power of the individual kingdoms. So they could be each other's equals as 'brothers', but they could also be slightly unequal as 'elder' and 'younger brother', and more so as 'mother' and 'child', or, finally, indicative of the highest degree of inequality, they could be 'lord' and 'slave'. An example of this latter kind of relationship is Buginese Wajoq in the middle of the sixteenth century; after having twice resisted Makasarese Goa and twice been defeated by it, it was reduced to the position of a slave of Goa (Noorduyn 1955:75-76).

In general, a consequence of this latter relationship was that any order of the 'lord' had to be obeyed and carried out by the 'slave'. In practice this often consisted in the obligation to supply auxiliary troops for defensive or offensive wars waged by the 'lord'. As is reported in Passage A, the kingdoms of Bima, Dompu, and Sumbawa, as a consequence of their status as slaves, had to pay an annual tribute to Makasar, the nature of which is not specified here but which may have consisted of the principal products of the island, such as cloth, the red dyewood called sapanwood, and, especially, horses, for which Bima and Sumbawa were famous far and wide (Tomé Pires in Cortesão 1944:203; Speelman in Noorduyn 1983:104; Zollinger 1850:78-79). The special importance of horses, as manifest both from the expertise in horse-breeding in the island of Sumbawa and the wide use made of horses in war and hunting in South Sulawesi, is emphasized by the explicit mention of grooms, who had to be regularly supplied in addition to the annual tribute.

Although this slave-lord relationship represented the general state of affairs, there were various minor exceptions and semi-exceptions, to which the remaining part of Passage A is devoted, first of all Sanggar and its special status.

Sanggar

The position of Sanggar was special as a result of its exceptionally positive reaction to the Makasarese invasion. What is said about Sanggar in Passage A is confirmed and supplemented by the information given Cornelis Speelman when he was in South Sulawesi (1666-1669). His summary, translated from the Dutch, runs as follows:

‘When the Makasarese first crossed over here with their troops, they (i.e. the people of Sanggar) immediately and without any delay went to submit to them and join them, with the result that they were declared free and independent people and allies of Makasar, and were not burdened with any obligation to pay tribute, nor required to have anyone live at Makasar in the service of the King, except in the event of a major war or a large expedition’ (Speelman’s ‘Notitie’ (1669), ARA VOC 1166 f. 868v).

That Sanggar had not resisted the Makasarese forces but had allowed them to come ashore may be attributable in the first place to its geographical situation. It was a small territory located on the north coast of Sumbawa, where this curves a considerable distance inland, forming the bay of Sanggar, and has the lowest elevation above sea-level from the Donggo mountains of Bima in the east to the slopes of the Tambora volcano in the west. The Makasarese conceivably recognized it as the most accessible and convenient part of the entire coast for a landing in a hostile island and, moreover, as the gateway to Dompu, the second major kingdom, lying inland, to the south of Sanggar. This part of the coast was probably one of the places where the Makasarese, coming across the sea with their war fleet, made their first landing on the island.

The people of Sanggar for their part may have seen in the arrival of the Makasarese an unexpected opportunity to gain independence. For, according to Speelman’s information, prior to Makasar’s overlordship they were subordinate and subservient to Dompu. As a reward for their friendly attitude the Makasarese in fact made them independent of Dompu.

Their major concern, presumably, was to safeguard their commercial interests, which must have been considerable. Kore, the most important port of export of the eastern part of the island, which was famous for its ‘Kore horses’ as far as Java (where any imported horse from the eastern islands is called *koré/konten*), was located here, while, according to Speelman, its name was even used with reference to the whole of Sanggar. The Sanggarese were in fact successful in this. They escaped the fate of being made slaves by the Makasarese, with all the adverse consequences thereof, and were made free, *maradeka*, by them. In fact, in the Makasarese view their position became one of *paliliq*, or vassal, of Makasar, as it is described in the Makasarese Chronicle (Rahim and Borahima 1975:17).

Whether Sanggar’s independence of Dompu was to its advantage is

doubtful, however, as Kilo, another port located on the same coast, though less favourably situated, later on became Dompu's main port of export.

Papekat and Tambora

The second, though less extreme, exception was formed by Pekat, or Papekat, together with Kengkelu, better known as Tambora – two small kingdoms located on the Tambora peninsula, the former on the south coast, and the latter on the north coast, which now no longer exist, since their populations were completely wiped out by the violent volcanic eruption of Mount Tambora from April 5 to 15, 1815. The part of Passage A explaining the position of their inhabitants as special, personal slaves of Karaeng Matoaya is also confirmed and supplemented, and on one important point corrected, by Speelman's information. According to Speelman, their special position did not exempt them from the obligations to pay tribute and send personnel to Makasar, but only meant that their payments were for the benefit of a particular Karaeng (prince). Speelman describes the two kingdoms as follows:

'Tambora or Kengkelu was formerly an independent kingdom, which was subjected by the Makasarese at the same time as Bima and Dompu, and thenceforward was obliged to pay tribute independently and to keep 40 men constantly at Makasar at the service of the King' (Speelman f. 868r).

'Papekat is a seaport which formerly belonged to Dompu, but, at the time King Rigaukanna [i.e. Ala'uddin of Goa] subjugated Sambawa, was presented to Karaeng Maroanging; its king had to keep 20 men constantly at Makasar to serve this Karaeng as well as to pay a tribute of as many cloths as was within their capacity. This right passed from one great-governor to the next, with Karaeng Popoq being the last to enjoy it until the peace of Bungaya' (Speelman f. 869v).

Karaeng Popoq, the prince to whom, according to Passage A, the special governorship of Tambora and Papekat was entrusted by Karaeng Matoaya, was the latter's son Abdulkadir Mallawakkang Daeng-Sisila, who was born in 1615 or 1616 and died on 7th March 1680 (Ligtvoet 1880: 148), and a half-brother, by a different mother, of the well-known Karaeng Pattiinggalloang. But the statement in A is corrected by Speelman's information to the effect that Karaeng Popoq only received this privilege long after his father's death, after being preceded in this office by several others. In fact, as Speelman explains, from the conquest of the relevant countries onward 'there had always been a Makasarese great-governor, before whom all the affairs of Bima had to be brought for a decision, the first of them being Karaeng Maroanging, followed by Karaeng Suli⁴, who held the position for a long time, who was followed by Karaeng Jamarang or Daeng Passassa, his eldest son, who was

removed from this office and dispossessed of all his property as well by the present King of Goa (i.e., Hasanuddin, ruled 1653-1669), some time after which, and not long before the beginning of the war of 1666, Karaeng Popoq was appointed to that position' (Speelman f. 868r).

Karaeng Popoq only was great-governor from some time in the early 1660's till 1667, the year in which the treaty of Bungaya between Speelman and the Makasarese was concluded, which put an end to Makasarese dominance over the Sumbawa kingdoms. It is evident that this correction has implications for the date when Passage A was written.

The *mokkeng*

The third exception, and one of a different kind again, was formed by the group of people called *mokking* or *mokkeng*. The latter is the Makasarese form of the Arabic word *muqim*, meaning 'inhabitant' in general, and 'residing in a certain place', in the Islamic law sense, in particular. In South Sulawesi the word became the title of a functionary in connection with the Friday service. According to Islamic law, each free man who is obliged to perform the five daily ritual prayers is also obliged to attend the Friday service in the place in which he is legally resident (*muqim*); and, according to Shafi'ite doctrine, no Friday service is valid unless it is attended by at least forty people who are legally bound to do so. Therefore, in order to ensure that a Friday service was regularly held in a given place, the King charged a sufficient number of people – that is, at least forty – residing there to attend the Friday service (cf. Cense 1978:427). These persons were called *muqim*, *mokkeng*. In Bima and Sumbawa, where all the people had been made slaves, no one could serve as a *mokkeng* unless he was declared a freeman first. That is what the Karaeng did, having for this, according to Passage A, a double motive, since both instituting the Friday service and freeing slaves ensured him heavenly reward.

The marriage of the King of Sumbawa

The final exception was the King of Sumbawa, whose marriage proposal was accepted because he was a son of the King of Selaparang, which is the adjacent island of Lombok, and the people of Selaparang were not slaves of the Makasarese Karaeng, since they had never been defeated by him but had only placed themselves under his protection. Part of this statement is confirmed by the Makasarese court diary, which records that on Monday, November 30, 1648, Mas Pamayang, son of the King of Selaparang, became King of Sumbawa, and that on Saturday, December 24, 1650, this King married Karaeng-Panaikang Daeng-Niaq, who according to Ligtoet was a half-sister of the King of Talloq, Harun-ar-Rasyid (1640-1673; Ligtoet 1880:109-111). Another part of the statement is repeated in the Chronicle of Talloq, in the chapter about Karaeng Matoaya, namely where it is said that in the reign of this King

'the people of Selaparang, Pasir, Berau, and Kutai [the last three of them in East Borneo] placed themselves under our protection', for which the same verb, *mannaggalaq*, 'to grasp and hold on to', is used as in Passage A (Rahim and Borahima 1975:17). They were all small Muslim kingdoms which sought to establish peaceful relations with the powerful Makasarese kingdom and to live in safety under its protection.

The marriage of the King of Bima

Passage B, though immediately following A in the manuscript and dealing with a related subject, represents a separate statement, independent of the preceding one, as is shown by its opening words, which mean literally 'These are the words about ...'. The theme is the great difference in status, recognized by both parties, between the mighty Makasarese overlord and the lowly King of Bima, who believed he would be committing lese-majesty – literally 'get a distended belly' (*mabassung*, Indon. *busung*) as a result of any unauthorized entry into the sphere of the divine Kings of Goa – by marrying the sister of the Makasarese Kings's spouse, but was simply ordered to do so by this King. The second theme of this Passage B, the reverse of the first one, concerns the way in which Makasarese cultural influence came to be exercised in Bima as a result of the deliberate marriage policy of the Makasarese King, aimed at incorporating the Kings of Bima into the Makasarese royal family (though not at too high a level!) and thereby binding Bima (and in a like way the other parts of the island) to Makasar as inalienable parts of the Makasarese empire. As a result the second Sultan of Bima, the first to have a Makasarese mother, was also the one, as we are told in Passage B, who introduced Makasarese customs, i.e. chiefly court rituals, in Bima.

The persons mentioned in Passage B are all identifiable, as they are indicated by name. The King of Goa whose posthumous name was Tu-Ammanang-ri-gaukanna was Sultan Ala'uddin (ruled 1593-1639). His spouse, the mother of his successor, Sultan Maliku-ssaid (ruled 1639-1653), was named Mainung Daeng-Maccini' Karaeng-Bontoa, and was a daughter of Daeng-Melu, Karaeng of Kasuarrang (a place to the south of Makasar, near Sanrabone)⁵ (Wolhoff & Abdurrahim 1960:57-58). Sultan Ala'uddin's sister-in-law, who was married to the King of Bima whose posthumous name was, in Bimanese, Mantau-Wata-Wadu ('He who possessed a grave of stone')⁶, was another daughter of this Karaeng of Kasuarrang. Her name was Daeng Sikontu, according to the above-mentioned second version of B.⁷ This Mantau-Wata-Wadu was the first Sultan of Bima, who was named Abdu'l-Kahir⁸ (c. 1620-1640).⁹ Their son, whose posthumous name in Makasarese, by which he is referred to in the Passage, was Tu-Menang-ri-ballaq-jatinna ('He who died in his house of teak'), was Ambela Abu'l-Khair¹⁰ Sirajuddin (ruled 1640-1682), and his posthumous name, in Bimanese,



Part of the Arabic inscription in wood on the grave of Sultan Nuruddin of Bima (1651-1687). Photo by courtesy of dr. H. Chambert-Loir.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. al-ḥamdu li 'llāhi rabbi 'l-ʿālamīn wa | 1. Praise be to God, Lord of the worlds, and |
| 2. 'l-ṣalāt wa'l-salām ʿalā sayyidinā Muḥammad wa'ālihi wa-ṣaḥbihi ajmaʿīn | 2. blessing and peace be to our lord Muhammad and to all his relatives and companions. |
| 3. wa-baʿdu faqad wulida al-muʿazzam (r. al-muʿazzam) al-mubārak al-saʿīd al-sulṭān Nūru'l-Dīn Abūbakra ʿAlī Ṣāh ibn | 3. Next: the venerated, blessed and beatific Sultan Nuruddin Abubakr Ali Syah ibn |
| 4. al-sulṭān Abī'l-Khair Sirāju'l-Dīn ibn al-sulṭān ʿAbdu'l-Qāhir yawm 'al-Arbaʿa' ithnā wa-ʿiṣrīn min šahr Dhū'l-hijja | 4. Sultan Abil-khair Sirajuddin ibn Sultan Abdul-qahir was born on Wednesday 22 Dhul-hijja |
| 5. [sanat] al-tisʿūn wa'l-ʿalf al-hijra al-nabawiyya ʿalā ṣāhibihā . . . | 5. of the year 1090 (or: any year between 1091-9) of the Hijrat . . . |

was Mantau-Uma-Jati ('He who possessed a house of teak'). The former died on Saturday, December 2, 1640, and his son on Wednesday, July 22, 1682 (Ligtvoet 1880:102, 152).

The dating of Passages A and B

These identifications show that Passage B in its present form must be posterior to 1682, the date of the latter King's death, which is the most recent traceable event in the Passage.

Probably Passage A dates back to around the same time, although the references to its historical context are not very detailed. It must be posterior to 1650, the year in which the marriage of the King of Sumbawa in Makasar mentioned in it took place, or rather, to 1667, when the Karaeng Popoq mentioned here had retired as great-governor, or even to 1680, the year of his death. It is known, furthermore, that Kare Bagia, who is the only person mentioned by name in the introductory part of the Passage, was the official interpreter of king Abdu'l-Jalil of Goa (ruled 1677-1709), as he is mentioned once as such in a VOC report of 1689 (*Generale Missiven* V:308). But, though this piece of information points to approximately the same time as the putative date of B, it remains unknown on what occasion the questions about 'the overseas countries' which Kare Bagia, apparently as an official messenger, was ordered to put to 'our Lord' were asked. In principle any prince could be referred to as *Karaenta*, 'our lord', but in fact we find this title without any further specifications recorded only with reference to the highest official after the King, the *tu-maqbicara-butta* (Chancellor, Prime Minister). The function in question was held by Abdu'l-Hamid Karaeng-Karunrung (1631-1685), a son of the well-known Karaeng Pattinngalloang (1600-1654), and, succeeding him, by his brother, Muhammad Syafih Karaeng-Bontosunggu (1643-1726) (cf. Ligtvoet 1880:122 (6-2-1664), 182, 183, 188, 199, 205). Karaeng Karunrung's father could have told his son stories about the latter's grandfather, Karaeng Matoaya, and about the victory over Bima and Sumbawa, and in the early eighties Karaeng Karunrung could have been one of the few possessing such information still alive.

Both passages evidently date from a fairly long time after the events they describe, but are the only Makasarese records of the Islamization of the kingdoms of Sumbawa. In the other Makasarese sources available on this subject, viz. the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq and the Court Diary of these kingdoms, only the military side of the affair is mentioned. Both refer to at least three separate expeditions to the island. The questions to be answered then must be: in the course of which of these three did the conversion to Islam as described in Passage A take place, and at what date did this occur?

The expeditions to Bima in the Makasarese Chronicle and Diary

The Makasarese Chronicle, in which hardly any date is mentioned and events are listed according to a typological classification instead of in chronological order, records that, in the time of Karaeng Matoaya, 'Bima was defeated three times, Sumbawa twice, and Dompu, Kengkulu and Papekat once each, while Sanggar was made a vassal (*paliliq*)' (Rahim and Borahima 1975:17, paragraph 119).

The Diary, although full of complete and internally tallying dates, in its first part has several dates which contain errors or are incomplete. Here only the third of the first three relevant expeditions to Bima mentioned is sufficiently dated. Besides, the descriptions of the three contain differences as regards the way they were carried out, the kingdoms mentioned as being defeated in the course of them, and the commanders leading them. They read as follows in English translation.

- I. 'The Loqmoq [a lower head] of Mandalleq crosses over to Bima with no more than nine ships and defeats it.'
- II. 'Karaeng Maroangang crosses over to Bima and defeats Bima and Sumbawa.'
- III. a. 'Karaeng Matoaya and the King of Goa go to Buton, defeating it for the first time.'
- b. 'The King returns from Buton, on his way back having gone to Bima and defeated Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, and Kengkulu.'

As Ligtvoet (1880:89) has demonstrated, the third expedition took place in 1626, since in the Diary entry IIIb is fully dated according to both the European and the Muslim calendars, namely on 3 July 1626 and 8 Shawwāl, which dates agree for the year 1035 H.; IIIa, for which only a Muslim date is given, can then be dated on Monday, March 2, 1626. Consequently, the entire expedition to Buton and Sumbawa took up no more than four months from its start to the return home (cf. Noorduyn 1955:110-11). This is confirmed, moreover, by the information received in Batavia on May 22 and August 31, 1626, that the King of Makasar had returned from an expedition to Buton, Solor, Sumbawa, Ende (i.e. Flores), Bima, etc. (*Dagh-Register* 1624-1629:256, 278).

The second expedition is, incorrectly and incompletely, dated in the months of June and Dzu'l-ka'dah of the years 1618 and 1028, in which its mention is preceded by that of the capture of Jakarta by the VOC on 30 May and 2 Dzu'l-ka'dah. Since Jakarta, as is well-known and as has been pointed out by Ligtvoet (1880:87), was taken by Coen on 30 May 1619, that is, 15 Jumād II 1028, the date of the second expedition to Bima may also have been 1619/1028, the more so since the next year mentioned in the Diary is 1620/1030 (Ligtvoet 1880:7) and the preceding year (omitted in the printed version) also is 1618/1028.

As is pointed out by Ligtvoet (1880:7), no date except for the month of April is mentioned with the Diary entry about the first expedition, although it is separated from the preceding entry by a line indicating that

they refer to two different years. This preceding entry is dated incompletely, though, as far as it goes, correctly, in November 1616, Shawwāl 1025. The date of the first expedition then presumably was not earlier than the next year, i.e. 1617/1026, since the two Diary entries under 1615/1024 (which through an editorial oversight have been omitted in the translation of the Diary, p. 87, though they are to be found in the Makasarese text, p. 7) bear dates which are complete and internally tallying for those years. It may also have been one year later, in April 1618, however, because the next date recorded in the Diary is not earlier than October 1618; it is sufficiently complete and correct, namely Monday 1 October 1618, 11 (for 16) Shawwāl 1027 (for 1028). Since this latter possibility is, as will be shown below, most in accordance with the data from other sources, April 1618 will be kept as the date of the first Makasarese expedition to Bima.

The expeditions according to Speelman

Speelman also gives dates for the expeditions mentioned by him, and although they are only approximate ones and are presented in terms of the numbers of years prior to the time he himself was writing (1669/1080), they bear comparison with the dates given in the Diary. He is especially explicit in the following passage, containing several additional details.

'So much seems certain that, as I mentioned earlier, Bima, Dompu, Tambora, and Sanggar were subjected at one and the same time, more than 50 to 51 years ago, under the generals Crain Jampa and Lomo Mandelly [for both, see below], and Sambawa not more than 45 years, or at most less than 2 years longer, before now, when King Rigaukanna [i.e. Ala'uddin] and the chancellor Riagamana [i.e. Karaeng Matoaya], the father of Pattinngalloang, coming from Buton with their entire force, crossed over to Sambawa and advanced on foot along the coast of the island to Sambawa. But these people, not disposed to submit, made a stand against them and were forcibly overpowered by the Makasarese, on which occasion many people of Sambawa were killed. After that the country likewise was laid under tribute and the victors returned home' (Speelman f. 869r).

Speelman's second expedition – when the Makasarese came to Sambawa from Buton – is evidently the same as the third one recorded in the Diary, and dated 1626/1035 there. His approximate chronology agrees with this date, if one assumes that the years mentioned by his informants were Muslim years and if one fixes on his figure 45 for the number of years and deducts it from 1080 H. His date for the first expedition agrees even more obviously with the date given in the Diary for the second one (1619/1028), which indeed was 50 European and 52 Muslim years prior to Speelman's time of writing.

Despite this exact agreement between the date of Speelman's first and the Diary's second expedition, there is some correspondence as well between both Speelman's and the Diary's first as regards the name of one of the two generals mentioned by Speelman, namely the Loqmoq of Mandalleq, who is also mentioned in the Diary as commander of the first expedition (1618). The other commander mentioned by Speelman is unknown from other sources, but must also have been of lower rank, and not a Karaeng as he is stated to be in Speelman's text. Since the second part of his title is not known as part of any Karaeng title, and its initial J- can be explained as a sound arising between *e* and *a*, the title may be reconstructed as Kare Ampaq, whose component Kare was formerly used as a title by Makasarese of lower nobility.

Perhaps Speelman, or his informants, confused or conflated the two expeditions of 1618 and 1619, or else one or both of the generals mentioned by him as leading it was/were also second-in-command in the second expedition.

However that may be, since Speelman states that the first great-governor was Karaeng Maroanging, it is most likely that this high Makasarese functionary was the leader of the expedition of 1619 as mentioned in the Diary. This prince, Mamminawang Daeng-Manngawing by name, held one of the two functions of *tumailalang* of Goa, the highest offices in that state after those of the king and the chancellor (Wolhoff & Abdurrahim 1960:62; Ligtvoet 1880:88). According to the Diary he died on 17 March, 1623, 14 Jumād I, 1032 (Ligtvoet 1880:87). He was succeeded as *tumailalang* and as great-governor of Bima by Manngaq Karaeng-Suli (d. 1652), grandson of one of his brothers (Wolhoff & Abdurrahim 1960:64).

A second discrepancy between the information supplied by the Diary and by Speelman concerns the question of which of the kingdoms were subdued on which of the two or three Makasarese expeditions, as will be clear from the following table.

	<i>Diary</i>	<i>Speelman</i>
1618	Bima	—
1619	Bima, Sumbawa	Bima, Dompu, Sanggar, Tambora
1626	Bima, Sanggar, Dompu, Tambora	Papekat, Sumbawa

Kingdoms in the island of Sumbawa subdued by the Makasarese according to the Makasarese Court Diary and Speelman's 'Notitie'.

Here the date of Karaeng Maroanging's death is important. If Speelman is right in stating that this Karaeng was the first great-governor – and there is no reason to doubt this – then this office must have been instituted consequently upon the expedition of 1619, if not earlier, while Karaeng Maroanging cannot have enjoyed its fruits as late as 1626, since

he died in 1623. Therefore, if the tribute and services of Papekat were first granted to Karaeng Maroanging, as is stated by Speelman, this kingdom cannot have been subdued in 1626 (as is also stated by Speelman), but must have been included among the conquests of 1619. In that case the same must apply (in accordance with Speelman's information, but partially contrary to the Diary's) to Sanggar and Tambora, which, because of their location on the north coast, must have been reached earlier by the Makasarese army than Papekat. This again brings us to the conclusion that not only these but most likely all of the kingdoms of the eastern part of the island were definitively defeated in 1619, and that only the conquest of the kingdom of Sumbawa was the major object of the expedition of 1626. If one accepts the statement of the Chronicle of Goa and Talloq that the latter was defeated twice, it may be that it was already defeated, though not definitively, in 1619, too.

As for Bima, the number of its defeats, in 1618, 1619, and 1626, as recorded in the Diary certainly agrees with the information in the Chronicle that Bima was defeated three times during the reign of Karaeng Matoaya. But there was also a fourth time, which is recorded in both Makasarese and Dutch sources. The Makasarese Diary states for November 13, 1632, that 'It is reported that the people of Bima have revolted'; for November 25, 1632, that 'Karaeng Buraqne is going to Bima to fight the rebels'; and for June 21, 1633, that 'The people of Bima come themselves. The king speaks: they agree.'

The Dutch diary of Batavia explains what actually happened. A Dutch ship which had sailed from Batavia for Bima on January 24, 1633, to buy rice and other commodities there, returned with its mission unaccomplished on May 23 (*Dagh-Register* 1631-1634:140, 174), because in Bima it had found 'the rice, houses and villages burnt and the whole country ravaged by a Makasarese fleet of about 400 ships and several thousand men, sent expressly by the King of Makasar to reinstate his brother-in-law, the King of Bima, who had been expelled and taken to the adjacent isle of Gunung Api by his subjects, who had rebelled against him' (partially quoted in French translation in Chambert-Loir 1985a:153). It is clear that this King of Bima must have been Sultan Abdu'l-Kahir, who, as was noted earlier, was married to the sister of the King of Goa's wife.¹¹ The King of Bima had already returned to his country, since he gave the Dutch a friendly reception, though, from fear of the Makasarese, without accepting the letter of the Governor-General which they had brought, or allowing them to buy anything. But his subjects had fled to the mountains and refused to return until after the departure of the Makasarese. In June, according to the Makasarese Diary, some Bimanese envoys came to Makasar, apparently to surrender to the King of Goa, and agreed to what he ordered them.

Speelman recounts another aspect of the affair and emphasizes the

essentially anti-Makasarese nature of the rebellion. According to his information, many Bimanese who disapproved of the way in which their king was ruling after allying himself with Makasarese women, had fled to the adjoining kingdom of Dompu, which, feeling slighted by the arrogance of Bima, had taken up arms against it and, assisted by the Bimanese exiles, was gaining the upper hand, when Bima received support from Makasar under the great-governor of Sumbawa, Karaeng Suli, who clinched the matter (Speelman f. 845r). Since Speelman dates these events 'about 35 years ago', i.e. about 1634, they must relate to the same affair.

The conflicts between Dompu and Bima must have been going on already for some years, seeing that a ship which arrived in Batavia from Bima on August 8, 1631, had reported that 'the kings of that island were quarrelling among themselves and making war upon one another' (*Dagh-Register* 1631-1634:33).

There is no reason to suppose that the affair of 1632-33 represented a struggle for the succession to the throne of Bima, as is assumed by Chambert-Loir (1985a:152). It was an internal as well as external rebellion against the (by necessity!) pro-Makasarese Sultan of Bima, who was the most prominent king on the island – a rebellion which was ruthlessly suppressed by the Makasarese troops. This action may well have been what is mentioned in the Chronicle as the third defeat of Bima, rather than that of 1626, for which there is no confirmation elsewhere as an attack on Bima.

If this was in fact the case, the Islamization of Bima must have preceded not only the expedition of 1632, since according to Dutch information the King of Bima was already the King of Goa's brother-in-law at that time, but also that of 1626. The crucial years seem to have been those following the expedition of 1619. There are also some scattered Dutch reports from 1618 and 1619 which may at this point be collated and reproduced in narrative form.

Dutch relations with Bima in 1618-1619

The VOC was a trading-company which tried to acquire its merchandise with its own ships wherever it could. As a result it needed at the same time to be assured of a continuous supply of food from local sources for a comparatively large number of personnel. Bima was one of the regions where such a supply could be obtained.

The VOC managers were quite well informed about the possibilities offered by Bima. They knew that Portuguese ships went to its north coast in December or January every year to take in dyewood (*Coen* II:45, 64). They also knew that it was a rice-exporting region, and had shown special interest in this aspect. In June 1618 the King of Bima was reported to have asked the inhabitants of the island of Solor, his allies, why the Dutch ships had not returned to Bima to buy rice (*Coen* I:345).

Soon afterwards the VOC came to have good reason for remembering this friendly invitation, namely when on August 8, 1618, its factory in Japara, its gateway to the rice granaries of Java, was raided and destroyed by the Javanese (De Graaf 1958:58-72). One of the first steps taken to redress this setback was the attempt to secure alternative rice supplies in other areas, outside Java, in place of the one which threatened to be cut off for a long time. For this particular purpose ships were sent to Patani, Cambodia, Bima, Coromandel (*Coen* II:455, 466, 469, in a letter of October 24, 1618) and Japan (*Coen* II:536, April 4, 1619).

Bima played a prominent part in this scheme. On August 31, 1618, it was resolved in Jakarta to send two ships, the *Arent* ('eagle') and the *Groene Leeuw* ('green lion'), to Solor and Timor in order to establish a garrison of 25 men in Solor for the sake of helping the Solorese against the Portuguese and the Makasarese, but also in order

'to have a better means of obtaining rice in Bima with their help, because they are friends of that king and that king is also an enemy of the Makasarese' (*Coen* III:453).

The plan decided on was to send several ships in succession to Solor and to have the first ones drop a merchant and a few other men in Bima on their way, with instructions to collect rice which might then be purchased and picked up by the next ships. The proposal was adopted, in spite of unfavourable rumours about the intentions of the Makasarese, viz.

'It is said that the King of Makasar has sent an armada to Bima in order to subdue those regions, and that before long they will visit the Solorese violently' (*Coen* II:429, September 12, 1618).

The first ships sent, the *Arent* and the *Groene Leeuw*, departed for Solor early in September 1618 under the command of Crijn van Raemborch (*Coen* III:453, 455; II: 429; I: 390, 393). They took chief merchant Gerard Velinx to be dropped off at Bima together with a few others in order to collect rice, animals, and other provisions which might be used to supply the VOC people in the Moluccas with (*Coen* II:429; I:451). They were in Solor in early February 1619 (*Coen* III:490), but had probably arrived there much earlier (*Coen* II:500).

The ships subsequently sent to Bima to pick up these supplies, for which they were to pay mainly in cloth, were the *Nassau*, which left Jakarta in mid-December 1618 (*Coen* III:473; I:419, 451), and the *Bergerboot*, which departed about one month later (*Coen* III:384; II:543; I:443, 445).

The *Nassau*, which arrived in Ambon on February 16, 1619 (*Coen* II:512; I:451), was the first to bring negative reports. It had been unable to carry out its instructions, because,

'coming to Bima, they found Gerard Velinx, dropped there by the *Arent*; but because the town had been devastated by the Makasarese and the inhabitants had fled to the mountains, it was

impossible to obtain rice; pigs, buffaloes and horses had also been taken to the mountains' (Coen I:451).

Their only achievement had been the capture of a Portuguese frigate which they had encountered in the bay of Sape, on the east coast of Bima, and taken to Ambon (Coen I:451; II:512).

The *Bergerboot* arrived in Ambon on March 22, 1619 (Coen II:534), and had only managed to bring a number of pigs from Bima (Coen I:451).

Worse news about the situation in Bima was received not long after that (if not from the *Bergerboot* itself). As Crijn van Raemborch wrote from Solor to Jakarta on April 25, 1619, the men he had left behind at Bima had been murdered and all their goods stolen (Coen II:634), and, though it long remained uncertain what had happened exactly (Coen II:664, a letter of February 28, 1620), it did become known that the murder had been committed by Portuguese, to be more precise, by the crew of the Portuguese frigate which had been captured by the *Nassau* in the bay of Sape (Coen I:475). The Governor-General, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, ordered a thorough investigation.

It turned out later that not all the men had been killed. The most prominent one, chief merchant Gerard Velinx, had been taken prisoner by the Portuguese and carried off. About a year later he was exchanged for 55 Portuguese who had been captured when the Dutch seized their ship, and was sent from Ambon to Jakarta (Coen VII:597, a letter of May 19, 1620, from Ambon).

The undoubtedly detailed report which Velinx (his name is also spelt Gerrit Phelinx) must have submitted to his superiors in Jakarta seems no longer to exist. But, by chance, an account of most probably this very same incident and its aftermath has been preserved in Bima in a local written tradition.

The story, told in locally coloured Malay (recently published in translation by L. Massir Q. Abdullah, 1981/1982:21-22; see Chambert-Loir 1984:229-230, and 1985a:152; and contained also in a slightly different version in KITLV Or. 506:193-194), runs briefly as follows: Some Dutchmen who had entered the river of Belo (in the northern part of Bima) had heard that there was a Portuguese ship in the harbour of Sape. They went there and captured the ship. Some of the Portuguese managed to escape and flee in a boat to Sanggar. There they were found by another Portuguese ship. When they heard that there were other Dutchmen in Belo, they went there and killed some of them. Meanwhile, the King of Bima heard of the killings. He went to the aid of the Dutch and had some of the Portuguese seized and some killed. The remaining Portuguese then fled and sailed away. After some time another Dutch ship arrived. The men were worried about the death of their compatriots and were suspicious of the King. But when they heard the full story, the whole matter was cleared up and the Dutch and Bimanese concluded a

solemn agreement of eternal friendship and mutual help, which is referred to as the Sumpa Ncake treaty, concluded with the Dutch in the village of Cenggu (Abdullah 1981/82:22).¹²

This Bimanese story itself is undated, except for a statement in it to the effect that the events related took place in the time prior to the adoption of Islam. The name of the king who concluded the treaty with the Dutch is given as Rato (or, Rumata) Manuru Sarei in the published account, and as Rumata Salisi in the unpublished second version (KITLV Or. 506:194), while Abdullah also mentions Raja Salisi and Raja Sarise as names of this king in other sources. He comments that no king of the first name is known from anywhere else, and that the second name is also found for Mantau Asi Peka, who played a role in the process of the adoption of Islam, and who was a brother of Sarise. He mentions 1605 and 1611 as possible dates, the first because a fleet under Steven van der Haghen, being the first Dutch ships to visit Bima, came there in that year. No trace of this particular Bima treaty has been preserved in the VOC records, however. Therefore the assumption that the Portuguese ship which, according to the Bimanese story, was conquered by Dutchmen in the harbour of Sape was the frigate seized by the men of the *Nassau* in December 1618, or shortly afterwards, is based entirely on the striking similarity in details between the Bimanese story and the Dutch reports.

If this identification is correct, the implication for the subject under discussion is that Islam had not yet been accepted by the Bimanese king and his people at that time.

This is also inferable from the Dutch reports quoted above. The rumours received prior to September 1618 about a recent Makasarese attack on Bima clearly relate to the first Makasarese expedition, of April 1618. The second report, relating to the situation encountered in Bima by the *Nassau* in December 1618 or January 1619, and to the effect that the town of Bima had been laid in ruins by the Makasarese and that the people had fled to the mountains, taking all their food and animals, shows that the effects of this first expedition had been disastrous but not yet decisive. It is clear that the Makasarese conquest of the area, let alone the conversion to Islam by it, had not yet been completed at that time.

The reports of Fathers Manuel Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira

It so happens that at about this same time two Jesuit fathers, Manuel Azevedo and Manuel Ferreira, were in Makasar and that the latter visited Bima. In their reports the subject of how Islam came to Bima is also specifically mentioned. The general picture is the same as that emerging from the foregoing. Father Azevedo summarized the events concerned in a casual remark some years later. In a letter written in 1635 he said:

'... at present the King of Makasar is again putting pressure upon Bali by sending embassies demanding that it accept Islam, as he did with Bima in recent years, when I was in Makasar, when he subdued it and forced it to become Muslim' (ARSI, Goa 18 f. 145r).

This important piece of information was already published by Wessels (1923:438) and quoted by Visser (1934:238) and De Graaf (1941:359). But these authors incorrectly date Azevedo's stay at Makasar in 1615¹³, while, as will be seen presently, he was there from the beginning of 1617 till mid-1618.

The two Jesuit fathers set out from Malaka on December 2nd, 1616, to go to Makasar, where they arrived on January 4, 1617. They served the local Portuguese Christians (120 men) and were given a friendly reception by the king. But he made it plain to them that there would be no question of his ever becoming a Christian or of any of his subjects ever being allowed to do so. As they saw no prospect of being able to propagate their faith in Makasar, they decided to go to Bima towards that end.

Ferreira first went to Solor, but failed to reach Bima from there and, having collected some information about that country, went back to Malaka instead.¹⁴ On returning to Makasar five months after he had left it, he found Azevedo too ill to leave, and went to Bima alone, as both felt there was great urgency in the completion of their mission.

'The reasons which induced the Fathers, while one of them was seriously ill, to let the other depart for Bima, were firstly the fact that they knew that the King of Bima was being pressed by very flattering but also threatening embassies, which intended to win him over to Mohamedanism, and among which one of his own vassals – who had already adopted the law of Mohamed – had asked the King of Makasar's help in order to annihilate the one of Bima. It seemed desirable for the Father to go at once to prevent that poor king from losing his soul only because of a delay, as had happened to the King of Makasar, who, when he was a heathen and had asked for the Fathers, had replied when these were (not) sent to him: "You are too late, I already have a religion!" And also because the Lord Bishop of Malaka had sent both letters and presents for the King of Bima.' (Add. 9853 f. 550v.)

Ferreira's second departure from Makasar took place approximately in January 1618, since shortly after that captain Agostinho Lobato arrived there from India with letters for the King of Makasar from the Portuguese Viceroy. When his embassy failed, Lobato continued his voyage and reached Ternate, in the Moluccas, in March 1618 (*Documenta Malucensia II*:369).

In Makasar, Father Azevedo met with increasing hostility from the Muslims, so that finally, when his health suddenly deteriorated danger-

ously, he was taken aboard the last Portuguese ship to leave Makasar for Malaka, i.e. in July or August 1618, at the end of the east monsoon. After some time he recovered from his illness in Malaka.

Ferreira, meanwhile, had reached Solor, where it took him more than one and a half months to find a ship that could take him to Bima. So he arrived there probably in March 1618.

'After arriving in Bima, the father there encountered two envoys from a Mohammedan high priest of Java and of the entire southern continent, who is styled Gairi, and a third one from Makasar. Their intention was to recommend the impious sect of Mohammed to this king and to instruct him in it if he should agree to this of his own accord. But if he resisted, they were to threaten him and declare war upon him in order to compel him to yield . . . On meeting the king, the father showed his credentials, and with Pedro de Azevedo as his interpreter declared that he was acting as envoy not only of those distinguished persons whose letters of recommendation he had brought, but also, and more especially, of the King of Heaven, Who had commanded him to explain His divine law to him . . . The avaricious king paid little attention to all this and kept his eyes continually fixed upon the presents. When he had taken receipt of these, he postponed his reply till the next day and in the meantime convened his council of state. After having heard it, he replied that he wanted to accept neither the Christian nor the Mohammedan law, if neither could render him immune against death, and that he preferred in that case to die in his blindness.' (ARSI, Goa 56 f. 374r.)

A second and third attempt to secure the king's permission for implanting the Christian faith in his country had no success, either.¹⁵ Seeing the determination of the king and his advisors, the father decided to leave Bima. Since there was no possibility of his returning to Makasar as his instructions ordered him to, he boarded a Portuguese ship bound for Malaka, where he arrived some three months later after a strenuous journey.

At the time of Father Ferreira's visit, the King of Bima evidently had not yet adopted Islam and was not inclined to do so, either, though strong pressure was already being put upon him to give in. Obviously the three Muslim envoys whom Ferreira encountered in Bima formed a special embassy which, in accordance with the tenets of Islamic law, had been sent to the king to demand that he embrace Islam voluntarily and to inform him that otherwise he could expect to be compelled by military force to do so.

It is interesting to note in this brief but important report that two great Islamic powers were co-operating in this undertaking. The first and most important was the Panembahan (a title literally meaning 'the venerated one') of Giri (his title Gairi or Gaveri in the Latin and Portuguese letters

obviously standing for Guiri, i.e., Giri, with initial 'gh' instead of 'j'), whose spiritual authority in religious and political matters was acknowledged by high and low, kings and commoners, in Java and far beyond, and who was known to Europeans as the Mohammedan pope and the priest-king of Giri. He based his authority on his descent from Sunan Giri, one of the nine legendary Javanese apostles of Islam in the early sixteenth century. His residence in Giri (a Sanskrit loanword meaning 'mountain'), near Gresik, in eastern Java, combined features of pre-Islamic mountain sanctuaries as places of residence for holy sages with elements of Islamic religious schools and centres of study. Several Sunan and Panembahan succeeded one another in Giri. In the period under discussion the sixth, known as Panembahan Agung ('the great'), had succeeded Panembahan Kawis-Gura in 1616 (De Graaf 1958:207). The religious authority of these Spiritual Lords, which is known to have extended to Lombok, East Borneo, Ambon and Ternate (De Graaf and Pigeaud 1974:151-153) and is now confirmed as having also reached Bima, exceeded by far their political and military power. Giri is unlikely to have been capable of launching military expeditions at this time, if ever. For this, close co-operation between Giri and Makasar was required, with each side supplementing the other in what it was lacking. The acknowledged military power of newly Islamized Makasar, which lacked Giri's old-established spiritual authority, could, as recent events had demonstrated and future developments were to confirm, effectuate what Giri, with its lack of effective physical power of persuasion, could not accomplish. In this instance of co-operation between Giri and Makasar we may find the basis for the semi-legendary Javanese story, known from the *Babad Lombok*, about the Islamization of the island of Sumbawa by an expedition undertaken by Sunan Prapèn, the fourth Lord of Giri, which has recently been demonstrated by Chambert-Loir (1985a:160-161) to be spurious because of its chronological inconsistencies. From the Javanese perspective the Islamization of the island had indeed been the work of the Lord of Giri – even though admittedly it was effected by Makasarese auxiliaries. It was then naturally ascribed to the most prominent and best known of these Islamic leaders, Sunan Prapèn, as representing all of them.

The diplomatic attempt reported by Ferreira must have been unsuccessful. It follows from the fact that the Makasarese felt compelled afterwards to launch military expeditions to Bima that the King of Bima had persisted in his refusal to adopt Islam voluntarily. The envoys must have returned with their mission unaccomplished.

That the King of Makasar was not slow to react is also confirmed by one of the Jesuit reports. The Portuguese letter written by M. Barradas on November 20, 1619, which has already been quoted twice, concludes with an account of the end of the affair occasioned by the Makasarese intervention, which the writer assumes – perhaps somewhat too sub-

jectively – to have been a direct consequence of the Jesuit attempts at carrying out their mission in Bima.

'The King of Makasar, knowing that the Father was going to Bima to convert the King, sent an army against him, which invaded his territory and captured everything, while the poor king fled into the forest. The one of Makasar celebrated the news with many festivities, and immediately sent a ship full of Mohamedan priests ('cassizes'), who had to propagate the faith among them. If they should agree to accept it, they would leave them alone as friends, in the possession of their lands, but if they refused, they would have to kill them all. Thus they accepted under duress that which they did not want of their own free will.' (Add. 9853 f. 552v.)

Conclusion

The various reports concerning the Islamization of Bima and the other kingdoms in the island of Sumbawa and the events connected with this from the Makasarese, Dutch and Portuguese sides have brought to light a number of pertinent details of how this came about and what happened around this time, and have also gradually narrowed down the period in which the most decisive actions must have taken place. The available evidence shows not only that the Islamization of Bima was effectuated prior to the (fourth) Makasarese expedition, of 1632-1633, and to the (third) expedition of 1626, but also that it was begun in 1618. The Portuguese information that the Makasarese attack which brought Islam to Bima took place subsequent to Father Ferreira's visit to Bima in March 1618 and prior to Father Azevedo's departure from Makasar in mid-1618 makes clear that this must have been the first Makasarese expedition and that, following the incomplete date in the Court Diary, it must have been carried out in April 1618, immediately after Ferreira's departure from Bima. The VOC report about this, received in September 1618, and the VOC contacts with Bima in late 1618 and early 1619 reveal that it had had disastrous, if not decisive, consequences. A second expedition proved necessary to bring about lasting results, namely the one carried out under Karaeng Maroanging in 1619. The establishment of Islamic states or sultanates in the eastern part of the island must have taken place in the next few years, and in the western part, specifically called Sumbawa, in or shortly after 1626.

Although the available information from the Bimanese side is incomplete and confused (Chambert-Loir 1985a:156-157), it includes two pieces of data which may appropriately be accepted, as they fit in well with the conclusions reached so far. They concern, firstly, the date on which the man who was to be the first Sultan of Bima, Abdu'l-Kahir, pronounced the Islamic profession of faith. According to one of the stories in the Bimanese written tradition this was 15 Rabi I 1030, or 7 February 1621¹⁶ (Abdullah 1981/82:18; Chambert-Loir 1985a:152),

i.e., not long after the decisive Makasarese expedition of 1619. The second is the information that this first sultan was not the same person as the king who had repeatedly refused to be converted, but his nephew (Abdullah 1981/2:13). The uncle, here referred to as Mantau Asi Peka or King Salisi, according to this tradition continually attacked and pursued the future sultan, and never became a Muslim, but was finally defeated and sent fleeing by troops of the King of Makasar, who had been called to his aid by the future sultan and his supporters (cf. the vassal who had already become Muslim in the Portuguese report mentioned above). After this struggle he was succeeded by his nephew, Mantau Bata Wadu, though probably not as late as 1640, as this Bimanese story has it (Abdullah 1981/2:11, 13, 15, 18-20). This discontinuity within the ruling house, occasioned by the highly controversial religious issue, serves to explain the striking contrast between the stubborn persistence of the old king in refusing to accept any new religion, and the easy complaisance of the first sultan in his relations with the Makasarese and their king. The Bimanese tradition, if scrutinized at length, may well yield other such elucidating data.

NOTES

- 1 For information about Indo-Javanese remains in Bima cf. Rouffaer 1910 and Van Naerssen 1938. The recent discovery of a second inscription on stone – which seems to be in Sanskrit – at Wadu Paa, not far from the first one at Watu Tinti, is mentioned by Chambert-Loir (1985b:91).
- 2 According to the Bimanese dynastic myth, the first King of Bima and founder of the dynasty was a son of Sang Bima, who after conquering Java went east and sent his sons to the island of Bima. This myth is known in post-Islamic versions only, however (Chambert-Loir 1985b:77-82).
- 3 KITLV Or. 545 no. 220e. This copy, in current Makasarese characters, was probably made at the Matthes Stichting at Makasar in the thirties. Its source is not mentioned. Apart from a few minor differences, this version contains an additional piece of information (see note 7), lacks the two last sentences of the London version, and is followed by a much longer genealogical passage about some kings of Bima.
- 4 This Karaeng Suli occurs in Bimanese written tradition as the Makasarese envoy Karisuli (Abdullah 1981/2:12-13).
- 5 Kasuarrang (meaning 'bustling activity' in Makasarese) occurs as the name of a village in the regency of Sanrabone which lies near Takalar, to the south of Ujung Pandang (Goedhart 1929:332), and of another one in the regency of Segeri, to the north of Ujung Pandang (Goedhart 1933:184). It is evident from what follows in Passage B that the one near Sanrabone is meant here.
- 6 The posthumous name of this King of Bima is usually given as Mabata Wadu or Ma Bata Wadu (Abdullah 1981/2:13; Chambert-Loir 1985a:151) in Bimanese tradition. Its translation as mentioned ('Le roi à la tombe de pierre', Chambert-Loir 1985a:151) is based on Bimanese information (Chambert-Loir, personal communication), although Jonker explained the word *bata* as meaning 'wall', in which sense it was used in Makasarese (Jonker 1894:118; Cense 1979:85). The possibility is not excluded that the version contained in the Makasarese text of Passage B represents an older tradition. Mantau ('to possess' in Bimanese) recurs as first part of the posthumous names of other Sultans of Bima, and also occurs in the version Mantau Bata Wadu of this name (Abdullah 1981/2:23).

- 7 See note 3. In this version, the passage following the order given by the King of Goa begins with the sentence: 'Iami namakkalabini mo; areнна nikana Daeng Sikontu', 'That is why they were married; her name was Daeng Sikontu'. This is followed by the statement about her being the daughter of the Karaeng of Kasuarrang, and this again by the information about their son.
- 8 The Arabic name of this first Sultan of Bima is sometimes given as Abdu'l-Kahhar (Syamsuddin 1982:294; Ligtvoet 1880:102), but it appears rightly to have been Abdu'l-Kahir, as it is spelled in Leiden Cod. Or. 6727:26v and in the inscription on the grave of his grandson, Sultan Nuruddin, although both are proper Muslim names, since Al-qâhir and Al-qahhâr (both meaning 'the conqueror' in Arabic) both occur as attributes of Allah in the Qoran.
- 9 The marriage of Sultan Abdu'l-Kahir in Makasar is also mentioned in Bimanese written tradition (in the first part of the undated document D. in Abdullah 1981/2:13-14), though here his wife is the King of Makasar's daughter, is selected by himself, and is given him by the King of Makasar in spite of the strong opposition of the Makasarese nobles, among whom Karaeng Popo and a Karaeng Tapi (?) are mentioned.
- 10 This name is not Abdu'l-Khair (Abdullah 1981/2:7; Chambert-Loir 1985b:133, 165, 167) but Abu'l, or – better still, with the genitive suffix – Abi'l-Khair, as it is written in Leiden Cod. Or. 6727:26v and in the inscription on the grave of his son, Sultan Nuruddin.
- 11 This rebellion is also mentioned in Bimanese written tradition, in the second part of the undated document D. in Abdullah 1981/2:15-16, according to which the Sultan had to flee to the island of Sangiang, or Gunung Api, and was restored to his throne with the help of his father-in-law, the King of Makasar, who sent an envoy with many ships.
- 12 The Bimanese tradition also has it that the treaty was confirmed with an oath (*sumpa*) taken at a place called Ncake, in the mountains to the south-west of Bima Bay, where there was a big spherical stone said to be a memorial to the event (Holz 1862:158). When Rouffaer visited the place in 1910, this stone was no longer extant (KITLV H 637c:338).
- 13 This mention of the year 1615 was probably based, as Father Jacobs points out (personal communication), on the annual Jesuit Catalogue, in which only appointments were recorded, while the date of the appointee's arrival at his destination was not taken into account.
- 14 These data for the year 1617 are derived from the annual Latin-language letter from the Malabar province of the Society of Jesus, dated Cochin, December 15, 1618, and signed by P. Manuel da Costa (ARSI, Goa 55 ff. 353r-367v; relevant passage ff. 362v-364v). The sources used for the subsequent events are two further letters from Cochin, both written by P. Manuel Barradas, one the annual Latin letter, dated December 1, 1619 (ARSI, Goa 56 ff. 369r-378v; relevant passages ff. 373r-374v), the other a Portuguese one, dated November 20, 1619, preserved in the British Library (Add. 9853 ff. 543-559; relevant passage ff. 549-552). The text of the relevant parts of both letters will be published by H. Jacobs together with English summaries of their contents in his forthcoming volume of documents concerning Makasar. Although both letters in general cover the same topics, each of them, but especially the Portuguese one, contains details lacking in the other, so that both will be referred to and quoted in English translation alternately here. I am greatly indebted to Father Jacobs for making this material available and for his advice and attention, as well as to Dr. B.N. Teensma for his Dutch translation of the Portuguese letter.
- 15 The Portuguese letter by Barradas adds here: 'But the principal reason for this resolute decision was the recollection of what a galleon from the fleet of André Furtado de Mendocça had done there on his voyage to the Moluccas, which, after having been provided with victuals, had for reasons unknown to us destroyed and razed everything with gunfire, and, disembarking, they had killed everyone they found, and burnt and ruined everything' (Add. 9853 f. 551v).

This incident took place in 1601, when, as was reported shortly afterwards (*Docu-*

menta Malucensia II:564), 'Antonio de Souza, sent to Bima by Furtado de Mendoça, went ashore and chased away that wretched rabble, which had come riding on small horses with assegaïs as lances, and burned their city'. Despite the bad reputation this incident had manifestly won the Portuguese, their commercial relations with Bima had not been broken off, however.

- 16 Clearly this date must be the same as the one which is stated elsewhere in the Bimanese tradition for the advent of Islam as 15 Rabi I 1050, or 5 July 1640 (Syamsuddin 1982:297), and, in view of the historical evidence, the latter must be a scribal error for the former, i.e. 15 Rabi I 1030. Other dates in the Bimanese written tradition which are equally wide off the mark may also have to be explained as clerical errors, e.g. 1015 H. (= 1606 A.D.) for Sultan Abdul Kahir's marriage in Makasar, and 1018 H. (= 1609) for the arrival of the Moslem preachers Dato' ri Bandang and Dato' ri Tiro in Bima (Syamsuddin 1982:294). The available information concerning these and other preachers has been collated recently by Chambert-Loir (1985a). They may have played a role of some sort, but next to nothing is known definitely about them. It must be borne in mind, moreover, that at least the latter's name is posthumous, incorporating the name of the place where he was buried, so that any tradition containing this name must postdate his death.

ABBREVIATIONS USED

ARA	Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague
ARSI	Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde</i>
KIT	Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, Amsterdam
KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Leiden
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>
VBG	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen</i>

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Documenta Malucensia II — see Jacobs.
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