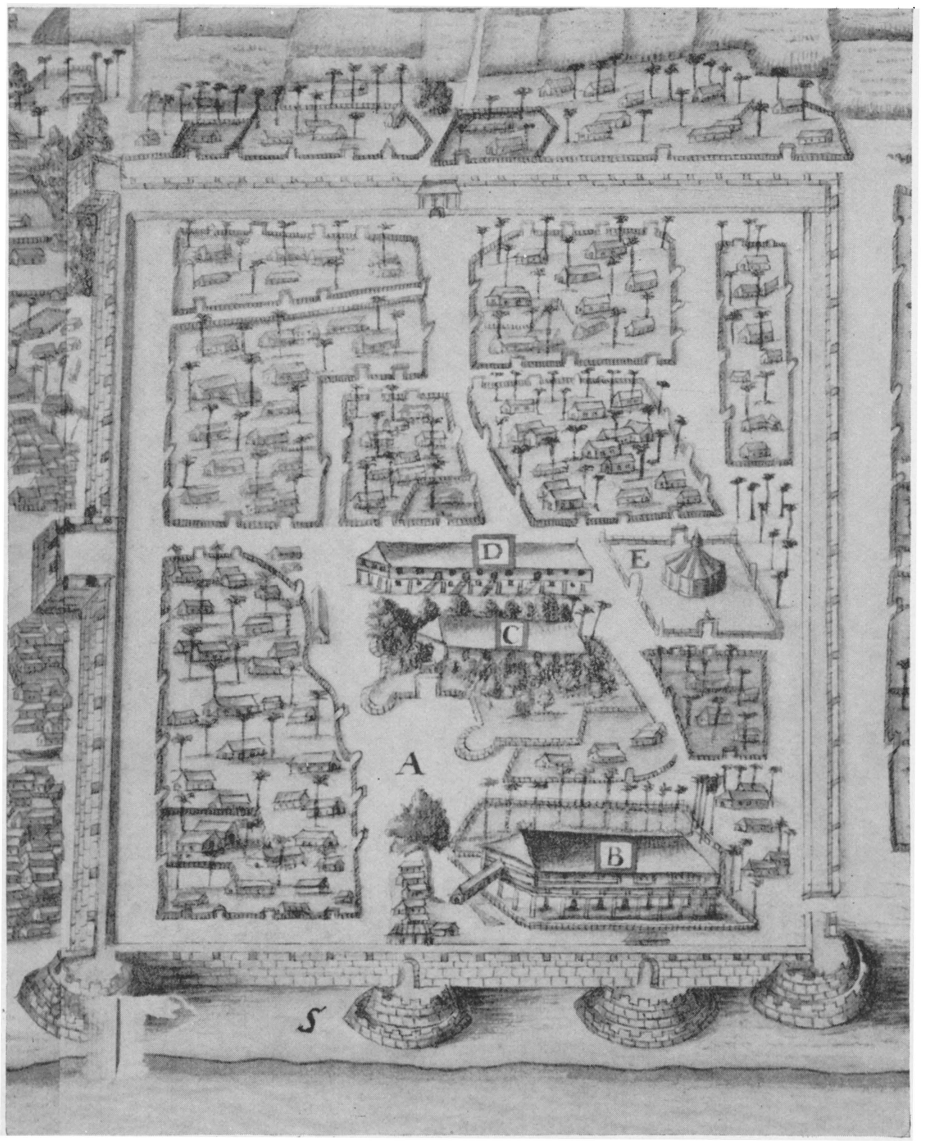
SJA'IR PERANG MENGKASAR



SOMBAOPU FORT, MACASSAR (c. 1638).

VERHANDELINGEN

VAN HET KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT VOOR
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DEEL 40

SJA'IR PERANG MENGKASAR

(The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War)

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FOREWORD

The present work is based upon a thesis written for the Ph. D. examination of the University of London.

As is usually the case in such circumstances, the work 'stands on the shoulders' of many people, some living and some dead. Among the living, I have benefitted most from the help and encouragement, most freely given, of the following scholars (listed in purely alphabetical order):

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C. S.

Kuala Lumpur, 1961.

INTRODUCTION

THE SJA'IR

In the text-books, the 17th century in Indonesian history is often referred to as the 'Dutch' century and treated in terms of the activities of the largest and best-organized of the European trading companies in the archipelago, the Dutch East India Company.[1] This 'European-centric' approach [2] (derived in part from a scarcity of easily available non-European sources) has inevitably tended to create an exaggerated impression of the part played by the VOC,[3] and conversely, to obscure the part played by the great Indonesian Sultanates of Mataram, Bantam and Macassar, among whom the VOC was not so much *facile princeps,* as *primus inter pares.*

The VOC had, of course, made itself a power to be reckoned with in the east of the archipelago as early as the first decade of the century, when it had established itself in the islands whose spices provided the Company's shareholders with such satisfying compensation for the hazards of speculation, and succeeding decades saw a small factory at Djakatra turn into the Batavia headquarters of a commercial 'empire' stretching the length of the archipelago. This empire was, to a considerable degree, based on a monopoly of the spice trade and was thus, sooner or later, bound to come into conflict with Macassar, a state which, like Holland, was just entering its golden age.

Situated almost exactly half-way between Batavia and the Moluccas,[4]

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1 Cf. the chapter headings used by Hall — 'The Intrusion of the English and Dutch', 'The Expansion of the V.O.C.' (Hall: SEA, chapters 14 and 15), and Harrison, 'Dutch and English Beginnings', 'European Company Trade in the Seventeenth Century' (Harrison: SEA, chapters IX and X).

2 For criticism of this 'European-centric' approach, see van Leur: GNI, p. 593—595. Van Leur's conclusion was that ".... regarding the seventeenth century.... the history of Indonesia definitely cannot be made equivalent to the history of the Company" (van Leur: AEC, p. 546; English translation p. 270. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of foreign language citations are my own).

3 See Abbreviations Used.

4 See the table quoted in Glamann: DAT, p. 26.

Macassar,[5] well-known as a victualling station for the ships of all nations, had just begun to flex its muscles in the struggle to replace Ternaté as the dominant power in the east of the archipelago.[6] Perhaps stimulated by its conversion to Islam very early on in the century,[7] Macassar soon embarked upon a successful policy of aggrandisement, the expenses of which were borne partly by its conquests and partly by the profits from the rich trade in spices of which Macassar was rapidly becoming the largest entrepôt. Any form of independent trading in spices was, of course, a direct threat to the VOC's policy of monopoly and, given the temper of the two parties concerned — the VOC had men like Coen, who can politely be described as 'ruthless', while the Macassarese had the reputation of being the 'Haentjens van het Oosten' (Cocks (of the walk) of the East)[8] — it required no gift of prophecy to forecast that sooner or later both sides would resort to war. The first of these wars came about in 1616.

The VOC had set up a factory at Macassar as early as 1609 and was by no means pleased when, some four years later, the Sultan of Goa, anxious to play off the one European Company against the other, had given an even warmer welcome to its great rival, the English East India

5 It might be as well here to clear up one or two points in connection with the name 'Macassar'. At the time of the sja'ir, Macassar was the name given by foreigners (and not by the Macassarese themselves) to the area between the Garassi' river and Sambung Djawa. In this area, the Sultan of Goa, the senior ruler of the twin-sultanates of Goa and Tallo', had his palace-cum-castle, at Sombaopu. The area, being easily the biggest and most important location in the state (far bigger than either the villages of Goa and Tallo') was considered (by foreigners) as the capital of the state, which was also termed 'Macassar'. As the senior ruler of this state, the Sultan of Goa, residing in his castle in the area, was often taken by foreigners to be t h e (sole) ruler of the state, and termed the 'Sultan of Macassar' or 'King of Macassar'. After the campaigns described in the sja'ir, the VOC took possession of the Udjung Pandang area, where they established Fort Rotterdam, which has become the nucleus of the modern town of Macassar. (Speelman: NOT, p. 24—25; Stapel: HBV, p. 2—3. See also notes to v. 13b, v. 31c).

6 This and the next four pages contain a historical resumé of the events leading up to Speelman's expedition against Macassar in 1666. It is based largely upon data drawn from Stapel: HBV, p. 1—91, and, to avoid a multiplicity of foot-notes, references made in it will be confined to works other than Stapel: HBV.

7 Stapel's date of 1603 for the 'official' conversion of Macassar is amended to 1605 in Noorduyn's authoritative discussion of the subject (Noorduyn: ISL, p. 247—266).

8 Cf. van Dam: BOC, p. 223: "....moreover this Macassar was also much renowned by reason of the great prowess in war of this race, as a result of which it had made itself universally respected".

Company.[9] The VOC soon became alarmed at the inroads the Macassarese were making upon the spice trade and asked the Sultan to refrain from trading with the Spice Islands. By way of answer, the Sultan is reported to have made the magnificent reply: "God created the land and the sea: the land he divided out amongst men, but the sea he gave to all. No one has ever tried to forbid men the sea. If you do so, you will be taking the bread out of our mouths — and I am not a rich King." [10] One might perhaps have expected the Dutch to appreciate sentiments strikingly similar to those enunciated by their own eminent jurist only a few years earlier:[11] instead — and the parallel with 1945 is by no means a distant one — they declared war. The war dragged on fairly uneventfully until 1637, when van Diemen, on his way back from pacifying South Ceram, had 'shown the flag' in some strength at Macassar and thereby persuaded the Sultan to sign a treaty by which Macassar agreed to recognise the VOC's interests in the Spice Islands.

However, the spice trade provided the Macassarese — not only private traders there, but also, via customs duties, the Macassarese oligarchy [12] — with such a source of profit that it was not long before Macassar was once again functioning as the biggest independent spice market in the archipelago, and growing rich and powerful on the proceeds. So powerful indeed that it was able to give both moral and material assistance to the rebels against the VOC in South Ceram and Ambon. In 1653, de Vlaming van Oudshoorn called at Macassar on his way to Ambon and tried to obtain from the Sultan assurances that he would respect the provisions of the 1637 treaty, but all that the Sultan would vouchsafe by way of answer was a letter for the Governor-General in which he asserted that Macassar too had rights in Ceram and Ambon. Governor-General Maetsuycker and his Council took the letter as a casus belli and declared war on Macassar on 21st October 1653. The following year saw Macassar blockaded, and in 1655 another

9 Hall: SEA, p. 240—241.

10 This memorable remark — and *se non è vero è ben trovato* — is quoted by Stapel from Colenbrander (Coen, p. 122).

11 Hugo de Groot (Grotius) in *Mare Liberum* (1609).

12 Writing in May, 1665, the English East India Company's Factors in Macassar complain bitterly of the inroads made upon their profits by 'Kings Customes' (JAV, Vol. 5, Section 72a, fol 34. See also note to v. 378a). Some idea of the extent of the taxes, imposts, douceurs, presents etc., required of foreign traders in Indonesian port kingdoms can be obtained from documents such as the Port Regulations given in the *Adat Atjèh* (Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, p. 111—176 in the Jawi text).

treaty was drawn up, but the satisfaction derived from it by the VOC may be gauged from the fact that in 1656 the Governor-General and Council could write "... dat wij ons niet en mogen rusten of verlaten op de praesente tellequelle Macassarse vrede...".[13] Exasperated by successive breaches of the treaty, Maetsuycker finally sent the Sultan an ultimatum, only to receive a whole series of counter-demands, including the demand that the VOC should raze the fortifications they had set up on Menado. The VOC at once prepared for war and in 1660 an expedition of 31 ships and 2600 men was put under the command of Johan van Dam and sent to Macassar (where the advance-guard had the satisfaction of defeating a fleet of 6 Portuguese ships found in the Macassar roads). When the main body of the expedition arrived, the fleet sailed off towards the north, drawing away the bulk of the Macassar army, while van Dam and the troops landed to the south of Macassar, capturing the fort of Panakkukang. The Sultan was forced to ask for an armistice and eventually to sign a treaty, the main points of which were that Macassar was to leave Buton, Menado and the Spice Islands well alone, the Portuguese were to be expelled from Macassar (where the VOC was to have 'continuous residency'), while Macassar was to pay the costs of the war. Only if all these conditions were complied with was the captured fort of Panakkukang to be returned.

In the event, Panakkukang was not handed back, but destroyed, on the grounds that the conditions of the treaty had not been complied with. The Sultan was obviously reluctant to enforce the clause about the expulsion of the Portuguese. At the time, Portuguese influence on Macassar was still quite strong — most of the Macassar court, including the Sultan's favourite, Karaéng Karunrung,[14] spoke Portuguese — and, in fact, after the fall of Malacca in 1641, Macassar had become the centre of Portuguese trade in the archipelago. Although some of the smaller Portuguese traders left, the bigger fish (such as Francisco Viera) stayed on, and it was not until the VOC played its trump card — the Macassarese hostages taken to Batavia after the 1660 campaign — that the stipulation was enforced and the Portuguese compelled to leave.

This 'diplomatic' success was hardly likely to improve VOC-Macassar relations, which grew steadily worse. In 1662, the VOC ship, De Walvis,

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13 "... so that we cannot relax our efforts or rely upon the present indifferent Macassar peace....". Quoted by Stapel from DAG, November 10th, 1656, p. 8.

14 See note to v. 391b.

was wrecked off the coast of Macassar and her guns stolen. At the same time however the VOC was giving shelter to Bugis such as Arung Palakka [15] who were rebelling against their Macassar overlords. At the end of 1663, Jacob Cau was sent to Macassar for discussions, but although Cau found Hasanuddin,[16] the Sultan of Goa, in a conciliatory mood, the Sultan was nevertheless naturally annoyed at the assistance being given by the VOC to his rebellious subjects. The Sultan further complained that the Sultan of Ternaté [17] (the VOC's puppet) had signed over to the Radja of Buton (Ternaté's nominal vassal), the island of Muna (Pantsiano) to which Macassar laid claim.

In the circumstances, the discussions in fact achieved precisely nothing, and at the end of the year occurred the incident that was to provide the casus belli of the 1666—1667 war when the VOC yacht De Leeuwin ran aground on one of the islands off Macassar. The Dutch representative in Macassar, Verprest, was refused access to the wreck, and shortly afterwards it was reported that a great deal of freshly-minted Dutch currency was circulating in Macassar. Verprest then (without asking the Sultan's permission) sent his 'onderkoopman' in a sloop to inspect the wreck, but the sloop was attacked and the crew killed. Governor-General Maetsuycker decided to make one more attempt at negotiation and on November 20th 1665, Jo(h)an van Wesenhagen was sent to discuss matters with the Sultan. The mission was as unsuccessful as its predecessors and van Wesenhagen returned to Batavia to report that the Macassarese were preparing to send an expedition against Ternaté. The Governor-General and Council decided that the time had at last come to take firm action, and on November 24th 1666 some 21 ships and 600 Dutch troops (together with Bugis and Ambonese auxiliaries) set sail from Batavia. Johan van Dam, who was to have been in charge of the expedition, refused at the last moment, and the command was entrusted to a former Governor of the Coromandel Coast called Cornelis Janszoon Speelman.[18]

It was this expedition whose ships were sighted off the coast of Macassar on December 19th 1666 and it was its commander, Speelman, who, more than any other man, was to be responsible for breaking Macassar as an effective political force. The breaking process was to last, with a brief interval, for almost three years, and it is the bitter and

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15 See note to v. 30d.
16 See note to v. 13b.
17 See note to v. 138c.
18 See note to v. 29c.

bloody fighting that took place in those three years, as seen from the Macassar side, that forms the substance of the sja'ir presented here.

With such a theme, our sja'ir can scarcely avoid possessing a certain historical value, a value that is neither enhanced nor decreased by the fact that the medium in which the work is composed is poetry and not prose. It is true that adherence to a particularly complicated metrical structure may result in obliquity of thought or presentation,[19] but then, really complicated metres are not those most commonly chosen as the vehicle for narrative verse of any length, and 'complicated' is hardly the right word to describe the metre in which virtually all Malay narrative verse is written — the sja'ir metre.[20] Indeed it might well be said that the only difficulty presented by the sja'ir-metre is its extreme simplicity,[21] which demands a certain degree of ingenuity on the part of the writer if he is to avoid boring his audience.[22]

The idea then that a Malay poem, merely because it w a s a poem, would be any less factual, any less historical, than something written in prose, is not likely to have had much meaning for Malay society prior to the present century. Rather in the way the Greeks of Pericles' time regarded Homer not only as a poet, but also as a reliable historian of the Greek past,[23] so the Malays would not discriminate between prose and poetry on the grounds of the latter being less 'historical' than the former. If any distinction at all was made, it was probably between

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19 Cf. Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, where David Balfour, surprised to find his name not mentioned in Alan Breck's poem celebrating their joint victory in the siege of the Round House, muses ".... but poets (as a very wise man once told me) have to think upon their rhymes". However, the difficulty of a metre depends on the poet's technical skill: it is hard to imagine an Ovid finding it difficult to write on any topic in any metre.

20 Very briefly, the sja'ir metre can be summed up as follows: four 'full' words (as 'minimum free forms', i.e. including bound morphemes, cf. Bloch and Trager: OLA, p. 54) per line, four lines to a stanza (with no enjambement) and with an end-rhyme A A A A. (Cf. Hooykaas: LMI, p. 71; Teeuw: TEV, p. 9—10).

21 Particularly with regard to the identical end-rhyme. In practice however, the Malay sja'ir-writer is in a position to make light of a requirement that would cause considerable difficulty in a language in which the phonemic structure of the morphemes was less restricted than it is in Malay (see Teeuw: TEV, p. 11—12; Eringa: TEV, p. 283—284).

22 Bearing in mind too that the 'coefficient of boredom' of a Malay audience is, even now, by no means identical with that of a European audience. The latter often places a premium upon originality (even at the expense of intelligibility); the former, upon familiarity (even at the expense of redundancy). Cf. Teeuw: ROM, p. 118.

23 Cf. Bowra: HER (especially Chapter XIV).

w r i t t e n literature and o r a l literature, the tendency being to exalt the value of whatever was written at the expense of whatever was merely spoken, without reference to a text.

However, to grant that the Malay 'historical' sja'irs are neither more nor less historical than the prose *sedjarahs, salasilahs* etc., is not, of course, to suggest that their reliability is at all comparable with the works of modern specialist historians. Von Grunebaum has written that the weakness of (medieval) Arabic historiography lies in "... its concentration on personalities and on military incidents and court cabals",[24] and his remarks apply as much, if not more, to Malay historiography. So much so, that it is misleading to use the word 'historians' of writers who so consistently 'lack the critical sense',[25] and it would perhaps be better to use the term by which the medieval historians of Europe are referred to and call them 'chroniclers'. For, like their European counterparts, the aim of the Malay chroniclers was not only to give an account of what had happened, but to give it in such a way as to delight the hearts and rejoice the imagination of their prospective patrons and audiences. On the reliability of the medieval chroniclers of Europe, Runciman writes "Every medieval historian, whatever his race, invariably indulges in wild and picturesque exaggeration whenever he has to estimate numbers that cannot easily be counted",[26] reminding one irresistably of the 'wild and picturesque exaggeration' used by the author of the *Sedjarah Melaju* in his description of the passage of the army of Radja Suran on its way to attack China.[27] Writing for a society less sceptical than our own both Malay and medieval European chroniclers were naturally reluctant, as devout believers, to ascribe any finite term to the marvels that God, in his infinite wisdom, had seen fit to bring about. Less than a hundred years ago we find Radja 'Ali al-Ḥādjdj (who has some claim to be regarded as the first Malay historian, in the modern sense of the word) [28] discussing the likelihood of the Bugis princes being descended from the Queen of Sheba in a passage in which his historical scepticism seems to be fighting a losing battle with his pious credulity.[29] Writing against a historiographic background of this

24 Von Grunebaum: MIS, p. 282.
25 Hooykaas: OML, p. 90.
26 Runciman: HCR, p. 336.
27 Winstedt: SEJ, p. 51.
28 In his *Tuḥfat al-nafis* (a title that has usually been translated as 'The Precious Gift'), Radja 'Ali sharply criticizes other Malay historical works for their unreliability ('Ali · TNF, p. 83—84).
29 'Ali: TNF, p. 14.

nature, it is not surprising if our author reveals serious shortcomings as a historian, in the modern sense of the word.

The most heinous of these shortcomings is his almost complete neglect of the economic factors underlying the war. As the Sultan of Goa's secretary, he should certainly have been aware that the reason the VOC had already fought three wars with Macassar (and were prepared, if necessary, to fight a fourth) was to stop Macassar playing an independent role in the spice trade and selling to the VOC's European rivals.[30] He s h o u l d certainly have known that one of the most important clauses of the 1660 Treaty was the expulsion of the Portuguese from Macassar.[31] As the copier (and perhaps even the drafter) of the 1667 Bungaja Treaty,[32] he m u s t have known that the most important clauses of the Treaty were those relating to the expulsion of the English East India Company and Macassar's unconditional acceptance of the VOC monopoly of the archipelago's trade.[33] And yet the only clauses of the Treaty mentioned in the sja'ir are those relating to the amount of compensation to be paid,[34] and the cession of the fort at Udjung Pandang.[35]

Again, he may or may not have known that the average price of cloves (per 'pond') in the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC (which, in the ten years before 1660, had remained fairly stable at around *f* 3.00) had, by 1665, shot up to over *f* 6.00,[36] but — if only as a member of the 'Malay' community of Macassar [37] — he must have realised quite well the implications of the rise. And yet the only mention of spices in

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30 Cf. Bassett (reviewing Glamann: DTA) "The crucial factor.... in both conquests (i.e. Bantam and Macassar: CS) would surely be the expulsion of rival European traders from both Sultanates" (Bassett: DAT, p. 96).

31 See Heeres: CDN, p. 173—176.

32 See below, p. 19.

33 Heeres: CDN, p. 372—374.

34 v. 417—418.

35 v. 419—420.

36 It is an interesting coincidence — if it is a coincidence — that the price of cloves reached its zenith (*f* 6.38 'per pond') the very year of Speelman's expedition to Macassar (see the table of average prices given in Glamann DAT, p. 280).

37 Speelman: NOT, p. 710—714 gives details of the Malays in Macassar at the beginning of 1670. It is obvious that the recent war had caused a considerable diminution in the strength of this community (not one of the Malay leaders mentioned in our sja'ir occurs in Speelman's list, but even so, it is possible to obtain some idea of the importance and influence of the Macassar 'Maleijers' in their hey-day). It should be noted that Speelman is quite precise about defining 'Maleijers' — other Muslim Asians are categorised as 'Mooren' (ibid., p. 708—710).

the sja'ir is of *lada tumbuk* (pounded chillis) being used to flavour a sambal![38]

Similarly, we shall look in vain for any appreciation by the author of the tactical or strategical features of the campaign such as Macassar's 'internal lines' position or the attempts to get Bantam to intervene in the war and thus divert the attention of the VOC on its western flank.[39] Thus, the rather daring 'indirect approach' strategy involved in sending Arung Palakka and Captain Poleman to stir up revolt in Macassar's hinterland [40] is passed over in silence by our author who is concerned with one thing, and with one thing only: the way the Macassarese (in particular the Macassarese Malays) conducted themselves in the fighting.

With the war thus viewed exclusively through Macassarese eyes, the author makes no claim to be objective in his approach to his subject, writing as a member of a society for whom objectivity would have been only too easily interpreted as moral cowardice. Secure in the knowledge that his beliefs (and prejudices) are shared to the full by every member of his audience, the author sees no point in approaching his subject-matter dispassionately and as a result his personal feelings often overflow into his narrative of events. When, for example, he reviews the behaviour of the VOC after the signing of the Bungaja Treaty (*melihat fi'il Nasrani djembalang*),[41] the emotions of the author (and all right-thinking members of his society) are promptly expressed:

hatiku panas bukan kepalang,[42]

and, when the enemy — the party of the Wrong — try to make out that they weren't really frightened, one can almost hear the indignation in the author's voice as he bursts out:

Pembohongnja sangat kafir Nasrani
mengatakan dirinja sangat berani.[43]

38 v. 143d.

39 At the beginning of November 1667, a Macassarese mission arrived in Bantam, where it was favourably received by the Sultan. The VOC Resident at Bantam reported that the mission had requested ".... gunpowder together with assistance as regards men; or that the Sultan (of Bantam: CS) should make war on the VOC, so that no help might be sent to (the VOC forces in) Macassar, because in that case they (the Macassarese: CS) would be strong enough to drive the Dutch from their land". (DAG, 11 November 1667, p. 385).

40 The campaign is dismissed in two verses (v. 208—209).

41 v. 431c, 'when I saw the way the Christians behaved, like satyrs'.

42 v. 431d, 'it made my blood boil'.

43 v. 395, 'What a liar the Christian infidel was, saying he was very brave'.

And as one might expect, when his fellow-Malays charge into the attack, he cannot restrain his exultation but bursts out:

Melajupun sabas orang berani
menempuh ketumbukan Buton Nasrani.[44]

The war thus tends to be seen in terms of a black and white contrast between Right ('our side') and Wrong (the enemy), which accounts for the note of anathema that often creeps into his description of the VOC and its allies. Such terms as *Welanda sjaitan,*[45] *si la'nat Allah,*[46] *Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil,*[47] *Welanda iblis,*[48] *Kapitan murtad,*[49] *Welanda kuffar,*[50] *Welanda kafir jang bain,*[51] which are the rule rather than the exception, obviously imply a definite religious antagonism. It is, however,

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44 v. 351, 'Good for you, Malays! Brave fighters all, (they) attacked the division of the Butonese and Christians'. An equally subjective approach (but with targets naturally reversed) is to be found in the William McGonagall-like effusions of the Rotterdam baker, Gerard van Spaan. In the latter's *D'Opkomst der Oost-indische Compagnie; met de voornaamste Land- en Zee gevegten* (The Rise of the VOC; together with the foremost battles on Land and Sea) first published in 1698 and popular enough to go into a second edition in 1711, the audience are introduced to the Macassarese in the following lines:

"Mesjeurs, hier volgt nu wat van 't wrevelig Makassar
Op 't eiland Celebes; in gants Oostinje was 'er
Geen schelmser volk als dit, vilein, meineedig, boos,
Moordadig, wrevelig, fieltachtig, trouweloos...."

(Gentlemen, there follows now something of the malevolent (state of) Macassar
in the island of Celebes; in the entire East Indies there was
no more villainous race than this, rascally, perjured, malign,
murderous, malignant, savage, perfidious....)

after which, by way of summing up, van Spaan concludes:

"....Kort om, het waren fielen
van Lucifer geteeld, en d'allersnoodste zielen".
(....In short, they were scoundrels
spawned by Lucifer, the most desperate ruffians....)
(du Perron: MJC, p. 120).

45 v. 43c, 'devilish Hollanders'.
46 v. 55d, 'accursed of God'.
47 v. 79a, 'cursed, infidel greedy Admiral'.
48 v. 86a, 'fiendish Dutch'.
49 v. 87b, 'the renegade commander'.
50 v. 90c, 'the Dutch infidels'.
51 v. 93c, 'the Dutch, outright infidels'.

important to interpret such epithets in the spirit of the author's age and not in that of our own. Taking for example the line quoted above

Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil,[52]

we have (leaving aside the word *Amiral*) three words of a descriptive nature — *kutuk, kafir* and *bachil* — which might reasonably be translated as 'cursed', 'infidel' and 'greedy' respectively. To-day, the word 'cursed' has lost most of the terrifying menace that caused our own ancestors — contemporaries of the author of *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* — to execute, by due process of law, those suspected of cursing their fellow men and women,[53] while the word 'greedy' has become a not particularly strong expression of disapproval (often tinged with envy) — a far cry from the Avarice, that, as one of the Deadly Sins, could blight a man's very real hopes of attaining heaven. On the other hand, the word 'infidel', that perhaps jars most on us to-day (brought up to regard all mention of religion as being in rather bad taste) was probably used as a straightforward descriptive term (with little suggestion of ill-feeling) to 'place' a man in the social structure of the day.[54] Hence, while the Muslim allies of the VOC are held up to derision (*Bugis jang dusta,*[55] *Ternaté hantu*),[56] the infidel allies of the Macassarese, the English Factors, are described in the not entirely unfavourable terms:

sungguhpun ia kafir jang bengis
hatinja betul tidak waswis.[57]

Summing up, it might be said that the 'dogmatic' nature of the author's insulting epithets is typical of individuals holding (whether from conviction or mere conformity) 'totalitarian' views on Good and Evil, and in passing we may note the interesting parallels between the author's

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52 v. 79a, 'the cursed, infidel greedy Admiral'.

53 The last execution for witchcraft in England was in 1684, in Scotland, in 1722 (Boswell: HEB, p. 46, footnote 1).

54 Cf. Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, Vol. 1, p. 170: "The common parlance of the people serves to illustrate the attitude of the Achehnese towards the Gōmpeuni (i.e. the NEI Government, at the end of the 19th century; CS). In talking to one another they only occasionally employ the name *Ulanda* (Hollander) the commoner appellation being *kaphé* (Ach. pronunciation of *kafir*), which they use without the least ill-will".

55 v. 33a, 'the perjured Bugis'.

56 v. 521d, 'fiendish Ternatéans'.

57 v. 262, 'although overbearing infidels, they were honest men, unwavering in their determination'.

Welanda andjing,[58] *Ternaté hantu,*[59] *si Buton haiwan* [60] etc., and the 'imperialist running-dogs', 'capitalist ghouls', 'fascist swine' etc., used by our contemporary totalitarian societies to express conventional disapproval of views contrary to established dogma.

Accepting then the author's insults for the convention they are, and making allowance for his necessarily subjective approach,[61] the picture of the fighting that emerges from his narrative is remarkably close of that given by European historians, easily the most authoritative of whom is the late Dr. F. W. Stapel.[62] 'Remarkable', because Stapel (who has been criticised by Dutch historians for having too 'Batavia-centric' an approach to the history of Indonesia) [63] based his account almost entirely upon VOC sources.[64] One would therefore expect to find a considerable difference between Stapel's version and that presented in our sja'ir, whose author (as the quotations above show) must be regarded as a decidedly anti-VOC source. The fact that the two versions, if not identical, are recognisably the same, speaks volumes for the accuracy and impartiality of Stapel; it also shows that the sja'ir's author is not entirely lacking in these same qualities.

As to his accuracy, it is interesting (in the light of complaints such as Runciman's quoted above) to see how he fares 'whenever he has to estimate numbers that cannot easily be counted'. A good example is provided in v. 37a where he tells us that the number of troops taking part in Speelman's expedition was:

Tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu jang muda-muda . . . [65]

In Speelman's own 'Instructions' (given to him one day before the

58 v. 435d, 'the Dutch dogs'.

59 v. 521d, 'fiendish Ternatéans'.

60 v. 223d, 'the brutish Butonese'.

61 As, for example, is made by Snouck Hurgronje when assessing the work of the Achehnese poet, Dōkarim, whose work ".... is of course not free from abuse of the Dutch; mockery and insult of every kind are heaped upon them, while the heroic deeds of the Achehnese are extolled beyond measure. What is most striking is the fairly objective tone pervading the poem...." (Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, Vol. 1, p. 189).

62 Stapel: HBV, CJS.

63 In general terms by van Leur: GNI, p. 589—595 (see also his AEC, particularly p. 546—547) and Coolhaas: COL, p. 154. With specific reference to the period of our sja'ir, van Leur: IGE, p. 657, criticizes Stapel's 'flood-lighting' of Speelman's exploits as being the result of undue neglect of the Indonesian back-ground against which these exploits were performed.

64 A glance at the foot-notes in Stapel: HBV, will reveal the extent of Stapel's reliance upon Speelman's correspondence (and his *Notitie*) and the *Daghregister*.

65 'There were seven hundred and sixty young soldiers'.

expedition sailed) the VOC force is given as '... 500 duytse en 300 inlandse soldaeten ...',[66] i.e. a total of 800 soldiers. In the circumstances, the discrepancy between the two figures is strikingly small. Again, the number of ships taking part in Speelman's expedition is given by the author as:

Delapan belas kapal jang besar.[67]

Leaving aside the qualification implied in *jang besar,* the author's figure of 18 compares not unreasonably with the 21 deduced by Stapel [68] (and stated by the Macassar Court Diary) [69] and the 19 ships listed both in Speelman's 'Commission' and in his 'Instructions'.[70]

In his description of the fighting the author is not above using conventional expressions and in v. 365, for example, he tells us:

Kepala laki-laki seperti anak ketai
dikerat oléh jang berbadju rantai
tidaklah terbilang Buton Ternaté
habislah ber(gu)lingan sepandjang pantai[71]

but expressions such as *seperti anak ketai* and *tidaklah terbilang* contain the conscious metaphorical exaggeration present in an English phrase such as 'the place was an indescribable shambles', used to describe an untidy room, for when, in the verse following, he comes down to brass tacks and tells us just how many heads were thus lopped off, the figure given:

Tiga puluh tiga kepala Welanda
dikerat pahlawan jang muda-muda ...[72]

is certainly not one that smacks of 'wild exaggeration'.[73]

His 'accuracy' and 'impartiality' should, however, always be read against contemporary standards of historiography for, like Homer (but unlike Stapel) he can occasionally be caught nodding. The arrival of

66 '.... 500 Dutch and 300 native soldiers' (Stapel: HBV, p. 195).
67 v. 38a, 'There were eighteen large vessels'.
68 Stapel: HBV, p. 97 (and foot-note).
69 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 125.
70 Stapel: HBV, p. 193 and p. 195 respectively.
71 'The heads of the slain were like so many marbles, lopped off by the mail-clad warriors. There was no counting the heads of the Butonese and Ternatéans rolling about along the shore'.
72 v. 366, 'There were thirty-three Dutch heads cut off by our young warriors....'
73 v. 522a, Where the author tells us the war lasted five years, is in fact not the exaggeration it seems, for the war began in A. H. 1077 and was concluded in A. H. 1081, i.e. was spread over five Islamic years.

the VOC before Macassar in December 1666, the abortive negotiations that followed, the VOC expedition to Buton and the defeat of the Macassarese army there in January 1667, the subsequent visit by the VOC fleet to the Moluccas, the suppression of the Bugis rising in February 1667 [74] — all this is described in substantially accurate detail. But after the return of the VOC fleet from the Moluccas (in July 1667), inaccuracies begin to creep in. The reason, as the author apologetically explains is:

Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta
fakir nin lagi diluar kota
gharib mendengar chabar berita
saja perbuatkan suatu tjerita.[75]

i.e. that from that point on he had to rely on second-hand evidence [76] and hence, as he explains in v. 205—206, his account might well be improved upon. Certainly from this point on, his chronology of events is often difficult and sometimes impossible to reconcile with that authoritatively given by Stapel.[77] And the whole of Speelman's second campaign (April 1668 to June 1669) is dealt with rather perfunctorily,[78] almost as though he had begun to lose interest in the poem.

Occasionally his account impresses us as being more ingenious than convincing. His description of the Treaty of Bungaja and the cession to the VOC of the strong point at Udjung Pandang, viz:

Sukalah hati kafir jang dusta
tertawa-tawa ia berkata
di Udjung Pandang suatu kota
berilah pindjam kepada kita.
Itupun diberi oléh Keraéng
sebab katanja dipindjam sambing . . . .[79]

is one that finds no echo in any contemporary source. But such 'face-

74 See Synopsis.

75 v. 204, 'When the lying infidels arrived at Macassar, I was still outside the fort. I heard the accounts of what went on and upon these I have based my narrative'.

76 Apparently provided by the *orang Minangkabau* mentioned in v. 229b.

77 See e.g. note to v. 436a.

78 The account of the fighting from December 1666 to November 1667 takes up almost 400 verses (v. 29—423); Speelman's second campaign, lasting some fourteen months, is given less than a hundred verses (v. 436—520).

79 v. 419—420, 'Thy lying infidel was well pleased and, smiling, he said: "What about the fort at Udjung Pandang to be leased to us?" This request too was granted by our prince because, they said, it was only to be leased . . . .'

saving' is rare; the author makes little attempt to gloss over the (fairly numerous) Macassarese reverses. When the Dutch storm Bantaéng, he reports:

Tiadalah fakir berbanjak kata
gharib ta' mau berbuat dusta
karena téwas perangnja kita
dapatlah bénténg dimata-mata.[80]

and the conduct of the Macassarese defenders on this occasion is told in equally blunt words:

Antara selang berapa hari
habislah orang di Bantaéng lari
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
tjerai-berai membawa diri.[81]

Again, when the Dutch effect a successful landing at Batu-Batu, he relates:

Lamanja tidak berapa hari
bénténg Welanda sudah terdiri
luputlah akal bitjara dan budi
Mengkasar tidak mengeluari lagi.[82]

and goes on to record one Macassarese defeat after another.[83] In doing so he makes no attempt to cover up the fact that the Macassarese suffered heavy losses:

Perang tidak lagi berhenti
Mengkasar dan Tuwadjo' banjaklah mati [84]

and that the Macassarese were forced to surrender the field to the enemy, retreating, sometimes more or less 'according to plan'

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80 v. 214, 'I won't prolong the story unnecessarily
and I'm not going to tell you lies.
The defeat of our troops
resulted in the outright storming of our stockade'.

81 v. 215, 'Within a few days
the garrison at Bantaéng had fled;
they sought refuge where they could.
They were in utter confusion, each man thinking only of his own safety'.

82 v. 327, 'A few days later
the Dutch stockade was completed.
It was no longer possible to devise a way to circumvent them
and the Macassarese were unable to launch an attack upon them'.

83 Cf. v. 491—493.

84 v. 489, 'Once the battle was joined it was impossible to stop.
Many Macassarese and Wadjo' men were killed'.

diapun undur membawa diri
dihambat Meluku Bugis pentjuri [85]

but sometimes in downright flight:

Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji
Mengkasar dihambat Bugis pentjuri
perangnja sampai setengah hari
lari ke Goa membawa diri.[86]

It is true that his account usually depicts the Macassarese as fighting with courage and determination of a high order, but that this was no more than the simple truth is borne out in virtually every one of the dispatches of the enemy commander-in-chief, who, in one of his reports to the Governor-General and Council, describes the fighting as so terrible 'als crygers van hoogen ouderdom misschien in Europa selve niet dickwils gehoort hebben'.[87]

His often contemptuous references to the bravery of the VOC's allies, should, for the most part, be taken as conventional disparagement of his enemies, but on occasions the insults become so pointed as to force us to investigate their background. Thus, in describing the fighting at Batu-Batu, he is particularly contemptuous of the cowardice displayed by the Butonese, remarking:

.... gentar putjat muka si Buton
kepadæ air masin iapun terdjun.[88]

and, a little later:

Tiadalah habis hamba katakan
patahlah perang Welanda sjaitan
seorangpun tidak lagi bertahan
gentarlah dagu si Buton haiwan.[89]

85 v. 489, 'At last they gave way and retreated,
pursued by the Moluccans and the thievish Bugis'.

86 v. 513,'The fighting was ruthless
as the Macassarese were driven back by the thievish Bugis.
They fought until midday
(after which) they fled to Goa, trying to save themselves'.

87 '....that warriors of advanced age, perhaps even in Europe, have rarely heard (of its like)'. Stapel: CJS, p. 56.

88 v. 303, '....the Butonese were shaking with fear, their faces blanched, as they dived into the salt sea'.

89 v. 305, 'I have not yet finished my story;
the Dutch troops broke and ran
not a man standing his ground.
The Butonese were shaking with fear'.

from which it would appear that, while the allied army was soundly defeated, the Butonese played a particularly ignoble part in the fighting. It is therefore of some interest that Speelman's own account of the action is extremely critical of the fighting abilities of the Ternatéans and Butonese, who, says Speelman, fought 'als eerlose bloode schelmen'.[90]

Although convinced (as we have seen) that his enemies are fighting on the side of Evil, he can yet spare time to comment on their bravery:

Kapitan Amiral sangat berani
mendjadi penghulu kaum Nasrani
berperang tidak tertahani
dihambat Mengkasar kesana sini.[91]

their efficiency:

Datanglah kapal Kapitan Djongkor
menémbakkan meriam bagai diatur . . . [92]

and on their 'coolness under fire':

Kapitan Djepon sangatlah dingin
menémbakkan meriam dengan tjermin . . . [93]

and he can, at the same time, comment — discreetly, of course — on the failings of the Macassar High Command:

Sultan keluar ketika ésok
diiringkan Mengkasar dengan Tuwadjo'
berdjandji dengan Radja di Telo'
mendapatkan Welanda kaum si Tunderu'.
Radja di Telo' pun tiada datang
baginda memandang adalah pusang . . . [94]

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90 'like dishonourable cowardly villains'. Stapel: HBV, p. 139.

91 v. 486, 'A daring man indeed was the Admiral,
the leader of the Christian host.
None of the Macassarese could resist his onslaught
as he drove them this way and that'.

92 v. 289, 'Captain Joncker's ship approached,
directing a most accurate fire upon the town....'.

93 v. 260, 'Captain Dupon showed himself a very cool hand,
directing the fire with his spy-glass....'.

94 v. 487—488, 'The Sultan went out the next day
escorted by the men of Macassar and Wadjo'.
He had agreed with the King of Tallo'
to make an attack on the Dutch and on Palakka's forces.
The King of Tallo' did not arrive
and the Sultan, anxiously looking out for him, felt his spirits sink....'.

Not the least interesting feature of the sja'ir is the author's treatment of Speelman's action in casting away 5000 surrendered Macassar prisoners-of-war on an island, thus condemning them to a lingering and horrible death by starvation. Stapel, the modern historian, devotes a long and rather defensive footnote to the incident (in which he shows how reluctant his hero was to act in this fashion).[95] The sja'ir's author devotes but a single verse to the incident,[96] in which he curses the Dutch and Bugis roundly (and conventionally), and then proceeds briskly on with his narrative. One might perhaps claim that one of the services performed by the sja'ir is to bring home to us the sometimes forgotten fact that Speelman and his enemies were far closer in temperament and had much more in common than Speelman and his modern biographers.

From what has been written above, it is clear that such historical value as the sja'ir possesses lies mainly in confirming, rather than refuting, the picture of events already established.[97] In view of the sja'ir's undoubted age, even this rather limited value might seem more than sufficient to justify its choice as the subject of a thesis.[98] There are however other features about the sja'ir that have some claim to our critical interest, not the least of which is the possibility offered by the sja'ir of identifying its author as a definite historical personality — the Sultan of Goa's secretary, Entji' Amin.

Who is, or was, this Entji' Amin? The sja'ir tells us that after the

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95 Stapel: HEV, p. 110 (and the foot-note, which, spread over two pages, is the longest in the book).

96 v. 126.

97 As an addition or amendment to Stapel, one might perhaps consider the additional weight given by the sja'ir to Macassar's claim that the responsibility for the recommencement of hostilities in April 1668 was the VOC's rather than Macassar's. Writing in 1936, Stapel appeared to pin the guilt firmly on to the Macassarese (Stapel: CJS, p. 49, but cf. also the contradictory evidence provided by his foot-note), but by 1939 he had become much less positive, being prepared to admit that Speelman was equally to blame for the outbreak (Stapel: GNI, p. 346). The point is perhaps a small one, a question of nuance rather than of fact, but appears to be worth making in view of perhaps somewhat oversimplified statements (apparently based upon Stapel) such as: "Four months later he (Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Goa: CS) tried once again to evade the peace terms. This time the Dutch took possession of his city...." (Hall: SEA, p. 262). See also note to v. 443d.

98 Noting that, up to the present, only one sja'ir — the 'Sja'ir Hémop' — has been edited at all satisfactorily, and that thanks to subsequent annotation and criticism by W. Kern (Rusconi: SKW; Kern: ASH), a simpler justification might be to quote the proverb: *daripada tjempedak baik nangka.*

conclusion of the Macassar Council of war held to discuss Speelman's ultimatum:

Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Entji' Amin dipanggil membuat surat
bunjinja baik tiada jang ghalat
kalam muchtasar tiada dibuat.
Entji' Amin itu orang jang bidjak
tubuhnja sedang sederhana pandak
memakai minjak dengan kelembak
baunja harum amat semerbak.
Entji' Amin itu djangan disaju
nisab Mengkasar anak Melaju
lemah lembut badannja aju
laksana taruk angsoka laju.[99]

From these verses it is clear that Entji' Amin was Hasanuddin's 'writer', who not only composed, but literally wrote, the various treaties concluded by Hasanuddin as Sultan of Goa and Ruler of Macassar. And confirmation of Entji' Amin's status is provided by the Dutch copy of the treaty that put an end to the fighting which states: „Op heden verschenen wederomme daijen Macoule, sabandaar, crain Mamoet . . . *en den schrijver Amien*".[100]

In this treaty, Entji' Amin (there can be little doubt that *Entji' Amin* and 'de(n) schrijver Amien' are one and the same person) is listed as the last and least significant of the Macassarese representatives attending the signing of the treaty, which is what one would expect in view of the relatively lowly status of a writer or secretary. It is therefore worthy of note that although the author of the sja'ir has (in vv. 44—63) described some eighteen leading figures of the Macassar court, not one of the

99 v. 67—69, 'When the council was at an end,
Entji' Amin was summoned to draw up a letter.
It was well composed and contained no mistakes;
it was concisely worded, without any flourishes.
This Entji' Amin was a clever fellow,
of rather small stature but well-built.
The eagle-wood scent that he always used
made his body give out a fragrant odour.
Entji' Amin was a man to be envied,
by birth a Malay of Macassarese descent;
graceful and attractive in his movements,
like the curling shoots of the angsoka tree'.

100 'On this day appeared once again Daéng Makullé, the sjahbandar, Karaéng Mamu .... and the scribe Amin'. Heeres: CDN, p. 417.

Karaéngs, Daéngs or Datu's thus eulogised is given as much space as that devoted to the comparatively insignificant Entji' Amin (in the three verses quoted above). This fact suggests some special interest taken by the author of the sja'ir in Entji' Amin, particularly in view of the rather 'personal' nature of the description given.

Again, the contents of the poem show that its author had a detailed knowledge of 'who was who' in the Macassar of the time, not only in court circles,[101] but also in commercial circles;[102] few people would have a better knowledge of such matters than the Sultan of Goa's secretary.

As 'a Malay of Macassarese descent',[103] Entji' Amin would be a member of the *Melaju* community that seems to have played a large part in Macassar's trade and had such a lot to lose from a Dutch victory.[104] It is therefore not surprising to find that one of the chief concerns of the author of the sja'ir is to 'highlight' the part played by the Malay community, whose exploits are recorded at much greater length than are those of the Macassar nobility. Apart from the attention devoted to Entji' Amin himself, it is interesting to compare the account of the death of the Macassarese Karaéng Patté'né' [105] (deputy commander of the Macassar expeditionary force against Buton) with that of the son of the 'Malay' [106] Djuru Datjing [107] (something like a Customs Supervisor). The Karaéng's death and burial are given just over two verses; that of the Customs Supervisor's son, just over eight.

An additional item in the chain of circumstantial evidence linking

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101 Cf. v. 44—63.

102 Cf. v. 262—263, where he gives a reasonably accurate phonetic transcription of the names of the English Factors at Macassar.

103 v. 69b.

104 Cf. van Dam: BOC, p. 251: "In former times, when Macassar was at its height, and a trading centre of considerable importance, it was in fact not the Macassarese who did most of the trading, but the resident Malays, Moors, etc., and then mostly with other countries, i.e. with Manila, Siam, Cambodia, Annam, Borneo, Timor and elsewhere, and these (Malays and Moors) had increased and multiplied to such an extent that, in the beginning of the war, the Malays alone had raised no less than 2000 musketeers, which the King (of Goa: CS) was able to put to very good use, and which afforded him very great assistance". See also the article 'Kedatangan Orang Melaju di Makassar' by Abdurrahim in Mangemba: SUL (especially p. 143—147).

105 v. 105—107.

106 That he is a Malay may be deducted not merely from his occupation but also from the fact that the author, who, after the manner of his age, is most punctilious in referring to his characters by their correct titles, nowhere refers to the Djuru Datjing by any form of Macassarese title.

107 v. 378—386.

the author of the sja'ir with the Sultan of Goa's secretary is provided by the Malay letter written by the King of Macassar to the Governor-General and the Council of the (East) Indies that was received in Batavia on March 18th, 1669.[108] This letter, of which the Dutch translation survives, contains phrases that often seem to echo certain of the sja'ir's verses. Thus the sja'ir's:

Duduklah Bugis di Udjung Pandang
sehari-hari ke Sambo(pu) berulang-ulang
segenap kampung mengambil orang
sekalian Boné kembali pulang.
Semuanja itu menaruh dendam
melihatkan laku Bugis djahanam
sabarlah ia sekalian diam
sekadar sendjatanja dipertadjam.[109]

may be compared with the letter's:

"... ende noch, soo zynse veel malen in 't fort Samboppo gekomen en hebben de slaeven van de luyden naer haer eygen believen weghgenomen; alsmede in de forten Tello en Goa hebbense insgelycks 't volck haer slaeven ontnomen; doch dit hebben Siery Sulthan[110] en 't volck stilswygende laten doorgaen en verdraegen, schoon wy al de Bougis, die voorhenen genomen, weder gegeven hadden ..." [111] Bearing in mind that the letter is a translation from a Malay original, the similarity of its phrasing with that of the sja'ir is surely more than coincidental. For the obvious person to write a letter in Malay for the 'Coningh van Macassar' would be his secretary, Entji' Amin, 'den

108 DAG, p. 273—276. The letter was written on 18th September 1668.

109 v. 427—428, 'The Bugis stayed at Udjung Pandang,
going in to Sombaopu every day,
taking men from every village;
all the men of Boné went back home.
Everyone felt aggrieved
as they saw how the damned Bugis were behaving,
but they held their peace and said nothing
taking care all the while to keep their weapons in good trim'.

110 i.e. the Sultan of Goa.

111 '.... moreover, so have they often come into the fort of Sombaopu and carried off, at their own pleasure, slaves belonging to (our) people; in the same manner they have, in the forts of Tallo' and Goa, taken away people's slaves; however, H. H. the Sultan and (his) people suffered this to take place, passing over the matter in silence, although we had already returned the Bugis captured earlier....'. DAG (1669), p. 274. The line *sabarlah ia sekalian diam* finds another echo in the phrase ".... in dit alles hebben de Macassaren geswegen...." (in all these things the people of Macassar said nothing) p. 275.

schrijver Amien', whom Dutch records show as acting as the Sultan's secretary at the signing of the treaty concluded on 29th July 1669,[112] less than a year after the letter had been written.

The *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* gives the name of the author of the sja'ir as 'Inche Ambun', [113] an attribution almost certainly based upon the statements

Entji' ā-m-b-n empunja karangan [114]

and

Entji' ā-m-b-n empunja kalam [115]

In the light of the facts given above it is suggested that in both these lines (and they occur only in S — probably the later ms.) the copyist has misread *ā-m-b-n* (Ambon) for an original *ā-m-ī-n* (Amin), the difference between the two readings being literally no more than a tittle. Such a mistake would be the easier to make in that the word *Ambon* has occurred a dozen times in the verses preceding these lines.[116] Moreover, v. 134b, where the text certainly demands *Ambon* but the copyist has nevertheless written *Amin,* supplies us with proof of his ability to confuse the one reading with the other.[117] All in all, there seems sufficient evidence to identify the author of the sja'ir as the Sultan of Goa's 'writer' or secretary, Entji' Amin.

It is obvious that, occupying such a position, our author must have been a man of considerable worldly experience. Less obvious perhaps are the indications that he was also interested in spiritual affairs, in

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112 Heeres: CDN, p. 417.

113 BMA, p. 302.

114 v. 527a, 'Entji' ā-m-b-n it is who composed the poem'.

115 v. 528a, 'Entji' ā-m-b-n has written the story'.

116 In the verses preceding v. 527, the word *Amin* occurs only three times, its latest occurrence being in v. 69. *Ambon,* on the other hand, is mentioned no less than twelve times in the verses preceding v. 527, its earliest occurence being in v. 134, and its latest occurrences in v. 495 and v. 496. For a later copyist unacquainted with the author, any doubt between *Ambon* and *Amin,* in v. 525—528, would be much more likely to be resolved in favour of the more deeply established engram *Ambon.*

117 Unlike the copyist of L, the copyist of S often seems to be at fault in transcribing proper names. Thus, for *Tunderu',* he usually writes *t-n-d-ū-r,* while *Ternaté* is more than once spelt *t-r-n-ā-n-ī* (e.g. in v. 365c) and once even as *t-r-n-n-t-ī* (v. 495b). The inference is that the copyist of S is not only a much later copyist than the copyist of L, but also that he is probably from the West of the archipelago (e.g. Sumatra) rather than from the East. It is unlikely that an 'Easterner' would make so many mistakes in copying out the well-known name of *Ternaté.* See also Spelling of the mss.

particular in the unorthodox type of Sufism associated with the names of Sjamsuddin of Pasai and Hamzah Fansuri. Indeed, certain of the phrases used in our sja'ir would appear to have been 'borrowed' from the sja'irs of the Sumatran mystical poet. One has, of course, to be on one's guard; so limited is our knowledge of Malay literature (and so wide-spread the fame of Hamzah Fansuri) that any type of religious doxology is apt to recall the latter, and phrases such as occur in v. 6:

sungguhpun dahulu njatanja (kelam)
daripada pantjarnja sekalian alam [118]

need not necessarily be inspired by Hamzah's

itulah Ahmad awwal nabīnja
nūr Allah dengan sutjinja
sekalian 'ālam pantjar daripada nūrīnja
mendjadi langit serta buminja.[119]

However, the bold, even 'heretical' statement:

Rahman itu suatu sifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi zat [120]

does (particularly in view of its implication) seem very close to Hamzah's:

Raḥmān itulah jang bernama ṣifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi Dzāt.[121]

And when the Sultan of Goa is described by our author as:

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118 'Although his brightness was formerly (obscured)
from his rays came forth the entire universe'.

119 'That is Aḥmad, foremost of the prophets,
the Light of God in all His purity,
the entire universe springs from His light
to form the sky and earth'.
Doorenbos: GHP, p. 37. For other possible reminiscences of Hamzah see notes to v. 160d and v. 205b.

120 v. 2,'Raḥmān is one of the (divine) attributes inseparable from the essence of His being'. The expression of such sentiments in the doxologies of secular sja'irs seems to be rare. Apart from the Hamzah sja'irs the present writer has met with such statements in the doxology of only one other sja'ir, the *Sja'ir Perang Siak* (I), the first verse of which reads:
Bismi'llah itu suatu s-m-ā (? asma)
suatu disebut mula pertama
zat dan sifat keduanja sama
perhimpunan udjud sekalian nama. (SPS).

121 'This *Raḥmān* is termed a (divine) attribute inseparable from the essence of His being'. Doorenbos: GHP, p. 108, cf also ibid, p. 51, p. 83.

Sjahi 'alam radja jang 'adil
radja chalifah sempurna kamil
wali Allah sempurna wasil
lagi 'arif lagi mukamil.[122]

it is difficult not to see a direct parallel with Hamzah's

sjāh 'ālam radja jang 'ādil
radja Quṭub jang sampurna kāmil
wālī Allāh sampurna wāṣil
radja 'āriſ lagi mukammil.[123]

It seems likely then that the author was acquainted with Hamzah's work. It seems certain that he was acquainted with the type of Sufism described in the verses quoted above, viz. that practised by the *ahl al-wudjūdijjah,* whose pantheistic tendencies were so fiercely contested by the author of the *Bustān al-salāṭīn.*[124] That Sufism flourished in 17th century Macassar, we know from the career of the Sufi 'saint', Sjaich Jusuf, whose tomb is still one of the most famous *keramat* locations in the archipelago.[125] If not himself a member of the Macassar royal family (as rumour had it), Sjaich Jusuf — a contemporary of our author and his master — certainly enjoyed the highest esteem in Macassar court circles on account of his religious teachings and it is then not without interest to note that, in the verse quoted above,[126] our author has described the Sultan of Goa in terms that might well be used of the local Head (*Chalifah*) of a Sufi order.[127] The evidence is, however, too slight to allow of a definite conclusion to be drawn; what concerns us here is that our author is obviously using the words

122 v. 146, 'Ruler of the universe, just king,
ruler spiritual and temporal, of complete perfection.
One of God's elect, perfect in communion (with Him),
not only wise but faultless to boot'.

123 'Ruler of the universe, just king,
Hub of the Universe, most regal, of complete perfection.
One of God's elect, perfect in communion (with Him)
king most wise and faultless to boot'.
Doorenbos: GHP, p. 70. Doorenbos spells *mukammal,* but the rhyme scheme demands *mukam(m)il* (cf. Johns: MSU, p. 38).

124 Van Nieuwenhuijze comments: "The concept of unity comes out strongest in the repeatedly postulated doctrine of the unity of ḏāt and ṣifāt (cf. al-Rānīrī....)" and quotes Sjamsuddin's *"al-ṣifātu lā ghairun mina'l-ḏāt,* meaning that the (divine) attributes are not separate from the (divine) essence". (Nieuwenhuijze: SVP, p. 84—86).

125 For Sjaich Jusuf, see Cense: VSJ, p. 50—57.

126 v. 146.

127 See note to v. 144d.

kamil, wasil, 'arif (i.e. *'arif bi'llah*) and *mukamil* (Arabic: *mukammil*) as part of the technical vocabulary of the Sufi mystic.[128]

We are beginning now to see, albeit rather hazily, something of the man behind the mask of the name Entji' Amin. He is rather short in stature, probably shorter than the average,[129] and (perhaps with the vanity [130] often displayed by small men) something of a dandy.[131] By birth 'a Malay of Macassarese descent',[132] he is rather proud of being a member of the Malay community of Macassar, and goes to some trouble to chronicle the exploits of its leading figures. For the Macassarese, part of his 'Malayness' perhaps lay in his knowledge of the *wudjūdijjah*-type Sufism, and it seems very likely that he was an active member of a Sufi order, perhaps the Qādirijjah or Chalwatijjah. He seems well-acquainted with the kitāb-literature and has probably studied (or at least read) some of the 'fashionable' writers on the subject such as Hamzah Fansuri.

His reading is by no means confined to kitāb-literature however, for he shows himself to be well acquainted with the secular literature of his time, never at a loss for some classical hero with whom to compare the contemporary protagonists of his chronicle.

Thus, Karaéng Djarannika, whom Dutch records recognise as 'een beroemt krygsman van den vyandt' [133] is described as fighting *upama Sang Bima*.[134] Karaéng Pattunga is compared, now with Gatotkatja,[135] now with 'Sang Djaja Amarta'.[136] Another Karaéng fights like the 'villain' of the Hikajat Seri Rama, Maharadja Rawana,[137] at the same time bearing himself 'like Sang Ardjuna' [138] (with whom the impetuous Daéng Maréwa is also — as 'Sang Parta' — compared).[139] Appropriately enough, Karaéng Mamu, one of the more 'dressy' members of the

128 See note to v. 146c and notes to v. 146d.
129 The use of *sederhana* to qualify *pandak* suggests that the writer is trying just a little too hard to prove that his shortness was not below the average (v. 68b).
130 The description of himself given in v. 67—69 can scarcely be described as modest.
131 One could, in fact, distinguish him by his brand of scent, which 'made his body give out a fragrant odour' (v. 68).
132 v. 69b.
133 'a renowned warrior of the foe', DAG (30th May 1669), p. 331.
134 'like Sang Bhima', v. 502a.
135 v. 348a.
136 v. 348b.
137 v. 355c.
138 v. 355a.
139 v. 356a.

Macassarese aristocracy,[140] is compared to Sang Samba,[141] the young and graceful hero of the Hikajat Sang Boma, and it is with the fighting described in this Hikajat that the clash of arms between the VOC and Macassarese forces is compared.[142]

Such references point to a fairly wide acquaintance with the Malay versions of the Indian epics which, at the time, must have made up a considerable portion of the corpus of Malay secular literature.[143] Moreover, comparisons such as:

Daéng Mabéla muda jang sabar
ia memakai gaduk dan destar
seperti patung didalam gambar
ia mengamuk dua sesambar [144]

and

Keraéng Djaranika upama wajang [145]

(and also perhaps the fact that on one occasion Ardjuna is referred to as 'Sang Parta') [146] suggest that our author was not unaccustomed to seeing the exploits of his Hindu-derived heroes performed on the 'stage' of the *wajang purwa* theatre.

His interest in the literary arts would, of course, be partly professional: he is a writer not only by inclination but also by trade. As the secretary to the Sultan of Goa, his professional skill would be employed in taking notes of conferences and copying out and drafting letters and treaties (in the performance of which he would like a good craftsman probably pay considerable attention to his calligraphy). But it is likely that his services to the Sultan would not be confined to those of a secretarial

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140 Cf. *ia memakai serba kesumba*, 'dressed all in red' (v. 354b). His courage appeared to match his dandyism, cf. v. 480—481 and v. 502—503.

141 v. 354a.

142 v. 352b.

143 It is interesting to note that no comparisons are made with any of the Muslim heroes. Islam had been established in Macassar for only just over 50 years (see above, note 7) and the Muslim stories might not be too well known. However, in v. 9 the heroic Caliph 'Ali is referred to as 'The Tiger of God' — a Malayanization (possibly via India) of the Arabic and Persian epithets for him. Possibly our author is just frightened of appearing too irreverent?

144 v. 358c, 'Daéng Mabéla, the young and steadfast
was wearing long trousers, with a destar on his head.
Looking like a character from the shadow-play
he attacked the enemy two at a time'.

145 v. 465c, 'Karaéng Djarannika, like some hero of the shadow-play'.

146 The title is perhaps commoner in the puppet-plays than in the hikajats (see e.g. Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 87; Salmoen: PDP, p. 179).

nature. We know that Speelman refused to negotiate with the Macassarese in their own language because "... de heele Regeringe Maleyts ende meeste deel ook Portugees verstinde",[147] a statement that appears to confirm that Malay was for the Macassarese aristocracy something like French was for the Russian aristocracy in the 18th and 19th centuries.[148] As the Sultan of Goa's M a l a y secretary, it is not unlikely that Entji' Amin would spend at least part of his time in such activities as reading, discussing, copying out and perhaps sometimes even lecturing on the more important Malay works of the time, not the least important of which would be those concerned with religious topics.[149]

Moreover, as a 'writer', in an age that had not yet learnt to distinguish between 'artist' and 'craftsman', Entji' Amin would certainly be expected to 'write', to write not only the Sultan's official correspondence, but also works of an original nature,[150] to edify, or merely amuse, the limited circle of people around whom Macassar revolved and upon whom an author was necessarily dependent for his fame, and even his material well-being.

As in contemporary Europe, the non-aristocratic artist (or 'writer-craftsman') was almost entirely dependent on patronage[151] and, as K.B. de Codrington once remarked, "The art of the patron is essentially an art of fashion" in which today's fashion or mode is constantly being replaced by tomorrow's, which in turn becomes 'the latest fashion'. Such circumstances tend to place a premium upon topicality, particularly in an aristocratic society, where the 'topic of the day' must inevitably

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147 '... the entire government understood Malay, and most of them Portuguese too' (Stapel: HBV, p. 179).

148 cf. the manner in which Tolstoj reproduces the speech of his milieu in *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*.

149 e.g. Sufism, which the Macassarese, like many other Indonesian races, seem to have welcomed enthusiastically, perhaps because offering a rationale, more intellectually satisfying than any hitherto, for beliefs going back many centuries. (The foreign [i.e. Arabic] terminology necessary for the formulation of the 'new' ideas would probably be taken as an additional guarantee of its intellectual superiority, in conformity with the same tendency that, some twenty years ago, saw the more 'avant-garde' English film critics writing 'rave' reviews of what were often rather dull French films.)

150 'Original', that is, in terms of the 17th century, which in general would no doubt have agreed whole-heartedly with George Moore in limiting 'plagiarism' to 'taking something from one man and making it worse".

151 In England, it was not until 1773 that the 'Great Cham' of English letters could declare: "We are done with patronage" (Boswell: HEB, p. 59). Even so, it was only a decade or so earlier that disappointment with a prospective patron (Lord Chesterfield) caused Johnson to change the couplet

feature one or more of the limited number of people who 'count' in that society. Probably the surest way for a writer to attract the attention of potential patrons is to produce works which have a topical slant, featuring a recent scandal, a marriage, or perhaps even a war. If, in such a topical work, the writer can arrange it so that his potential patrons have the satisfaction of hearing themselves mentioned and their deeds praised, they are obviously more inclined to take an active interest in furthering the career of a writer who clearly displays such great powers of discernment.

In our author's society, first and foremost amongst his potential patrons would be his master, the Sultan of Goa, and it is not surprising to find Hasanuddin playing a leading part in the poem which in fact appears to be formally dedicated to him.[152] There are numerous references to Hasanuddin throughout the poem,[153] all of which are flattering, and apart from this the author more than once halts his narrative of events in order to deliver a formal eulogy of the Sultan.[154] With a nice sense of fitness, such formal eulogies appear to be reserved exclusively for reigning royalty: the only other person allowed one is the Sultan's brother-ruler, the Sultan of Tallo'.[155] Less exalted characters are given correspondingly less exalted treatment in that, although mentioned and lauded, the author does not actually go so far as to interrupt the narrative. Even so, an impressively wide distribution of 'credits' amongst the ruling class of Macassar is achieved. No less than 26 of the Macassarese aristocracy are mentioned, and most of them are 'cited' not just once, but repeatedly. Karaéng Djarannika, for example, is mentioned in no less than 22 of the sja'ir's verses (less than 500 of which are devoted to the actual narrative of events). Karaéng Léngkésé' features in 10 verses while Karaéngs Bonto Marannu, Mamu and

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"Yet mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the garrett and the jail."
to
"Yet mark what ills the scholar's life assail,
Toil, envy, want, the patron and the jail"
(Boswell: JOH, p. 264 and footnotes).
(cf. also the definition of 'patron' given in Johnson's *Dictionary* — "commonly a wretch who supports with insolence and is paid with flattery" — the heat of which seems to indicate that the patron was still a very real feature of English literary life at the time.)

152 cf v. 13.

153 For these, and other, references, see Index of Proper Names.

154 v. 144—148 and v. 403—405.

155 v. 406—412.

Patté'né' each figure in some eight verses apiece. And there are, of course, numerous references in the poem to that section of Macassar society that must be regarded as the most obvious audience for a topically-slanted Malay sja'ir, the Malay community of Macassar, of whom no less than sixteen are mentioned in the sja'ir. Greatest prominence is given to the Datu' Maharadjaléla, whose deeds figure in 11 verses, while considerable space is also devoted to Daéng ri Boko, the 'S(j)ahbandar Tua' (9 verses) and the 'Djuru Datjing' and his family (8 verses).[156]

Such 'eulogising' and 'credit-giving' tendencies are no longer fashionable in modern literary circles but were the accepted convention in the 17th (and 18th) century, not only in Malaysia, but throughout the whole world. An English poem that comes very close to being exactly contemporary with our sja'ir, the *Annus Mirabilis* of John Dryden (published in 1668) contains repeated eulogies of Charles II, briefer eulogies of the Duke of York, Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, and 'citations for gallantry' of some eight English naval commanders scattered throughout its 304 quatrains.[157]

In assessing the literary merits of our poem then, it would probably be unwise to make too much of the interruptions to the narrative caused by such eulogies, for it is likely that contemporary literary critics, taking them for granted, would view them with the same unseeing eye that modern audiences view the equally conventional eulogies of various brands of merchandise that interrupt the presentation of works of art on commercial television programmes. Apart from this however, the

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156 The space devoted to this otherwise not particularly conspicuous figure and his family prompts the conjecture that there is some special connection between him and the author, a relationship by birth or marriage, or perhaps merely that of friendship.

157 Interestingly enough, both the *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* and the *Annus Mirabilis* are mainly devoted to describing campaigns fought against the Dutch, and the terms used by Dryden to describe his enemies ('the haughty Belgians', 'like greedy Hinds', 'the boastful Dutch' etc.) are often strangely reminiscent of those used by our author. More objective than Dryden, Entji' Amin makes no bones about admitting that the Macassarese were soundly beaten, whereas the English poet contrives to give the impression that a campaign that an impartial annalist has described as "marking the low point of English naval power" (Ploetz: EWH, p. 433), was in fact a great and glorious victory for the English navy. Interesting too is the fact that at a time when Entji' Amin was the Sultan of Goa's 'writer', Dryden was appointed to the post of Poet Laureate (in 1668), thus becoming in effect "the King of England's 'writer'" (Hooker and Swedenberg: WJD, p. 68, p. 76, p. 80 — the quotations from the *Annus Mirabilis* — and p. 259).

author of our sja'ir seems to have taken a good deal of effort to keep such interruption down to a minimum, within the framework of the conventions of the time, that is. Excluding the introduction (v. 1—28) and the epilogue (v. 514—534), the author delivers only two further eulogies of his master, of 5 and 3 verses respectively (as compared with the full-scale eulogy of 12 verses in the introduction). Moreover, these two minor eulogies have some claim to be considered as fulfilling a functional role in the poem, in as much as they serve as 'bridge-passages' separating two quite distinctive events. The first of these two minor eulogies,[158] for example occurs a f t e r the account of the VOC expedition to the Moluccas and b e f o r e the beginning of the account of the Bugis uprising in Boné; similarly, the second [159] occurs a f t e r the signing of the Bungaja Treaty and b e f o r e the resumption of hostilities. Both, in fact, are rather in the nature of a curtain coming down between the acts of a play.

One gets the impression, too, that these eulogies are rather skilfully spaced out, skilfully, that is, with a view to obtaining their maximum effect. Before the effect of the full scale eulogy in v. 13—24 has had time to die away, the author 'repeats the dose' with another five verses, just over a quarter of the way through the poem.[160] Having thus made sure that his point is fully taken, there is no need for him to overdo it. At the same time, it would be as well to have just one more tactful reminder, preferably late in the poem, but not late enough to give his audience time to get away, so the author inserts his last and briefest eulogy (only three verses) at a point about four-fifths of the way through the poem,[161] before the thought of 'leaving before the end' will have occurred to his audience.

All this of course is conjecture, but the conjecture may seem to gain support from the way the author refers to himself and his authorship. Roughly speaking, his task is this: while being dutifully self-deprecatory (to the point of obsequiousness, to modern taste) he must point out, as best he can, that poems do not exactly grow upon trees, that it requires a good deal of hard work on the part of a definite individual to produce them, and that the best way to ensure the production of such works is to extend an occasional helping, even if patronising, hand to the humble craftsman responsible for their manufacture. In the

158 v. 144—148.
159 v. 403—405.
160 v. 144—148. The poem is 534 verses long.
161 v. 403—405.

introduction and the epilogue, he is bound, by convention, to confine his remarks to the difficulties that had to be surmounted in the composition of the poem. In the main body of the narrative, he waits until the story allows him legitimately to introduce himself in the third person, whereupon he devotes three full verses [162] to pointing out just what a remarkable fellow this Entji' Amin (who, as the audience would realise, was none other than the author) was. The point being well made, he is content to remind his audience of the continued presence of the poem's creator roughly once every hundred verses,[163] before formally declaring his identity in the epilogue.[164]

As for making a d i r e c t appeal to his audience's charity, this was naturally something of a delicate matter and one that, if it was to be done at all, had to be timed rather carefully. It is open to discussion whether the 'charity appeal' in our sja'ir is the work of the original author or a later copyist; there is likely to be less discussion as to the judicious 'timing' of the appeal. It is inserted just after the half-way mark in the poem, when the action of the battle is at its height.[165]

It seems likely, in fact, that this and many other works of classical Malay literature are to some extent shaped by the need to attract, and to hold, the attention of a possibly capricious audience, most of whom would regard the composer not as artist but rather as a modern audience would view some performer on the music-hall stage, the onus being on the performer, to provide entertainment, rather than on the audience, to provide the artist with respectful attention. This would help to account for the 'episodic' manner of presentation: there is little attempt to see the war as a whole and view it in any kind of perspective. Instead, each incident revolves, or rather is made to revolve, around this or that personality (a tendency which cannot be due entirely to the author's desire to 'feature' his fellow-citizens as much as possible — on the lines suggested above — because he does very much the same thing when describing the activities of the VOC and their allies, whom it is most unlikely that he regarded as potential patrons).

This episodic and personality-centred character has always been at once the weakness and the strength of classical Malay literature, for while it is true that the episodic (and often unbalanced) presentation results in the audience obtaining a rather distorted and jerky impression

162 v. 67—69.
163 i.e. v. 204—206, v. 291—292, v. 303, v. 413.
164 v. 527—528.
165 v. 291—292.

of the story as a whole, nevertheless this same technique, in the hands of a master (such as the author of the *Sedjarah Melaju*) can result in the writer catching the essentials of a scene or summing up a man's character in a few brief words,[166] or, in the case of a sja'ir, in the compass of a line or two of verse. 'Summing up a man's character' is coming rather close to 'characterisation', and while the necessity for compression (particularly in writing verse) may more often produce a caricature than a character, even so the essence of a good caricature is that although it exaggerates, it exaggerates one or more of the real features of the man himself. Our author's skill at such characterisation is not equal to that of the author of the *Sedjarah Melaju,* but in a literature that shows such a decided preference for 'types' over 'characters', his efforts deserve at least an honourable mention.[167]

Consider, for example, his portrait of Arung Palakka. The Bugis leader is depicted as lustful (*perempuan jang baik bahagian béta*),[168] revengeful (*serta kukenang hatiku pedih*) [169] and ambitious (*keradjaan di Boné Tunderu' pohonkan*),[170] a brave (*berani mengamuk bukan kepalang*) [171] and resourceful *(mentjari 'akal (a)kan berperang)* [172] soldier, twice wounded in the fighting.[173] But this same Palakka is also a diplomat, who can, if necessary, use soft words (*Si Tunderu' berkata mulutnja manis*) [174] sometimes in order to convince his opponents of the futility of further resistance:

Radja Palaka berkata perlahan
barang kehendaknja tuanku ikutkan.[175]

And however committed to the Dutch cause he might be, Palakka is still represented as being sufficient of an Indonesian to point out to his

166 Much of Winstedt's enthusiasm for the *Sedjarah Melaju* comes from the 'vivid sketches of court life' presented by the annalist (Winstedt: SEJ, p. 29). Similarly, the only Malay genre to win from him the praise 'genuine literature' is that of the *penglipur lara* stories, valued because of the 'vivid pictures' they contain (Winstedt: HML, p. 24).

167 In the field of historiography, perhaps only Radja 'Ali is worthy of comparison with the author of the *Sedjarah Melaju* for his efforts at characterisation (see e.g. Skinner: PMB, p. 32—33).

168 v. 33d, 'I'll have the pick of the women'.

169 v. 76d, 'my blood boils when I remember what happened'.

170 v. 34d, 'I ask for the throne of Boné'.

171 v. 506b, 'showing uncommon bravery in the assault', cf. also v. 491, v. 499.

172 v. 509b, 'seeking some stratagem to bring the war to an end'.

173 v. 95—96 and v. 484—485.

174 v. 472a, 'Radja Palakka used honeyed words'.

175 v. 400, 'Radja Palakka said quietly:
"Whatever they demand, Your Highness should agree to".

commanding officer the solecism committed in attempting to deprive the Macassarese envoy of his keris (without which no Indonesian would consider himself to be properly dressed).[176] Bearing in mind that the sja'ir was written probably soon after the end of hostilities (i.e. around 1670), this appraisal of Palakka's character seems little short of masterly. It is certainly far more realistic than anything attempted by Palakka's allies, the VOC, who later on were more than once disconcerted to find that their 'loyal ally' had no intention of sacrificing his own interests to those of the VOC.[177]

The sja'ir contains many other examples of characterisation or characterisation-cum-caricature. Above, we noted the way in which the author praised Captain Joncker for his professional capabilities as an artilleryman, but he can also show us him listening with growing impatience,

Kapitan Djongkor jang sangat gusar
duduknja itu terkisar-kisar[178]

to the bumbling attempts at self-justification made by Speelman's Bandanese envoy, until finally the hot-tempered captain can stand it no longer and explodes into a stream of abuse. This same incident shows us Speelman rebuking his envoy with a laugh and a jest:

Amiral mendengar suka tertawa
kerana Bandan berbahasa Djawa
daripada sebab bingungmu djuga
maka Mengkasar sekalian tertawa,[179]

but the author can also show us Speelman rebuking far more exalted characters in a far more savage fashion:

Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
mengapakah mau bertjakap Keraéng
dihadapan Welanda Boné dan Sopéng
sungguhlah engkau seperti andjing.[180]

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176 v. 73.

177 See the short biography of Arung Palakka (unsigned, in fact written by W. P. van Hoëvell), APA, p. 86—105.

178 v. 236 'The hot-tempered Captain Joncker,
who had been sitting listening restlessly'.

179 v. 235, 'The Admiral, listening, laughed
to hear the Bandanese using Javanese words:
"It was your own silly fault
that the Macassarese laughed at you".'

180 v. 470, 'The Admiral said with a glare:
"Why do you want to speak like that Karaéng,
in front of the Dutch, Boné and Soppéng men?
What a cur you are!"'

And the verse in which the author shows us the Sultan of Ternaté, a prey to mixed feelings when the VOC fleet arrives at Ternaté and calls upon him to 'put up the ante' for his share of the expedition against Macassar:

Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah
ada sedikit hatinja susah
pikir baginda tunduk tengadah
sebab bertjakap terlandjur sudah [181]

might be used as the epitaph of all rulers in the archipelago who tried to further their dynastic ambitions by asking European assistance.

It will be observed that all the characters mentioned so far as providing evidence of the author's attempts to draw his pictures 'in the round', are drawn from the ranks of Macassar's enemies, the VOC and its allies. The author is noticeably more restrained in commenting on the Macassarese: where he cannot praise, he prefers to remain silent or to take refuge in a cliché.

As a result the Macassarese aristocracy only rarely come to life in the way the non-Macassar characters do, even when (as is the case with the Sultan of Goa, for example, or Karaéng Djarannika) a considerable amount of space is devoted to them. The author is slightly less restrained when dealing with the Malay community of Macassar — one of them is depicted as unbending enough to crack a very passable joke [182] — but the author still seems to be too conscious that he is dealing with actual or potential friends and patrons to give us any 'warts and all' pictures. It is only when the least important section of the community are featured, e.g. when women and children bewail the death of husband or father, that the characters are allowed — literally — to 'let their hair down'.[183] Even here however, the 'laments' uttered have a rather literary flavour, the use of words such as *patik*,[184] *baginda* [185] and *santapan* [186] suggesting that the author is perhaps relying on reminiscences of other Malay works.

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181 v. 140, 'Djawa Kelana Kaitjili' Mandarsjah
felt a little uneasy;
he sat and pondered,
but he had already committed himself'.

182 v. 173—174.

183 v. 374c.

184 v. 372c.

185 v. 374b.

186 v. 383c.

But such 'second-hand' impressions are rare with our author who in general endeavours — and on the whole successfully — to make his vignettes as vivid as possible. His description of the panic that arose at the armistice negotiations in November 1667 is too long to quote here, but the Sultan's amusement at the sight of the startled Speelman

. . . . lelah ternganga-nganga
mulutnja itu seperti arang belanga,[187]

his telling Palakka 'be a good chap and bring your rather impulsive boss back so that we can get down to business again', the fierce and resentful way Speelman glares at the Sultan's messenger — all this is described so realistically as to tempt one to see in Stapel's description of the scene (based, apparently, only on Speelman's account) a certain 'tidying-up' of the facts.[188]

As can be seen from the examples quoted above, the vividness of the author's portraits is quite often due to their containing an ingredient not exactly common in classical Malay literature — humour. This humour tends to be of a rough and earthy kind, e.g. in v. 86, when, after the three lines

Welanda iblis terlalu tjerdik
dikajuhkan dengan perahu ketjil
diturunkan dari pangkalan Garasi',[189]

the author concludes the verse with the rather unexpected

supaja nadjisnja djangan memertjik.[190]

It is this same rough, rather 'slapstick' humour that the author shows when describing the insults heaped by Captain Joncker on the head of Speelman's servant, beginning with:

besar pandjang penakut tjabar [191]

and concluding with the (rhetorical) question:

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187 v. 394, '(The Admiral) was panting for breath
his mouth smeared with dirt like the bottom of a cooking-pot'.

188 Stapel: EBV, p. 181 (foot-note 1) says that the panic that arose was checked by the calm bearing of Speelman and Hasanuddin.

189 'The fiendish Dutch, in their cunning way,
sent a small rowing-boat to fetch their envoy.
We made him embark at the Garassi' landing-stage'.

190 'so that his filth shouldn't splatter about all over the place'.

191 v. 236c, 'the great lout is an absolute coward'.

apatah guna berkain tjaul
patut memakan bubur berketul.[192]

On other occasions however, the author's humour is of definitely higher status, deserving of the name of wit. For example, when the arch-turncoat, the 'Radja Mampu' is captured by the Macassarese and promptly agrees to take yet another oath of loyalty to Macassar, the Macassar Sjahbandar asks him "And how many times does this make that you've taken the oath?" The old Radja, meekly submissive, answers "Twice, Sir", whereupon he receives ironical congratulations on his python-like ability to eat his own words.[193] And when the Datu' Maharadjaléla, in a desperate attempt to rally his men, curses them up hill and down dale, the author successfully conjures up the vast tracts of profanity explored by the Maharadjaléla's questing tongue by means of the rather English understatement:

karena orang tidak keluar
ia berkata halus dan kasar.[194]

One may presume too, a definite attempt at parody, when the author makes Speelman's Bandanese servant (chased back to his ship 'like a hunted stag') come dashing up to his master with arms outstretched, addressing him in an extravagant combination of terms normally reserved for Malay royalty, Dutch naval commanders, Malay chiefs and Prophets of God respectively:

Tuanku Amiral Datu' Djundjungan
béta diburu seperti mendjangan.[195]

Of course, attempts, such as those made above, to assess the literary

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192 v. 238, 'What's the good of your wearing a man's scarf?
You're only fit for eating dollops of gruel (like a child)'.

193 v. 173—174.

194 v. 474, 'when the Macassarese forces showed no signs of turning out his comments ranged from the polite to the insulting'.

195 v. 233, 'Your Highness, Admiral, O my most noble master!
I've been chased like a (hunted) stag!'
One is forced, reluctantly, to conclude that the word *béta* (in modern Malaya reserved exclusively for reigning Sultans) is not part of the parody. It is unlikely too that its use here represents an attempt on the part of the author to make the Bandanese speak Bandanese or Ambonese Malay (in which *béta* is the normal first person singular pronoun), for the author puts it into the mouth of such non-Bandanese characters as Arung Palakka (e.g. in v. 32d, 33d, 34d etc.) and the son of the Sjahbandar Tua (e.g. in v. 372a). One might conclude that the word was in fairly general use in the Eastern part of the archipelago, with little if any of the honorific overtones it now possesses.

merits of the poem by way of an 'intuitive' and 'impressionistic' approach are necessarily subjective, and it might well be argued that the gulf between the modern critic and the poem's contemporary critics is so vast as to make any such 'aesthetic' approach largely pointless. For the truly academic critic, it will be argued, the only approach possible is via the statistical and comparative method. Having assembled all works contemporary to the one being studied, and having duly dissected them, the critic can then proceed to noting, not the excellencies and demerits of the poem — for that, of course, would amount to a value-judgement — but the points in which it differs from other contemporary works.

But even if it is agreed that this is by far the best way for the critic to approach the writings of a past age, it is one which poses the student of Malay literature a task of extreme difficulty, that of discovering, which, if any, of the mss. that survive are in fact contemporary with the work studied. What works, for example, are to be considered as contemporary with our sja'ir which, in all probability, dates from around 1670? The works of Hamzah Fansuri? [196] But these probably date from at least some fifty years earlier, and their subject matter is scarcely of a nature to facilitate much of a stylistic comparison with our 'historical' sja'ir. And although such a comparison may (as was noted above) result in our attention being drawn to certain apparent similarities between Hamzah's sja'ir(s) and our own, one cannot be absolutely sure — because of the almost complete lack of reliably-dated contemporary mss. — that such features were not common to all or most of the Malay works of the time, only a very small fraction of which have had the good fortune to survive the vicissitudes of time and climate to be available for our inspection to-day.

Unless then one falls back on the subjective 'intuitive-impressionistic' approach, one must either abandon one's attempts to 'place' our work within the framework of contemporary literature, or to extend the meaning of the word 'contemporary' so as to include works written within a hundred to two hundred years — either way — of our own. Such an extension must inevitably reduce the value of comparisons made between our sja'ir and other 'contemporary' sja'irs, but if we accept the thesis that classical Malay literature (in particular the sja'ir-

196 One should perhaps say: 'the works attributed to Hamzah Fansuri' cf. Teeuw's remark (about the *Sja'ir Dagang*): "The poor quality of the rhyme is indeed itself a strong argument (and not the only one) against Hamzah's presumed authorship" (Teeuw: TEV, p. 26, note 26a).

genre) did not so much progress as stagnate (or even die),[197] then such comparisons may still be not entirely unprofitable, particularly if attention is focussed on the more formal, as distinct from the more aesthetic, aspects of the genre.

Returning to our sja'ir, it will be observed that it possesses one such formal feature upon which the author appears to have lavished a good deal of care, the exordium or introduction.[198] A comparison of this exordium with those found in other sja'irs may perhaps help to reveal whether or not our author's skill has resulted in the creation of something different enough to awake the suspicion that the difference is not merely quantitative but also qualitative.

Very little study is needed to show that the exordium of our poem, in particular the doxology, is far more 'worked-out', far more detailed, than that of any of the sja'irs that have been edited to date, but these are so few in number that it is only fair to exend our inquiry to the catalogues. Taking the Poems section of van Ronkel's KBG catalogue [199] and concentrating on those sja'irs whose introduction-cum-doxology is quoted or commented on, the following results are obtained for some 31 sja'irs, of which 24 may be termed 'fictional', 6 'historical' and 1 'religious'. Of the 6 'historical' sja'irs,[200] only one has an introduction of more than one verse, and even here, the doxology is confined to the first two lines.[201] It is true that all the six sja'irs are much later than our poem,[202] but even if the comparison be extended to include the 24 'fictional' sja'irs,[203] nothing can be found which exactly parallels

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197 Witness Overbeck, Alisjahbana etc. cf. e.g. Pané: **MIL, p. 8, p. 13.**

198 v. 1—28.

199 Van Ronkel: MAL, p. 312—366.

200 i.e. *Sja'ir Perang Bandjarmasin* (ibid., p. 345—346), *Sja'ir Perang Kaliwangu* (ibid., p. 346), *Sja'ir Perang Muntinghe* (II) (ibid., p. 347), *Sja'ir Perang Wangkang* (ibid., p. 348), *Sja'ir Radja Siak* (ibid., p. 349) and *Sja'ir Sultan Maḥmūd di Lingga* (ibid., p. 349—350).

201 *Sja'ir Sultan Maḥmūd di Lingga,* whose first verse runs:
Bismi'llah itu mula dikata
dengan nama Allah Tuhan semata
kemudian tersebut Sultan mahkota
dinegeri Lingga Sultan bertachta.
('Bismi'llah' is the first thing to be said
in the name of God, Lord of all;
after which we relate the story of our annointed Sultan
who sat upon the throne of Lingga.)

202 The earliest would appear to be the *Sja'ir Perang Muntinghe* (II) telling of an unsuccessful Dutch attempt to capture Palembang in 1819.

203 Some of which at least — whatever date they may have been copied — surely date from the 17th century and earlier.

our sja'ir's exordium. 13 of the 24 have no doxology at all but only the briefest of introduction with some such phrase as:

Al-kissah maka tersebut suatu tjeritera,[204]

while 6 limit their doxology to the confines of a single verse. The *Sja'ir Kumbajat* has a doxology of two verses, most of which is taken up with instructions for the correct 'cantillation' of the phrase *Al-ḥamdu li'llāh.*[205] Lengthier doxologies are to be found in the *Sja'ir Silindung Dalima* (II), which, we are told, has a 'captatio benevolentiae' of six verses,[206] and in the *Sja'ir Ḳahr Masjhūr* which apparently has some six verses of an introductory nature, only one of which is quoted.[207] It is uncertain just how many verses are devoted to the introduction of the *Sja'ir Sitti Dzawijjah* (I); the two opening verses quoted are devoted to a detailed explanation of the phrase *'a'ūdzu bi'llāhi* and may perhaps be only a part of a lengthier exordium.[208] There is only one sja'ir whose doxology comes at all close to ours, the *Sja'ir Sultan Jahja* (I), whose opening verses run:

Bismi'llah itu permulaan kalam
dengan nama chalik al-'alam
limpah rahmat siang dan malam
kepada hambanja segala Islam.
Al-rahman itu suatu sifat
ma'nanja murah sekaliannja tempat
sekaliannja 'alam laut dan darat
sekaliannja itu beroléh ni'mat.
Al-rahim itu sifat jang seni
ma'nanja sangat mengasihani
barang jang Islam hati nur nabi (? nurani)
makanja Allah mengampuni....[209]

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204 'Now once upon a time', the opening line of the *Sja'ir Damar Wulan* (van Ronkel: MAL, p. 317).

205 ibid., p. 324—325.

206 ibid., p. 319.

207 ibid., p. 330.

208 ibid., p. 341.

209 ibid., p. 322, *'Bismi'llah* is the first thing to be spoken:
in the name of the Creator of the universe;
His mercy runneth over, by day and by night,
upon all of his servants, viz. we Muslims.
Raḥmān is one of His attributes,
it means that His generosity is everywhere;
the entire universe, both sea and land,
obtains joy from it.

For the sake of completeness, it may be mentioned that the one 'religious' sja'ir, the *Sja'ir Patut Delapan* appears to have no doxology as such.[210]

The conclusions suggested by such an investigation are:

a. doxologies are optional;
b. doxologies of more than a verse or two are uncommon;
c. doxologies as detailed as that found in our sja'ir are very rare.

These conclusions would appear to be confirmed by a similar investigation made with the help of van Ronkel's Leiden *Supplement-Catalogus,* which shows that out of some 46 sja'irs whose introductory verses are quoted or commented on, only 12 (4 of which are 'religious' sja'irs) contain a doxology of more than a single verse.

Our sja'ir then has an exordium which, on length alone, goes far to justify the description 'unique', but even more striking than its length is the mathematical accuracy of the pattern formed by the various sections into which it is divided. There are three main divisions: v. 1—12, the religious doxology, v. 13—24, dedication to and praise of the Sultan of Goa, and v. 25—28, the writer's self-deprecatory introduction. The doxology is sub-divided into three subsections, two of which are further sub-divided into four sections of a single verse each. The whole may be represented schematically as follows:

RELIGIOUS INTRODUCTION (v. 1—12)	Praise of God	v. 1 Bismi'llah
		v. 2 Rahman
		v. 3 Rahim
		v. 4 Al-hamduli'llah
	Praise of the Prophet	v. 5—8
	Praise of the 'Companions'	v. 9 Abu Bakar
		v. 10 'Umar
		v. 11 'Uthman
		v. 12 'Ali
SECULAR DEDICATION	Praise of the Sultan	v. 13—24

Raḥīm is one of the most refined of His attributes,
it means that He has an infinite power of compassion;
all those who are Muslims (in their) illumined hearts,
yea, even those shall God pardon'.

The emendation in the last line but one was suggested by Dr. Voorhoeve.

210 ibid., p. 357. Data drawn from van Ronkel: SUP (summarised below) suggest that, as might be expected, the absence of a doxology is not typical of the 'religious' sja'irs as a whole.

WRITER'S APOLOGIES	Deprecation of writer's abilities	v. 25—28

The symmetry of the pattern is striking:[211] it appears to revolve around the number 4 and can be formulated mathematically as:

$$(x + x + x) + 3x + x = 28,$$

where $x = 4$. In passing, one may note that the number 28, the number of the lunar cycle,[212] may well retain some talismanic value here — it would certainly not be out of keeping with the age — but what concerns us more is the question: how much of this formularisation was due to the literary conventions of the time, and how much is to be ascribed to the writer's own skill (and perhaps invention)? Even if convention demanded a doxology, did it also require a doxology of such length and of such 'tailor-made' proportions? The comparisons drawn above suggest that the answer to this question is no, and it is tempting to see in our sja'ir the hand of an individual author making, in his exactly equal distribution of verses between his religion and his patron, something of an individual attempt to solve the problem that defeated Shakespeare's Cardinal Wolsey.

Individual too seems to be the way in which our author although of Macassarese descent, and writing some hundreds of miles away from the fountain-head of Malay culture, yet manages so successfully to avoid writing 'Macassarese Malay'. Arabic words of course are plentiful, for such words were part and parcel of the vocabulary of every educated Malay of the times, but apart from proper names and titles, the number of Macassarese words can literally be counted on the fingers of one hand. In some 534 verses only four words are to be found whose Macassarese derivation might give some clue as to the sja'ir's place of origin: *sunderik*,[213] *tjilo-tjilo*,[214] *pakur* (?)[215] and *la'lang*,[216] all of which, except perhaps the last, are objects peculiar to Macassar and without any exact Malay counterpart. In the author's syntax, too, no trace is to be found of any Macassarese influence, and, all in all, it

211 Striking enough to tempt one to discover a similar patterning in the length of the episodes in the main body of the text. Examination however fails to reveal much more than a preference for shorter, as opposed to longer, episodes, presumably as being less likely to cause ennui.

212 Sanskrit *nakṣatra*. The Malay *redjang* are 30 (Skeat: MMA, p. 664).

213 e.g. in v. 46b etc. Included as it is in Wilkinson: MED, one might well dispute the word's 'Macassarese' status.

214 v. 175d etc.

215 v. 191c.

216 v. 191d etc.

seems reasonable to see in our author a man holding decided views on what was, and what was not, 'good Malay', even to the extent of being something of a purist in his choice of vocabulary. Compared, say, with the strong Bandjarese colouring of the *Sja'ir Hémop*,[217] with the strong Kutai colouring of the *Salasilah Kutai*,[218] or with the 'specifically Achehnese-Malay' of the *Hikajat Atjéh*,[219] our author has some claim to be considered as the exception to Winstedt's pronouncement (on Malay historical works emanating from outside the Riau-Johore area) that "None are written in the classical Malay of the Peninsula . . . ." [220] In fact, if it were not for the internal evidence provided by the subject matter, it would be no easy task to deduce, on grounds of style alone, the sja'ir's provenance, or its date.

As to its date, we are fortunate in possessing sufficient evidence to enable us to date the original poem with some accuracy. A *terminus a quo* for dating the work is obviously the end of the fighting between the VOC and Macassar in July 1669. For a *terminus ad quem*, we know that one of the mss. of the poem was once in the possession of François Valentijn (who died in 1727) and was very probably compiled by his wife, Cornelia, some time before her death in 1717.[221] Clearly not the author of the poem, Cornelia must have copied it from an earlier ms. — perhaps even the original — which may reasonably be dated as around 1700. So much for external evidence; on internal evidence, the circumstantial and accurate nature of the author's narrative bears all the marks of a contemporary account written within a year or two of the end of the fighting. There is one significant fact. Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Goa, who figures very prominently in the poem, died on June 12th, 1670,[222] yet there is no indication whatsoever of this in the text (no *marhum*, for example). In an age very conscious of, and

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217 Termed a 'typical representative of the Bandjarese-Malay sja'ir genre' by Kern: ASH, p. 214.

218 cf. Kern: KVK, p. 299—306. Some idea of the 'non-Malay' character of the *Salasilah Kutai* may be obtained from noting that in Hooykaas' anthology, the brief (seven-page) excerpt from this work requires no less than 82 footnotes, only two of which refer to people or places (Hooykaas: PER, p. 328—335).

219 Iskandar: HIK, p. 9. Similarly, the language of that part of the *'Adat Atjèh* considered by its editors to be most nearly contemporary with our sja'ir is described as having a 'strong Achehnese colouring' (Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, p. 19).

220 Winstedt: HML, p. 112.

221 For details, see Manuscripts.

222 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 132.

very punctilious in the use of, posthumous titles,[223] it seems most unlikely that our author — Hasanuddin's confidential secretary — would have made no mention of his master's death, unless the poem had been written before the death occurred. This suggests that the poem was written some time between July 1669 and June 1670.

It is rare enough to be able to identify the author of a classical Malay work, rarer still to be able to identify author and date. In the case of the present sja'ir, it seems possible to go even farther and identify the copyist of the earliest surviving ms. — albeit only a fragment — of the poem, satisfyingly enough as the wife of a renowned 'Malaicus'. Our sja'ir has some claim therefore, to be the earliest Malay sja'ir that can be dated and documented at all reliably.[224]

Such documentation has taken some time, for the first reference to the poem occurs as early as 1736, in Werndly's *Maleische Spraakkunst*,[225] and even before this time the sja'ir must have been known to European scholars, as at least a fragment of a ms. of the poem was once owned by François Valentijn. Together with another ms. from the Valentijn collection, this ms. was acquired by the Leiden University Library in 1848 and included by Pijnappel in his list of the Library's Malay mss. (published in 1870).[226] Pijnappel called it the *Sja'ir Sipélman* and this title was given the seal of approval in Juynboll's authoritative catalogue of 1899.[227]

At the time that Juynboll was compiling his catalogue, another and almost complete ms. of the poem was lying in the library of King's College, London. This ms., listed in the *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* of

223 cf. *marhum mangkat didjulang* (Sultan Mahmud II), *marhum mangkat dikuala Pahang* (Sultan 'Abdu'l-Djalil III) ('Ali: TNF, p. 28, p. 41 etc.). The contemporary Macassar Court Diary regularly refers to members of the royal family by their posthumous titles, even when recording deeds accomplished when the persons concerned were still alive (see Ligtvoet: DVG, passim).

224 Now that the status of the Minjé Tudjuh 'sja'ir' has been placed in dispute (see Marrison: MPO) there are remarkably few 'runners' in this particular field.

225 Werndly: MSK. De Hollander: HMT, p. 306 and Juynboll: CMS, p. 12—13 say that the quotation is to be found in the *Boekzaal*; it is in fact in the *Naberecht*.

226 Pijnappel: MLB, p. 149.

227 Juynboll: CMS, p. 12—13. Largely on the strength of Juynboll's reference to it, the poem has been worth a line or two in most subsequent histories of Malay literature, but as the reference is based upon the fragment in Cod. Or. 1626 (which contains less than one-seventh of the whole poem) such subsequent mentions of the poem savour of La Rochefoucauld's remarks on true love: "tout le monde en parle mais peu de gens en ont vu".

1827 as "A poem in the Malayan language on the conquest of Mangkâsar or Macassar, by the united forces of the Hollanders and Bûgis, under the command of Admiral Cornelis Speelman and Radjah Palaka in the year 1667, by Inchî Ambun",[228] had been presented to the College by William Marsden in 1835,[229] and it remained in the College Library until 1920 or 1921, when, after the founding of what is now the School of Oriental and African Studies, it was transferred to the Library of the latter institution.

The description of the ms. in the *Bibliotheca Marsdeniana* had been quoted by N. B. Dennys in his *A Contribution to Malayan Bibliography* in 1880,[230] but these references in English seem to have escaped the notice of Dutch scholars[231] until 1936, when van der Linden quoted Dennys's entry and suggested that the work referred to was possibly the same as the *Sja'ir Speelman* in Cod. Or 1626.[232] This suggestion was not confirmed until 1951 when Dr. Voorhoeve came to London to catalogue the Indonesian mss. in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies.[233]

In his catalogue, Dr. Voorhoeve, like his predecessors, listed the work as the *Sja'ir Sipélman,* a title for which there would appear to be authority going back over two hundred years. And yet, it seems unlikely that such was the original name of the poem.

Werndly, in his book published in 1736, calls it the *Panton 'Ispelman,*[234] but it is not certain that Werndly had first-hand knowledge of the poem and it is difficult to accept his remarks as authoritative (why, for example, does he call it a 'Panton' and not a 'Sja'ir'?). It seems possible that, as was common with Europeans in the East until recently, Werndly viewed matters through European-centric spectacles and preferred to call it by the name of the best-known (European) character to be encountered in it, viz. the 'Kornilis Sipalman' mentioned in v. 29b of the present edition. The much later references by Pijnappel and Juynboll would appear to be a case of 'follow-my-leader'.

228 BMA, p. 302.
229 Marsden: MEM, p. 172.
230 Dennys: CMB, p. 251.
231 Although De Hollander certainly knew of the Marsden ms. from Marsden's mention of it in his *Grammar,* and had listed it in his *Handleiding* since the first edition (1845).
232 Van der Linden: EML, p. 45—46. Pijnappel and Juynboll had already assumed the identity of the Cod. Or. 1626 fragment with the work mentioned by De Hollander, i.e. the Marsden ms.
233 Voorhoeve: LIM, p. 8.
234 Werndly: MSK, in the *Naberecht.*

Reading the poem, it is difficult to see how Speelman can be imagined as its hero, least of all by the original author, who was very probably the secretary to the Sultan of Goa whom Speelman was fighting against. In the case of another sja'ir, one might agree with W. Kern's preference for the shorter and more 'individual' title of *Sja'ir Hémop* to the 'cumbersome' name of *Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina,* on the grounds that van Imhoff is clearly intended by the author to be the hero of his poem,[235] but it can scarcely be claimed that Speelman was intended to be the hero of the present sja'ir.

The first reference to Speelman in the poem occurs in v. 29 and he is mentioned in some 65 of the subsequent verses; he is rarely referred to except in terms such as *Djenderal Welanda jang mabuk,*[236] *Amiral Nasrani terlalu bengis,*[237] *Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil,*[238] *Amiral kafir jang durhaka*[239] or the like. On the other hand, the Sultan of Goa, the author's employer, is first mentioned in v. 13, is eulogized throughout the next twelve verses and, in all, features in some ninety-six of the sja'ir's 534 verses. It is therefore difficult to maintain that Speelman is the hero of an eponymous sja'ir, whether on grounds of the author's intentions, or in terms of the space allotted to him.[240] If anyone is the hero of the poem it should be Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Goa, to whom the poem seems to be dedicated in the words:

> *Patik persembahkan suatu nazam*
> *kebawah duli makota 'alam* . . . .[241]

But in fact, the writer is concerned not so much to chronicle the exploits of any one hero (who would, as a matter of policy, be his employer, Hasanuddin), as to describe what happened in the course of the war between Macassar and its enemies.

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235 Kern: ASH, p. 221, ". . . . omdat van Imhoff zonder twijfel de held van het verhaal is, wiens apotheose wordt gevonden in zijn bekering tot Mohammedaan".

236 v. 32b, 'the besotted Dutch general'.

237 v. 73a, 'the over-bearing Christian Admiral'.

238 v. 79a, 'the cursed, infidel, greedy Admiral'.

239 v. 112a, 'the treacherous infidel Admiral'.

240 It is perhaps worthy of note that Marsden, who obviously knew the sja'ir and possessed a virtually complete text, does not refer to it as the 'Sja'ir Speelman' in his *Grammar* but only as '. . . . a poem in my possession on the war between the King of Mangkāsar and the Dutch, under the famous Cornelis Speelman . . . .' (p. 127); cf. also BMA, p. 302.

241 v. 13, 'Your subject lays a poem,
at Your Imperial Highness' feet . . . .'

It is the 'Macassar War' that constitutes the subject matter of the poem as the author indicates when, about to conclude the sja'ir, he writes:

Tuan dengarkan fakir bermadah
tammatlah karangan Mengkasar alah .... [242]

and again, to leave no doubt:

Tammat karangan perang Mengkasar .... [243]

It seems reasonable therefore to call our sja'ir not the *Sja'ir Speelman* but the *Sja'ir Perang Mengkasar* — 'The Rhymed Chronicle of the Macassar War'. And although Speelman is thus deprived of the honour of inspiring a M a l a y poet, his admirers can always find consolation — if Vondel's punning is not too robust for modern taste — in the verses commemorating Speelman's Macassar exploits composed by his contemporary, probably the greatest of Dutch poets:

"Op zulk een Speelmanstoon en brommende oorlogssnaeren
Danst in Oost-Indien het heir der Macassaren
Den harnasdans in bloet ...." [244]

242 v. 524b, 'Listen, sir, to my words.
This is the end of my story — the defeat of Macassar ....'

243 v. 526a, 'This is the end of the story of the Macassar war ....'.
cf. the line *Tammatlah surat Hémop terbilang,* quoted by Kern as proof that the sja'ir edited by Rusconi was originally known as the *Sja'ir Hémop* (Kern: ASH, p. 221).

244 "To the tune of such a player (punning on the word 'speelman' [player] and the name 'Speelman') and to such buzzing strings of war, the host of the Macassarese dances the war-dance in the East Indies, (but) in (its own) blood ...." (Quoted in Stapel: CJS, p. 66.)

MANUSCRIPTS

The present text is based upon two mss. — the only two mss. of the poem that appear to have survived. One of these, in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies will be referred to here as S, while the other, containing less than one-seventh of the text, in the Library of the University of Leiden, will be referred to here as L. Details of the two mss. are as follows:

S. (SOAS ms. No. 40324)

This forms part of the Marsden collection of mss. presented by Marsden to King's College, London, in 1835, and transferred in 1920-21 to the Library of what is now the School of Oriental and African Studies. Numbered 40324, it consists of 38 folios (i.e. 76 pages) of which 70 pages only are devoted to the text. It is written in a legible (though hardly to be described as calligraphic) Jawi hand, quite different from that used by the copyist of L.[1]

Each page of the text contains from eighteen to fourteen lines (a line of the ms. being half a quatrain, i.e. two lines of the text as edited). Apart from the first folio (the obverse page of which serves as a cover), each folio has been numbered on its obverse. (In the text as edited, the reverse page of a folio has been indicated by the addition of the letter 'a' to the folio number written on the obverse page).

The text of the ms. begins on page 1a. Page 1 has the following superscription: "The Conquest of *Mangkâsar* or Macassar, by the united forces of the Hollanders and Bûgis, under the command of Admiral Cornelis Speelman and Raja Palaka, in the year 1667.[2] A Poem in the Malayan language by *Inchî Ambun*". Apart from the now obsolete use of capital letters, the handwriting is sufficiently 'ancient' to use *f* for an internal letter 's', i.e. 'Macassar' is written 'Maca*fff*ar'. In the same handwriting on the back cover (page 37a) is the inscription "With Mr. Griffiths's compliments to Mr. Marsden".

1 Strictly speaking, S has not one but two copyists, for on p. 22a the handwriting undergoes a change. The new copyist, using a thicker and scratchier stylus, continues until the bottom of p. 26, when the original copyist, with the original (or an identical) stylus resumes and continues until the end of the poem.

2 The words '1666 to' are written between 'year' and '1667' but have been struck out.

As to the date of the ms., Marsden was at Bencoolen (Bangkahulu) between 1771 and 1779 and might well have acquired it during that period. However, his interest in the Austronesian languages was life-long, and it might equally well have been presented to him (by the Mr. Griffiths mentioned in the superscription) long after he had left Sumatra. It is certain that it was in his hands before 1811, when the proofs of his *Grammar*, in which the work was mentioned, were ready for the printer.[3] Although S lacks the first 13 verses of the complete poem, there can be no suggestion that S has lost a page, for the text begins on the reverse side of the page bearing the superscription already mentioned. In other words, the obverse side of the page on which the text begins was deliberately left blank. It would seem that S was copied from a ms. itself lacking the first 13 verses. It is probably that these missing 13 verses (including the embellishments usual on the first page(s) of a ms.) suffered a fate not uncommon to the first page of unbound mss.

It is clear, then, that S is not the 'ur-ms.'. Lacking the first 13 verses, it cannot be a copy of L.

L. (Cod.Or. Bibl. Lugd. 1626)

This forms the third and last part of Codex Orientalis 1626 in the Library of the University of Leiden.[4] There are only six pages, containing a mere 73 verses of the complete poem. Rather strangely, no attempt has been made (except for a punctuation sign inserted at the end of a few verses) [5] to separate one stanza from another, or even one line from another; as Juynboll remarks: "Since it is written without any break (between lines), one does not at first realise that it is a poem." [6]

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3 Marsden: GML, p. 127; MEM; the *Grammar* was not published until the following year.

4 Juynboll: CMS, p. 12-13. The first section (11 pages) is devoted to the *Hikajat Siburung Pingai*. There follows a blank page, after which come 18 pages of a work Juynboll (ibid., p. 273-274) calls the *Hikajat Hari Kiamat*. Finally come the six pages of our fragment, numbered 19 to 24 inclusive, i.e. continuing the numbering started by the *Hikajat Hari Kiamat* and not referring to the pages of the ms. as a whole.

5 To be precise, after v. 2, 15, 48(?), 49, 50, 57, 58 and 59 — i.e. after only nine of the 72 complete verses of the ms.

6 Juynboll: CMS, p. 13. The first two lines of the ms. thus read:
Bismi'llah itu suata firman fardulah kita kepadanja iman muttaṣil pula dengan rahman (end of line) *hasil maksudnja pada jang budiman rahman itu suatu sifat tiada bertjerai dengan* (end of line), etc.

Ms. 1626 was acquired by the University Library in 1848, together with another ms. once in the possession of François Valentijn,[7] and though it is rare enough to be able to identify the copyist of any Malay ms., there seems reasonable evidence for concluding that the copyist of our fragment was none other than Valentijn's wife, Cornelia.

The possibility of making this identification is due largely to the 'detective-work' done by the late H. T. Damsté in tracking down the *Hikajat Nabi Musa* (Cod. Or. 1625 in the Leiden University Library).[8] In the course of his researches, Damsté discovered that a copy of the hikajat in the Utrecht University Library (Cod. Ms. Orient. No. 8) was in the same handwriting as the 'Copy of the letter of the King of Batjan, in Malay, in Arabic characters' included by Valentijn in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*,[9] which, Valentijn informs us, was copied by 'the Lady Cornelia Valentijn'.[10] Damsté proceeds to give cogent reasons for concluding that the lady referred to was Valentijn's w i f e Cornelia (and not, as had sometimes been thought, his daughter.) In passing, Damsté observed that the handwriting of the Utrecht ms. was identical not only with that of the Batjan letter, but also with some other Malay works (Hikajat Siburung Pingai etc.) acquired by the Leiden Library in 1848 together with Cod. Or. 1625.[11] The *Hikajat Siburung Pingai* mentioned forms the first part of Cod. Or. 1626;[12] the third part of this ms. — written in an identical hand — is our sja'ir-fragment. It follows therefore that L too was copied by Cornelia Valentijn.[13]

The association of the *Hikajat Siburung Pingai* ms. with L enables

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7 Damsté: SCV, p. 174.

8 Damsté: SCV, p. 164-179.

9 Valentijn: ONO, in the 'Beschryving der Moluccos', eerste deel, facing p. 120.

10 Valentijn, ibid.

11 Damsté: SCV, p. 174.

12 Damsté does not mention one rather striking feature that links missionary Valentijn with the *Hikajat Siburung Pingai;* the doxology of the hikajat commences with the words *Nabi 'Isa ruh Allah '-l-ī salam,* written even *b e f o r e* the *Bismi'llah* etc.

13 Commenting on Cornelia's handwriting in mss. other than our sja'ir-fragment, Damsté noted that among the more striking features of her rather individualistic style were: "Thus, where the *nga* occurs as a word-final, joined to a letter on its right, the eye or head forms a triangle, whose long upper side leans sharply to the left. And the *ya* as a word-final usually looks like a *kaf,* whose stem forms an acute angle where it meets the lower curve." (Damsté: SCV, p. 174.) His remarks might apply word for word to our fragment.

us not only to identify the copyist but also to date the copying within fairly narrow limits. Featuring, as the Hikajat does, in Valentijn's list of the Malay works in his possession,[14] it is reasonably safe to assume that, like most of the works in this list, it was acquired (i.e. copied) when the Valentijn family was in Ambon, between the years 1707 and 1712.[15]

There remains to be discussed the rather unusual feature of L that, although a sja'ir, it is written as though it were prose, without any break between one line of verse and another, and with only an occasional punctuation sign between one verse and another. It is true, of course, that most of the mss. of Malay sja'ir that we now possess do display a very definite system of punctuation, whereby each of the four lines of a quatrain is clearly separated from its fellows, but then few, if any, of these mss. can claim to be as old as our fragment. We have postulated above an author of mixed Malay and Macassarese descent, and it may therefore be of some interest to note that in Macassarese mss., poetry is invariably written without any separation of the lines of verse.[16] Given the background of time and place that our fragment has, the failure to separate the lines of verse one from another is perhaps not so surprising as the failure, except on rare occasions, to insert some sign to indicate the separation of one v e r s e from another, and for this I can find no obvious explanation.

Summing up then: L was copied by Cornelia Valentijn in Ambon c. 1710; S was copied, probably in Sumatra, in the latter part of the 18th century, from a ms. lacking the first page of the text.[17]

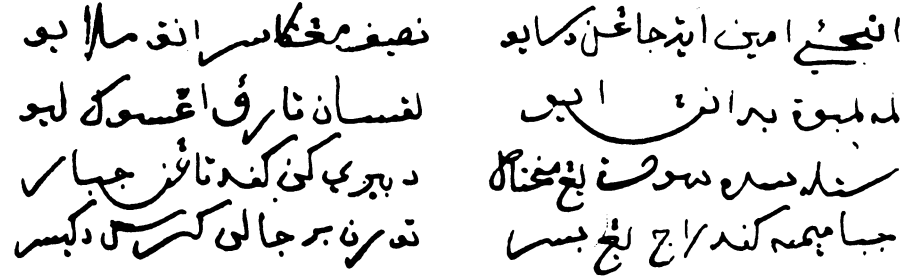
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14 Valentijn: ONO, IIIde deel, 1ste boek p. 26b, where Valentijn also lists 'Various Malay Sja'irs, or Verses'.

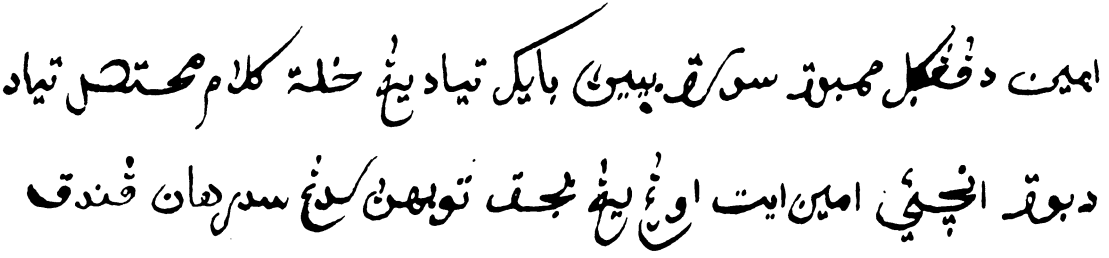
15 Valentijn concludes his list by saying: "All these (except one or two) I obtained in Ambon." As he has earlier, in the case of two of the mss. declared specifically that he obtained them in Batavia, it is practically certain that the rest were obtained in Ambon (ibid. p. 26-27).

16 teste Dr. Noorduyn.

17 See also Spelling of the Mss.



Facsimile of v. 69-70 from MS. S.



Facsimile of v. 67b-68b from MS. L.

SPELLING OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

The deductions made in the previous section as to the age and provenance of the mss. receive further support from a study of the spelling employed. It is noticeable that, particularly with regard to proper names, L is usually much closer to the correct form than is S, e.g. the name *Tunderu'*,[1] spelt as such by the copyist of L, occurs in S sometimes as *t-n-d-r*,[2] sometimes as *t-ū-n-d-ū-r* [3] and sometimes as *t-n-d-ū-r*.[4] Again, the word *sunderik*, which L reproduces as such, with the glottal stop, appears to be confused with the word *sindir* by the copyist of S, who regularly spells it as *s-n-d-ī-r* [5] — rather as though faced by a word he had never seen before. Noteworthy too are the unsuccessful attempts made by the copyist of S to spell the not exactly uncommon name *Ternaté*. Sometimes he spells it as *t-r-n-ā-n-ī* [6] and once even as *t-r-n-n-t-ī*.[7] This evidence suggests that the copyist of L was closer to the events and personalities narrated — closer in time or space, or both — than the copyist of S, who often appears to be at a loss when confronted by the name of a person or thing more familiar in the East of the archipelago than in the West.

In view of the subject matter, one's first thought is to look for traces of Macassarese influence upon the copyist of L, but — as was noted above in the case of vocabulary and style — such influence is difficult to find. One might perhaps see in L's *dj-n-r-ā-l* [8] — as contrasted with S's *dj-n-d-r-ā-l* [9] — a reflection of the speech habits of Macassarese, which, unlike Malay, has no need of a homorganic voiced stop (+ pepet-sound) to act as a liaison between a nasal and a liquid, but the fragmentary nature of L makes it difficult to draw any definite conclusions. The much longer S obviously offers much greater scope for deductions

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1 See note to v. 31d.
2 e.g. in v. 31d.
3 e.g. in v. 32a.
4 e.g. in v. 76a.
5 e.g. in v. 46b.
6 e.g. in v. 365c.
7 v. 495b.
8 e.g. v. 32b.
9 e.g. v. 35a.

of a phonological nature, although based as they are exclusively upon a written source, such deductions should be made with a certain amount of diffidence, particularly when, as is the case with S, consistency seems to have troubled the copyist not at all. Thus, noting that the copyist of S very often inserts an alif where modern standard Malay would require the pepet-sound, producing spellings such as *p-ā-r-ng* [10] (perang), *d-ā-ng-r-k-n* [11] (dengarkan), *m-m-b-ā-r-ī* [12] (memberi) and even *k-ā-n-ī-k-n* [13] (kenaikan), one's first thought is of Minangkabau influence.[14] However, one also notices that the, by modern standards, redundant alif is inserted not only in open syllables, but into closed syllables too and that spellings such as *b-r-p-r-ā-ng* [15] (berperang), *s-d-ā-r-h-ā-n* [16] (sederhana) and *m-ng-d-ā-p* [17] (mengadap) are common. Concentrating, for example, on a word which is obviously one of the commonest in the sja'ir — *perang,* which is used altogether some 79 times in the sja'ir, we find it spelt in the following ways:

as *p-ū-ā-r-ng*	once
as *p-ā-r-ā-ng*	twice
as *p-ā-r-ng*	forty-four times
as *p-r-ā-ng*	twelve times
as *p-r-ng*	twenty times,

and although we may still feel that, in the copyist's dialect, the (modern) pepet-sound was pronounced 'a' à la Minangkabau, the conclusion will not perhaps be quite so compelling as before.

Again, forms such as S's *patub* (patut) and *musta'ib* (musta'id) which are certainly typical of Minangkabau Malay [18] are also to be found in Riau-Johor [19] and Achehnese Malay: [20] *musta'ib,* in fact, has

10 e.g. in v. 522a.
11 e.g. in v. 500a.
12 e.g. in v. 203d.
13 v. 162a.
14 Particularly the Agam dialect, cf. van der Toorn MSK, p. ix: "On the basis of the difference in vowels, one can distinguish two sub-dialects of the Minangkabau of the Padang Highlands. Where Riau (Malay) has an *ĕ,* the Agam dialect has an *a* (*bĕras* becomes *barèh*) and the Tanah Datar dialect has an *ô* (*bĕras* becomes *bôrèh*)."
15 e.g. in v. 44c.
16 v. 68b.
17 e.g. in v. 42b.
18 van der Toorn: MSK, p. xii gives *patub* as the normal spelling of *patut* in Minangkabau writings.
19 cf. 'Ali: TNF, e.g. p. 34, line 24.
20 cf. Drewes and Voorhoeve: ATJ, e.g. folio 73b, line 10.

been described as a "common corruption of *musta'id* which is often encountered in Malay mss." [21] Likewise forms such as *gelab* (gelap) and *tutub* (tutup) may perhaps reflect certain of the characteristics of the copyist's dialect, but in that case it should be pointed out that such characteristics are apparently typical of Bandjarese (Kutai) Malay too.[22] Similarly the use of the *me-* prefix without nazalization before an *h*, as is found in the sja'ir's *mehimpunkan*,[23] is said to be typical of Minangkabau Malay:[24] it is however also found in Bandjarese Malay [25] and can also be encountered in the pages of the Riau-Johor *Tuḥfat al-nafīs*.[26]

Nevertheless, while it is true that each of the features commented on above can be found in one or more dialects other than that of the Minangkabau area, it is only the Minangkabau dialect, particularly that associated with the Agam district, that combines all the features mentioned. This fact, together with spellings such as *d-r-ā-dj* [27] for *durdja* and *s-r-ā-b* [28] for *serba*, and the use of words such as *serau* [29] and *(men)djaput* [30] — whose Minangkabau status is less open to dispute than many words so classified — do tend to suggest Minangkabau influence in the spellings adopted by the copyist of S.

In a sja'ir, the most likely source of information as to the author/copyist's pronunciation lies in the end-rhymes used. For example, vv. 54, 81, 333, 386, 393 and 430, where words that in 'classical' Malay are both spelt and pronounced with a final *-ai* are regularly rhymed with Macassarese words that were probably pronounced in correct Macassarese fashion with a final *-é* (*San(de)raboné, Boné, bura'né* etc.), and vv. 175 and 208, where words that in classical Malay are both spelt and pronounced with a final *-au* are regularly rhymed with Macassarese words pronounced with a final *-o* (*Pat(t)iro* and *tjilo-tjilo*) rather

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21 Kern: CSK, p. 93.
22 Kern: KVK, p. 299.
23 e.g. in v. 157c.
24 cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p. 61: "The prefix *ma-* takes no nasal when the initial letter (of the stem) is a vowel, an *h, r, l, ng, m, n,* or *nj,* e.g. *mahanta* (meng(h)antar: CS) ..."
25 Kern: KVK, p. 300.
26 'Ali: TNF, e.g. p. 66, line 10.
27 v. 273a.
28 v. 354b. cf. de Hollander: HMT, p. 45 (Note 1): "In the Minangkabau dialect, the inserted *ĕ* is even represented by an alif, so that one finds *sarato* for *ser(e)ta* ..."
29 v. 126a.
30 v. 152b.

suggest that the sounds *-ai* and *-au* did not exist as finals for our author, only *-é* and *-o*.[31]

Reminiscent of Minangkabau pronunciation is v. 401 where the end-rhymes are spelt *amiral, kapal, berchabar* and *Mengkasar*,[32] and vv. 86, 195 and 314, where *ketjil* (so spelt) is obviously to be pronounced as *ketji'*, is certainly more of a 'Western' than an 'Eastern' pronunciation.[33] But what then of v. 264, with its end-rhymes *pil, ketjil, bedil* and *batil*? Does this latter verse indicate that the author used now one and now the other of *ketji'* and *ketjil*, or is it to be taken as a visual rhyme only, and not a phonetic one? [34]

To sum up this rather inconclusive discussion, we may say that it is not unlikely that the c o p y i s t of S spoke a dialect of Malay something like that associated with the Minangkabau area, a conclusion that obtains some support from the proximity of the Minangkabau area to Bangkahulu (Bengkulen), where a former owner of the ms., Marsden, spent some eight years.

Not noted in the apparatus criticus are the following spelling peculiarities, which differ from modern practice:

(1) The absence of final vowels, in particular *-ā*, but occasionally *-ī* (e.g. *b-ā-b* (v. 119c) for *babi*).

(2) The occasional insertion of final vowels, usually *-ā* (e.g. *p-r-ā-d-ā* (v. 185c) for *perada*). The particle *di-* is sometimes spelt *d-ī-* [35] while *itu* is sometimes spelt *ā-ī-t-ū*.

(3) The occasional absence of the vowel grapheme in a non-final open syllable (e.g. *r-n-t-k* (v. 210d) for *rentaka*).

(4) The frequent insertion of *-ā-* (and less frequently *-ī-*) where

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31 This theory seems more likely than to suppose a hyper-correct pronunciation of the words given (as *Sanderabonai, Bonai, bura'nai, Patirau, tjilau-tjilau.*) In most parts of Indonesia to-day, particularly in the Eastern areas, words spelt with final *-ai* and *-au* are commonly pronounced as *-é* and *-o* respectively, despite the officially 'recommended' pronunciation, which attempts to preserve the Riau-Johore tradition of equating spelling and pronunciation.

32 cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p. ix: "the *r* and *l* are not pronounced when word-final: *-al* and *-ar* sound like *-a*, e.g. *maha* (mahal), *danga* (dengar) . . . "

33 *ketji'* is, of course, still the standard Peninsular Malay pronunciation.

34 Visual rhymes occur but rarely in the sja'ir, i.e. v. 41 (in L only, see app. crit.), v. 352 and v. 433.

35 cf. 'Ali: TNF, p. 43, line 6.

modern spelling has the 'e pepet' (e.g. *p-ā-r-ng* (v. 317a) for *perang* and *p-ī-t-ī* (v. 206d) for *peti*).

(5) The insertion of *-ā-* into a closed syllable (e.g. *d-ā-n-d-ā-m* (v. 428a) for *dendam*).

(6) *tj* is frequently used for *dj* and vice versa.

(7) *k* is frequently used for *g* and vice versa.

(8) *s* is frequently used for *sj*.

(9) *sj* is occasionally used for *s* usually in words of foreign origin (e.g. *b-ng-sj-ā-w-ā-n* (v. 151c) for *bangsawan*).

(10) As frequently occurs in contemporary mss.,[36] *bunji, sunji* and their derivatives are usually, but not consistently, spelt as *b-ū-n-ī*[37] and *s-ū-n-ī*.[38]

(11) Contrary to modern practice, *h* is used:

(a) Initially (before words commencing with a vowel): It is fairly common to find spellings such as *h-ā-s-p* (v. 182d) for *asap*.

(b) Medially: This usage is not very common, but the Sanskrit-derived *semua* is regularly spelt with an *h* (e.g. *s-m-h-ā-nj* (v. 234b) for *semuanja)*.

(c) Finally (in words ending with a vowel): This usage is common (e.g. *m-l-ū-k-h* (v. 136d) for *Meluku*).

(12) A final glottal stop is represented sometimes by *-q*, sometimes by *-k* and sometimes by -' (hamzah).

(13) Arabic-derived words:

Arabic words obviously mis-spelt have (as far as the normative romanisation has allowed) [39] been tacitly corrected, e.g. it has not been considered necessary to note in the apparatus criticus

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36 For reasonably contemporary examples see e.g. Drewes: BUR, p. 44 etc., Doorenbos: GHP, p. 22 etc., Johns: MSU, p. 6 etc.

37 e.g. in v. 349d.

38 e.g. in v. 265a.

39 see System of Romanisation adopted.

that the word *ṣāḥib* has been spelt *ṣaḥīb*.[40] However, the dividing line between 'mis-spelling' and 'Malayanising' is not easily definable, and where the possibility of such 'Malayanising' exists, the apparatus gives the forms used by the copyist, e.g. in v. 7b the edited text, following Purwadarminta, has *termazkur*, while the apparatus criticus shows that what the copyist in fact wrote was *t-r-m-l-ā-k-ū-r*.

In passing, it may be noted that some twenty per cent of the Arabic-derived words used in the sja'ir are spelt incorrectly ('incorrectly', that is from an Arabic view-point); thus, in v. 19c, *z-k-'-t* has been written for *zakāt*.

Finally, one may note the following points:

The form *ā-m-ā-r-h* (amarah) occurs twice (v. 261, v. 399) but generally the form *m-ā-r-h* is preferred.

On one occasion (v. 225b) the word *dan* occurs with the meaning of *dengan* (as it does in the Cod. Or. 2016 ms. of Hamzah Fansuri),[41] but this is quite possibly an error.

The form *d-ū-l-ā-p-n* is used for *delapan* (v. 38a).

40 v. 9c.

41 Doorenbos: GHP, p. 93, line 30.

SYSTEM OF ROMANISATION ADOPTED

Although the phonetic structure of Malay cannot be termed complicated, efforts to reproduce it in Latin characters have resulted in a multitude of scripts, so many in fact that, rather than add to their number, it has been thought advisable here to choose one of the two systems that have been given the seal of governmental approval, i.e. the 'English-Malay' romanisation in force in the Peninsula and the 'Dutch-Indonesian' system current in Indonesia. The former, regrettably, labours under a burden of crescents and hyphens that may or may not reassure the non-Malays for whom (and by whom) it might seem to have been designed and I have therefore chosen to adopt the Indonesian system in romanising the text presented here.

Accordingly, the spelling used has been based, as far as possible on that used in the dictionary compiled by W. J. S. Purwadarminta,[1] a dictionary that is perhaps the most authoritative of current Indonesian dictionaries. Exceptions to Purwadarminta's spellings have been made in the following cases:

1. The Arabic letter 'ain is here regularly (not, as in Purwadaminta, selectively) reproduced by '.
2. In proper names and titles, a Hamzah (ʾ) has been retained and reproduced by ', thus *Peté'né'* (and not *Petéknék*), *Entji'* (and not the now usual *Entjik*). In other cases it has not been considered necessary to retain the ms.'s hamzah (which would have led to spellings such as *masu'* for *masuk*).
3. Arabic words in the text that do not occur in Purwadarminta have been transliterated according to the following system:

ā	d	ḍ	k
b	dz	ṭ	l
t	r	ẓ	m
th	z	'	n
dj	s	gh	h
ḥ	sj	f	ū/w
ch	ṣ	q	ī/j

(this system is also used in the apparatus criticus with the following additions:

1 Purwadarminta: KUB.

tj
ng
g
nj)

N.B. Outside of the text, this system has not been rigorously applied, e.g. the Sultan of Goa is called Hasanuddin and not *ḥasan al-dīn* or *ḥasanu'(d)dīn*.

References from authors with their own system of transliteration have, as far as possible, been given in their original form.

It is understood, of course, that both 'Malay' and 'Indonesian' systems of romanisation, including that adopted here, involve not only standardisation, but standardisation in the direction of 'Riauisation'.[2] It is hoped that the remarks made in the foregoing section will have made clear the main divergences from Riau-Johor usage as codified in the dictionaries. To avoid any doubt however, it should perhaps be emphasized here that the 'Minangkabau' tendencies noted above do not appear to enter the domain of morphophonemics, i.e., the copyists of both L and S have obviously done their best to confirm to the 'standard' Malay (but not Minangkabau) [3] practice of regularly using a liquid or nasal stem-formative with all *be(r)-*, *te(r)-*, *pe(r)-* and *me*(Nasal)- prefixes. As far as can be ascertained, the only exception to this practice appears to concern the one word *mehimpunkan* which on two occasions [4] is spelt as such (i.e. without the nasal stem-formative). All other verbal roots however, including those beginning with *h* [5] regularly appear w i t h the nasal.[6]

Non-Malay proper nouns have been romanised according to the spelling in the text; elsewhere, the correct (or conventional) spelling has been used.[7]

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2 The point has been forcefully made by Kern in his review of Mees: KVK (Kern: KVK, p. 298.)

3 cf. the forms quoted by van der Toorn: MSK, p. 86-121.

4 v. 157c, v. 497c.

5 e.g. *mengadap* (*m-ng-d-p*) in v. 41d, *mengambat* (*m-ng-m-b-t*) in v. 123a. In Minangkabau however, no nasal stem-derivative is used to connect the *ma-* prefix with verbal roots beginning with a vowel or an *h* (cf. van der Toorn: MSK, p. 61.)

6 On one occasion only (v. 341a) the copyist of S has written *menengar* (*m-n-ng-r*) — a pronunciation still current in the north-west of Malaya. On all other occasions however *mendengar* (and *mendengarkan*) are spelt with the *d*.

7 e.g. *Keraéng Léngkés* in the text (v. 47a), but *Karaéng Léngkésé'* in the Translation, Notes, etc.

EXPLANATION OF SYMBOLS USED

(A) Introduction and Notes

Works consulted are referred to by the name of the author(ess) followed by a three-letter 'code', explained in the Bibliography.

(B) Text

The capital letters and full stops used in the text as presented here are not, of course, to be found in the original mss.[1] With these exceptions, all material inserted by the editor is placed within brackets, e.g. (*kelam*) (v. 6c).

Words/lines missing in the mss. are indicated by dots, e.g. in v. 8.

The numbers on the right-hand side of the text refer to the numbering of the folios in S.

(C) Apparatus Criticus

L refers to Cod. Or. Bibl. Lugd. 1626; S to SOAS ms. 40324.

The numbers refer to the verses; the letters 'a', 'b', 'c' and 'd' to the first, second, third and fourth lines respectively of each verse.

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1 Although the curiously written L (see above, under Manuscripts) does appear to have some rudimentary system of full stops (perhaps due to its European copyist?), while S follows normal sja'ir practice in graphically distinguishing each line of verse.

SYNOPSIS OF THE SJA'IR

Introduction (v. 1—28)

verse 1—12: doxology.
13—24: dedication to and eulogy of the Sultan of Goa.
25—28: author's apologies.

The War begins (v. 29—91)

29—40: VOC expedition prepares and sails to Macassar.
41—66: Macassarese declare their loyalty to the Sultan and defiance of the VOC.
67—91: exchange of letters between Sultan and VOC.

VOC expedition to Buton (v. 92—135)

92—135: defeat of the Macassar army under Karaéng Bonto Marannu.

VOC expedition visits the Moluccas (v. 136—148)

136—143: Sultan of Ternaté joins the expedition.
144—148: eulogy of Sultan of Goa.

Bugis uprising (v. 149—206)

149—174: Sultan of Tallo' defeats Bugis at Mampu,
175—183: and at Pattiro.
184—203: triumphal return to Macassar.
204—206: author's apologies for inaccuracy.

The First Macassar Campaign (v. 207—423)

207—222: VOC fleet arrives before Macassar: Bantaéng stormed.
223—239: Speelman's envoy insulted.
240—247: Macassar prepares for the attack.
248—282: the first day of battle — bombardment and counter-bombardment.
283—290: bombardment continues.
291—292: 'please remember the author'.

293—306: VOC attempt on Batu-Batu is beaten off.
307—324: VOC attack on Galésong.
325—366: VOC land at Batu-Batu: heavy fighting ensues.
367—385: Macassar casualties.
386—401: negotiations for peace; a panic.
402—414: eulogies of the Sultans of Goa and Tallo'.
414—423: peace is concluded.

VOC at Udjung Pandang (v. 424—459)

424—435: VOC settle in; Macassarese disgust.
436—448: some Macassarese Karaéngs go over to the VOC and join in the attack on Sanraboné.
449—459: Macassar reinforcement sent to Sanraboné under Karaéng Djarannika.

The Second Macassar Campaign (v. 460—513)

460—471: The VOC attack on Sanraboné is beaten off.
472—477: The English Factory is burnt down; a VOC attack is repulsed.
478—486: fighting continues.
487—513: storming of remaining Macassar defences; fort blown up; Macassarese retreat on Goa.

Conclusion (v. 514—534)

514: the moral of the story.
515—519: the final Macassar council-of-war.
520—524: the author's summing-up.
525—534: the author reveals his identity and makes his final apologies. Finis.

DATES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT EVENTS MENTIONED IN THE SJA'IR [1]

1666

December 19	VOC expedition arrives at Macassar.
25	en route to Buton, VOC storm Bantaéng.

1667

January 1—2	Macassar army on Buton defeated.
February—June	Unsuccessful Bugis uprising against Macassar.
February—June	VOC expedition visits the Moluccas.
June—July	On its return, Palakka and Poleman sent on ahead to the South-West Celebes.
July 1	Bantaéng again stormed by the VOC.
19	Macassar bombarded.
31	Palakka and Poleman rejoin the main body.
August 18—19	Galésong stormed by the VOC.
September	Bitter fighting at Barombong.
October 23	Barombong stormed by the VOC.
November 18	Peace Treaty signed at Bungaja.

1668

April	Fighting breaks out again.

1669

June 15—24	Sombaopu stormed by the VOC.
July 21—27	Peace Treaties signed.

[1] Based upon Stapel: HBV, CJS.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

TEXT

As regards the text presented here, v. 1—13 are lacking in S and are therefore based entirely upon L. Similarly, v. 74—534 are lacking in L and are therefore necessarily based upon S. As regards v. 14—73, I have, as a general rule, preferred the reading of L to S, on the grounds that L is far closer in time (and space) to the original text.[1]

In a very few cases, the readings of S have been preferred, on grounds of style. Only too conscious however of the subjective nature of such 'feeling for style', such cases almost invariably amount to a simple preference for a line containing 4 'minimum free forms' [2] to one containing only 3, e.g. in v. 50a, S's *Bertjakap pula Keraéng Djaranika* has been preferred to L's *Bertjakaplah Keraéng Djaranika* on the grounds that the former comes closer to the 'ideal' sja'ir line [3] than does the latter. In all cases, of course, the rejected reading will be found in the apparatus criticus.

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1 See the arguments advanced in the previous sections.
2 For this term, see e.g. Bloch and Trager: OLA, p. 54.
3 For this definition of the sja'ir line, see Hooykaas: LMI, p. 71; Teeuw: TEV, p. 9-10.

TRANSLATION

Few editors of Malay texts have felt it necessary to attach a translation to their work. The fact is surprising, because however easy a language Malay may be considered to be, intuitive comprehension of the content of a Malay work written two or three hundred years ago is not something that can simply be taken for granted today.

Certain editors have explained their reluctance to translate their text by quoting dicta such as de Hollander's "... Anyone who, with dictionary in hand, sets about translating a sja'ir word for word, must inevitably find the result boring...",[1] although it might be retorted that some people would be prepared to risk even boredom, in order to achieve a better understanding of the text with which they find themselves confronted.

The inclusion of copious and detailed 'Notes' on the difficulties encountered by the editor will naturally go far towards smoothing the path of potential readers of the text, but as the choice of what is, and what is not, to be 'Noted' is necessarily subjective, the 'Notes' alone cannot provide all the answers to all the questions liable to be asked by such potential readers. It is here that the Translation comes in, to act as a sort of 'safety net', to catch any point of interpretation, perhaps a mere nuance even, that, rightly or wrongly, is not considered worthy of a separate note. The translation therefore is not something apart, but an additional aid to understanding, complementing the 'Notes' in their joint function of providing an answer to any question that might be asked as to the meaning of the text.

The Translation is, of course, no less subjective (although wider in coverage) than the Notes, and while its presence guarantees that there will be an answer of some kind forthcoming, it cannot provide an

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1 de Hollander: HMT, p. 307, quoted by Rusconi: SKW, p. 10 (in preferring a synopsis to a translation.) The length of Rusconi's sja'ir admittedly made the matter of providing a translation no light matter, but it is arguable that a translation would have benefitted even the limited aim of historical comparison that Rusconi set himself. Such seems to have been the impression of that *malleus editorum*, the late W. Kern, who found it necessary to provide his own Notes to Rusconi's work (Kern: ASH, p. 212-257.)

absolute guarantee that the answer supplied will be the only one possible. Nevertheless, as the person who has wrestled longest with the text, the editor must be presumed to be the person best acquainted with it and therefore the person best qualified to explain it. As such, it is his duty, while pointing out and carefully considering all possible alternative interpretations, to 'come down off the fence' on the side of the interpretation he considers the likeliest, even where the odds in favour of this interpretation are no more than 51 to 49. The translation is the place for him to make plain his preferences.

In so far as was considered compatible with the principles outlined above, some attempt has been made to write the translation in English, and not in the language sometimes referred to as 'Translationese'.[2] The result may occasionally be found a little free but often such freedom is the considered result of a desire to get over the meaning of the whole rather than the part, the phrase or sentence rather than the word.

Finally, as a 'historical' sja'ir, the text may conceivably attract the attention of people other than those versed in Malay. It has therefore been decided that the Translation should be completely anglicized. This 'anglicization' has, in a few cases, resulted in what may appear to be inconsistencies in the spelling of proper names, but these apparent inconsistencies are in fact the result of the consistent application of the following system:

1. In the Text, proper names have, as far as possible, been transliterated in accordance with the form preferred by the ms(s).
2. Elsewhere, e.g. in the Introduction and Notes, these proper names have been reproduced according tot their conventional or normative spelling.
3. In the Translation only, these conventional/normative spellings have, where necessary, been anglicized.

To take an example which represents the maximum divergence it is possible to encounter; in v. 443a, where the ms. has *k-r-ī-ng l-ā-j-q,* our text as edited has *Keraéng Lajo'*. In the Introduction and Notes, this gentleman is referred to in the conventional form of Karaéng Lajo'. In the Translation however, to avoid uncertainties on the score of pronunciation (Lajo' or Ladjo'?), this form has been anglicized to Karaéng Layo'.

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2 Thus, no attempt has been made to reproduce the (lack of) punctuation of the original text.

SJA'IR PERANG MENGKASAR

(1) Bismi'llah itu suatu firman
fardulah kita kepadanja iman
muttaṣil pula' dengan rahman
hasil maksudnja pada jang budiman.

(2) Rahman itu suatu sifat
tiada bertjerai dengan kunhi zat
njatanja itu tiada bertempat
barang jang bebal sukar mendapat.

(3) Rahim itu sifat jang sedia
wadjiblah kita padanja pertjaja
barang siapa mendapat dia
dunia achirat tiada berbahaja.

(4) Al-hamduli'llah tahmid jang adjla
njatanja dalam kalam Allah 'ala
madah terchusus bagi Hak ta'ala
sebab itulah dikarang oléh wali Allah.

(5) Setelah sudah selesai pudjinja
salawat pula' akan nabinja
disanalah asal mula tadjallinja
kesudahan tempat turun wahjunja.

(6) Muhammad itu nabi jang chatam
mengadjak kehadrat rabb al-'alam
sungguhpun dahulu njatanja (kelam)
daripada pantjarnja sekalian 'alam.

Verses 1 to 13 in L only.
1b: hasil (ḥāṣal).
1c: muttaṣil (mutaṣalla).
1d: hasil (hāṣal).
5a: selesai (sal-sih).
5b: nabinja (b-nj-ī-nj).
6b: mengadjak (m-'-dj-q), 'alam ('ālamīn).

THE RHYMED CHRONICLE OF THE MACASSAR WAR

(1) 'Bismi'llāh' — divine words,
which it is our bounden duty to respect;
associated with 'Raḥmān',
they will result in the wise man obtaining what he seeks.

(2) 'Raḥmān' is one of God's attributes,
inseparable from the essence of His being;
its manifestation cannot be localized,
and it is difficult for the foolish to obtain.

(3) 'Raḥīm' is one of the eternal attributes,
in which we are bound to believe;
whosoever obtains it,
need fear nothing in this world or the next.

(4) 'Al-ḥamdu li'llāh' — most illustrious formula of praise,
made manifest in God's sublime words;
an utterance (of praise) restricted to Sublime Realty,
and composed towards that end by the Friend of God.

(5) Now that the benediction is completed,
it is time to praise the Prophet;
there lies the beginning of His manifestation,
where God's inspiration finally came to rest.

(6) Muḥammad the last of the prophets,
summoning all to the presence of the Lord of the world;
although his brightness was formerly obscured,
from his rays came forth the entire universe.

(7) Salawat itu masjhur lafaznja
telah termazkur pada machluknja
Allahumma salli 'alaihi akan agamanja
disanalah njata sifat djamalnja.

(8) .....
.....
selesailah sudah mengutjap salawat
memudji pula akan sahabat.

(9) Pertama sahabat Abu Bakar
sangat berbuat 'ibadat serta sabar
akan nabi sahib al-mimbar
mengerdjakan sabil dengan si kuffār
beroleh rahmat Tuhan malik al-djabbār.

(10) Kedua sahabat baginda 'Umar
kepada nabi terlalu gemar
sudjudnja daim fi'l-lail wa'l-nahar
tjahaja wadjahnja seperti sjamsu wa'l-kamar.

(11) Ketiga sahabat baginda 'Uthman
kekasih nabi achir zaman
ialah menurut seperti firman
mengarang surat bernama furkan.

(12) Keempat sahabat baginda 'Ali
lagi menantu kepada nabi
gagahnja indah tiada terperi
harimau Allah ia dinamaï.

(13) Patik persembahkan suatu nazam
kebawah duli makota 'alam
mentjeriterakan daulat Sjahi 'alam
mengeraskan sjari'at siang dan malam.

Verses 1 to 13 in L only.
7b: termazkur (t-r-m-l-ā-k-ū-r).
7c: salli 'alaihi (ṣ-l-'-l-ī).
7d: djamalnja (ḥ-m-l-nj).
9d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
9e: sic.
13a: nazam (n-ẓ-ā-l-m).
13c: Sjahi (s-ī-ā-').

(7) Famous are the words of the blessing,
uttered amongst his creatures;
'Oh God, bless him,' for his religious teaching,
for it was there that the true character of His radiance was made manifest.

(8) .....
.....
now that the blessing is completed,
it is time to praise the Companions of the Prophet.

(9) First, the Companion Abū Bakr,
renowned for his devotion and steadfastness;
in support of the Prophet, the 'Lord of the Pulpit',
he carried on a holy war against the infidels,
obtaining divine grace from the Supreme Ruler.

(10) Second, the Companion, the Lord 'Umar,
the Prophet's devoted friend;
day and night he kneeled in constant prayer,
his countenance as resplendent as the sun and the moon.

(11) Third, the Companion, the Lord 'Uthmān,
beloved of the last of the prophets;
he it was who obeyed God's command,
and collected together those of the scriptures that are inspired.

(12) Fourth, the Companion, the Lord 'Alī,
who was, moreover, the son-in-law of the Prophet;
his bravery was outstanding — beyond description —
'The Tiger of God' he was styled.

(13) Your subject lays a poem
at Your Imperial Highness' feet;
it tells of Your Majesty's royal state
and of your enforcing the sacred law by day and by night.

(14) Tuanku Sultan jang amat ghana (1a)
sempurna 'arif lagi bidjaksana
mengetahui 'ilmu empat belas laksana
mendapat hakikat jang amat sempurna.

(15) Djundjunganku radja jang budiman
terlalu tahu hadis dan firman
akan sabda nabi sangatlah aman
bagindalah kekasih nabi achir zaman.

(16) Baginda itulah radja jang saléh
daripada awal sudah terpilih
membatja kur'an sangatlah fasih
beroléh pangkat jang amat lebih.

(17) Tuanku Sultan jang amat sakti
akan Allah dan rasul sangatlah bakti
sutji dan ichlas didalam hati
seperti air ma' al-hajati.

(18) Daulatnja bukan barang-barang
seperti manikam sudah dikarang
djikalau dihadap segala hulubalang
tjahaja durdjanja gilang gemilang.

(19) Radja berani sangat bertuah
hukumnja 'adil kalbunja murah
segenap tahun zakat dan fitrah
fakir dan miskin sekalian limpah.

14a: ghana (L: ghanī).
14b: L omits "lagi".
14d: sempurna (S: fana).
15b: tahu hadis (L: tahu akan hadis).
15d: bagindalah (S: ialah baginda).
v. 16 in L only.
v. 17 in L only.
17d: ma' al-hajati (m-ā-'-ā-l-dj-'-t).
18b: S: tjahaja durdjanja gilang gemilang.
18d: durdjanja (d-r-dj-t), (S: bertjahajanja muka seperti bulan jang terang).
19a: bertuah (L: berbuat).
19b, 19c in L only.
19c: zakat (z-k-'-t).
19d: S: sekalian fakir diberinja sedekah.

(14) Your Highness, Sultan most lavish,
perfect in wisdom and understanding,
master of the fourteen types of knowledge,
attaining to the most perfect Reality.

(15) Most respected and wise king,
versed in the Tradition and in the Divine Ordinances,
loyally carrying out the Prophet's injunctions,
the beloved of the last of the Prophets.

(16) The king is a most pious ruler
destined to be one of the elect;
an expert reciter of the Koran,
he has attained to the very highest rank.

(17) Your Highness — possessor of supernatural power —
most devoted to the service of God and His Prophet,
pure in heart and sincere of purpose
like the very Water of Life.

(18) His kingly power is of no mean order,
perfect in its completeness like a jewel in its setting;
when waited upon by his officers,
radiant indeed is his countenance.

(19) Valiant and blessed king,
whose rule is just and whose heart is merciful,
every year making his charitable contributions
so that the poor and needy all benefit from his abundant generosity.

(20) Sultan di Goa radja jang sabar
berbuat 'ibadat terlalu gemar
mendjauhi nahi mendekatkan amar
kepada pendéta baginda beradjar.

(21) Bagindalah radja jang amat élok
seraksi dengan adinda di Telo'
semperti embun jang amat sedjuk
tjahajanja limpah pada segala machluk.

(22) Tiadalah habis gharib katakan
sempurnalah baginda mendjadi Sultan
dengan saudaranja sangat berpatutan
seperti emas mengikat intan.

(23) Bidjaksana sekali berkata-kata
sebab berkapit dengan pendéta
djikalau mendengar chabar berita
sedarlah baginda benar dan dusta.

(24) Kekal ikrar apalah tuanku
seperti air zamzam didalam sangku
barang kehendak sekalian berlaku
tenteranja banjak bersuku-suku.

(25) Patik persembahkan suatu rentjana
mohonkan ampun dengan karunia

20a: L omits "di".
20c: S: mendjauhkan nahi mendekati amar.
20d: beradjar (L: berlajar).
21a: S: Baginda itu sultan jang élok.
21b: seraksi (s-l-q-s-ā), Telo' (Telo'lah), S: berkilat-kilat wadjah dan chuluk.
21d: segala (S: sekalian).
22d: mengikat (L: diikat).
23a: L: Bidjaksana sekali pada berkata-kata.
23b: S: mulianja sangat akan pendéta.
23c: chabar berita (S: chabar dan berita).
23d: sedarlah (S: tahulah).
24a: ikrar (S: kiranja), apalah (L: p-ā-n-h).
24b: S omits "air", zamzam (S: z-m-ā-n).
24c: kehendak (S: kehendaknja).
25b: mohonkan (S: memohonkan).

(20) Sultan of Goa — ruler most tolerant,
staunch adherent of the divine law,
shunning the forbidden, seeking always to obey God's injunctions,
ever ready to be instructed by men of divine learning.

(21) The king is most handsome
as is his cousin of Tallo';
like the cooling dew,
his radiance is bestowed upon all his subjects.

(22) This foreigner has still not finished his account:
the king has been a perfect ruler,
ever in harmony with his cousin,
like a jewel in its golden setting.

(23) Most politic is the speech of His Majesty,
the result of men of learning being constantly at his side;
when listening to a report or a statement
he can sift the true from the false.

(24) May your Majesty reign for ever,
as free from storms as holy water in a bowl;
all your wishes shall come to pass;
great is your army and many are its divisions.

(25) Your humble servant submits this composition
in the hope of winning favour with Your Highness;

aturnja djanggal banjak ta' kena (2)
karena 'akalnja belum sempurna.

(26) Mohonkan ampun gharib jang fakir
mentjatakan asma didalam sja'ir
maka patikpun berbuat sindir
kepada negeri asing supaja lahir.

(27) Tuanku ampun fakir jang hina
sindirnja tidak betapa béna
menjatakan asma radja jang ghana
supaja tentu pada segala jang bidjaksana.

(28) Maka patik berani berdatang sembah
harapkan ampun karunia jang limpah
tuanku ampuni hamba Allah
karena aturnja banjak jang salah.

(29) Tamatlah sudah memudji Sultan
tersebutlah perkataan Welanda sjaitan
Kornilis Sipalman penghulu kapitan
tatkala ke Buton membawa angkatan.

(30) Demikian asal mula pertama
Welanda dan Bugis bersama-sama
Kornilis Sipalman Welanda ternama
Radja Palaka djadi panglima.

(31) Berkampunglah Welanda sekalian djenis
berkatalah Djenderal kapitan jang bengis

25c: ta' kena (L: t-k-n-ā).
25d: karena (S: daripada), 'akalnja (S: 'akal).
26a: Mohonkan (S: Memohonkan), fakir (L: q-ṣ-ṭ).
26c: maka patikpun (S: sebabpun patik).
26d: negeri asing (L: negeri jang asing).
27a: Tuanku ampun (S: Inilah sembah).
27c: ghana (S: gh-ī-n).
27d: S omits "pada".
29a: Tamatlah (S: Setelah).
29b: sjaitan (L: k-ū-f-r).
30d: Radja Palaka (L: Radja Palaka kelak).
31a: L: Berkampung-kampunglah jang n-dj-s-n.
31b: Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ā-l, S: amiral), jang bengis (S: iblis).

its arrangement is clumsy, it has many faults,
due to the lack of insight of the writer.

(26) This wretched foreigner begs for forgiveness,
as he relates your virtues in ballad form;
the reason I composed these poor verses
was so that other countries might hear the story.

(27) Your lowly servant asks for forgiveness,
his verses are of little account;
they tell of the virtues of our most lavish prince
so that all men of understanding may know of them.

(28) I only venture to do so
in the hope of finding favour in Your Majesty's eyes;
forgive this lowly creature
whose work contains so many mistakes.

(29) After paying homage to the Sultan
we begin the story by telling how the damned Hollanders,
under the supreme command of Cornelis Speelman,
were about to set out for Buton.

(30) That was how things began;
there were the Dutch and their allies, the Bugis,
that renowned Hollander, Cornelis Speelman
and Arung Palakka as the Bugis general.

(31) The Dutch and their allies were gathered together.
Said their savage commander-in-chief:

djikalau alah Mengkasar nin habis
Tunderu' kelak radja di Bugis.

(32) Setelah didengar oléh si Tunderu'
kata Djenderal Welanda jang mabuk
berbangkitlah ia daripada duduk
bétalah kelak dimédan mengamuk.

(33) Akan tjakap Bugis jang dusta
sehari kubedil robohlah kota
habis kauambil segala harta
perempuan jang baik bahagian béta.

(34) Djika sudah kita alahkan
segala hasil béta persembahkan
perintah negeri kita serahkan
keradjaan di Boné Tunderu' pohonkan.

(35) Setelah didengar oléh Djenderal
tjakap Tunderu' orang jang bebal
disuruhnja berlengkap segala kapal
seorang kapitan didjadikan amiral.

(36) Putuslah sudah segala musjawarat
Welanda dan Bugis membawa alat
beberapa senapang dengan bangat (2a)
sekalian soldadu didalam surat.

(37) Tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu jang muda-muda
memakai kamsol tjara Welanda

31c: L: djikalau Welanda jang alah Mengkasar habis.
31d: Tunderu' (L: Tunderu'lah, S: s-t-n-d-r), kelak (L: k-ā-t).
32a: si Tunderu' (S: s-t-ū-n-d-ū-r).
32b: Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ā-l), S: kata Welanda djender(al) kutuk.
vv. 33-34 in L only.
35a: Setelah (S: Demi), Djenderal (L: dj-n-r-ā-l).
35b: Tunderu' (S: si Bugis).
35c: segala (S: sekalian).
35d: amiral (S: ā-m-b-r-l).
36a: L omits "segala".
36b: dan (L: dengan), membawa alat (L: orang bida'ah).
36c, 36d in S only.
37a: enam (L: empat).
37b, 37c in S only.

"If we can defeat these Macassarese,
you, Palakka, shall be king of the Bugis."

(32) When Arung Palakka heard
the words of the besotted Dutch general,
he rose from his seat, saying:
"I shall drive all before me on the field of battle."

(33) The perjured Bugis went on to say:
"A day's bombardment will see the town in ruins;
you can have everything of value
and I'll have the pick of the women."

(34) After we've defeated them,
everything we take shall be offered up to you.
Macassar shall be subject to you,
I ask for the throne of Boné."

(35) When the general heard
the words of the dunder-headed Palakka,
he gave orders for all his ships to be fitted out
and appointed one of his officers as commander of the fleet.

(36) When plans had been agreed upon,
the Dutch and Bugis collected their equipment;
a stock of muskets were speedily taken on board,
with all the soldiers stipulated in the commission.

(37) There were seven hundred and sixty young soldiers,
wearing Dutch-style tunics;

rupanja sikap seperti Garuda
bermuatlah kekapal barang jang ada.

(38) Delapan belas kapal jang besar
semuanja habis menarik lajar
turunlah angin barat jang besar
sampailah ia kenegeri Mengkasar.

(39) Dilaut Barombong kapal berlabuh
kata si Bugis mati dibunuh
djikalau radja datang menjuruh
semuanja tangkap kita perteguh.

(40) Pada sangkanja Bugis dan Welanda
dikatanja takut gerangan baginda
tambahan Bugis orang jang bida'ah
barang katanja mengada-ngada.

(41) Segala ra'jat jang melihat
ada jang suka ada jang dahsat
sekalian ra'jat berkampung musjawarat
masuk mengadap duli hadrat.

(42) Daéng dan Karé masuk kedalam
mengadap duli makota 'alam
berkampunglah segala kaum Islam
menantikan titah Sjahi 'alam.

37d: S: bermuatlah Bugis Welanda k-ū-f-r / barang jang ada dibawanja kekapal.
38a: Delapan (dūalāpan).
38b: habis (S: itu).
38c: barat (L: ribut).
38d: L omits "negeri".
39a: Barombong (S: r-m-b-ng), berlabuh (L: b-r-l-ā-j-ū?).
39b: kata si (L: akan kata).
39c: radja datang (S: radjanja kelak).
39d: kita (S: ikat).
v. 40 in L only.
40a: Bugis dan Welanda (Welanda dan Bugis).
41b: suka (S: gentar), dahsat (L: duka hati).
41c: L: sekalian berkampung duduk musjawarat.
42d: Sjahi (L: duli sjah, S: sāhī).

they looked as fierce as Garudas
and everyone went on board.

(38) There were eighteen large vessels;
the entire fleet hoisted sail;
with a strong westerly breeze blowing
they arrived at Macassar.

(39) The fleet anchored off Barombong.
Said the damned Bugis:
"If the king sends envoys
let's seize them and hold them here."

(40) The imagination of the Bugis and Dutch!,
saying that the king would be frightened.
But then again the Bugis are such liars
that everything they say is exaggerated.

(41) Of those who witnessed their arrival
some were glad while others were despondent;
they gathered together to take counsel
then went to the palace to inform the Sultan.

(42) The Daéngs and Karés went into the palace
to wait upon His Majesty;
they gathered together — all good Muslims —
awaiting the Sultan's commands.

(43) Akan titah baginda Sultan
siapatah baik kita titahkan
tanjakan kehendak Welanda sjaitan
hendak berkelahi kita lawan.

(44) Menjahut baginda Keraéng Ketapang
Keraéng wé djangan hatimu bimbang
djikalau Welanda hendak berperang
kita kampungkan sekalian orang.

(45) Dititirlah nobat genderang pekandjar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
berhimpunlah ra'jat ketjil dan besar
adalah gégér negeri Mengkasar.

(46) Bertjakaplah baginda Keraéng Popo' (3)
mentjabut sunderik jang amat élok
barang dimana ketumbukan si Tunderu'
biarlah aku kesana masuk.

(47) Mengaru pula' Keraéng Léngkés
mentjabut sunderik serta memekis
djikalau sekadar Welanda dan Bugis
daripada tertawan remaklah habis.

(48) Keraéng Garasi' radja jang tua
bertjakap dihadapan anakanda kedua

43a: Akan titah (S: menitah b-ā-g-ī).
43b: siapatah (L: siapa).
43c: sjaitan (L: k-ū-f-r).
43d: berkelahi kita (S: berkelahi ia boléh kita).
44a: baginda (S: Keraéng), Keraéng (S: b-ā-g-ī).
44b: L omits "wé".
45a: dititirlah (S: d-t-ī-t-nj), pekandjar (S: perkandjar).
45d: negeri (S: ditanah).
46a: Bertjakaplah baginda (S: Pertama bertjakap).
46b: sunderik (L: s-t-n-d-r-q, S: s-n-d-ī-r).
46c: si Tunderu' (S: s-t-n-d-ū-r).
47b: sunderik (L: s-t-n-d-r-q, S: s-n-d-ī-r).
47c: sekadar Welanda (L: sekadar si Tunderu' Welanda).
47d: remaklah (S: baiklah).
48a: Garasi' (L: k-r-s-k).
48b: anakanda (L: tj-n-dj-d).

(43) Asked the Sultan:
"Whom had we best send as envoy
to ask the devilish Hollanders what they want?
If they are bent on war, we shall fight them."

(44) Karaéng Katapang broke in:
"Set your mind at rest, Karaéng;
if the Dutch mean to fight,
we shall assemble all our forces."

(45) The royal drum and the war-drums were beaten,
making a sound like the rolling of thunder;
the people began to assemble, high and low alike,
and alarm spread throughout Macassar.

(46) Declared the noble Karaéng Popo'
as he drew his fine cutlass from its sheath:
"Wherever Arung Palakka's column fights
just let me get in there!"

(47) Karaéng Léngkésé' broke in
drawing his cutlass in a gesture of defiance:
"If it's no more than Dutch and Bugis,
destruction is better than capture."

(48) Declared the aged Karaéng Garassi'
before his two royal nephews:

barang kerdja akulah bawa
karena badankupun sudahlah tua.

(49) Keraéng Bonto Madjanang saudara Sultan
Sikapnja seperti harimau djantan
barang kemana patik dititahkan
Welanda dan Bugis sadja kulawan.

(50) Bertjakap pula Keraéng Djaranika
mérah padam warnanja muka
Welanda Bugis andjing tjelaka
haramlah aku memalingkan muka.

(51) Keraéng Pandjalingang radja jang bidjak
melompat mentjabut keris pandak
djikalau undur patik nin kelak
kepada perempuan suruh tempelak.

(52) Keraéng Bonto Sunggu radja élok
bertjakap dihadapan Radja Telo'
biarlah patik mendjadi tjutjuk
Welanda dan Bugis sadja kuamuk.

(53) Keraéng Balo' radja jang muda
bertjakap dihadapan paduka kakanda
djikalau sekad(ar) Bugis dan Welanda
barang dititahkan patiklah ada.

(54) Akan tjakap Keraéng Sanderaboné
mentjabut sunderik baru ditjanai

48d: sudahlah (S: sudah).
49a: Madjanang (S: m-n-tj-n-ng).
49b: sikapnja (S: sikapnja itu).
50a: Bertjakap pula (L: Bertjakaplah), Djaranika (L: dj-r-ā-n-ī-k-q).
50c: Welanda Bugis (S. Welanda dan Bugis).
50d: aku (S: patik).
51b: keris pandak (S: keris jang pandak).
51c: undur (L: ā-n-d-r n?-n).
v. 52 in L only.
53b: paduka (L: p-ā-t-k).
53c: sekad(ar) (S: s-q-d, L omits), dan (L: dengan).
54a: Akan tjakap (S: Mengaru pula).
54b: sunderik (S: s-n-d-ī-r), baru ditjanai (S: sudah tertjanai).

"Whatever the task, I shall undertake it;
for I am an old man whose time is nearly come."

(49) Karaéng Bonto Majannang, the Sultan's (half-)brother,
tiger-like in his bearing, said:
"Wherever I am ordered to go
my only thought shall be to fight the Dutch and Bugis."

(50) Then came Karaéng Jarannika's turn.
His face a fiery red, he said:
"Dutch and Bugis — those foul dogs!
May I be damned if ever I am disloyal to you!"

(51) Said the ever-alert Karaéng Panjallingang
as he leapt forward, drawing his short kris:
"If ever I, your liegeman, retreat before the enemy,
may I become the laughing-stock of the women."

(52) The dashing Karaéng Bonto Sunggu
addressed himself to the Sultan of Tallo':
"Let me be the spearhead of our forces
and storm the ranks of the Dutch and Bugis."

(53) Declared the young Karaéng Ballo'
before his elder (half-)brother, the Sultan:
"If it's no more than Bugis and Dutch,
here I am — I await your orders."

(54) Karaéng Sanraboné declared,
drawing his freshly whetted cutlass:

djikalau sekadar Sopéng dan Boné
tambah lagi Sula' dengan Burné.

(55) Djikalau ia mau kemari
sekapur sirih ia kuberi
djikalau Allah sudah memberi (3a)
si la'nat Allah kita tampari.

(56) Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé'
ia berkandjar mentjabut sunderik
berdiri melompat seraja bertempik
barang dimana dititahkan patik.

(57) Keraéng Mamu berani sungguh
bertjakap dengan kata jang teguh
djikalau patik bertemu musuh
pada barang tempat hamba bertutuh.

(58) Daéng Mabéla muda jang sabar
ia bertjakap menjampaikan destar
berkat Tuhan wahid al-kahar
patikpun tidak ngeri dan gentar.

(59) Bertjakaplah bagé Daéng Mangépé'
zamzam durdja bagai 'kan titik

54c: djikalau sekadar (S: djangankan antara).
54d: S: tambahan p-ū Sula' dan Burné.
55b: kuberi (S: aku beri).
55c: djikalau (L: djika).
56a: S: Keraéng Mandalé' radja jang molék.
56b: S: ia bertjakap mentjabut s-n-d-ī.
56c: S: berdiri bertempik serta melompat.
56d: after "patik", L adds "patiklah ada", S: barang dimana ia datang aku mendekat.
57a: Mamu (L: m-ā-ū).
57b: bertjakap dengan (S: bertjakap dianja dengan).
57c: bertemu musuh (S: bertemu dengan musuh).
57d: S omits "pada", hamba (S: patik).
vv. 58-61: S arranges these verses in the following order: 60, 61, 59, 58.
58a: Mabéla (L: b-ī-l-ā).
58b: destar (L: dj-s-t-r), S: serta bertjakap membukakan dj-s-t-r.
59a: Bertjakaplah (S: Mengaru).
59b: zamzam (L: dj-m-dj-m), durdja (S: durdjana), titik (L: t-ī-t-h-k).

"If it's only the Soppéng and Boné folk we have to deal with,
plus some Sula and Borneo people.

(55) If they propose to pay us a visit,
I'll give them something to chew on.
If God grant it,
I'll smack their cursed faces."

(56) Camé the turn of the noble Karaéng Mandallé'.
He bounded forward, drawing his cutlass,
shouting, as he leapt about:
"Your Highness can send me anywhere."

(57) Karaéng Mamu was there, of unquestioned courage.
In his forthright way he declared:
"If I should encounter the enemy,
wherever it may be, I'll smash him to pieces."

(58) Daéng Mabéla, young and level-headed,
putting his turban over his shoulder, declared:
"With the blessing of Almighty God
I too shall face the enemy without a qualm."

(59) Declared the noble Daéng Manggappa,
tears starting to his eyes:

patiklah hamba jang didik
daripada lari matilah baik.

(60) Daéng ri Boko Sahbandar jang tua
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan kedua
djikalau lagi hajatnja djiwa
sedzarrahpun tidak mau ketjéwa.

(61) Sahbandar jang muda amat bidjaksana
bertjakap dihadapan radja jang ghana
djikalau musuh naik di Mangalékana
lihatlah kelak tamasa disana.

(62) Akan tjakap Datu' Maharadjaléla
barang dititahkan patik nin réla
djikalau sekadar Bugis Welanda
Nasrani tambah dengan Buton dan Sula'.

(63) Akan sembah Datu' Seri Amar Diradja
patikpun seorang hamba jang sahadja
tuanku titahkan pada barang kerdja
mohonlah patik memalingkan durdja.

(64) Akan tjakap anak radja jang muda-muda (4)
hendak berperang dengan Welanda
rupa sikapnja seperti garuda
sekaliannja anak saudara baginda.

59c: didik (L: ditidak).
60a: ri (L: di).
60c: lagi (S: ada).
61d: tamasa (L: t-r-m-ā-s-r, S: t-r-m-ā-s).
v. 62: S has: Maharadjaléla tjakap hulubalang / patikpun hadir dengan anak dagang / sekadar Meluku Ambon jang malang / kepada barang tempat patik b-r-ng.
63a: S omits "sembah", Amar (S: ā-m-t).
63b: hamba jang sahadja (S: jang disahadja).
63d: mohonlah (S: haramlah), durdja (S: muka).
64a: Akan tjakap (S: Bertjakap segala).
S places 64c before 64b.
64b: hendak (S: patik).
64d: S: Buton Meluku Ambon jang b-ī-d-ā.

"I, who owe you so much kindness,
would rather die than run away."

(60) Daéng ri Boko, the Chief Shahbandar,
declared before the two Sultans:
"As long as I still have life in my body
I shan't let (you) down in any way at all."

(61) The Deputy Shahbandar, renowned for his wisdom
vowed before the Sultan:
"If the enemy come ashore at Mangallékana,
you'll see, we'll have some fun there."

(62) The Dato' Maharaja Léla gave his assurance:
"Whatever Your Highness commands, I am at your service.
It's only the Bugis and Dutch —
Christians — with some Buton and Sula folk."

(63) Said the Dato' Sri Amar Diraja:
"I am entirely at your service.
You may command me anything
for I will never desert Your Highness."

(64) The young members of the royal entourage declared
that their one wish was to fight the Dutch.
Fierce as Garudas they looked,
all of them related to the Sultan.

(65) Beratus-ratus hulubalang jang pahlawan
dibawah duli radja bangsawan
berkat daulat jang dipertuan
sekalian bertjakap hendak melawan.

(66) Setelah habis sekalian bertjakap
semuanja beratur duduk mengadap
ketjil dan besar hatinja tetap
karena anak radja-radja sekalian bertjakap.

(67) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Entji' Amin dipanggil membuat surat
bunjinja baik tiada jang ghalat
kalam muchtasar tiada dibuat.

(68) Entji' Amin itu orang jang bidjak
tubuhnja sedang sederhana pandak
memakai minjak dengan kelembak
baunja harum amat semerbak.

(69) Entji' Amin itu djangan disaju
nisab Mengkasar anak Melaju
lemah lembut badannja aju
laksana taruk angsoka laju.

(70) Setelah sudah surat jang muchtasar
diberikan kepada seorang djuak
kepada Welanda (di)suruhnja bawa.
engkau tanjakan barang kehendak.

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v. 65 in L only.
v. 66 in S only.
67a: Setelah sudah putus (S: ketika baginda).
67b: membuat surat (S: akan menjurat).
67c: ghalat (L: ch-l-t).
67d: muchtasar (L: m-ḥ-t-ṣ? = muchtaṣṣ, special), S: itulah seorang machluk jang ā-t-ṣ-t.
68d: baunja (L: b-ū-ū-nj).
v. 69 in S only.
69b: nisab (n-ṣ-ī-f).
70a: L omits "jang muchtasar", muchtasar (S: m-f-ḥ-t-ā-s-?).
70b: seorang djuak (S: tangan Djabar).
70c, 70d in L only.

(65) There were hundreds of the bravest warriors,
in the service of our noble ruler:
"With your Highness' blessing", they said,
"We swear to resist the enemy."

(66) After all those present had given assurances,
they resumed their normal places in the audience-hall.
High and low, all were determined,
encouraged by the declarations made by the noblemen.

(67) When the council was at an end,
Enche' Amin was summoned to draw up a letter.
It was well composed and contained no mistakes;
it was concisely worded, without any flourishes.

(68) This Enche' Amin was a clever fellow,
of rather small stature but well built.
The eagle-wood scent that be always used
made his body give out a fragrant odour.

(69) Enche' Amin was a man to be envied,
by birth, a Malay of Macassarese descent;
graceful and attractive in his movements,
like the curling shoots of the angsoka tree.

(70) When a summary letter had been drafted
it was entrusted to one of the court officials;
he was told to take it to the Dutch
and ask them their intentions.

(71) Disambut surat jang muchtasar
oléh djuak bernama Djabar
Djabar menjembah kepada radja jang besar
turun berdjalan keris dikisar.

(72) Djuru bahasa jang disuruh
naik perahu lalu berkajuh
menudju tempat kapal berlabuh
serta sampai ditambatnja teguh.

(73) Amiral Nasrani terlalu bengis
disuruhnja minta segala keris
Tunderu' menjahut seraja memalis
bukan 'adatnja tiada berkeris.

(74) Djabarpun duduk dekat Kapitan
diambilnja surat lalu diberikan
djuru tulisnja datang membatjakan (4a)
didengar oléh sekalian kapitan.

(75) Setelah didengar oléh Sipalman
bunjinja surat tiadalah aman
Amiral memandang kiri dan kanan
tunduk berpikir berkelamaan.

(76) Si Tunderu' berkata seraja menoléh
semuanja adalah aku peroléh
Bima dan Dompu tidak kukelih
serta kukenang hatiku pedih.

(77) Djabar menjahut seraja menjembah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
maka tuanku beroléh susah
segenap negeri orang duduk berumah.

71a, 71b in L only.
71a: muchtasar (m-ḥ-t-ṣ-r?).
71c: L omits "Djabar menjembah", Djabar (S: dj-b-ā).
72d: teguh (L: t-k-t).
73a: Amiral Nasrani (S: ā-m-r kutuk).
73b: minta segala (S: ambil sekalian).
73c: Tunderu' menjahut (S: Radja Palaka), L stops after "seraja".
76a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
76c: m-ī-nj-q d-ā-n d-m-p t-ī-d-q k-ū-k-ā-l-h.

(71) The summary letter was received
by an official called Jabbar.
Jabbar made obeisance to the Sultan
and went on his way, plucking at his kris.

(72) The interpreter, as he had been commanded,
got into a boat and was rowed out
to where the Dutch fleet was anchored.
The boat was then made fast.

(73) The overbearing Christian Admiral
ordered all kris's to be given up.
Raja Palakka, rather embarrassed, broke in:
"It is customary for people here to retain their kris."

(74) Jabbar sat next to the Dutch commander;
he took the letter and handed it over.
Their interpreter came to read it out
to the assembled officers.

(75) When Speelman heard the contents of the letter
and realized that war was threatened,
he gazed around him
and bowed his head in thought for a while.

(76) In an aside to Jabbar, Palakka said:
"I'll seize everything there is,
Bima and Dompu too, I shan't overlook.
My blood boils when I remember what happened."

(77) Jabbar answered politely
"It is the will of God
that you have suffered as you have;
no one is forced to leave his home."

(78) Djabar itu sangat ber'akal
sehari semalam diatas kapal
hendak mengamuk takut disesal
sabarlah is serta tawakal.

(79) Amiral kutuk kafir jang bachil
bitjaranja itu hendak membedil
menjuruh naik sebuah batil
dipantai Garasi' ia mengempil.

(80) Naiklah Welanda ada seorang
tempatnja undur di Udjung Karang
dinantinja lama tiadalah datang
si kutuk berdajung lalu pulang.

(81) Dibawanja berdjalan menjusur pantai
lalulah naik keatas balai
keluarlah daéng anak bura'né
duduk berhimpun terlalu ramai.

(82) Turunlah angin barat jang besar
orang mengadap terkisar-kisar
hendak batja surat si kuffār (5)
dititahkan oléh Sultan jang besar.

(83) Disuruh batja surat Welanda
bunjinja djahat banjak jang bida'ah
adalah berubah muka baginda
berpaling memandang Sultan jang muda.

(84) Seketika baginda duduk
seri Sultan berangkat masuk
kehendak hatinja Welanda kutuk
kita pula disuruhnja tunduk.

(85) Matahari masuk bulan mengambang
pulanglah Welanda kerumah sambang

79d: Garasi' (k-r-s).
80c: datang (ḥ-r-t-ng).
82c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
83b: bida'ah (b-ī-d-h).

(78) A shrewd fellow was Jabbar.
He spent a whole day on board the ship;
he would have run amuck if he hadn't thought he might regret
So he restrained himself, commending his soul to God. [it later.

(79) That cursed, infidel, greedy Admiral
spoke of beginning a bombardment.
He ordered a boat to put in towards the shore;
it stood off near the Garassi' coast.

(80) One of the Dutchmen came ashore
just by Ujong Karang.
The boat's crew waited some time for him but he didn't
so they rowed back to the ship. [come back,

(81) He was taken along the shore
and brought to the palace.
Out came the Daéngs, fighters all
and a great crowd began to assemble.

(82) A west wind began to blow.
Those waiting upon the Sultan began to fidget.
The infidel's letter was to be read out,
in accordance with the Sultan's command.

(83) The Hollanders' letter was read out as ordered,
an insolent missive, full of lies.
The Sultan's face grew grim
and he glanced at the young King of Tallo'.

(84) After a few minutes
His Highness left the audience-hall and went into his private
"What these damned Dutch want [apartment saying:
is for us to bow the knee."

(85) The sun went down and the moon came up.
The Dutch envoy went back to the guardroom.

semalam itu ia dipegang
pagi-pagi hari dihantarkan pulang.

(86) Welanda iblis terlalu tjerdik
dikajuhkan dengan perahu ketjil
diturunkan dari pangkalan Garasi'
supaja nadjisnja djangan memertjik.

(87) Setelah sampai kepangkalan dekat
naik mengadap Kapitan murtad
menjampaikan pesan tjepiau diangkat
mengatakan Mengkasar tiada mufakat.

(88) Berkatalah Amir(al) Kapitan jang garang
suruhannja itu lepaskan pulang
hendak kita bedil ia sekarang
Buton betapa chabarnja gerang.

(89) Setelah didengar djuru bahasa
seperti orang bermimpi puasa
kembalilah ia dengan sentosa
mengadap duli radja jang kuasa.

(90) Sultan bertitah kepada Djabar
marilah kemari engkau berchabar
betapa kehendak Welanda kuffār (5a)
temannja sudah kita suruh hantar.

(91) Dipersembahkan chabar kepada Sultan
akan kehendak Welanda sjaitan
bar(ang) katanja tuanku ikutkan
maulah ia berpatutan.

(92) Welanda putih seperti sabun
sentiasa malam tidur berembun
daripada sebab biasanja konon
berlajarlah lalu ke Buton.

88a: Amir(al) (ā-m-ī-r).
90c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
91c: bar(ang) (b-ā-ŋ), ikutkan (ikut akan).

He was kept there the whole night
and sent back early next morning.

(86) The fiendish Dutch, in their cunning way,
sent a small rowing boat to fetch their envoy.
We made him embark at the Garassi' landing-stage
so that his filth shouldn't splatter about all over the place.

(87) When he arrived close to the gangway
he went on board to see the renegade commander.
Raising his hat, he transmitted the message,
saying that Macassar would not agree to the Dutch terms.

(88) The admiral, as fierce as ever, said:
"Have their envoy sent back.
We must begin the bombardment now.
I wonder how Buton is faring?"

(89) When our envoy heard these words
he felt as though his dream had come true.
He returned, unharmed,
to have audience with our mighty Sultan.

(90) Said the Sultan to Jabbar:
"Come here my man and tell me
what the Dutch infidels intend.
We have already had their envoy sent back."

(91) The envoy reported to the Sultan
what it was that the Dutch wanted.
"You are to comply with all their wishes;
they wish to make a reasonable settlement."

(92) The Dutch are as white as soap.
Every night they sleep out in the open,
because they're used to it, apparently.
Well, they sailed off to Buton.

(93) Sekalian kapal berlajar kain
di anak negeri singgah bermain
turunlah Welanda kafir jang bain
mengambil njiur buah jang lain.

(94) Durdjana sungguh Bugis Welanda
singgah dikampung membawa sendjata
lalulah ia pergi mendjarah
dibakarnja rumah beberapa buah.

(95) Si Tunderu' naik ke Bantaéng
pahanja luka ditikam lembing
turun terdjingkat terdjindjing-djindjing
Bugispun banjak jang mengiring.

(96) Amiral melihat si Tunderu' luka
adalah sedikit hatinja duka
serta datang disuruhnja buka
dibubuhnja obat pada jang luka.

(97) Setelah selesai gégér dan gempar
sekalian kapal menarik lajar
turunlah angin barat jang besar
kapal berlajar sambar-menjambar.

(98) Sampai ke Buton kapal berlabuh
memasang meriam legah dan leguh
tiga hari tiga malam tiada teduh (6)
barang jang kena hantjur dan luluh.

(99) Mengkasar melihat kapal datang
Keraéng Bonto Maranu hatinja pusang
Keraéng Peté'ne' sempurna hulubalang
mengadirkan setinggar lembing dan pedang.

(100) Setelah pagi-pagi hari
naiklah Welanda Bugis pentjuri

94a: Durdjana (d-r-dj-nj).
95a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ũ-r).
96a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ũ-r).

(93) All their ships had canvas sails.
They stopped at many outlying settlements
where the Dutch, outright infidels, went ashore
to take coconuts and other fruit.

(94) The Dutch and Bugis are really treacherous.
They descended upon the villages in full strength
and went on raiding expeditions,
burning several houses.

(95) Palakka went ashore at Bonthain
and was wounded in the thigh by a spear-thrust.
He had to be helped back to the ship, hobbling along
followed by a crowd of Bugis.

(96) When the Admiral saw that Palakka had been wounded
he was rather upset.
As soon as Palakka reached him, he told him to bare his thigh
and had the wound dressed.

(97) When all the noise and shouting had died down
the fleet hoisted sail.
A strong westerly breeze blew up
and the ships raced each other to Buton.

(98) At last the fleet anchored off Buton.
They fired off their guns making a terrible din.
For three days there was no let-up, by day or by night;
whatever was hit was smashed to pieces.

(99) When the Macassar forces saw the fleet arrive
Karaéng Bonto Marannu's heart sank.
Karaéng Patté'né', the perfect soldier,
set about providing supplies of muskets, spears and swords.

(100) Early next morning
the thievish Dutch and Bugis landed.

Keraéng Peté'né' jang mengeluari
berperang sampai setengah hari.

(101) Seketika berperang Bugispun lari
tjerai-berai membawa diri
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
seorangpun tidak lagi berdiri.

(102) Keraéng Peté'né' radja jang bisai
baginda mengamuk menjusur pantai
segala djuaknja berbadju rantai
menempuh datang ketepi sungai.

(103) Dibedil oléh Kapitan Welanda
kenalah badan dada baginda
satupun tidak tjatjat binasa
kebesaran Allah kepadanja njata.

(104) Keraéng Peté'né' radja jang 'akil
segala ra'jat disuruhnja tampil
tidaklah baginda gentarkan bedil
niatnja sangat hendakkan sabil.

(105) Dilihatnja baginda tiada berpaling
dibubuhnja peluru baling-baling
dibedilnja kena pipi dan kening
baginda djatuh badan terguling.

(106) Dilihatnja oléh Keraéng Tompong
ajahanda disuruhnja usung
disambut djuaknja dibawa usung
karunia Allah baginda djundjung. (6a)

(107) Keraéng Peté'né' masuk kekubur
Mengkasar gempar terlalu ibur
riuh rendah orang bertutur
siang dan malam tiada tidur.

101a: berperang (b-r-p-ū-ā-r-ng).
106c: djuaknja (dj-ū-ā-ī-nj).

Karaéng Patté'né' it was who took the field against them
and fighting went on till mid-day.

(101) The Bugis soon broke and ran,
fleeing in utter confusion;
hither and thither they ran,
not a man standing his ground.

(102) Karaéng Patté'né' was a splendid fighter;
he attacked the enemy along the sea-shore.
All his retainers wore chain-mail.
His attack took him as far as the river bank.

(103) The Dutch commander was using his artillery
and Karaéng Patté'né' was hit in the chest;
no damage was done however —
a sure sign that God was on his side.

(104) Karaéng Patté'né' was a shrewd leader;
he ordered his troops to advance to the attack.
He did not tremble before the fire from the Dutch cannon,
for his dearest wish was to fight against the infidels.

(105) When the Dutch saw that Karaéng did not flinch,
they started firing chain-shot
and succeeded in hitting him in the forehead and in the cheek.
He fell down and rolled over.

(106) Karaéng Tomponga saw what had happened
and ordered his father to be taken back in a litter.
His retainers lifted him on to the litter and bore him away
and his spirit was received into the Mercy of God.

(107) Karaéng Patté'né' was buried
and dismay spread through the Macassar ranks;
excited shouting filled the air
and it was impossible to sleep, by night or by day.

(108) Keraéng Bonto Maranu 'akalnja lebih
melihat ra'jat sekalian letih
zamzam durdjanja sebagai léléh
lalu mendirikan tunggul putih.

(109) Welanda melihat tunggul putih
si Tunderu' dan Amiral hatinja pulih
sekali ini kita peroléh
Mengkasar dan Mandar sudah letih.

(110) Menjuruh naik sebuah batil
datang kedarat ia mengempil
Keraéng Bonto Maranu mari dipanggil
segala sendjata disuruhnja ambil.

(111) Keraéng Bonto Maranu turun kekapal
dipanggil duduk oléh Amiral
Keraéng wé djangan hatimu sebal
dengan Radja Palaka engkau bertimbal.

(112) Dipudjuk Amiral kafir jang durhaka
Keraéng Bonto Maranu hatinja suka
lupalah ia akan siksa naraka
daripada bebalnja maka ia tjelaka.

(113) Mara'dia itu tiada menurut kata
masuk menutup pintu kota
Bugis kutuk Welanda jang dusta
patutlah lawan kepada kita.

(114) Keraéng Bonto Maranu naik kedarat
mengambil sendjata sekalian ra'jat
segala jang berkeris disuruhnja ikat (7)
banjaklah Mengkasar jang terkerat.

(115) Segala radja-radja diambilnja keris
sekaliannja diam tidak menangis

109b: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-ʼ).
111c: hatimu (h-ī-t-m).
113d: patutlah (patublah).

(108) Karaéng Bonto Marannu proved himself a wise leader.
Seeing that his forces were exhausted,
with his face streaming with tears,
he ordered the white flag to be hoisted.

(109) When the Dutch saw the white flag hoisted
Palakka and the Admiral felt greatly relieved.
"This time the victory is ours;
the Macassarese and Mandarese are worn out."

(110) Orders were given to send away a boat.
It made for the shore and came alongside the landing-stage.
Karaéng Bonto Marannu was summoned
and told to collect all weapons.

(111) Karaéng Bonto Marannu went on board.
The Admiral invited him to sit down.
"Hey, Karaéng, don't be so downcast.
Go and sit with Raja Palakka!"

(112) The treacherous, infidel Admiral began to flatter
Karaéng Bonto Marannu, whose spirits began to rise.
He forgot the torments Hell has in store for the guilty
and, through his stupidity, acted like a blackguard.

(113) The Mara'dia of Mandar refused to do as Karaéng Bonto
[Marannu ordered
and went back, closing the entrance to the stockade.
"Those damned Bugis, those lying Dutchmen,
we must, of course, resist them."

(114) Karaéng Bonto Marannu went ashore
to collect his troops' weapons;
all those with a kris were ordered to be bound
and many Macassarese were cut down.

(115) All the Rajas had their kris's taken from them.
They were silent; there was no weeping.

'akalnja itu terlalu chabis
tiadalah patut didengar madjelis.

(116) Setelah habis sekalian sendjata
Mandar ta' mau menurut kata
mana kehendaknja Welanda jang dusta
barang hukumnja adalah kita.

(117) Keraéng Bonto Maranu sangat bertjinta
turunlah ia membawa sendjata
kepada Amiral ia berkata
Mandar itu diatas béta.

(118) Buton itu mengjangkan djagung
berebutlah ia turun merampung
djikalau tidak mojangnja datang menolong
radja dan menterinja habis terpotong.

(119) Buton la'nat mengjangkan ubi
lupalah ia akan agama nabi
sungguhpun ia tiada makan babi
pakaiannja sudah menurut serani.

(120) Bertitahlah Radja Bala' Nipah
menjuruh mengganti dajung jang patah
semuanja hadir seperti perintah
menantikan radjanja djuga bertitah.

(121) Datanglah gerak daripada Allah
iapun keluar lalu membelah
.....
.....

(122) Mara'dia itu radja jang terbilang
membelah dengan serunai genderang
keris dan sunderik tersisip dipinggang
setinggarpun hadir seputjuk seorang.

115d: patut (patub).
119a: mengjangkan (m-ng-ī-k-n).
121b: membelah (m-m-b-ā-l-h).
122b: membelah (m-m-b-ā-l-h).
122c: sunderik (s-n-d-r).

It was a vile idea
not fit to be spoken of in public.

(116) When all the weapons had been collected
the Mandar leader still refused to obey orders:
"Never mind those lying Dutchmen;
if they want to do anything about it, we're ready for them."

(117) Karaèng Bonto Marannu was greatly disturbed
and returned to the ship with the weapons;
to the Admiral he said:
"Leave the Mandarese to me."

(118) The Butonese — maize-worshippers —
descended upon the Macassarese, cutting and slashing.
Without the spiritual aid of their ancestors
Rajas and ministers would have been cut down.

(119) Those swinish Butonese — yam-worshippers —
were heedless of the Prophet's injunctions.
Although they do not eat pig's flesh,
their clothes ape the Christian style.

(120) Raja Bala(ng)nipa gave orders
to repair any broken oars;
all his men assembled as commanded,
awaiting their Raja's instructions.

(121) He felt an involuntary twitching — a sign from God,
and then set out to escape
.....
.....

(122) The Mara'dia is a renowned Raja;
he put to sea to the music of the fife and drum,
his kris and cutlass stuck in his belt
and each of his men had a musket.

(123) Hendak mengambat si Tunderu' melarang (7a)
Mandar itu biarlah pulang
kehendak hatinja berkata garang
Mandar kutuk anak djembalang.

(124) Mandar itu radja jang keras
sehari semalam diapun lepas
barang jang tinggal disuruhnja rampas.
habis mendjelus tinggal mendjelas.

(125) Akan Mengkasar Bima Sumbawa
seorangpun tidak lagi tertawa
daripada takutnja akan punggawa
pisau rautnjapun tidak terbawa.

(126) Pekerti Welanda Bugis jang serau
banjaklah Mengkasar dibuangnja kepulau
dimurkaï Allah djuga engkau
diachirat kelak tergagau-gagau.

(127) Bertjakap Buton si kutuk Allah
mendjabat pedang bermata sebelah
djikalau aku disampaikan Allah
Sambopu dan Telo' (di)sutjikan Allah.

(128) Keraéng Tompong jang sangat gusar
bangun berdiri hendak menampar
dipegang oléh segala jang sabar
kehendak hatinja berkata besar.

(129) Djikalau ada daulat radja yang besar
selamat djuga negeri Mengkasar
dimenangkan Allah daripada si kuffār
disanalah kelak ia membajar.

(130) Radja Lubu' berkata sepatah
si Buton andjing sangatlah bida'ah

123a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r).
124d: mendjelus (m-n-ḥ-l-ū-s), mendjelas (m-n-ḥ-l-s).
127b: pedang (perang).
129c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).

(123) There was some talk of pursuing them but Palakka forbade it.
"Let the Mandarese go back home", he said.
Always a lover of bluster he exclaimed:
"That cursed fiend of a Mandarese!"

(124) The Mandar Raja was a tough man;
within twenty-four hours he had got away.
Orders were given to seize everything that had been left behind:
'if that's the way they vent their spite, they'll have to pay for it.'

(125) As for the Macassarese, Bimanese and Sumbawa men,
none of them felt inclined to laugh.
So great was their respect for their commander
that they didn't even take a knife with them.

(126) Such was the character of the accursed Dutch and Bugis
that many Macassarese were cast away on an island.
One day God will vent his anger upon you
and leave you groping about in Hell.

(127) Said the Butonese leader — may God curse him —
seizing his single-edged chopper:
"If God grant it me
Sombaopu and Tallo' shall be wiped out!"

(128) At this, Karaéng Tomponga was very annoyed
and started to his feet, intending to lash out.
He was held back by cooler heads;
his one desire was to let loose a flood of invective.

(129) "With the blessing of the Sultan's divine majesty
no harm will come to Macassar;
God will grant him victory over the infidels
and there we shall have our revenge."

(130) The Raja of Luwu' had his say:
"You lying Buton dogs!

djikalau selamat djuga chalifah
disanalah kelak kepalamu kubelah.

(131) Setelah sudah berkata-kata (8)
diamlah ia sekalian bertjinta
minta do'a sekalian rata
barang selamat djugalah kita.

(132) Berkatalah si Tunderu' radja jang garang
baiklah kita menjuruh pulang
menjuruh bawa setengah orang
'alamat djadi kita berperang.

(133) Menjahut bagé Kapitan Djepara
baiklah kita sekalian bitjara
orangpun tiada ada sengsara
dapatlah kita berkira-kira.

(134) Didjawab oléh Kapitan Djepon
suruhlah panggil Meluku dan Ambon
kitalah lama sudah di Buton
beraspun habis chabarnja konon.

(135) Ra'jat itu dibahaginja dua
ke Djakatra disuruhnja bawa
Buton melihat suka tertawa
kemudian kelak dirasainja djuga.

(136) Setelah sudah berbahagi orang
ke selat Buton kapal menjeberang
ia berbélok melalui karang
dipantai Meluku kapal mengambang.

(137) Meluku melihat kapal jang datang
dikampungkannja sekalian orang
mendirikan tunggul terbelang-belang
memasang meriam serta senapang.

132a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r').
133b: kita (itu).
134b: Meluku (m-ū-g-ū-h), Ambon (ā-m-ī-n).

If God preserve our spiritual leader,
we shall have the pleasure of splitting your heads open."

(131) When all had had their say
they lapsed into a despairing silence.
One and all, they offered up prayers,
asking God to come to their aid.

(132) Said the fierce Raja Palakka:
"We'd better send someone back.
Have some of the prisoners taken back,
to show we've fought a successful battle."

(133) The Japara Captain broke in:
"We'd best hold a council-of-war.
We're in no trouble at the moment
and we can make detailed plans."

(134) Captain Dupon answered:
"Let the men be summoned from the Moluccas and Amboina.
We've been a long time on Buton
and I'm told we are out of rice."

(135) The captives were split up
and some of them were sent back to Jakatra.
The Butonese jeered as they sailed away —
they'll pay for it one day, though.

(136) After their forces had been divided,
the fleet sailed off through the straits of Buton,
steering its way through the reefs
until it finally hove to off the Ternaté coast.

(137) The Ternatéans saw the fleet arrive
and assembled their forces.
They hoisted their striped flags
and fired off cannons and muskets.

(138) Kapitan kapal turun kedarat
memukul tambur mengarak surat
dengan Radja Ternaté ia berdekat
memegang tangan tjepiau diangkat.

(139) Kapitan berkata dengan santun (8a)
Amiral ada menanti di Buton
berbalik kita dari Ambon
hendak ke Mengkasar berperang konon.

(140) Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah
ada sedikit hatinja susah
pikir baginda tunduk tengadah
sebab bertjakap terlandjur sudah.

(141) Setelah putus sudah musjawarat
memukul tambur menghimpunkan ra'jat
ke Ambon diberi sekeping surat
menjuruh Kapitan Djongkor berangkat.

(142) Sementara duduk berkira-kira
setengah membaiki kura-kura
Kiai Tjili Mandarsah tiada bertara
segala ra'jat disuruhnja para.

(143) Ada setengah membuati kapal
siang dan malam orang memakal
segala perempuan mengadirkan bekal
lada tumbuk diperbuat sambal.

(144) Tuan dengarkan sembah jang hina
akan hadrat radja jang ghana
'arif sempurna lagi bidjaksana
beroléh chalifah jang amat fana.

(145) Karunia Allah safa'at nabi
chalifat Allah pada kedua negeri
mengasihi dia Allah dan wali
ramai dan suka pada kedua negeri.

141c: diberi (d-b-ī-ā-r-ī).
141d: Kapitan Djongkor (Djongkor Kapitan).

(138) The Captain went ashore
(the drums beat as the letter was escorted in procession)
He approached the Raja of Ternaté
and, raising his hat, held out his hand.

(139) Politely the Captain said:
"The Admiral is waiting at Buton.
Upon our return from Amboina
we shall probably attack Macassar."

(140) Jawa Kelana Kaichili' Mandarshah,
felt a little uneasy;
he sat and pondered,
but he had already committed himself.

(141) After the council-of-war had arrived at its decisions
the drums were beaten and the troops assembled.
A letter was sent off to Amboina
telling Captain Joncker to set out.

(142) While the Council had been deliberating
some of the men were repairing their korra-korras.
The Raja of Ternaté has no equal;
he had all his men out on guard.

(143) Some of them set to work repairing the ships;
day and night the work of caulking went on.
The women were preparing supplies of food
using powdered chillis for the sambal.

(144) Listen, sirs, while I venture to pay homage
to our most magnificent ruler,
perfect in wisdom and understanding,
who has attained to the leadership of the most esoteric
[brotherhood.

(145) By the grace of God and the intercession of the Prophet
he is the spiritual ruler of both states.
The beloved of God and the Prophet,
there is prosperity and happiness in both his realms.

(146) Sjahi 'alam radja jang 'adil
radja chalifah sampurna kamil
wali Allah sempurna wasil (9)
lagi 'arif lagi mukamil.

(147) Karunia Allah jang mendjadikan 'alam
mendjadi tinggi kedua 'alam
umatnja banjak memenuhi 'alam
suka dan ramai siang dan malam.

(148) Sangat berani baginda Sultan
hendak melawan Welanda sjaitan
Minangkabau dengan peranakan
sikapnja itu bukan buatan.

(149) Dengarkan handai dan tolan
pekerti si Bugis orang jang malan
dengan Welanda ia bertolan
achirnja mati kebengkalan.

(150) Dengarkan si Bugis Patang Birang
orang Boné memalas pulang
berkampunglah segala orang pawang
baiklah kita menjuruh sekarang.

(151) Patang Birang itu orang melawan
pada hari itu ia berdjalan
mengadap duli radja bangsawan
mempersembahkan chabar jang tiada keruan.

(152) Setelah didengar oléh baginda
menjuruh mendjemput paduka adinda
Sultan di Telo' radja jang muda
masuk mengadap paduka kakanda.

146a: Sjahi (sāhī).
148c: Minangkabau (Minang Kerbau).
150c: pawang (pūāwang).
151d: mempersembahkan (bepersembahkan).
152b: mendjemput (mendjāpūt).

(146) Ruler of the universe, just king,
ruler spiritual and temporal, of complete perfection.
One of God's elect, perfect in communion with Him,
not only wise but faultless to boot.

(147) By the grace of God, our divine Creator,
whose glory illuminates both worlds,
and whose community is numerous, filling the world,
whose lot is continual happiness and prosperity.

(148) A most daring prince is the Sultan,
resolved to fight the accursed Dutch.
Of Minangkabau descent,
his appearance is really imposing.

(149) Listen, friends and companions,
while I speak of the misguided Bugis.
They allied themselves to the Dutch,
but one day they will come to an untimely end.

(150) Listen to the tale of the Bugis of Patambirang.
When the men of Boné came bent on revenge
the chiefs took counsel together
and decided that they had better inform the Sultan.

(151) The man from Patambirang was a fighter.
He set off that same day.
He had audience with our noble ruler
and told him the almost unbelievable news.

(152) When the Sultan heard the news
he ordered his brother ruler to be sent for,
the young Sultan of Tallo'.
He came and had audience with his 'elder brother'.

(153) Serta datang baginda duduk
berdatang sembah seraja duduk
tuanku djangan berhati sibuk
biarlah patik ke Boné masuk.

(154) Berbunjilah nobat genderang pekandjar (9a)
Sultan di Telo' melompat berkandjar
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan jang besar
Boné itu patik melanggar.

(155) Segala hulubalang baginda Sultan
sikapnja itu seperti harimau djantan
bertjakap dihadapan baginda Sultan
Boné itu sungguh aku lawan.

(156) Sultan di Telo' radja jang madjelis
baginda bertjakap melanggar Bugis
segala jang mendengar habis menangis
seraja menjumpah Bugis iblis.

(157) Mendengar sembah paduka adinda
sukatjita hati kakanda baginda
menghimpunkan hulubalang jang muda-muda
akan mengiringkan Sultan jang muda.

(158) Dengan sesa'at putus musjawarat
bagindapun kembali beristirahat
setelah berkampung sekalian ra'jat
menantikan titah maka berangkat.

(159) Antara selang berapa hari
Sultan berangkat ketika seri
daulat baginda sangat berdiri
berarak dengan serunai nafiri.

(160) Dipalunja genderang ditiupnja serunai
pahlawan berdjalan terlalu ramai

156d: menjumpah (m-n-m-p-h).
159a: Antara (ā-n-t-ā), selang (sīlang).
160a: ditiupnja (d-t-i-ū-nj).

(153) The King of Tallo' entered the audience-hall and sat down,
doing homage as he did so.
"Your Highness need fear no disquiet.
Let me go to Boné."

(154) The royal drum and the war-drums were beaten.
The King of Tallo' made some defiant passes.
To his brother, the Sultan, he declared:
"I shall invade Boné."

(155) All the royal warriors,
looking as fierce as tigers,
declared to the Sultan:
"We shall attack Boné in grim earnest."

(156) The handsome King of Tallo'
swore that he would attack the Bugis.
All his listeners were moved to tears
and cursed the devilish Bugis.

(157) Hearing his younger brother's declaration,
the Sultan was extremely pleased;
he ordered the young warriors to assemble
ready to escort the young King.

(158) In less than no time the council-of-war was over
and the King of Tallo' went back to his palace to rest.
The troops who had assembled
waited only the royal command to set out.

(159) A few days later
the King set out at an auspicious moment.
Obviously destined to accomplish great things,
he was borne in procession to the sound of the fife and trumpet.

(160) The drums were beaten and the fifes shrilled.
The captains marched off, a great host of them

hulubalang mengiringkan seperti sakai
baginda berarak seperti mempelai.

(161) Kenaikan Sultan di Telo'
awan berarak tundjung berkeluk
kepada bunga setangkai baginda duduk
dihadapan menteri jang pétah mabuk.

(162) Kenaikan itu bernama pélang
ukirnja terus berkerawang
ditjapnja dengan perada terbang
berkilat tjahajanja amat tjemerlang.

(163) Indahnja tidak lagi bertara
selaku turun dari udara
djikalau ditentang ditengah segara
rupanja seperti setua anggara.

(164) Dua ratus enam puluh orang berkajuh
ditjapnja perada atas pengajuh
berkilat-kilat seperti suluh
tempik soraknja amat gemuruh.

(165) Segala radja-radja dengan kenaikannja
musta'ib pula dengan sendjatanja
masing-masing dengan gembiranja
terlalu ramai bunji soraknja.

(166) Dari Maros baginda berdjalan
terlalu ramai dahulu-dahuluan
karena hendak bertemu lawan
barang jang berani disanalah melawan.

(167) Didjalan tidak berapa lama
di Mampu perang mula pertama
segala Bugis la'nat jang ternama
dengan Radja Mampu bersama-sama.

(10)

161d: mabuk (m-b-ū).
162d: tjahajanja (tj-h-nj).
163b: turun (t-r-ā-n).
163d: setua anggara (s-ā-ū-h(?) ā-ng-g-ā-r).

the bodyguard followed behind, waiting on the King
who was borne along like a bridegroom.

(161) The ship the King of Tallo' was to sail in
was carved in a pattern of drifting clouds and curving lotus [leaves.
The King had his quarters in the Flowery Column,
waited upon by his ministers, men of intoxicating eloquence.

(162) The ship was of the type called *pélang,*
carved in fretted lines,
stamped with sparkling gold leaf
so that it glittered and shone in dazzling fashion.

(163) Its beauty was indescribable;
it looked as if it had come down from heaven.
Encountering it at sea
one would think it to be some monstrous animal.

(164) It took two hundred and sixty oarsmen to row the ship
and the oars were gold-mounted;
they shone like so many torches.
The cheering and shouting was deafening.

(165) Each lord had his own vessel
which was well armed.
They were all of them overjoyed
and their shouts rent the air.

(166) The expedition disembarked at Maros and marched off,
each man striving to be first
for their one desire was to meet the foe;
that would be the place for the brave man to fight.

(167) They were not long on the march
before they encountered the enemy at Mampu.
The Bugis, renowned for treachery,
together with the Raja of Mampu.

(168) Perangpun tidak berapa bentar (10a)
larilah Bugis dihambat Mengkasar
anak bininja terkisar-kisar
oléh Radja Mampu jang tjuak besar.

(169) Larilah Bugis keatas bukit
sekalian mendjundjung bekal dan sumpit
setengah menangis setengah mendjerit
setengah gementar habis memekik.

(170) Tidaklah lagi akan kadarnja
tua muda lari ke gua
beroléh 'aib lagi ketjéwa
sebab itulah orang tertawa-tawa.

(171) Sultan di Telo' terlalu murka
disuruhnja bunuh si Bugis tua
karena ia sangat durhaka
kebawah duli memalingkan muka.

(172) Radja Mampu datang menjembah
minta ampun barang jang salah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
mendjundjung kur'an seraja bersumpah.

(173) Bertanja pula Sahbandar jang pétah
berapa kali engkau sudah bersumpah
Radja Mampu seraja menjembah
dua kali katanja tuanku sudah.

(174) Segala jang mengadap suka tertawa
mendengar katanja si Bugis tua
kalau makan seperti sawa
ubi direbus dengan lemang Djawa.

168d: tjuak besar (dj-ū-ā b-ā-s-r).
169b: mendjundjung (m-n-dj-ng-n-dj-ū-ng).
169c: mendjerit (mendjerī').
170b: muda (m-ū-ā).
172d: mendjundjung (m-n-dj-ng-n-dj-ng).

(168) The battle did not take long;
the Bugis fled, with the Macassarese after them.
Women and children were sent flying
in the flight of that arch-coward, the Raja of Mampu.

(169) The Bugis fled up the hill
clutching to their head their rations and blowpipes.
Some were in tears, some were crying out,
while others were shrieking in terror, trembling in every limb.

(170) Not one of them could hold his own,
young and old alike fled to the caves.
Shame and ignominy was their lot
causing people to laugh derisively.

(171) The King of Tallo' was exceedingly angry
and ordered the old Bugis leader to be executed,
for he had been guilty of flagrant treachery
in rebelling against the Sultan.

(172) Making obeisance, the Raja of Mampu approached,
asking forgiveness for the wrong he had done.
"Let bygones be bygones", he said,
placing the Koran on his head and swearing loyalty.

(173) The witty Shahbandar asked:
"That makes how many times you've taken the oath of loyalty?"
Making obeisance, the Raja of Mampu said:
"Twice, so far, Your Highness."

(174) The King's entourage roared with laughter
at the words of the old Bugis.
His capacity for eating his own words is only equalled by
[a python —
swallowing down boiled tubers and rice cooked in Javanese
[fashion.

(175) Setelah sudah senda bergurau (11)
baginda berangkat kenegeri Patiro
hudjanpun lebat menderau-derau
sekalian bertudung tjilo-tjilo.

(176) Keraéng Bonto Maranu kepala perang
baginda itu radja jang terbilang
sadu perdana sikapnja terbang
putera marhum bangsanja sedang.

(177) Keraéng Léngkés radja jang garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang
Bugispun lari lalu keseberang
seperti babi takut akan beruang.

(178) Daéng Mangépé' sajap jang kanan
kepada berperang sangatlah perkenan
seperti beruang melihat (ma)kanan
terlalu banjak beroléh tawanan.

(179) Daéng Marupa sajap jang kiri
bagindapun anak radja djauhari
mustahillah kepadanja jang bernama lari
kepada tunggulnja djuga berdiri.

(180) Baginda Sultan mendjadi tubuh
seperti umpama kota jang teguh
dengan tempik soraknja amat gemuruh
memberi dahsat pada hati musuh.

(181) Keraéng Tompong mendjadi ékur
bagindapun radja jang termasjhur
kepada berperang tidaklah undur
Tjili Kalimata disana bertjampur.

175a: senda (s-d).
176d: marhum (m-r-ū-h-m).
178c: (ma)kanan (k-ā-n-n).
179a: sajap (s-ā-j-ū).
179d: tunggulnja (t-ng-g-ā-nj).
181d: Tjili (tj-ā-l-ī).

(175) When they had finished joking,
the King moved on to Pattiro
the rain came beating down
and to shelter from it they wore their *tjilo-tjilo*.

(176) Karaéng Bonto Marannu was in the van,
a noted leader
and an outstanding warrior, ever alert,
a son of the late prince, of right noble descent.

(177) Karaéng Léngkésé' was a fierce fighter.
No sooner did he encounter the enemy than he set to.
The Bugis fled across the river
like so many pigs frightened of a bear.

(178) Daéng Manggappa commanded the right flank.
He liked nothing so much as fighting.
He regarded the enemy as a bear regards his victims
and took a great many prisoners.

(179) Daéng Maruppa commanded the left flank.
The son of an illustrious prince,
he didn't know the word 'retreat',
and he took up his position by his standard.

(180) The King himself commanded the main body of the army,
like unto a strong citadel.
Yelling and shouting at the top of his voice,
he struck terror into the heart of the foe.

(181) Karaéng Tomponga led the rear-guard,
a most renowned prince,
who would never shrink from the fray.
Kaichili' Kalimata too, was with him.

(182) Baginda itu radja jang terbilang (11a)
terlalu tahu akan kerdja berperang
tunggulnja mérah berbelang-belang
kena asap setinggar turang-berturang.

(183) Larilah Bugis berkawan-kawan
lintang-pukang tidak keruan
hambanja tidak mengenal tuan
banjaklah pula jang tertawan.

(184) Setelah didengar oléh chalifah
negeri Boné sudahlah kalah
segala jang tunduk habis menjembah
mendjundjung kur'an serta bersumpah.

(185) Sukatjita hati baginda
menjuruh mendjemput paduka adinda
dikirimkan kain antelas perada
sjahdan mengatakan chabar Welanda.

(186) Jang dititahkan itu segeralah pergi
didjalan tidak berapa hari
mendapatkan radja jang djauhari
seraja menjembah disusun djari.

(187) Daéng mengadap kebawah duli
tuanku didjemput kakanda kembali
berkat keramat baginda duli
melawan musuh kuat sekali.

(188) Terlalu suka hati baginda
sebab mendengar chabar Welanda
mengerahkan hulubalang jang muda-muda
semuanja naik keatas kuda.

(189) Sultan di Telo' berangkat kembali (12)
didjalan tidak berapa hari

185d: sjahdan (sj-h-ī-d-ā-n).
187b: didjemput (didjāpūt).
188c: mengerahkan (m-ng-r-k-n).

(182) This latter was a well-known prince,
expert in the art of war.
His standard was a red, striped one
begrimed with the smoke of the muskets.

(183) The Bugis fled in droves,
head over heels, without any semblance of order.
Servants no longer recognized their masters
and many were taken prisoner.

(184) When His Highness the Sultan heard
that Boné had been crushed
and that all the captives had acknowledged him as their overlord,
placing the Koran on their head and swearing loyalty.

(185) His Highness was very pleased
and sent an envoy to greet his younger brother.
The envoy bore presents of gold-patterned chintz
and carried news of the doings of the Dutch.

(186) The Sultan's envoy set off without delay
and within a few days
had reached the camp of the illustrious young King;
fingers pressed together, he did homage.

(187) Said the Daéng to the King:
"Your Highness, the Sultan has sent me to greet you and ask [you to return.
Thanks to Your Highness' divine grace
the enemy has been struck a hard blow."

(188) The King was extremely pleased
to hear what had happened to the Dutch.
He called together his young warriors
and they all mounted to horse.

(189) The King of Tallo' set off back to Goa.
The journey did not take long.

disinar samsu jang masturi
badan jang érang manis berseri.

(190) Tidaklah habis hamba katakan
singgah berteduh segenap hutan
terlalu banjak beroléh perburuan
sukalah kalbu baginda Sultan.

(191) Kepangkalan Maros baginda datang
kenaikan baginda hadir terambang
terlalu banjak pakur dan pélang
menantikan Sultan jang berla'lang.

(192) Setelah kenaikan baginda njata
berbunjilah meriam diatas kota
bahananja gemuruh gegap gempita
bergeraklah segala udjud dan anggota.

(193) Maharadjaléla hulubalang jang betul
sepandjang pantai mendirikan tunggul
Inggeris itu kafir jang berusul
memasang meriam asapnja berkepul.

(194) Segala Datu' Entji' dan Tuan
asap setinggar mendjadi awan
memberi hormat akan radja bangsawan
tandanja orang akan melawan.

(195) Berhimpunlah perahu besar dan ketjil
setengah masuk kesungai Garasi'
.....
.....

(196) Sultan di Goa radja jang terbilang
mengalu-ngalukan adinda jang akan datang
diiringkan menteri dengan hulubalang (12)
berarak itu dengan serunai genderang.

189c: jang masturi (n-ī-ng m-s-t-r-ī).
192d: bergeraklah (b-r-g-r-l-h).
193d: berkepul (b-r-k-m-p-l).

In the dappling rays of the sun,
his olive complexion shone.

(190) I have not yet finished my account.
The King's party stopped to rest in each of the forests they [came to.
Their hunting expeditions were very successful
and the King was well pleased.

(191) The King arrived at the Maros landing-stage
where his vessel was waiting just off-shore.
There were very many *pakur* and *pélang*
awaiting the King in his majesty.

(192) When the King's vessel came in sight of Goa,
the guns in the fort fired off a salvo.
The cannons boomed out
making noise enough to shake every limb in one's body.

(193) The Dato' Maharaja Léla, a true warrior,
had had flags erected all along the bank.
The English, infidels but gentlemanly infidels
fired off their cannon and the smoke went curling upwards.

(194) As for the gentlemen of quality,
clouds of smoke came from their muskets
as they fired off a salute to the noble King
that was symbolic of their willingness to fight.

(195) There was an assembly of vessels large and small
Some of them went up the Garassi' river
.....
.....

(196) The Sultan of Goa, that most renowned monarch,
went to welcome his brother on his arrival;
followed by ministers and captains,
the royal procession moved to the sound of the fife and drum.

(197) Sultan di Telo' radja jang muda
mendjundjung duli paduka kakanda
dipeluk ditjium oléh baginda
lalulah naik keatas kuda.

(198) Dengan segala menteri dan hulubalang
ra'jat mengiringkan tiada terbilang
sifatnja madjelis dipandang orang
beraninja sangat bukan kepalang.

(199) Kembalilah Sultan radja jang ghana
keduanja naik keatas istana
bertachta diatas peterana
dihadap menteri jang hina dina.

(200) (Paduka) adinda (di)karunia persalin
kain jang indah dari atas angin
kilau-kilauan seperti tjermin
dipandang élok seperti pengantin.

(201) Setelah sudah baginda bersalin
mengarunia pula radja jang lain
pertama destar kedua kain
keris dan sunderik ditambahi tjintjin.

(202) Segala radja-radja jang mengadap
dikarunia pula sekalian lengkap
setelah Keraéng hatinja tetap
hidangan diangkat disuruhnja santap.

(203) Santappun tidak lambat dan bangat
membatja pula do'a selamat
akan segala nabi wali jang keramat (13)
semuanja itu memberi safa'at.

(204) Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta
fakir nin lagi diluar kota
gharib mendengar chabar berita
saja perbuatkan suatu tjerita.

201d: sunderik (s-n-d-ī-r).

(197) The young King of Tallo'
did homage to his royal brother.
He was embraced and kissed by the Sultan,
after which they both mounted their horses.

(198) They rode off, followed by their ministers and captains
and a great host of soldiers marched behind them.
It was a noble sight for the populace
to see a prince of such unquestioned valour.

(199) His Highness made his way back
and he and his brother went into the palace.
They sat upon the royal dais,
waited upon by their various ministers.

(200) The young King was presented with a gift of raiment,
the choicest cloths from the regions to the West,
glittering as though they were made of glass;
he looked as handsome as a bridegroom.

(201) When the King had donned his new robes
it was the turn of the other princes to receive their gifts;
first a head-dress, then a *kain,*
a kris and a cutlass, together with a ring.

(202) All the nobles who waited upon the Sultan
were given a complete set of gifts,
and when all the Karaéngs were composed once more,
the food was brought in and they were told to set to.

(203) The banquet took its measured course,
and prayers for salvation were offered up
to the prophets and saints with supernatural powers,
for it is with their intercession that divine favour is obtained.

(204) When the lying infidels arrived at Macassar,
I was still outside the fort.
I heard the accounts of what went on
and upon these I have based my narrative.

(205) Djikalau aturnja banjak jang salah
djanganlah apa tuan menjumpah
demikianlah 'adat hamba Allah
mengindar ia chilaf dan salah.

(206) Mana jang kurang tuan tambahi
djanganlah kami tuan sumpahi
dimanalah boléh seperti pengganti
mengarang kitab berpuluh peti.

(207) Belajarlah Welanda dari Buton
dengan segala Bugis dan Ambon
terlalu banjak chabarnja konon
lajarnja putih seperti sabun.

(208) Si Tunderu' singgah di Patiro
menghimpunkan Bugis bertjilo-tjilo
sekalian gempar tergagau-gagau
karena Datu'nja datang mengatjau.

(209) Dengan sesa'at seketika kata
ra'jat Bugis takut segala
mengadap kepada radja paduka
sekaliannja dahsat menundukkan muka.

(210) Welanda sampai ke Bantaéng
belajarlah kapal si kuffār andjing
mengadirkan sendjata pedang dan lembing (13a)
setinggar rentaka meriam berkantjing.

(211) Terlalu ramai serunai dan genderang
sendjata dan sunderik lembing dan pedang
setinggarpun hadir seputjuk seorang
ingatnja sangat bukan kepalang.

(212) Sikap lakunja seperti helang
bertikamkan keris lembing dan pedang

206d: peti (p-ī-t-ī).
210b: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).

(205) If the composition should prove to be faulty,
please don't condemn the writer;
we are but human
and only God can preserve us from error.

(206) I hope you will fill in any gaps in my narrative
without cursing me for the omissions,
in fact, make all the alterations you can,
if necessary writing whole stacks of books.

(207) The Dutch sailed away from Buton
together with the Bugis and Ambonese.
According to reports, they had a very large force
(the sails of their ships were as white as soap).

(208) Raja Palakka disembarked at Pattiro
and got together a force of Bugis wearing their *tjilo-tjilo*.
There was alarm and considerable anxiety
because their chief had come to stir them up.

(209) In less than no time, with barely a word spoken,
the Bugis were awed into obedience.
They did homage to their ruler
bowing their heads in frightened respect.

(210) The Dutch arrived at Bonthain
with their fleet, the infidel dogs.
They had supplies of weapons ready — swords, spears,
muskets, swivel-guns and heavy cannon.

(211) The noise of the flutes and drums rent the air.
There were swords, cutlasses, spears, and sabres,
muskets too, one for each man —
they were very much on the alert.

(212) They bore themselves like hawks,
making passes with a kris, a spear or a sword.

hatinja tetap bukan kepalang
sedikitpun tidak menaruh mamang.

(213) Bertjakaplah ia terlalu ingat
karena si Buton berani sangat
tambahan Welanda kafir la'nat
istiméwa Buton jang mengchianat.

(214) Tiadalah fakir berbanjak kata
gharib ta' mau berbuat dusta
karena téwas perangnja kita
dapatlah bénténg dimata-mata.

(215) Antara selang berapa hari
habislah orang di Bantaéng lari
ada jang kesana ada jang kemari
tjerai-berai membawa diri.

(216) Keraéng Bonto Madjanang jang berperang
ra'jatnja banjak berani garang
bertikam keris lembing dan pedang
ra'jatnja mati berpuluh orang.

(217) Demikianlah 'adat orang berperang
alah dan menang sekali seorang
setengah ra'jat ke Sambopu pulang (14)
mengadap Sultan jang berla'lang.

(218) Setelah Sultan mendengar chabar
orang di Bantaéng sekalian gempar
pekerti Bugis orang jang besar
mufakatlah ia dengan Welanda kuffār.

213d: mengchianat (m-ch-n-t).
214d: bénténg (b-n-t-ng).
215a: selang (sīlang).
216a: Madjanang (m-n-dj-n-ng).
217c: Sambopu (S-m-b-ō p-ū-n).
218c: pekerti (f-k-r-ā-t).
218d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).

Their morale was very high
and they displayed not the least sign of fear.

(213) They saw to it that they were constantly on the alert,
for the Bugis were apt to be rather reckless.
There were the Dutch too, vile infidels
and the Butonese were nothing better than traitors.

(214) I won't prolong the story unnecessarily
and I'm not going to tell you lies.
The defeat of our troops
resulted in the outright storming of our stockade.

(215) Within a few days
the garrison at Bonthain had fled;
they sought refuge where they could.
They were in utter confusion, each man thinking only of his [own safety.

(216) It was Karaéng Bonto Majannang who led our troops;
he had a large force at his disposal, fierce fighters.
They attacked the enemy with their kris, spears and swords
but lost heavily in the fighting.

(217) Such is the fortune of war;
now one side wins, now the other.
Some of our troops got back to Sombaopu
and had audience with our consecrated ruler.

(218) When the Sultan heard the news
of the panic that had overtaken our forces at Bonthain,
and of the behaviour of the high and mighty Bugis
in collaboration with the Dutch.

(219) Sultan bertitah seraja djila
menjuruh memalu genderang pekandjar
bertjakaplah anak radja Mengkasar
mentjabut keris lalu berkandjar.

(220) Belajarlah Welanda dari Bantaéng
kelihatan lajarnja putih terdinding
dilihat oléh sekalian Keraéng
Buton dan Ambon si Sula' andjing.

(221) Kapal berbélok menudju kedarat
dengan Ambon Buton kafarat
terlalu ramai orang melihat
seorangpun tidak gentar dan dahsat.

(222) Sangat berani Radja Ternaté
baginda berkajuh menjusur pantai
memakai destar badju rantai
kenaikan ladju tiada berbagai.

(223) Gemparlah Entji' Datu' dan Tuan
masuk mengadap Jang dipertuan
berdatang sembah bertjakap melawan
hendak melanggar si Buton haiwan.

(224) Belajarlah kapal kafir jang dusta
jang ditudjunja baluar(ti) dan kota
si Tunderu' dan Amiral empunja kata (14a)
maksudnja hendak mengambil kota.

(225) Sultan berangkat ke Udjung Pandang
beraraklah (dengan) serunai genderang
diiringkan menteri serta hulubalang
sendjata dan ra'jat tiada terbilang.

219a: seraja djila (s-r-ī ch-ī-l).
221a: berbélok (b-r-b-ī-l-ū).
224b: baluar(ti) (b-l-ī-ū-ā-r).
224c: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-r).
225a: Pandang (p-ā-d-ng).
225b: (dengan) ms. has "dan".

(219) The Sultan, resplendent, gave orders
for the war-drums to be beaten.
All the young noblemen of Macassar declared their readiness
[to do their duty,
as they drew their kris and stamped their feet in defiance.

(220) The Dutch sailed off from Bonthain
their white sails standing out against the horizon.
The Karaéngs saw them go
with their Butonese, Ambonese and Sula allies, the dogs.

(221) The fleet then veered in towards the shore
(those Ambonese and Butonese infidels!).
Our people crowded to see them;
not a man trembled or was dismayed.

(222) The King of Ternaté showed his daring
by rowing close to the shore.
He was wearing a turban and had on a coat of mail,
and his boat went at an unparalleled speed.

(223) All the gentlemen of quality were greatly excited
and went to have audience with the King.
After paying homage, they declared their willingness to fight,
to attack the brutish Butonese.

(224) The perfidious infidels sailed off
making for our main defences and the fort.
It was Palakka and the Admiral's idea
to take the fort by storm.

(225) The Sultan went out to Ujong Pandang
in procession with the drums and fifes playing.
He was accompanied by his ministers and officers
and the long procession was bristling with weapons.

(226) Sempurnalah baginda djadi chalifah
sekali téwas perangnja sudah
sangat bertentu alat perintah
sekaliannja hasil tiada jang salah.

(227) Sultan berangkat segera kembali
dengan segala ra'jat serta menteri
ketika itu setengah hari
ra'jat mengiringkan berlari-lari.

(228) Sultanpun masuk kedalam kota
naik istana baginda bertachta
dengan segala menteri berkata-kata
dusta Welanda sudahlah njata.

(229) Chabar itu sangat dirantaikan
seorang Minangkabau hamba tuturkan
segala sendjata diaturkan
demikian si Bugis Welanda sjaitan.

(230) Antara selang berapa hari
kapal mengambang dilaut negeri
Amir(al) menjuruh kebawah duli
hendak turun beli-membeli.

(231) Jang disuruh Bandan jang delap
barang katanja marab-marab
dihalaukan pulang dengan sekedjap (15)
tiadalah ia diberi berdjawab.

(232) Patutlah ia djadi hamba Amiral
baik parasnja tiada ber'akal
sikapnja seperti hamba fiskal
turunlah ia pulang kekapal.

227a: segera (s-k-r).
229b: Minangkabau (s-l-ng-k-ā-b-ū).
230a: selang (sīlang).
230c: Amir(al) (ā-m-r).
231a: Bandan (b-d-ā-n), delap (d-ā-l-b).
231b: marab-marab (m-ā-r-b-ā-r-ā-b).
232a: Patutlah (patublah).

(226) The Sultan proved himself a perfect ruler,
one defeat was quite enough.
He gave the most detailed instructions
to ensure that everything would turn out well.

(227) It was not long before the Sultan set off back,
followed by his retinue and his ministers.
It was then mid-day
and the people with him fairly ran along.

(228) The Sultan arrived inside the fortifications
and, once inside the palace, ascended the royal dais.
He discussed with his ministers
the palpable treachery of the Dutch.

(229) The news spread quickly —
I talked about it with a Minangkabauer.
All our posts were suitably armed
and the damned Dutch and Bugis did likewise.

(230) A few days later
the Dutch fleet anchored in the roads.
The Admiral sent an envoy to the Sultan
asking permission to purchase various items.

(231) The Admiral's envoy was an insolent Bandanese,
full of fiery words.
He was chased back to his ship in a trice
without being given time to answer back.

(232) A fitting servant for the Admiral!
A handsome face and an empty head.
He gave himself the airs of a sheriff's officer
but back he went to the ship.

(233) Serta datang kepada Sipalman
lalu berkata memandjang tangan
tuanku Amiral Datu' djundjungan
béta diburu seperti mendjangan.

(234) Sudah dikirimkan surat paduka
semuanja tertawa terlalu suka
sekalian duduk berdjenaka
ada jang tersenjum ada jang suka.

(235) Amiral mendengar suka tertawa
karena Bandan berbahasa Djawa
daripada sebab bingungmu djuga
maka Mengkasar sekalian tertawa.

(236) Kapitan Djongkor jang sangat gusar
duduknja itu terkisar-kisar
besar pandjang penakut tjabar
hatimu itu sangat pendebar.

(237) Mengedahkan hidungmu bagai putjung
matanja besar seperti gung
serta duduk bersila panggung
dituturkan orang menjapu hidung.

(238) Menambahi diri orang berusul
berkata sepatahpun tiada betul
apatah guna berkain tjaul (15a)
patut memakan bubur berketul.

(239) Telah selesai perkataan si haiwan
ia berbahasa tiada keruan
sudah dinista seperti perempuan
diberi upah arak setjawan.

233a: Sipalman (s-ī-p-ū-l-m-n).
233b: memandjang (m-n-dj-ng).
236d: hatimu (h-ī-t-m).
237b: gung (ā-g-ū-ng).
238a: orang (ū-ā-ng).
238d: berketul (b-r-k-t-b-ū-l).
239a: si haiwan (s-ī-tj-w-ā-n).

(233) As soon as he saw Speelman
he exclaimed, stretching out his hands:
"Your Highness, Admiral, O my most noble master,
I've been chased like a hunted stag!

(234) When I gave them your Highness' letter
they all roared with laughter.
They sat there making fun of me,
smiling and laughing the whole time."

(235) The Admiral, listening, laughed
to hear the Bandanese using Javanese words:
"It was your own silly fault,
that the Macassarese laughed at you."

(236) The hot-tempered Captain Joncker
who had been sitting listening restlessly burst in:
"The great lout is an absolute coward."
To the envoy he said: "It's because you're frightened —

(237) Swelling out your nose like a heron's beak,
your eyes as big as gongs,
you can sit there with your legs crossed
but if anyone speaks to you, you hide your face.

(238) Giving yourself the airs of a great lord,
why, you can't even speak properly.
What's the good of your wearing a man's scarf?
You're only fit for eating dollops of gruel, like a child."

(239) To conclude the incident of this stupid hind,
the envoy spoke absolute gibberish.
After being insulted in a most overbearing manner,
he was given a cup of arrack by way of consolation.

(240) Tersebutlah perkataan anak Mengkasar
telah kembali suruhan si kuffār
lalu bertitah Sultan jang besar
menjuruh membaiki sendjata dan pagar.

(241) Segala Datu' Entji' dan Tuan
apa bitjara datu' sekalian
baiklah masuk anak perempuan
supaja kita boléh melawan.

(242) Akan sembah sekalian hulubalang-hulubalang
tuanku djangan berhati mamang
djikalau gempar malam dan siang
tutup segala pintu gerbang.

(243) Bertitah pula duli makota
baiklah kita atur meriam diatas kota
baiklah ingat sekalian kita
si kuffār ini sangatlah dusta.

(244) Siang dan malam gegap gempita
mengatur meriam diatas kota
setengah membaiki sekalian sendjata
dengan ingatnja sekalian rata.

(245) Segala jang duduk diluar kota
terlalu sabur berangkat harta
ada jang diam ada jang berkata (16)
seorangpun tidak berdukatjita.

(246) Setelah singkap fadjar akan siang
bersikaplah segala hulubalang
dengan sendjata lembing dan pedang
ra'jat berhimpun tiada terbilang.

240b: si kuffār (s-ī-k-ū-f-r).
242d: tutup (t-ū-t-ū-t-b).
243a: duli (d-ā-l).
243d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
245d: berdukatjita (b-r-d-ū-tj-t).

(240) To resume the story of the men of Macassar,
after the infidels' envoy had returned to the ship,
the Sultan of Goa gave orders
for our defences to be overhauled.

(241) "You leaders of the Malay community,
what do you consider our best plan?
We'd better bring in all the womenfolk inside the fort
to leave ourselves free for fighting."

(242) Said the Sultan's officers:
"There is no need for Your Highness to feel ill at ease.
When trouble threatens, by day or night,
have all the main gates of the fort closed."

(243) Said the Sultan:
"We had better place cannon along the ramparts.
We must be always on our guard,
for these infidels are very treacherous."

(244) There was constant excitement by day and night
and cannon were placed all along the ramparts.
Some of them set to work repairing armaments
and great vigilance was shown by all.

(245) The people who lived outside the fort
had a hectic time shifting their belongings.
Some were silent while others chattered away
but not one was really downhearted.

(246) As day was beginning to dawn,
the officers put on their equipment.
Their weapons included spears and swords
and a great host of soldiers assembled.

(247) Ketika hari waktu subuh
segala hulubalang berhébat tubuh
naik keatas kota jang teguh
kelihatan tempat perahu musuh.

(248) Setelah terbitlah njata matahari
dipasangnja meriam Seri Negeri
apinja tersembur seperti sjamsu wa'l-qamari
Welanda dan Bugis sangatlah ngeri.

(249) Bunjinja itu seperti halilintar membelah
kenalah kapal si la'nat Allah
lantas terus lalu kesebelah
berpuluh-puluh kepala jang belah.

(250) Dibedilkan pula (meriam) bernama Ki Naung
apinja seperti kilat digunung
bahananja gemuruh amat berdengung
kenalah kapal kafir jang bingung.

(251) Terpelanting dengan pedang ketopong
terlalu banjak lari kekurung
ditémbakkan pula meriam si Kongkong
kenalah kapal rebah terdjerongkong.

(252) Ada jang kena pedang badannja potong
segala Bugis berkeliling pésong
.....
.....

(253) Pendjagur Besi pula ditémbakkan
pelurunja datang menjusur buritan (16a)
hampirlah kena seorang Kapitan
dahsatlah hati Welanda sjaitan.

248c: sjamsu wa'l-qamari (s-m-s-ū-l q-m-r-ī).
249d: kepala (k-p-l-nj).
251d: terdjerongkong (t-r-dj-r-ū-k-ū-ng).
252c, 252d are lacking.
253b: buritan (b-ū-r-ū-t-n).

(247) About the time of the morning prayer
the warriors began to dress themselves up.
They went up on the battlements of their sturdy fort
and saw where the enemy's fleet was anchored.

(248) When it was full daylight
they fired off the cannon known as Macassar's Glory;
the flames shot out like blazing rays of the sun and moon
striking terror into the hearts of the Dutch and Bugis. [combined,

(249) The noise it made was like a thunderbolt splitting a hill
and one of the infidels' ships was hit.
The cannon-ball went straight through one side of the ship and
scores of heads were broken. [out the other side;

(250) They then fired off the cannon called The Guardian
and the flames were like lightning playing on a mountain.
The explosion made a deafening boom
and one of the silly infidels' ships was hit.

(251) Swords and helmets were sent flying
and crowds of them rushed into the hold for shelter.
We then fired off the cannon called Growler.
One of their ships was damaged and heeled over.

(252) Some of them cut themselves on their swords
and the Bugis went dashing around wildly.
.....
.....

(253) The Iron Smiter was then fired off
and its shot went whizzing through the stern,
almost hitting one of their officers.
The devilish Dutchmen were really aghast.

(254) Tjap Kapal ditémbakkannja pula
kenalah kapal kafir jang gila
banjaklah kena petjah kepala
luluh lantak tiada bergala.

(255) Di Kampung Tjina meriam jang tebal
serta ditémbakkan kenalah kapal
terus-menerus tampal-menampal
sangatlah duka hati Amiral.

(256) Kapitan Amiral hatinja sabar
menahan meriam Radja Mengkasar
sedikitpun tidak hatinja gusar
diisinja meriam disuruhnja mitar.

(257) Kira-kira sedjam sudah ditémbak
barulah Welanda membalas pula
bahananja gemuruh seperti debak
kenalah kota leguh dan legah.

(258) Sangatlah marah kafir jang dusta
menémbak menudju istana dan kota
pelurunja datang melata-lata
seorangpun tidak kena anggota.

(259) Setelah dilihat Kapitan Djepara
Kornilis Sipalman sangat sengsara
beraturlah kapal dan kura-kura
menémbakkan meriam dengan bitjara.

(260) Kapitan Djepon sangatlah dingin (17)
menémbakkan meriam dengan tjermin
pelurunja berdengung seperti angin
kenalah oléhnja pohon beringin.

254d: bergala (b-r-k-ā-l).
255b: serta (seperti).
256d: mitar (m-s-t-r).
257c: debak (ā-b-q).
257d: leguh (l-k-h-ū).

(254) The cannon bearing the device of a ship was fired off
and one of the stupid infidels' ships was hit.
Many of the enemy had their heads broken
and were smashed to pieces.

(255) There was one big cannon in Kampong China.
The first time it was fired, one of the ships was hit;
and so it went on, one blow after another,
till the Admiral became really worried.

(256) But he knew how to bide his time
and endured the Macassar bombardment
without feeling the least bit upset.
He then ordered his cannon to be primed and had them trained
[on Macassar.

(257) The Macassar bombardment had been going on for about an
before the Dutch replied. [hour
Their cannon made a deafening roar
as the shot crashed into the city.

(258) The lying infidels were thoroughly aroused
and directed their fire at the palace and the fort;
their shots came in a steady stream
but no one was hit.

(259) When the Japara Captain
saw that Speelman was in difficulties
he drew up the ships and the korra-korras
and conducted the bombardment in a methodical fashion.

(260) Captain Dupon showed himself a very cool hand,
directing the fire with his spy-glass.
His shots went whistling through the air
but hit only a waringin tree.

(261) Terlalu amarah kafir jang hina
menémbak kota menudju istana
berkat daulat radja jang ghana
kepada rumah buruk disanalah kena.

(262) Dengarkan kissah Fétor Inggeris
'akalnja tadjam seperti keris
sungguhpun ia kafir jang bengis
hatinja betul tidak waswis.

(263) Seorang bernama Mister Ba'il
sungguhlah pandai bermainkan bedil
menémbak kapal Amiral jang bachil
njarislah tenggelam sebuah batil.

(264) Jang seorang bernama Mister Pil
itulah seorang Fétor jang ketjil
iapun bidjak bermainkan bedil
menémbak selup dengan batil.

(265) Fétor itu lama di Mengkasar duduk
menémbakkan meriam dua puluh putjuk
banjak kapal terus dan pesuk
terlalu marah si Amiral kutuk.

(266) Entji' Maris peranakan jang terbilang
memasang meriam berulang-ulang
kenalah kapal kura-kura dan pélang
banjaklah mati Nasrani jang malang.

(267) Ia menémbak tiada berhenti (17a)
peluru meriamnja tertiti-titi
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati
Amiral melihat dukalah hati.

(268) Ia menémbak tiga puluh kali
tiadalah salah barang sekali

262d: waswis (w-s-w-ī-s).
264d: selup (s-ū-l-b).
266a: Maris (m-ā-r-s).

(261) The infidels were furious
and directed their fire on the palace,
but due to the royal divinity of our victorious Sultan
the only thing that was hit was a ramshackle house.

(262) Listen to the story of the English Factors,
— men with razor-sharp minds.
Although of course overbearing infidels,
they were honest men, unwavering in their determination.

(263) One of them was called Mr. Bale
and proved himself to be a really expert artilleryman.
He fired at the greedy Admiral's ship
and almost succeeded in sinking one of the smaller craft.

(264) Another of the Agents was called Mr. Pearle,
he was the deputy chief of the factory.
He too showed his skill as an artilleryman
and fired at the sailing-ships and the smaller vessels.

(265) The Agents had been in Macassar a long time.
In all they commanded some twenty cannon.
Many of the enemy's ships were hit and holed,
to the great annoyance of the Admiral.

(266) Enche' Maris, a leading member of the Malay community,
fired off his cannon without a break.
Sailing-ships, korra-korras and galleys were hit
and many of the wretched Christians were killed.

(267) He went on firing without cease
and the shots came in one continuous stream.
Many Bugis and Dutch were killed
as the Admiral saw in sorrow.

(268) Thirty times he fired
and not once did he miss.

dua tempajan ubatnja habis sekali
menjuruh pula ia membeli.

(269) Datu' Pasar orang ternama
dengan segala peranakan bersama-sama
daripada asal mula pertama
ialah duduk di Mengkasar lama.

(270) Tiga bersaudara ia sekembar
lawan jang mana dapat mengembar
dibedil Welanda berdegar-degar
mustahillah ia ngeri dan gentar.

(271) Seri Amar Diradja hulubalang Tjampa
iapun seorang panglima pertapa
sungguhpun orangnja tiada berapa
melihat musuh hendak diterpa.

(272) Sempurnalah ia hulubulang berani
namanja masjhur kesana sini
melihat Bugis Welanda Nasrani
marahnja tidak dapat ditahani.

(273) Entji' Djabar menantu Seri Amar Diradja
bukanlah ia hamba jang disahadja
djikalau dititahkan kepada barang kerdja
haramlah ia memalingkan durdja.

(274) Sempurnalah ia orang jang baik (18)
berkata-kata sangatlah tjerdik
pada sekalian sahabat benar dan sadik
iapun seorang ada bermilik.

(275) Segala Melaju anak peranakan
iapun musta'ib satu pasukan
sendjatanjapun sudah dihadirkan
menantikan naik Welanda sjaitan.

270a: mengembar (m-n-m-b-ī-l).
271a: Amar (ā-m-t).
273a: Amar (ā-m-t).
275b: pasukan (p-s-ū-s-n).

He used up two jars of powder
and gave instructions to buy more.

(269) Dato' Pasar was a well-known figure,
he was there with the rest of the Malay community.
From the earlier times
he had lived in Macassar.

(270) He and his two twin brothers,
where was the foe to match them?
Despite the booming of the Dutch cannon shots as they fell all
'fear' was a word unknown to them. [round them,

(271) Sri Amar Diraja, a warrior of Cham origin,
was a stout fighter and an ascetic.
Although with only a few soldiers,
as soon as he saw the enemy his one desire was to hurl himself
[upon them.

(272) The perfect warrior indeed,
of wide-spread renown;
he no sooner saw the Bugis and the Christian Dutch
than his rage boiled over.

(273) Enche' Jabbar, Sri Amar Diraja's son-in-law,
was not the sort of man to be ignored.
Whatever orders were given to him
he would never be guilty of disloyalty.

(274) A splendid fellow
and a very politic speaker.
Honest and trustworthy to his friends,
and a man of some substance.

(275) The entire Malay community
had formed themselves into a separate company.
Well-equipped with weapons,
they awaited the coming of the damned Hollanders.

(276) Suatu ketumbukan orang Mandjanang
djohan pahlawan Datu' L-ā-l-n-ng
memberi hati tentu dan senang
patut sekali akan dia kenang.

(277) Sekalian hadir sendjatanja dibawa
hambanja banjak Bima Sumbawa
sekaliannja itu suka tertawa
semuanja mau membuang njawa.

(278) Menitah bagé Sultan jang besar
ditémbakkan meriam bernama Kilat Fadjar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
si Bugis Ambon sangatlah gusar.

(279) Dipasangnja pula meriam bernama Anggara
kenalah kapal dan kura-kura
Welanda dan Bugis berkira-kira
dengan Kapitan Djongkor ia berbitjara.

(280) Setelah hari sudahlah petang
ditémbakkan meriam bernama si Kembang
apinja njala amat tjemerlang
lalulah mati beberapa orang.

(281) Undurlah kapal kelaut dalam (18a)
serta memasang sekalian meriam
dibakarnja bangkai beberapa ajam
ada jang makan ada jang diam.

(282) Sultanpun segera memberi salin
akan jang menémbakkan badju dan kain
menjukakan hati sekalian jang miskin
supaja djangan bekerdja jang lain.

279a: Anggara (ā-ng-n-h-r).
280b: si Kembang (s-k-m-b-ng).
281c: bangkai (b-ā-g-ī).
282a: segera (s-k-ī-r-ā).

(276) Another company was made up of men from Majannang,
with their commanding officer, the Dato' Lalenang,
always heartening and encouraging his men —
he deserves to be remembered.

(277) All his company were well equipped.
He had a good many Bima and Sumbawa slaves with him
who were in the best of spirits
and quite prepared to risk their lives.

(278) The noble Sultan gave orders
for the cannon called Dawn Lightning to be fired.
It boomed away with a noise like thunder,
shaking the composure of the Bugis and Ambonese.

(279) After that, the cannon called Monster was fired off,
its shots hitting the ships and korra-korras.
The Dutch and Bugis discussed their next move
with Captain Joncker.

(280) Towards evening
the cannon called Flowery was fired off.
The flames from its barrel flashed brightly
and its shot killed several of the enemy.

(281) The Dutch fleet stood off towards the sea
firing its guns as it did so.
They roasted the unclean carcasses of several chickens;
some took part in the feast, others sat silent.

(282) The Sultan lost no time in sending presents —
a suit of clothes to all those who had taken part in the
This was to win the hearts of the poor and needy [bombardment.
and to keep their mind on the task before them.

(283) Setelah matahari sudahlah njata
tampillah kapal Welanda jang dusta
dipasangnja meriam didalam kota
bunjinja gemuruh amat gempita.

(284) Berkata pula Kapitan Amiral
menjuruh tampil sekalian kapal
memasang meriam asapnja berkumpal
pelurunja datang bertampal-tampal.

(285) Setelah sunji Welanda kelaut
dipasang meriam bernama Barat Laut
takutlah Welanda undur surut
dilihatnja peluru datang menurut.

(286) Berkatalah Keraéng Laksamana
témbakkan meriam bernama Seri Istana
bunjinja gemuruh amat berbahana
kenalah Welanda Bugis jang hina.

(287) Dipasangnja meriam kapal jang besar
bunjinja gemuruh seperti tagar
pelurunja datang terkisar-kisar
amat riuh sorak Mengkasar.

(288) Dibéloknja kapal lalu lari (19)
dipasangnja meriam sebelah kiri
bahananja gemuruh kedalam negeri
sukalah Bugis Buton pentjuri.

(289) Datanglah kapal Kapitan Djongkor
menémbakkan meriam bagai diatur
pelurunja datang bagai ditabur
sangat gempita dengan bunji tambur.

(290) Demikianlah sentiasa hari
Mengkasar berperang dengan Welanda pentjuri
memasang meriam menudju negeri
seorangpun tidak gentar dan ngeri.

(283) Next day, at sun-rise
the Dutch ships came in towards the coast.
The cannon in the town began firing
making a deafening noise.

(284) The Dutch commander
ordered his entire fleet to bear down.
They approached, covered in smoke from their cannon,
and their shots came hurtling into the town one after another.

(285) When the Dutch cannon ceased firing,
the Macassarese fired off their cannon called North-Wester.
The Dutch were frightened and put out to sea
when they saw the hail of shots directed at them.

(286) The Macassarese admiral gave instructions
for the cannon called Palace Glory to be fired;
the noise it made was deafening
and some Dutch and Bugis were hit.

(287) The cannon in the Dutch warships opened up
making a noise like thunder.
The shots came whirring in
and the Macassarese shouted and yelled.

(288) The ships stood off and put about
so as to give the town another broadside.
Pandemonium reigned in Macassar
to the joy of the Bugis and the thievish Butonese.

(289) Captain Joncker's ship approached
directing a most accurate fire upon the town.
Shots fell thick and fast
and to add to the din, the drums were beating all the time.

(290) And so it went on, day after day,
as the Macassarese fought the thievish Hollanders.
Their cannons were aimed at the heart of the city
but not a man flinched.

(291) Kekal kiranja apalah entji'
selamat sempurna beroléh milik
selamat kepada tempat jang baik
memohonkan air barang setitik.

(292) Tuan dengarkan fakir berpesan
fakir nin djangan tuan lupakan
insja Allah barang dipertemukan
kepada barang tempat menjembah tuan.

(293) Entji' Maris orang terbilang
pandjang nipis dadanja benderang
sendjatanja itu lembing dan pedang
sikapnja itu seperti harimau garang.

(294) Sempurnalah ia anak bangsawan
sikapnja sengadja hendak melawan
melihat Welanda si Bugis haiwan
marahnja tidak dapat ditahan.

(295) Dari Maros satu ketumbukan madjelis (19a)
jang memerintahkan dia Keraéng Léngkés
hulubalang bertjakap seraja bengis
hendak melawan Welanda dan Bugis.

(296) Sekaliannja itu berkata-kata
djanganlah kita berdukatjita
tetapkan djua sekalian anggota
perbaik meriam diatas kota.

(297) Segala hulubalang di Udjung Pandang
terlalu gemar ia memandang
gegap gempita serunai dan genderang
sekalian pahlawan bermain pedang.

(298) .....
.....

293, 294: ms. places v. 294 before v. 293.
296b: berdukatjita (b-r-d-ū-ā-tj-ī-t).
298a, 298b are lacking.

(291) A long life to you, sir,
health and prosperity to you,
may happiness and security be yours —
perhaps you could spare a drop of water?

(292) Hear what I have to say, sir,
and don't forget your story-teller.
God grant we may meet again one day,
and wherever it may be I will pay my respects to you.

(293) Enche' Maris was a well-known figure,
tall and slim but broad-chested;
armed with a spear and a sword,
he bore himself like a raging tiger.

(294) A perfect gentleman was he,
his one thought to fight the enemy.
At the sight of the Dutch and the brutish Bugis
he could no longer contain his anger.

(295) One fine division came from Maros
under the command of Karaéng Léngkésé'.
A capable and savage fighter,
he was resolved to fight the enemy.

(296) Said the warriors:
"Don't let's be down-hearted,
let's stiffen up our sinews
and see that the cannon on the ramparts are ready for action."

(297) The warriors assembled at Ujong Pandang
gazed joyfully at the scene before them.
Deafening was the noise of the fifes and drums,
while the swordsmen made passes with their weapons.

(298) .....
.....

setelah sudah haripun malam
musjawaratlah ia didalam diam.

(299) Bitjaranja itu belum bertentu
hendak naik ke Batu-Batu
djikalau dapat berbénténg disitu
alah dan menang disanalah tentu.

(300) Antara selang berapa hari
Amiral menjuruh berperi-peri
naiklah kita ésok hari
djanganlah takut gentar dan ngeri.

(301) Setelah pagi harinja itu
naiklah Welanda di Batu-Batu
Bugis Meluku si Buton hantu
membawa setinggar seorang satu.

(302) Demi Welanda sampai kedarat
serta bertemu lalu berkerat (20)
Mengkasar menempuh seperti memerap
si kuffārpun lari undur larat.

(303) Fakir mendengar chabarnja konon
larilah Welanda Meluku dan Ambon
gentar putjat muka si Buton
kepada air masin iapun terdjun.

(304) Sekaliannja lari lintang-pukang
setengah mati tertelentang
oléh Mengkasar kepalanja dipegang
dikeratnja léhér dengan pedang.

(305) Tiadalah habis hamba katakan
patahlah perang Welanda sjaitan
seorangpun tidak lagi bertahan
gentarlah dagu si Buton haiwan.

302c: memerap (s-r-ā-b).
302d: kuffārpun (k-ū-f-r pun).
305d: dagu (d-ā-k-ū).

When darkness fell
(The Dutch held) a council-of-war in secret.

(299) Their minds were not absolutely made up
but it was decided to make a landing at Batu-Batu.
Should they be able to establish themselves ashore,
victory or defeat would be decided there.

(300) A few days later
the Admiral summoned his officers for a council.
"We shall make our landing tomorrow.
Let us have no fear or hesitation."

(301) When morning came
the Dutch landed at Batu-Batu
together with the Bugis, Moluccans and the fiendish Butonese,
each man armed with a musket.

(302) No sooner had the Dutch reached the shore
when they encountered the Macassarese and fierce fighting [broke out.
The Macassarese charged them tempestuously,
until finally the infidels had to run away.

(303) As I heard the story,
the Dutch, Moluccans and Ambonese took to their heels.
The Butonese were shaking with fear, their faces blanched,
as they dived into the salt sea.

(304) They ran away in complete confusion
some of them were killed, their bodies stretched out on the [ground.
The Macassarese seized hold of their heads
and cut their throats with their swords.

(305) I have not yet finished my story;
the Dutch troops broke and ran
not a man standing his ground.
The Butonese were shaking with fear.

(306) Larinja itu turun kekapal
Amiral melihat sangatlah sebal
dengan Kapitan Djepara ia kumpul
berfikirlah ia mentjari 'akal.

(307) Kafir melawan terlalu tjerdik
dari Galésong Welanda naik
kita perbuatkan suatu bilik
dengan meriam besar ia kita bidik.

(308) Sangatlah tjerdik si kafir sjaitan
patutlah dengan Welanda haiwan
kita perbuatkan kota berdjalan
dengan meriam besar kita bitjarakan.

(309) Berbunjilah tambur gegap gempita
setengah mengambil sekalian sendjata
Amiral mendengar sangatlah suka (20a)
makan dan minum sekalian rata.

(310) Sekalian soldadu diberinja persalin
pertama tjepiau badju dan kain
djanganlah engkau bekerdja jang lain
makan dan minum engkau bermain.

(311) Amiral itu pandai membudjuk
Buton Meluku Ambon jang mabuk
minum arak seorang semangkuk
tidaklah ia chabarkan kutuk.

(312) Dipersembahkan orang Welanda lari
oléh Sultan disuruh tjari
musjawarat baginda dengan hulubalang dan menteri
hendak mengalahkan kaum Nasrani.

306c: Djepara (dj-p-r-ī).
307b: Galésong (k-ā-l-ī-s-ū).
307c: bilik (n-l-ī-').
307d: bidik (m-ī-d-ī-').
308b: patutlah (patuhlah).
311c: semangkuk (s-m-ng-k-ū-ng).
312d: mengalahkan (m-'-l-h-k-n).

(306) How they fled back to the fleet! —
to the great disgust of the Admiral.
He took counsel with the Japara Captain
and they tried to devise a successful stratagem.

(307) The infidels showed themselves resourceful fighters.
They made a landing at Galésong.
We constructed a block-house
and directed our heavy artillery upon them.

(308) Resourceful indeed were these infidel devils —
that's only to be expected with the swinish Dutch.
We constructed a mobile stockade
and brought our heavy guns to bear on them.

(309) The drums thudded out their music
as some of them began to arm themselves.
The Admiral was delighted to see this,
and ordered food and drink to be distributed.

(310) All the soldiers were given presents,
first a European-type hat, and then a coat and sarong.
"To prevent your thoughts straying,
let us have eating and drinking and feasting."

(311) The Admiral knew how to win over
the Butonese, Moluccans and the drunken Ambonese.
Each man had a cupful of strong drink
heedless of the curse he was incurring.

(312) News was brought to the Sultan that the Dutch had fled
whereupon he ordered them to be pursued.
The Sultan took counsel with his generals and ministers
in order to defeat the Christians.

(313) Baginda mendengar sukalah sangat
memberi ajapan sekalian ra'jat
membatja pula do'a selamat
kepada Allah dan rasul minta safa'at.

(314) Setelah terang fadjar 'kan sidik
dari Galésong Welanda naik
berkampunglah perahu besar dan ketjil
dipandang orang terlalu baik.

(315) Sultanpun keluar dari negeri
mendapatkan Bugis Welanda pentjuri
berperang datang setengah hari
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati.

(316) Berperang itu dari Galésong
pulangnja banjak jang berusung
Welanda dan Bugis banjak terpotong (21)
Sultanpun hadir dibawah pajung.

(317) Perang itu seperti berdjandji
Sultan di Telo' mengeluari
Welanda Meluku habislah lari
kebénténg ia membawa diri.

(318) Radja di Telo' berani sungguh
bertjakap dengan kata jang teguh
kepada Sultan upama suluh
karena baginda berani sungguh.

(319) Tjili Kalimata terlalu élok
mendjadi ipar kepada Radja di Telo'
barang dimana ketumbukan si Tunderu'
biarlah aku kesana masuk.

(320) Selangpun tidak berapa hari
Tjili Kalimata jang mengeluari

314b: Galésong (k-l-ī-ū-ng).
317d: bénténg (b-n-t-ā-ī-ng).
320a: Selangpun (sīlangpūn).

(313) The Sultan was greatly pleased with what he heard
and held a public banquet
at which prayers for salvation were offered up
to God and the Prophet, requesting His intercession.

(314) Next morning, when it was almost light,
the Dutch came ashore at Galésong.
All their ships were assembled, great and small,
and it was indeed a fine sight to see.

(315) The Sultan came out of the citadel
to attack the Bugis and the thievish Dutch.
The fighting went on till midday
and many Bugis and Dutch were killed.

(316) The fighting was centred around Galésong
and many were the casualties borne back on a stretcher.
A great number of the Dutch and Bugis were cut down
with the Sultan looking on, seated under the royal sun-shade.

(317) The two sides fought like sworn enemies.
The King of Tallo' led the Macassarese attack.
The Dutch and the Moluccans fled,
seeking the shelter of their stockade.

(318) The King of Tallo' fought with great gallantry
proving indeed that his word was his bond.
A tower of strength to the Sultan,
he fought with great gallantry.

(319) Kaichili' Kalimata was a fine sight.
He was the brother-in-law of the King of Tallo'.
"Wherever you see Palakka and his brigade
let me be the first to attack them."

(320) A few days later
Kaichili' Kalimata led an assault.

berperang tidak setengah hari
si Tunderu' melihat adalah ngeri.

(321) Datu' Maharadjaléla seorang laki-laki
kebalnja tidak dimakan besi
berdatang sembah kebawah duli
patik memohonkan bénténg sendiri.

(322) Akan titah dulinja Sultan
baiklah Datu' hamba berikan
oléh Mengkasar Melaju peranakan
mana perintah Datu' melawan.

(323) Datu' Gagah hulubalang jang tua
mengadap Sultan Radja di Goa
Welanda dan Bugis tidak kupertjaja (21a)
sedikitpun tidak mau ketjéwa.

(324) Seorang bernama Entji' Djohor
ia berdiri mendjadi ékor
perang tidak mau undur
djikalau mati badan tersungkur.

(325) Dengarkan perintah itu tuanku
kodrat Allah telah berlaku
Welandapun tidak lama disitu
berlajarlah kapal ke Batu-Batu.

(326) Ke Batu-Batu Welandapun sampai
lalulah ia naik kepantai
membawa golok sekalian sakai
dikaki kota iapun sampai.

(327) Lamanja tidak berapa hari
bénténg Welanda sudah terdiri
luputlah 'akal bitjara dan budi
Mengkasar tidak mengeluari lagi.

321a: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ā-dj-l-l-ī-l).
321d: bénténg (b-n-t-ng).
326c: golok (k-ū-l-t).
326d: dikaki (l-k-k-ī).

The fighting did not last beyond midday
and Palakka, looking on, felt frightened.

(321) The Dato' Maharaja Léla was a true man,
invulnerable to steel.
To the Sultan he said:
"Grant me the command of one of our stockades."

(322) Said His Highness the Sultan:
"Very well, Dato', you may have it.
Have the Macassarese and your Malays
fight according to your orders."

(323) The old warrior, the Dato' Gagah,
had audience with the Sultan of Goa:
"I have little opinion of these Dutch and Bugis
and I have no wish to be left out of the fighting."

(324) A gentleman called Enche' Johor
commanded the rearguard.
Not the sort of man to retreat before the enemy,
rather would he bite the dust.

(325) Hear what orders were given, Your Highness,
and how there came to pass what God had willed.
The Dutch did not stay long there
but sailed off in their ships to Batu-Batu.

(326) The Dutch arrived at Batu-Batu
and went ashore.
All their slaves carried choppers
and they finally arrived at the foot of the stockade.

(327) A few days later
the Dutch stockade was completed.
It was no longer possible to devise a way to circumvent them
and the Macassarese were unable to launch an attack upon them.

(328) Datu' Adi empunja 'akal
kemudiannja kelak ia menjesal
.....
.....

(329) Berperanglah Sultan di Batu-Batu
Keraéng Djaranika datang membantu
membawa keris seorang satu
masuk mengamuk Meluku hantu.

(330) Keraéng Djaranika dengan Maharadjaléla
mengamuk bagai orang jang gila
sedikitpun tidak ada bertjela
bertikamkan keris berhéla-héla.

(331) Keraéng Djaranika berkata kasar (22)
Datu' Maharadjaléla marilah keluar
dengan sekalian anak Mengkasar
marilah mengamuk kita keluar.

(332) Berperang itu pagi-pagi hari
Welanda dan Bugis banjaklah lari
sedikitpun tidak gentar dan ngeri
ketika kembali petanglah hari.

(333) Welanda mati bertindih bangkai
bertjampur dengan anak Ternaté
sekaliannja itu berbadju rantai
disanalah Welanda banjak terkapai.

(334) Seorang bernama Kapitan Djongkor
perangnja tidak mau undur
sekalian kapal disuruhnja atur
kena meriam ia tersungkur.

328c, 328d are lacking.
329b: membantu (membātū).
329d: Meluku (m-l-ū-l-h).
330a: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ā-dj-l-l-ī-l).
330c: bertjela (b-r-tj-ī-l).
331b: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ā-dj-l-l-ī-l).
333d: terkapai (t-r-k-m-p-ī).

(328) This was Dato' Adi's idea,
he'll be sorry for it one day.
.....
.....

(329) The Sultan ordered an attack on Batu-Batu,
Karaéng Jarannika it was who rallied to his support.
Each of his men was armed with a kris
as they came in to attack the devilish Moluccans.

(330) Karaéng Jarannika was accompanied by the Maharaja Léla
and they attacked as though possessed;
it was impossible to find fault with them
as they struck at the enemy repeatedly with their kris.

(331) Karaéng Jarannika said fiercely:
"Dato' Maharaja Léla, let's attack
with all the men of Macassar —
let's attack and drive them out."

(332) The battle took place in the early morning.
Many of the Dutch and Bugis fled.
The Macassarese showed no sign of fear.
The army drew off in the late afternoon.

(333) The Dutch dead were piled one on top of the other
with here and there a dead Ternatéan.
All of them were wearing chain-mail.
A good many of the Dutch were laid low here.

(334) One of their officers called Captain Joncker
refused to retreat
and ordered the ships to be drawn up.
He was struck by a ball and knocked to the ground.

(335) Kepada si Tunderu' ia berkata
hampir bénténg Maharadjaléla
bunji meriam rentaka dan léla
ra'jat melihat hatinja gila.

(336) Kornilis Sipalman mengikat perang
akan sajap kanan Bugis jang garang
Ambon Meluku kepala perang
berbariskan setinggar tombak jang pandjang.

(337) Buton pentjuri akan sajap kiri
Welanda dan Bugis ada berdiri
melihat Mengkasar datang berperi-peri (22a)
si kuffār kutuk lalulah lari.

(338) Kapitan Amiral mendjadi tubuh
seperti upama kota jang teguh
memukul tambur terlalu gemuruh
bahananja seperti tagar dan guruh.

(339) Suatu ketumbukan Kapitan Djongkor
ia berdiri mendjadi ékor
tunggulnja belang berbunga tabur
alpérés dan saréan djuru mengatur.

(340) Setelah bertitah Sultan jang besar
menitahkan Melaju dengan Mengkasar
berperang itu berpusar-pusar
laksana angin barat jang besar.

(341) Setelah hulubalang menengar titah
lalu mengatur alat perintah
sekaliannja musta'ib hadirlah sudah
tidaklah lagi menantikan titah.

335a: Tunderu' (t-n-d-ū-r).
335b: Maharadjaléla (m-h-r-ā-dj-l-l-ī-l).
335c: léla (l-l-ī-l).
337c, 337d are repeated.
337d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
339d: ā-l-p/ng-ī-r d-ā-n s-r-n-ī dj-ū-r m-ng-t-r.
340d: angin barat (barat angin).

(335) He called out to Palakka
when they were near the Dato' Maharaja Léla's stockade.
The noise of the cannon and guns was deafening,
and the army was maddened by the sight.

(336) Cornelis Speelman drew up his army in battle array:
on the right wing were the savage Bugis,
Ambonese and Moluccans made up the main body
drawn up with their muskets and tall spears.

(337) The thievish Butonese made up the left wing
while there was a reserve of Dutch and Bugis.
When they saw the Macassarese advancing to 'parley'
the damned infidels broke and ran.

(338) The Commander-in-Chief commanded the centre
like unto a stout fortress.
The drums were beating loudly
making a thunderous noise.

(339) One division was commanded by Captain Joncker
who was in charge of the rear;
his standard had a design set against a striped field
and his cornets and sergeants drew up their men.

(340) After the Sultan of Goa had given his orders
to the Malays and Macassarese,
the fight began, swaying from side to side,
like a powerful squall of wind.

(341) As soon as the soldiers heard the command
they took up their positions.
Every man was at his post
almost anticipating his general's orders.

(342) Segala hulubalang baginda Sultan
seperti harimau berlompatan
upama ranggas lembing sumpitan
pandji-pandji dan tunggul berkibar-kibaran

(343) Berperang itu terlalu sabur
Maharadjaléla dengan Kapitan Djongkor
perangnja sampai waktu lohor
kapalpun lari ketengah undur.

(344) Banjaknja kapal tiga puluh
ia membedil legah dan leguh
siang dan malam tiadalah teduh (23)
demikianlah lakunja Welanda mati dibunuh.

(345) Setelah dilihat oléh Mengkasar
segeralah ia kesana menjambar
Melajupun tampil dengan setinggar
lembing perisai seperti pagar.

(346) Tidaklah sempat mengikat perang
ra'jat Mengkasar tidak terlarang
berlompat seperti harimau jang garang
serta bertemu lalu berperang.

(347) Keraéng Djaranika melihat Welanda
baginda mengamuk seraja berkuda
rupa sikapnja seperti garuda
ia berani berbénténgkan dada.

(348) Keraéng Patunga upama Gatotkatja
sikapnja seperti Sang Djaja Amarta
sungguhpun orangnja tidak berapa
melihat musuh hendak diterpa.

344b: membedil (m-b-d-ī-l).
345b: menjambar (m-nj-ā-m-r).
347d: berbénténgkan (b-r-b-n-t-ng-k-n).
348b: Sang Djaja Amarta (s-ng-dj-ā-ī ā-m-r-t-ā).

(342) All the soldiers of the Sultan
were leaping about like tigers.
Their spears and blowpipes looked like the branches of so many trees.
with pennons and standards fluttering in the breeze.

(343) The fighting was very confused.
Dato' Maharaja Léla clashed with Captain Joncker.
They fought until the hour of the midday prayer,
while the ships drew off to sea.

(344) There were 30 ships in all,
keeping up a deafening bombardment;
there was no peace by day or by night
that's how the Dutch went to work — rot them!

(345) When the Macassarese saw what was happening
they at once came charging forward.
The Malays too advanced, their muskets at the ready,
their spears and shields forming a veritable barrier.

(346) There was no time to form ranks
the Macassarese would not be denied.
They leapt forward like savage tigers;
no sooner did the two armies meet than battle was joined.

(347) At the sight of the Dutch, Karaéng Jarannika
spurred his horse forward and charged.
Looking like a garuda
he opposed his breast to the enemy's attacks.

(348) Karaéng Pattunga was like Gatotkacha;
he bore himself like Sang Jaya Amarta.
Although in command of only a small detachment,
as soon as he saw the enemy his one desire was to hurl himself upon them.

(349) Perang itu terlalu sabur
peluru meriam bagai ditabur
tambahan si kuffār sangat tekebur
amat gempita dengan bunji tambur.

(350) Perang itu terlalu besar
berhambatan berpusar-pusar
seperti puting beliung angin jang besar
demikianlah perang Bugis Mengkasar.

(351) Melajupun sabas orang berani
menempuh ketumbukan Buton Nasrani
dengan setinggar dihudjan-hudjani (23a)
banjaklah mati disana sini.

(352) Beramuk-amukan terlalu ramai
seperti perang Maharadja Bumi
segala hulubulang jang ternama-namaï
dengan Karaéng Djaranika bersama-samaï.

(353) Lakunja seperti gadjah jang meta
si kuffārpun tidak menderita
terlalu banjak kena sendjata
rupanja médan gelap gulita.

(354) Keraéng Mamu upama Sang Samba
ia memakai serba kesumba
sikapnja seperti singa berlumba
ia mengamuk berlumba-lumba.

(355) Keraéng Bonto laksana Sang Radjuna
ia memakai badju lamina
sikapnja seperti Maharadja Rawana
menempuh ketumbukan Meluku jang hina.

349c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
350c: puting (pūntīng).
353b: kuffārpun (k-ū-f-r p-ū-n).
354b: serba kesumba (s-r-ā-b ch-s-m-b-h).

(349) The fighting was very confused;
there was a veritable hail of cannonballs,
and the infidels, in their overweening arrogance,
had their drums beating away at full pitch.

(350) The fighting was very heavy
as both sides attacked each other in turn,
swirling around like some great hurricane —
that was how the Bugis and Macassarese fought.

(351) Good for you, Malays! Brave fighters all,
they attacked the division of the Butonese and the Christians,
letting loose upon them a rain of musket fire,
so that many of them were killed.

(352) Both sides attacked in strength,
as in the battles fought by Maharaja Boma.
All the most renowned warriors were there
together with Karaéng Jarannika.

(353) Like a rogue elephant he fought
and the infidels could not hold out against him.
Very many of them were wounded
and the battle-field was shrouded in gloom.

(354) Karaéng Mamu bore himself like Sang Samba
Dressed all in red,
he fought like an angry lion,
racing to get at the enemy.

(355) Karaéng Bonto . . . was like Sang Arjuna,
wearing his coat of mail;
he fought like Maharaja Rawana
as he attacked the division of the wretched Moluccans.

(356) Daéng Maréwa upama Sang Parta
ia memakai terapang suasa
menempuh ketumbukan kafir jang dusta
si haiwanpun tidak menderita.

(357) Daéng ri Boko Sahbandar jang tua
sikapnja seperti panah jang dua
ampun keraéng tidaklah dua
bagindapun termasjhur berani djua.

(358) Daéng Mabéla muda jang sabar
ia memakai gaduk dan destar
seperti patung didalam gambar (24)
ia mengamuk dua sesambar.

(359) Bunji meriam seperti bertih
barang jang kena darah meléléh
ada jang mati ada jang letih
tidaklah lagi toléh-menoléh.

(360) Anak sumpitan seperti udjan
sekalian jang kena habis kebisaan
tiada lagi diperasakan
menempuh djuga ia melawan.

(361) Bertikamkan lembing seperti bermain
tjarik-mentjarik badju dan kain
kena dadanja sampai ketemin
mati itu datang jang lain.

(362) Berpaukkan pedang seperti bersenda
kena kepalanja belah dua
banjaklah mati diatas kuda
kepalanja ditendas samanja muda.

356a: Sang Parta (s-ng-p-ā-t).
356b: terapang (t-t-r-ā-p-ng).
356d: haiwanpun (dj-ū-w-n p-ū-n).
358d: dua sesambar (d-ū-s-ā-s-m-b-r).

(356) Daéng Maréwa was like Sang Parta.
With a gold-plated scabbard for his kris,
he attacked the army of the infidels
who, like the low brutes they were, were unable to resist him.

(357) Daéng ri Boko, the senior Shahbandar,
was like a double-headed arrow.
Begging your worship's pardon, he had no equal,
a prince renowned for his bravery.

(358) Daéng Mabéla, the young and steadfast
was wearing long trousers with a destar on his head.
Looking like a character from the shadow-play
he attacked the enemy two at a time.

(359) The noise of the guns was like rice being roasted
and the blood streamed from the wounds of those who were hit.
Some were killed, others merely exhausted,
without the energy even to turn their head.

(360) There came a rain of darts from the blowpipes
and when anyone was hit, the poison seized hold of him.
But, impervious to everything,
They fought on, charging to the attack.

(361) Men thrust with their spears as though at practice,
ripping and tearing each other's clothes.
Some were stabbed through the breast, the weapon penetrating
[to the hilt,
but as one man died, so another came to take his place.

(362) Sword clashed against sword as though in jest
but when the blow went home, it cleft the skull.
Many were killed fighting on horseback,
as one young man smashed another's head in.

(363) Bertikamkan keris berpegang pinggang
keduanja mati sama terlentang
adalah upama batang pisang
dikerat Mengkasar dengan pedang.

(364) Gegap gempita tempik dan sorak
barang penakut lari berteriak
jang berani bertempik pulak
mara menempuh terlalu galak.

(365) Kepala laki-laki seperti anak ketai
dikerat oléh jang berbadju rantai
tidaklah terbilang Buton Ternaté (24a)
habis ber(gu)lingan sepandjang pantai.

(366) Tiga puluh tiga kepala Welanda
dikerat pahlawan jang muda-muda
disembahkan kepada duli baginda
digandjar emas ditambahi kuda.

(367) Sahbandar jang tua kena lembing
urat pahanja bagai digunting
itupun tidak baginda berpaling
sekadar undur ia mengiring.

(368) Bagindapun radja jang termasjhur
disambut djuaknja dibawa undur
perang besar terlalu sabur
gegap gempita bertjampur-baur.

(369) Didengar oléh Sultan di Goa
Daéng ri Boko sabillah djua
titah kodrat itu ia bawa
dikuburkan didalam kota Goa.

364d: mara (mārah).
365c: Ternaté (t-r-n-ā-n-ī).
365d: ber(gu)lingan (b-r-l-ī-ng-n).
367a: Sahbandar (sj-ī-h-b-n-d-ā-r).
367c: itupun (ā-ī-p-ū-n).
369c: kodrat (k-d-ā-r-t).

(363) Here one would stab with his kris as he seized his enemy by the
but death claimed them both and sent them sprawling. [waist,
As though hacking at the stem of a banana tree
the Macassarese cut down the enemy with their swords.

(364) There was a deafening din and a thunderous clamour
as the cowards fled shrieking.
The brave stayed, shouting out defiance,
advancing to the attack with savage fury.

(365) The heads of the slain were like so many marbles,
lopped off by the mail-clad warriors.
There was no counting the heads of the Butonese and
rolling about along the shore. [Ternatéans

(366) There were thirty-three Dutch heads
cut off by our young warriors.
They presented them to the Sultan
and were rewarded with gold and a horse to boot.

(367) The senior Shahbandar was stabbed by a spear
that neatly cut away the muscles of his thigh.
But even then he did not flag in his devotion to the Sultan,
retiring without any fuss to the rear.

(368) A most renowned prince,
he was received by his servants and borne away.
The fighting was now extremely confused;
both sides were mixed up, and the noise was deafening.

(369) When the Sultan of Goa heard
that Daéng ri Boko had died a martyr's death,
he gave orders that he should be borne
to the cemetery inside the castle of Goa.

(370) Hambanja sekalian gempar
berlari-lari dada ditampar
dihéla rambut dihempaskan destar
lalu menangis berpusar-pusar.

(371) Anakanda baginda datang mengadap
memeluk mentjium seraja mendakap
orangpun hadir sekalian lengkap
menantikan ajahanda keluar dihadap.

(372) Ajuh ajahanda ambillah béta
tiada kuasa duduk bertjinta
djikalau patik patut memegang sendjata (25)
dengan sekarang sabillah kita.

(373) Lalaluh ia bertangis-tangisan
daéng perempuan rebahlah pingsan
meratap arwah ketumpuan
air matanja bertjutjuran.

(374) Setelah ingat daripada pingsan
kepada kaki baginda kepalanja ditundukkan
kepada dada rambutnja disapukan
kakanda lihat lakuan tuan.

(375) Ditanamkan orang lalu dikuburkan
diratakan tanah bunga ditaburkan
keduanja médjan pula diaturkan
tidak keruan saja katakan.

(376) Malak al-maut datang memanggil
Daéng Mabéla matilah sabil
badan sadja dapat diambil
dibawa kembali dipasangkan bedil.

373c: ketumpuan (k-t-m-p-ū-ā-n).
374d: tuan (t-ū-'-ā-n).
375c: médjan (m-ī-z-ā-n).

(370) There was a great to-do amongst his servants,
as they ran about beating their breasts:
they tore their hair and threw down their destar,
as they staggered around, weeping.

(371) The Shahbandar's son came forward
hugging and kissing his father's corpse, holding it tight.
"All the people here are ready,
waiting for you to go out and see them.

(372) O father, take me with you,
I cannot bear to remain here, mourning you.
If only I might bear arms,
this very moment I would die in battle against the infidels."

(373) And so he wept bitterly.
His mother, the Shahbandar's wife had fainted away.
Weeping for the soul of the husband upon whom all her [affections had been centred.
her tears flowed copiously.

(374) When she regained consciousness,
she pressed her head against her dead husband's feet,
her hair brushing against his breast:
"Darling, look how you are behaving."

(375) The Shahbandar was duly buried.
The earth was levelled and flowers scattered over the grave
while the two stones were erected at the head and foot
I can hardly speak for grief.

(376) The angel of Death was amongst us
and Daéng Mabéla was the next to die for his faith.
Only his headless trunk could be recovered
and this was borne back and a salute fired.

(377) Keduanja médjan telah diaturkan
bunga rampai pula ditaburkan
itulah tandanja orang jang burhan
chabarnja termasjhur mendjadi zaman.

(378) Kemudian kena anak Djuru datjing
kena lembing terus terkantjing
kena setinggar diatas kening
iapun rebah badan terguling.

(379) Dilihat oléh hamba sahajanja
diusung oléh sanak saudaranja
segeralah undur dibawanja (25a)
lalulah pulang kerumahnja.

(380) Terlalu ramai orang meratap
saudara dan sahabat hadir mengadap
ajahanda dan bunda datang mendakap
memeluk mentjium seraja meratap.

(381) Ajuh tuan lihatlah ibu
tidak ketahuan tingkah dan laku
bukankah tuan tjahaja mataku
mengapakah anak meninggalkan aku.

(382) Tuan tegur apalah emak
bukakan kiranja matamu anak
orang melihat terlalu banjak
melihat lukamu darahnja banjak.

(383) Suara ibumu paraulah sudah
mengadjak tuan naik kerumah
santapan tuan hadirlah sudah
ibumu menanti tunduk tengadah.

377a: médjan (m-ī-z-ā-n).
382d: darahnja (d-ā-r-ā-nj).

(377) Both gravestones were placed in position
and flower petals sprinkled over the grave,
to mark the resting-place of a martyr
whose story will be handed down to posterity.

(378) The next man to fall was the son of the Customs Supervisor,
with a spear locked in his body;
with a musket-ball in his temple,
he dropped to the ground and rolled over.

(379) His servants saw him fall
and he was borne away in a litter by his relatives.
Without any delay he was taken to the rear
and carried home.

(380) Very many were the mourners.
Friends and relations came to pay their last respects.
His mother and father came to embrace the body
which they hugged and kissed, weeping all the while.

(381) "Ah, my son! See your mother
in confusion and distress.
Were you not the very light of my eye?
Why do you now forsake me?

(382) Speak but one word to your mother,
open for one second these eyes, my son.
See all these people here gazing at you —
at the wounds on your blood-smeared body.

(383) Your mother's voice is hoarse
with inviting you to come to see her;
the food is ready
and your mother, hardly knowing what to do, awaits you.

(384) Buah hati batu kepala
ibumu seperti orang jang gila
dimana tuan kutjari pula
sukarlah ibumu akan bergala.

(385) Ditjorék tanah digalikan kubur
menggali liang papan diukur
ditanamkan seperti orang jang tidur
médjan didirikan dua beratur.

(386) Di Balai Bunga terlalu ramai
disanalah asal mula berdamai
berkampunglah Welanda Sopéng dan Boné (26)
Mengkasar berhimpun terlalu ramai.

(387) Musjawarat tidak berapa bentar
habislah orang sekalian gempar
Amiralpun lari berkedjar-kedjar
takut diperdajakan oléh Mengkasar.

(388) Setelah sudah sekalian lari
si Tunderu' terkedjut lalu berdiri
Radja Meluku sangatlah ngeri
matanja memandang kanan dan kiri.

(389) Keraéng Djaranika dihadapan Sultan
dengan si Tunderu' ia berhadapan
keduanja seperti harimau djantan
Keraéng Patunga jang dibitjarakan.

(390) Gempar itu bukan mengapa
si kuffār lari teraba-raba
orang dirumah bertimpa-timpa
setengah djatuh terlalu luka.

384d: bergala (b-r-g-ā-l-h).
385a: Ditjorék (d-tj-r-ī-').
385d: médjan (m-ī-z-ā-n).
386a: Balai Bunga (b-ā-l-ī b-ū-ng).
388b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
389b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
390b: si kuffār (s-k-ū-f-r).

(384) My darling, my very life,
your mother is like a mad woman.
Where am I to go to find you?
It is difficult for your mother to contain herself."

(385) The plot was marked out, the grave dug,
the earth scooped out and the planks squared up.
He was buried in the posture of someone just fallen asleep,
while the two gravestones were erected, one facing the other.

(386) Bungaya was crowded with people
for it was there that peace negotiations began.
The Dutch, Soppéngers and Bugis gathered together,
while a great crowd of Macassarese assembled.

(387) The negotiations had not been in progress long
when there was a general panic.
The Admiral fled head-first,
frightened of being tricked by the Macassarese

(388) When all had fled,
Palakka, with a start, sprang up.
The King of Ternaté was trembling with fear
darting his eyes from left to right.

(389) Karaéng Jarannika was in attendance upon the Sultan,
and stood there facing Palakka.
Both of them were like fierce tigers.
It was Karaéng Pattunga whose actions were called in question.

(390) However, the affair was only a trifle,
although the infidels fled in confusion.
People in the pavilion were trodden underfoot
and some were knocked down and badly injured.

(391) Oléh Sultan Radja di Goa
bertachta dengan Radja jang tua
keduanja tersenjum sekalian tertawa
melihat laku Buton dan Djawa.

(392) Akan hulubalang baginda Sultan
sekalian hadir dengan djabatan
sekadar titah jang dinantikan
seperti ranggas lembing sumpitan.

(393) Sekalian Bugis Buton Ternaté
tjepiaunja tidak sempat dipakai
dimana penghulu dimana sakai (26a)
rebah rempah dengan badju rantai.

(394) Amiralpun lelah ternganga-nganga
mulutnja itu seperti arang belanga
seperti kambing takut akan singa
kedjut dengan daun telinga.

(395) Pembohongnja sangat kafir Nasrani
mengatakan dirinja sangat berani
sekadar djua ia bersembunji
sungguhlah ia kesana sini.

(396) Sultan bertitah kepada si Tunderu'
Amiral itu pergilah pudjuk
suruh kembali ia duduk
supaja bitjara kita perélok.

(397) Pergilah ia hulubalang pétah
kepada Amiral menjampaikan titah
Kapitan djangan kau nin amarah
baiklah tentukan barang perintah.

392b: djabatan (dj-dj-ā-b-t-n).
394d: k-ā-tj-ū-t d-ng-n d-ā-ū-ā-n t-l-ī-ng-h.
396a: si Tunderu' (s-ī-t-n-d-ū-r).

(391) The Sultan of Goa
sat in state, with the senior Karaéng.
Both of them smiled in amusement
to see the behaviour of the Butonese and Javanese.

(392) All the Sultan's bodyguard
were ready at their posts.
They waited only for the word of command,
their spears and blowpipes bristling like the branches of so
[many trees.

(393) None of the Bugis, Butonese and Ternatéans
had time to grab their hats;
there was no telling master from servant,
as they went crashing down in their coats of mail.

(394) The Admiral was panting for breath
his mouth smeared with dirt like the bottom of a cooking-pot,
like a goat frightened by a lion,
his ears sticking out in fright.

(395) What a liar the Christian infidel was,
saying he was very brave
and that he was merely taking cover!
In actual fact he was running all over the place.

(396) Said the Sultan to Palakka:
"Go and persuade the Admiral to come back.
Tell him to come and sit down,
so that we can complete our negotiations."

(397) And so he went, like a true diplomat,
to give the Admiral the Sultan's message:
"Now don't get annoyed, Admiral,
hadn't we better make our arrangements?"

(398) Amiral menjahut seraja ngeri
mengapatah béta dipermaburi
djikalau hendak bitjara disini
biarlah nanti hari jang sunji.

(399) Terlalu amarah Amiral andjing
ia berkata seraja mendjeling
berilah tahu kepada Keraéng
suruhlah kembali Boné dan Sopéng.

(400) Kembalilah hulubalang baginda Sultan
bersembahkan kata Welanda sjaitan
Radja Palaka berkata perlahan (27)
barang kehendaknja tuanku ikutkan.

(401) Pulanglah si Tunderu' mendapatkan Amiral
lalulah ia turun kekapal
menjingsingkan destar seraja berchabar
mengatakan laku Radja Mengkasar.

(402) Setelah malam sudahlah hari
Sultan berangkat lalu kembali
musjawarat ia dengan segala menteri
memberi manfa'at kepada segala negeri.

(403) Keradjaannja sangat berdiri
baginda itulah jang membitjarakan negeri
jang kehendaknja itu sengadja diberi
djanganlah ia takut dan ngeri.

(404) Djundjungankulah radja jang mulia
kemuliaannja itu daripada Tuhan jang sedia
terdjauhlah mara dan bahaja
dari bawah duli radja jang kaja.

398b: dipermaburi (d-p-r-m-ā-b-ū-d-ī).
399d: Boné (n-ū-n-ī).
401a: si Tunderu' (s-ī-t-n-d-ū-r).
401c: menjingsing (m-nj-ī-ng-k-n).
404b: Tuhan (t-ū-n).

(398) The Admiral, still upset, replied:
"Why did they try to make away with me?
If they wish to negotiate here,
let them wait till some future date, when we won't be disturbed."

(399) The dog of an Admiral was furious.
His eyes glaring as he spoke, he said:
"Inform the Karaéng
that he must give instructions for all Boné and Soppéng people
[to be handed over."

(400) The warrior went back to the Sultan
and gave him the message from the devilish Dutch.
Raja Palakka said quietly:
"Whatever they demand, Your Highness should agree to."

(401) Palakka went back to the Admiral
and then went on board.
He tilted his turban as he spoke,
telling them how the King of Macassar had behaved.

(402) When darkness fell
the Sultan returned to his palace.
He took counsel with all his ministers,
seeking to decide what was in the best interest of the nation.

(403) The star of his destiny as ruler of Macassar was at its brightest.
He it was who decided the affairs of state.
"We'll give them what they want,
rather than have them going around in fear and dismay."

(404) My master, most noble ruler,
his glory is derived from He who is eternal.
May no danger or calamity befall
his most liberal Majesty.

(405) Baginda itu manis perangainja
muhtasjam dalam maligainja
seperti manikam dalam meterainja
beroléh tjahaja kedua negerinja.

(406) .....
.....
sempurna 'arif lagi bangsawan
saudara sepupu kepada Sultan.

(407) Masjhurlah baginda Sultan djauhari
beroléh tjahajanja kedua negeri
kehendak Allah sudah memberi
sedikit tidak gentar dan ngeri.

(408) Masjhurlah Keraéng jang kepudjian (27a)
sentiasa didalam kesukaan
dengan kakanda baginda berkepatutan
laksana emas mengikat intan.

(409) Bidjaksana bukan kepalang
tjahaja mukanja gilang gemilang
anak marhum Petingaloang
diketakuti menteri dan hulubalang.

(410) Baginda Radja di Bontoala'
seperti zaitun pohonnja rampak
tempat bernaung sekalian chalajak
dengan murahnja baginda pula.

(411) Tatkala berkelahi dengan si kuffār
bagindalah memerintahkan negeri Mengkasar
berdua dengan Sultan jang besar
sekalian ra'jat ketjil dan besar.

406a, 406b are lacking.
409c: marhum Petingaloang (m-r-ū-h-ū-m p-t-ng ā-ng-k-ā-w-ā-ng).
411a: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).

(405) The King showed himself always gracious.
Imposing in his state pavilion,
like a jewel in its setting,
both Goa and Tallo' obtained lustre from him.

(406) (.....
The King of Tallo' was .....)
most wise and noble,
cousin to the Sultan of Goa.

(407) Right renowned was this jewel of a prince,
so that both states derived lustre from him.
By the will of God it had been ordained
that he should know neither fear nor alarm.

(408) Famous was the Karaéng, deservedly praised
always blessed by fortune.
In harmony with his elder cousin
like the gold setting of a diamond.

(409) Of boundless discretion,
his face is ever radiant.
The son of the late prince,
he was respected by his officers, both civil and military.

(410) The king ruled over Bontoala'
like an olive tree spreading its shady leaves,
protecting his people.
Of noted generosity to boot.



(411) At the time of the clash with the infidels,
this prince, it was, who ruled over Macassar,
together with the Sultan;
great and small, all came under their sway.

(412) Allah ta'ala makbulkan pinta
barang selamat duli makota
kekal karar duduk bertachta
dā'im qā'im didalam kota.

(413) Tidaklah pandjang kissah memudji
terlalu muskil pantun dan njanji
djikalau salah sadjak dan bunji
adalah satu nama jang kedji.

(414) Antara selang beberapa hari
Amir(al) naik ia sendiri
pajung berapit kanan dan kiri
Sultan dihadap segala menteri.

(415) Disuruh datang iapun datang (28)
lalu bertemu ditengah padang
sikap rupanja segala hulubalang
ra'jatpun banjak tidak terbilang.

(416) Bersama-sama dengan si Tunderu'
lakunja itu seperti Welanda mabuk
Radja Meluku iapun masuk
serta si kuffār Welanda kutuk.

(417) Berkatalah Amiral meneguhkan djandji
serta menjebut nama Kompeni
segala hartanja disuruhnja ganti
banjaknja itu lima puluh kati.

(418) Didjawab oléh Radja jang tua
Kapitan wé djangan berhati dua
jang emas itu kita ganti djua
bétapun tidak mau ketjéwa.

413b: muskil (m-s-ī-k-l).
414a: selang (sīlang).
414b: Amir(al) (ā-m-r).
416c: masuk (m-s-b-q).

(412) May Almighty God grant my request
that no misfortune befall Their Highnesses.
Long may they occupy the throne
and continue to rule over us in the royal castle.

(413) I will not continue my eulogy —
it is extremely difficult to find the right turn of phrase that will
If my rhymes are wrong or grate on the ear, [suit my poem
I deserve to be called harsh names.

(414) A few days later
the Admiral came ashore in person,
with parasol-bearers to the right and left of him.
The Sultan was being waited upon by all his ministers.

(415) He was told to come and he came.
The two sides met in the middle of a field.
All the soldiers were wearing their full equipment
and the common people were there in great numbers.

(416) Palakka was there too
looking like a tipsy Dutchman.
The King of Ternaté too was there
with the damned infidel Hollanders.

(417) The Admiral announced that he was drawing up a binding
in the name of the Dutch East India Company. [agreement
Compensation was insisted upon
to the value of fifty *kati* of gold.

(418) The elder prince answered:
"Admiral! Don't distress yourself.
We'll compensate you with the gold right enough.
I should hate to go back on my word."

(419) Sukalah hati kafir jang dusta
tertawa-tawa ia berkata
di Udjung Pandang suatu kota
berilah pindjam kepada kita.

(420) Itupun diberi oléh Keraéng
sebab katanja dipindjam sambing
berkenanlah tipu si kuffār andjing
sukalah hati Boné dan Sopéng.

(421) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
berbunjilah bedil terlalu 'azmat
seolah-olah akan kiamat
seperti melajang rasanja semangat.

(422) Bunji meriam amat gemuruh (28a)
seperti bahana tagar dan guruh
sikap tunggulnja upama suluh
'alamat téwas daripada musuh.

(423) Radja bertuah sempurna keraéng
bagindalah radja jang amat kéring
setelah sudah berdamai keraéng
kembalilah segala Boné dan Sopéng.

(424) Berlajarlah Welanda ke Udjung Pandang
dengan segala Bugis jang malang
istiméwa Meluku Buton jang dalang
patutlah dengan Ternaté malang.

(425) Lajarlah kapal lalu mengambang
naiklah Amiral ke Udjung Pandang
.....
.....

420b: sambing (s-m-b-ī-ng).
420c: berkenanlah (b-r-k-ā-n-t-l-h).
420d: Sopéng (s-m-p-ī-ng).
422c: tunggul (t-ng-k-l).
423b: kéring (k-r-ī-ng).
424c: istiméwa (ā-s-m-ī-w-ā).
425c, 425d are lacking.

(419) The lying infidel was well pleased
and, smiling, he said:
"What about the fort at Ujong Pandang
to be leased to us?"

(420) This request too was granted by our prince
because, they said, it was only to be leased.
The dog of an infidel's wiles were successful,
to the joy of the Boné and Soppéng folk.

(421) When the deliberations were at an end
the cannon boomed out a deafening salute.
It was as though the day of judgement had arrived
and the populace felt as if their last moment had come.

(422) The noise of the cannon was deafening
like great claps of thunder.
The captured standards were bundled together like so much
a sign of the defeat inflicted upon us by the enemy. [firewood —

(423) Ruler most fortunate, Prince most perfect
The King is a most respected ruler.
After all the Karaéngs had made their peace,
all the captured Boné and Soppéng people were handed back.

(424) The Dutch sailed off to Ujong Pandang
together with the wretched Bugis.
And of course the stupid Moluccans and Butonese were there,
fitting companions for the wretched Ternatéans.

(425) The ship set sail and anchored off-shore
and the Admiral went ashore at Ujong Pandang
.....
.....

(426) Di Udjung Pandang Amiral duduk
bersamalah dengan si Tunderu'
Lajo' dan Bangkal kena masuk
'alamat orang jang kena kutuk.

(427) Duduklah Bugis di Udjung Pandang
sehari-hari ke Sambo(pu) berulang-ulang
segenap kampung mengambil orang
sekalian Boné kembali pulang.

(428) Semuanja itu menaruh dendam
melihatkan laku Bugis djahanam
sabarlah ia sekalian diam
sekadar sendjatanja dipertadjam.

(429) Tetaplah Amiral di Udjung Pandang
ramailah orang kesana datang
membawa emas penukar uang (29)
murahnja sangat bukan kepalang.

(430) Djika dibalai terlalu ramai
tandanja putus sudah berdamai
Amiral mengeluarkan kain permai
setengah diberikan Sopéng dan Boné.

(431) Perinja nasib untung jang malang
sudah putik mendjadi kembang
melihat fi'il Nasrani djembalang
hatiku panas bukan kepalang.

(432) Ada seorang Keraéng jang lalim
lakunja djahat tiada muslim
.....
.....

427b: sehari-hari (s-ā-r-ī 2), Sambo(pu) (s-m-b-ū).
429c: penukar uang (p-n-ū-k-r-ā-ū-ng).
430c: permai (p-r-ā-m-ī).
431a: Perinja (p-r-ī-n).
432c, 432d are lacking.

(426) The Admiral stayed at Ujong Pandang
with Palakka.
Karaéng Layo' and Bangkala' were won over —
a sign that they were about to incur the wrath of God.

(427) The Bugis stayed at Ujong Pandang,
going in to Sombaopu every day
taking men from every village;
all the men of Boné went back home.

(428) Everyone felt aggrieved
as they saw how the damned Bugis behaved,
but they held their peace and said nothing
taking care, all the while, to keep their weapons in good trim.

(429) The Admiral was now established at Ujong Pandang
which became busier and busier.
Gold was brought there, to be used as currency,
and it was sold at a very cheap rate.

(430) In the main hall it was very busy —
a sign that the treaty had been successfully concluded.
The Admiral brought out the very finest of cloths
some of which he gave to the men of Soppéng and Boné.

(431) Bitter is the lot of the unfortunate
but what no one expected has come to pass.
When I saw the way the Christians behaved — like satyrs —
it made my blood boil.

(432) There was certain Karaéng — a harsh man —
whose conduct was wicked, most unlike a Muslim
.....
.....

(433) Bukannja fakir mentjelaï
dengan titah radja jang 'ali
hilanglah budi luput upaja
Sultanpun tidak lagi pertjaja.

(434) Kornilis Sipalman tersebut pula
datang bentjana kafir jang gila
sebuah kapal kapitannja gila
terlanggar kedarat disuruhnja héla.

(435) Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
kepada Welanda Boné dan Sopéng
tariklah kapal perbuat bénténg
berkenalah 'akal Welanda andjing.

(436) Pertama mula perkataan
Datu' Bangkal mentjari djalan
sungguhpun ia orang budiman
kepada Amiral ia bertolan.

(437) Dengarkan chabar tuan dan datu' (29a)
akan Keraéng Bangkal dan Lajo'
berbuat bénténg tidaklah élok
'akalnja itu hendak berkélok.

(438) Harinja naik pagi-pagi hari
tinggallah bénténg Welanda Nasrani
tidaklah saja pandjangi lagi
seorangpun tidak pertjaja lagi.

(439) Ketika malam sudahlah hari
berbunjilah bedil kaum Nasrani
Datu' ..... jang mengampiri
Keraéng Bangkal lalu lari.

434c: kapitannja (k-p-ī-t-nj).
435a: mendjeling (m-n-dj-ā-l-ng).
435d: berkenalah (b-r-k-n-l-h).
439c: Datu' ..... (Datu' bangkal).

(433) I am not going to criticize;
such are the wishes of our exalted ruler. —
He lost all control over himself and took leave of his senses.
The Sultan could no longer trust him.

(434) To return to Cornelis Speelman,
a calamity befell the outrageous infidels.
One of their ships, captained by an idiot,
ran aground and had to be dragged off.

(435) Said the Admiral, glaring
at the Dutch, Bugis and Soppéngers as he spoke:
"Drag the ship off and we'll make it into a stockade" —
a shrewd move on the part of the Dutch dogs.

(436) I come now to the story of how
Dato' Bangkala' sought to find a way to go over to the enemy.
Although a man of intelligence
he was on friendly terms with the Admiral.

(437) Listen, gentlemen all,
to the story of Karaéngs Bangkala' and Layo',
how they deliberately neglected the defences of their stockade,
for their plan was to go over to the enemy.

(438) One morning, at the break of day,
the Dutch Christians came out from their stockade.
I won't prolong my story unnecessarily
but no one trusted them any more.

(439) When night fell
we heard the sound of firing from the Christian camp.
It was Dato' . . . . who approached
and Karaéng Bangkala' promptly fled.

(440) Keraéng itu lari kedarat
habislah dibawanja sekalian ra'jat
kepada Amiral berkirim surat
minta didjemput berbangat-bangat.

(441) Kepada Datu' disuruhkan
oléh Amiral Penghulu Kapitan
serta bertemu diberinja makan
lalu ia turun berdjalan.

(442) Berdjalan itu tidak memandang
mendapatkan Amiral ke Udjung Pandang
serta bertemu lalu berpegang
Keraéng wé djangan berhati bimbang.

(443) Akan tjakap Keraéng Lajo'
kepada Amira(l) Welanda kutuk
Kapitan djangan berhati sibuk
ke Sanderaboné akulah masuk.

(444) Akan tjakap Keraéng Léngkés (30)
kepada si Tunderu' orang jang bengis
lihatlah kelak perang si Bugis
daripada lari baiklah habis.

(445) Akan kata Keraéng Bangkal
keraéng wé djangan hatimu sebal
berkat Tuan Kapitan Amiral
Sanderaboné boléhkan bekal.

(446) Keraéng Lajo' tidak berkata
sekadar membaiki sekalian sendjata
kepada Keraéng ia berkata
apabila Keraéng berdjalan kita.

443b: Amira(l) (ā-m-r-ā).
443c: sibuk (s-b-q).
444b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r), bengis (b-ū-g-s).
445b: hatimu (h-ī-t-m).
446b and 446d are reversed in ms.

(440) The Karaéng fled inland
taking all his men with him.
He sent a letter to the Admiral
asking for someone to fetch him as soon as possible.

(441) A messenger was sent to him
by the Admiral, the commander-in-chief.
On his arrival, the messenger was given food,
after which, they set out.

(442) Looking neither to right nor left, they hurried
to meet the Admiral at Ujong Pandang.
As soon as they met, they shook hands.
Said the Admiral: "Don't be so upset, Karaéng."

(443) Said Karaéng Layo'
to the damned Dutch Admiral:
"There's no need to worry, Sir,
I shall lead the attack on Sanraboné."

(444) Said Karaéng Léngkésé'
to the fierce Palakka:
"Just see how your Bugis behave —
better far to die than to run away!"

(445) Said Karaéng Bangkala':
"Now don't be annoyed, Karaéng,
with the benefit of my lord Admiral's assistance,
Sanraboné will get what is due to it."

(446) Karaéng Layo' said nothing,
but merely saw that his weapons were in good trim.
To the other Karaéng he said:
"When do we march off?"

(447) Akan kata Keraéng Bangkal
baiklah kita hadirkan bekal
masa baik dengan tawakkal
ke Sanderaboné ia berkumpul.

(448) Ke Sanderaboné iapun sampai
ra'jat berdjalan menjusur pantai
segala djuaknja berbadju rantai
seperti andjing beroléh bangkai.

(449) Keraéng Sanderaboné mendengar chabar
kedatangan musuh terlalu besar
dengan berkat Tuhan wahid al-kahar
sedikitpun tidak ngeri dan gentar.

(450) Akan titah duli Sultan
kampungkan ra'jat kita sekalian
sekedjap djuga berlompatan
mendengar chabar ada angkatan.

(451) Keraéng Djaranika bertjakap kepada Sultan (30a)
lakunja seperti harimau djantan
dengan berkat duli Jang dipertuan
Bangkal dan Lajo' patik melawan.

(452) Akan kata Keraéng Balo'
bertjakap dihadapan Radja di Telo'
djika sekadar Bangkal dan Lajo'
biarlah patik pergi mengamuk.

(453) Setelahpun sudah putus musjawarat
dikarunia pula sekalian ra'jat
serta sudah memakan ni'mat
membatja pula do'a selamat.

(454) Berbunjilah nobat genderang pekandjar
berkampunglah ra'jat ketjil dan besar
menjingsingkan gaduk menjéngétkan destar
mentjabut keris seraja berkandjar.

453a: putus (ā-t-s).
454a: pekandjar (p-r-k-n-dj-r).
454c: menjéngétkan (m-nj-ng-t-k-n).

(447) Said Karaéng Bangkala':
"We'd better get our supplies ready."
At a propitious hour after commending their cause to God,
they assembled at Sanraboné.

(448) They reached Sanraboné,
their forces taking the coast route.
All their men-at-arms wore coats of chain mail
and looked like dogs who've just been given a corpse to gnaw at.

(449) Karaéng Sanraboné heard the news
of the arrival of the enemy in great strength.
But, putting his trust in the One, the Almighty God,
he showed no sign of fear or confusion.

(450) The Sultan's order went out:
Assemble all our forces.
In less than no time, every man was on his toes,
hearing the news of the expedition.

(451) Karaéng Jarannika addressed the Sultan
his bearing like that of a fierce tiger.
"With your Highness' grace and favour,
I will take on Bangkala' and Layo'."

(452) Said Karaéng Ballo',
addressing the King of Tallo':
"If it's no more than Bangkala' and Layo',
let me lead the attack on them."

(453) When a decision had been reached,
largesse was distributed.
After the banquet,
prayers for a successful outcome were read.

(454) The royal drums and the war-drums were beaten
and the people gathered together, high and low.
They rolled up their trousers and tilted their turbans,
and, pulling out their kris, began the war-dance.

(455) Berkandjar itu dihadapan Sultan
sekalian ra'jat dan pahlawan
gembiranja sangat hendak melawan
Keraéng Djaranika jang diturutkan.

(456) Bagindalah radja jang terlalu besar
turun berdjalan keris dikisar
membawa ra'jat anak Mengkasar
dua ribu jang sudah bergandjar.

(457) Dua ratus jang berbadju rantai
niatnja hendak bertindih bangkai
Keraéng Djaranika seperti mempelai
ke Sanderaboné iapun sampai.

(458) Bugis kutuk lintang pukang (31)
mengatakan Keraéng Djaranika datang
Keraéng Léngkés adalah mamang
apa bitjara kita sekarang.

(495) Keraéng Sanderaboné seorang itu
hatinja teguh seperti batu
perintahnja baik sangat bertentu
Keraéng Djaranika datang membantu.

(460) Setelah fadjar haripun siang
bangunlah sekalian hulubalang
Keraéng Djaranika memegang pedang
baiklah kita tampil berperang.

(461) Beraninja sangat Keraéng Léngkés
mentjabut keris serta memekis
lakunja itu seperti kaum iblis
disanalah banjak Mengkasar habis.

455d: diturutkan (d-q-ū-r-t-k-n).

(455) They pranced in front of the Sultan —
the army and its officers.
They were full of determination to fight,
under the leadership of Karaéng Jarannika.

(456) A most powerful prince, he,
he came out, twirling his kris,
the leader of the Macassar forces —
two thousand paid troops.

(457) Two hundred of them wore coats of mail,
burning to tread underfoot the carcasses of the enemy.
Karaéng Jarannika looked as handsome as a bridegroom
as he came to Sanraboné.

(458) The damned Bugis were all at sixes and sevens,
giving it out that Karaéng Jarannika was on the way.
Karaéng Léngkésé' was worried and asked:
"What do we do now?"

(459) As for Karaéng Sanraboné,
nothing could shake his resolution.
He had made detailed plans, well thought out.
Karaéng Jarannika arrived to help him.

(460) When day had dawned,
all the soldiers arose.
Karaéng Jarannika seized his sword, calling out:
"Let us advance to the attack!"

(461) Karaéng Léngkésé' showed his courage
by drawing his kris and brandishing it in defiance.
Fighting like a devil from hell,
he accounted for several of the Macassar men.

(462) Perangnja tidak berapa hari
anak Mengkasar tidaknja ngeri
duduknja itu seperti diatas duri
karena dikepung Welanda pentjuri.

(463) Putus bitjara sudah berperi
ésok berperang ketika seri
dua hulubalang dibunuhnja mati
ra'jat melanggar kanan dan kiri.

(464) Bugis kutuk Welanda kuffār
beramuk-amukan dengan Mengkasar
Keraéng Djaranika upama pagar
banjaklah Bugis mati terkapar.

(465) Keraéng Sanderaboné lagi hulubalang (31a)
apa bitjara (anak)anda sekarang
Keraéng Djaranika upama wajang
mana perintah kakanda abang.

(466) Keraéng Bangkal adalah ngeri
Kapitan membawa diri
larinja ketika tengah hari
mengadap Kapitan kaum Nasrani.

(467) Datanglah ia ke Udjung Pandang
Amiral melihat bertelekan pinggang
apa chabar orang berperang
siapa alah siapa jang menang.

(468) Akan djawab Keraéng berperang
djanganlah kita duduk bersenang
djika musuh datang menjerang
pertetap hati segala hulubalang.

462c: duduknja (d-ū-q-nj).
464a: kuffār (k-ū-f-r-ī).
465b: (anak)anda (ā-n-d).
467b: bertelekan (b-r-t-ī-l-ā-k-n).

(462) The fighting went on for a few days
but the Macassarese showed themselves unafraid.
They were, however, in a most uncomfortable position,
completely hemmed in by the thievish Dutch.

(463) The council-of-war reached its decision,
and next day, at dawn, they attacked.
Two officers were soon killed
as the army advanced on both wings.

(464) The damned Bugis and infidel Dutch
were locked in battle with the Macassarese.
Karaéng Jarannika was himself a wall of defence
and laid many a Bugis low.

(465) Asked Karaéng Sanraboné, a true soldier:
"What shall we do now?"
Karaéng Jarannika, like some hero of the shadowplay, replied:
"I am at your disposal."

(466) Karaéng Bangkala' was frightened
while the Dutch officer ran away.
It was noon when he fled
seeking the Christian commander-in-chief.

(467) He came at last to Ujong Pandang.
When the Admiral saw him, hands on his hips he asked:
"What news of the fighting?
Who are the victors and who the vanquished?

(468) The best way to answer is to take up the fight.
Don't let's sit around here.
If the enemy comes to attack us,
we must see that our troops are in good spirit."

(469) Akan kata Keraéng Léngkés
ra'jat sénjor sekalian habis
kata Amiral penghulu iblis
hatinja itu sangatlah bengis.

(470) Amiral berkata seraja mendjeling
mengapakah mau bertjakap Keraéng
dihadapan Welanda Boné dan Sopéng
sungguhlah engkau seperti andjing.

(471) Datu' itu sangatlah malu
karena perangnja sudahlah talu
Keraéng Bangkal seperti hantu
bitjaranja itu tidak bertentu.

(472) Si Tunderu' berkata mulutnja manis (32)
bitjaranja hendak membakarkan gedung Inggeris
Datu' berkata mentjabut keris
aku mengamuk sekalian habis.

(473) Setelah malam sudahlah hari
orangpun gempar mengatakan api
Datu' mengamuk kanan dan kiri
seorangpun tidak ada jang ngeri.

(474) Datu' Maharadjaléla sangatlah gusar
gedung Inggeris sudah terbakar
karena orang tidak keluar
ia berkata halus dan kasar.

(475) Marahnja itu bukan kepalang
serta berdjalan mentjabut pedang
berbunji ragam serunai dan genderang
serta keluar lalu berperang.

(476) Perang itu bersungguh-sungguh
dengan si Bugis mati dibunuh
Datu' L-n-ng upama tubuh
perangnja itu waktu subuh.

470c: dihadapan (d-h-n-d-p-n).

(469) Karaéng Léngkésé' exclaimed:
"Your Dutch troops are finished!"
The Admiral, the devil's general,
his heart full of savage rage,

(470) said, with a glare:
"Why do you want to speak like that, Karaéng,
in front of the Dutch, Boné and Soppéng men?
What a cur you are!"

(471) The nobleman was thoroughly humiliated,
because the attack he had made had been decisively defeated.
Karaéng Bangkala' looked like a ghost
and could only stammer out a few incoherent words.

(472) Palakka then brought forward, in a conciliating tone,
his plan to burn down the English factory.
Drawing his kris, he said:
"Once I attack, they'll all be finished."

(473) When night fell,
there was a sudden disturbance, and cries of "Fire!"
Palakka attacked on both flanks
but nobody was scared.

(474) The Maharaja Léla was very angry
to see the English factory being burnt down.
When the Macassarese forces showed no signs of turning out,
his comments ranged from the polite to the insulting.

(475) His anger was extreme
and he rushed about with his sword drawn.
To the various tunes of the fife and drum
the Macassarese army came out to do battle.

(476) They fought in grim earnest
with the blasted Bugis.
Dato' Lenang acted as commander of our centre
in the battle that was fought at dawn.

(477) Daripada perang sudah berhenti
menanamkan majat orang jang mati
Welanda Bugis lalulah lari
datang ke Maros membawa diri.

(478) Setelah fadjar teranglah 'ijān
Datu' mengadap duli Sultan
berkat duli Jang dipertuan
sungguh berperang patik sekalian.

(479) Demi Sultan mendengar sembah (32a)
fikir seketika tunduk tengadah
dimintakan Sultan kepada Allah
sekalian ra'jat disuruhnja kerah.

(480) Keraéng Mamu penghulu Mengkasar
berdjalanlah ia lalu keluar
mendapatkan Welanda kaum si kuffār
berperang datang waktu 'asar.

(481) Berperang itu di Sambung Djawa
Keraéng Mamu berani membuang njawa
bertjakap dihadapan Sultan kedua
patikpun tidak mau ketjéwa.

(482) Datu' Gagah sangat terbilang
ia mendjadi panglima perang
pengapitnja itu Datu' L-n-ng
ialah berserta temannja hilang.

(483) Berdjalan itu menjusur pantai
sekalian djuaknja berbadju rantai
sendjatanja setinggar lembing perisai
peranglah ia terlalu ramai.

477b: menanamkan (m-n-m-k-n).
478d: sungguh (s-ng-g-h-ū).
480c: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
481a: Sambung Djawa (s-m-b-ng dj-ā-w-').
482d: ialah (ā-ī-t-ū-l-h).

(477) After the fighting was over,
they buried the bodies of the slain.
The Dutch and the Bugis had fled
to Maros for refuge.

(478) When dawn came, it grave a clear view (of the field)
and the Dato' went to have audience with His Highness.
"With Your Highness' divine grace,
we shall have to fight in real earnest now."

(479) When the Sultan heard these words
he bowed his head in thought for a minute.
After praying for God's help,
he ordered all his forces to gather together.

(480) Karaéng Mamu, the Macassarese leader,
marched out
to attack the Dutch infidels
and fought till round about the time of the afternoon prayers.

(481) The battle raged at Sambong Jawa.
Karaéng Mamu showed no hesitation in risking his life.
To the two monarchs he had declared
that he refused to be left out of the fighting.

(482) Dato' Gagah, of great fame,
was in command of our forces.
He was supported by Dato' Lenang;
they both of them lost their lives in the fighting.

(483) They marched along the coast.
Their men-at-arms were wearing coats of chain mail
and were armed with muskets, spears and shields.
They engaged the enemy in strength.

(484) Keraéng Mamu mara kedarat
Welanda dan Bugis banjak terkerat
perangnja itu seperti akan kiamat
si Tunderu' luka bahunja sangat.

(485) Si Tunderu' luka lalulah pulang
Amiral melihat hatinja pusang
mendapatkan Welanda Bugis jang malang
ésok keluar kita berperang.

(486) Kapitan Amiral sangat berani (33)
mendjadi penghulu kaum Nasrani
berperang tidak tertahani
dihambat Mengkasar kesana sini.

(487) Sultan keluar ketika ésok
diiringkan Mengkasar dengan Tuwadjo'
berdjandji dengan Radja di Telo'
mendapatkan Welanda kaum si Tunderu'.

(488) Radja di Telo' pun tiada datang
baginda memandang adalah pusang
baginda Sultan mengikat perang
Amiral keluar lalu berperang.

(489) Perangnja tidak lagi berhenti
Mengkasar dan Tuwadjo' banjaklah mati
diapun undur membawa diri
dihambat Meluku Bugis pentjuri.

(490) Akan titah Radja jang tua
baiklah berbénténg di Sambung Djawa
perang itu sangat ketjéwa
ra'jatpun banjak membuang njawa.

484a: mara (r-ā-r-h).
484d: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
485a: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
487d: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
488c: mengikat (m-ng-ī-k-ū-t).

(484) Karaéng Mamu advanced inland
and many Dutch and Bugis were cut down.
It was as though the Day of Judgement had arrived.
Palakka was badly wounded in the shoulder.

(485) The wounded Palakka returned to his lines.
When the Admiral saw him he was very upset.
Going to meet the wretched Dutch and Bugis troops, he said:
"Tomorrow we shall launch our attack."

(486) A daring man indeed was the Admiral,
the leader of the Christian hosts.
None of the Macassarese could resist his onslaught
as he drove them this way and that.

(487) The Sultan went out the next day
escorted by the men of Macassar and Wajo'.
He had agreed with the King of Tallo'
to make an attack on the Dutch and Palakka's forces.

(488) The King of Tallo' did not arrive
and the Sultan, anxiously looking out for him, felt his [spirits sink.
Eventually he drew up his forces
and the Dutch commander led his army to the attack.

(489) Once the battle was joined it was impossible to stop.
Many Macassarese and Wajo' men were killed.
At last they gave way and retreated
pursued by the Moluccans and the thievish Bugis.

(490) Said the elder Karaéng:
"We had better erect a stockade at Sambong Jawa.
The battle has been to our disadvantage
and many of our soldiers have lost their lives."

(491) Di Sambung Djawa bénténg terdiri
si Tunderu' datang mengeluari
perangnja itu tidak berapa hari
Melaju dan Mengkasar banjak jang lari

(492) Mengkasar dan Melaju tidak bertahan
karena mengiringkan baginda Sultan
larinja itu sambil bertahan
diturut Bugis Welanda sjaitan.

(493) Di Sambung Djawa bénténgpun alah (33a)
Bugis berperang dahulu kala
sudah dengan kehendak Allah
dimana bénténg terdiri (di)mana alah.

(494) Dilihat Amiral bénténg terdiri
dikepungnja dengan kaum kafiri
Ambon Meluku Bugis pentjuri
sekaliannja itu sudah terdiri.

(495) Amiral memanggil akan si Tunderu'
menjuruhkan Ternaté Ambon jang mabuk
tambahan Bugis Welanda kutuk
sekalian bertjakap hendak mengamuk.

(496) Datu' Gagah seorang hulubalang
melihat si Tunderu' iapun datang
sekalian meriam disuruhnja pasang
terlalu ramai ia berperang.

(497) Perangnja tidak berhenti datang
si Tunderu' melihat hatinja pusang
menjuruh menghimpunkan sekalian orang
ésok hari kita berperang.

491b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
493d: dimana (m-ā-n).
495a: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
495b: Ternaté (t-r-n-n-t-ī).
496b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
497b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
497c: menghimpunkan (m-m-h-m-p-n-k-n).

(491) A stockade was built at Sambong Jawa
but Palakka came to attack it.
The fighting lasted only a few days
before most of the Malays and Macassarese had abandoned it.

(492) The Macassarese and Malays could hold out no longer,
and they had, of course, to guard the person of the Sultan.
They withdrew, fighting as they went,
pursued by the Bugis and fiendish Dutch.

(493) The stockade at Sambong Jawa was captured,
the Bugis fighting like the men of yore.
It was apparently the will of God
that every stockade that was built should be captured by
[the enemy.

(494) When the Admiral saw a stockade had been built,
he would surround it with his infidel forces.
Ambonese, Moluccans and thieves of Bugis,
all of them stood ready.

(495) The Admiral called for Palakka
and ordered up his Ternatéans and drunken Ambonese;
the Bugis were there too, and the accursed Hollanders,
all of them ready to go into attack.

(496) The warrior-like Dato' Gagah,
came forward, when he saw Palakka advancing.
He ordered all the cannon to be discharged
and the fighting was at its thickest.

(497) There was no let-up in the onslaughts,
and Palakka, surveying the scene, felt discouraged.
He called his men together and said:
"We shall attack tomorrow."

(498) Berperang itu terlalu sabur
tiada ketahuan tjampur dan baur
ada jang mara ada jang undur
barang jang berani tidaklah undur.

(499) Demikianlah kepada ésok hari
si Tunderu' djua jang mengeluari
perangnja tidak berapa hari
di Mandja(na)ng pula bénténg terdiri.

(500) Dengarkan apalah fakir bermadah (34)
djangan kiranja fakir disumpah
sudahlah dengan kehendak Allah
dimana bénténg terdiri dimana alah.

(501) Di Balang Baru bénténg jang besar
dilihat Welanda kaum si kuffār
dibedilnja dengan meriam jang besar
disanalah ngeri anak Mengkasar.

(502) Keraéng Djaranika upama Sang Bima
Keraéng Mamu bersama-sama
sekalian djuaknja jang ternama-nama
keluar mengamuk bersama-sama.

(503) Keraéng Mamu sangat terbilang
ia mendjadi panglima perang
jang mengiringkan dia sekalian hulubalang
kanan dan kiri mengambat orang.

(504) Bugis kutuk terlalu ngeri
kesana sini membawa diri
Keraéng Djaranika jang mengeluari
banjaklah Bugis Welanda jang mati.

499b: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
499d: Mandja(na)ng (m-n-tj-ng).
501a: Balang Baru (b-l-ng b-ū-r-ā-h).
501b: si kuffār (s-k-ū-f-r).
503d: mengambat (m-'-m-t).

(498) The fighting was extremely confused
and both sides were hopelessly mixed up.
While some advanced, others retreated;
only the brave men held the field.

(499) And so, on the next day,
Palakka it was who led the assault
and fighting went on for a few days.
A stockade had been built at Majannang.

(500) Listen while your servant relates what happened,
and do not curse me.
It was by the will of God, apparently
that every stockade we built was sooner or later captured.

(501) We had one large stockade at Balang Baru.
When the Dutch infidels saw this
they brought their heaviest cannon to bear on it
causing great consternation in the Macassar ranks.

(502) Karaéng Jarannika fought like Sang Bhima
together with Karaéng Mamu.
The most renowned of their attendants
sallied out with them, to give battle.

(503) The most renowned Karaéng Mamu
was in command of our forces.
Behind him came the main body of our army
driving the enemy back on both flanks.

(504) The damned Bugis were aghast
and fled for their lives, hither and thither.
Karaéng Jarannika led the assault
and many of the Bugis and Dutch were slain.

(505) Keraéng Djaranika muda jang sedia
ia mengamuk sambil berkuda
Keraéng Mamu seperti garuda
keduanja anak saudara baginda.

(506) Si Tunderu' itu orang jang garang
berani mengamuk bukan kepalang
tambahan Meluku Buton jang malang
membuang njawa tidaklah sajang.

(507) Perangnja itu terlalu besar (34)
tidaklah terdengar bunji setinggar
bunji meriam laksana tagar
ra'jatpun banjak mati terkapar.

(508) Berperang itu terlalu sabur
tiada ketahuan tjampur baur
malam dan siang tiada tidur
Keraéng Djaranika adalah undur.

(509) Si Tunderu' itu hulubalang jang garang
mentjari 'akal (a)kan berperang
menggali lubang malam dan siang
dibubuhnja ubat berapa lojang.

(510) Keraéng Djaranika ia berkata
biarlah si Tunderu' membakar kota
djikalau dengan tolong Déwata
lihatlah kelak tamasa kita.

(511) Terbakarlah oléhnja kota Mengkasar
dengan kodrat Tuhan jang besar
memberi hati si kuffār besar
berperang dengan Radja Mengkasar.

505c: Mamu (m-ā-m-ū-r).
506a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
509a: Si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).
509b: (a)kan (k-n).
509c: menggali (m-ng-ā-l-ī).
510b: biarlah si Tunderu' (b-ī-r-ā-l-h s-t-n-d-ū-r).
510d: tamasa (t-r-m-ā-s).
511b: kodrat (q-ū-d-ā-r-t).
511c: si kuffār (s-ī-k-ū-f-r).

(505) The young and ever ready Karaéng Jarannika
galloped his horse into the attack.
Karaéng Mamu fought like a garuda —
they were both of them nephews of the king.

(506) The fierce Raja Palakka
showed uncommon bravery in the assault.
There were also the Moluccans and the wretched Butonese,
all of them ready to risk their lives.

(507) The battle was a hard-fought one.
One could not hear the sound of the muskets firing —
the noise of the cannon was like thunder
and many of the rank and file were stretched lifeless.

508) The fighting was very confused
with both sides inextricably tangled together.
There was no rest for anyone, by night or by day.
At last Karaéng Jarannika gave way.

(509) That fierce warrior, Palakka,
sought some stratagem to bring the war to an end;
he had men digging mines, by night and by day,
in which trayfuls of gun-powder were laid.

(510) Said Karaéng Jarannika:
"Let him blow up the fort;
with the help of the Supreme Being
we'll give him some entertainment!"

(511) And so they blew up the Macassar fort
(for so God had willed).
It gave the infidels encouragement
in their war against the ruler of Macassar.

(512) Terbakarlah kota Mengkasar
enam depa djuga kota terbakar
Welanda dan Bugis kaum si kuffār
berperang pula ia sebentar.

(513) Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji
Mengkasar dihambat Bugis pentjuri
perangnja sampai setengah hari
lari ke Goa membawa diri.

(514) Tuan dengarkan fakir berpesan (35)
dengan Welanda djangan bertolan
fi'ilnja itu seperti sjaitan
dimana negeripun tiada njaman.

(515) Tuan dengarkan saja berkata
fakir ta' mau berbuat dusta
demikianlah asal mula berita
larilah sekalian kedalam kota.

(516) Iradat Tuhan malik al-djabbar
kebilanganlah ra'jat anak Mengkasar
Sambopu itu kota jang besar
berkampunglah ra'jat Radja Mengkasar.

(517) Entji' dan Tuan masuk kedalam
mengadap duli makota 'alam
akan mendengar titah Sjahi 'alam
patik menanti siang dan malam.

(518) Akan titah radja jang tua-tua
apa bitjara Datu' semua
djikalau undur mari ke Goa
segala perempuan dahulu bawa.

512c: si kuffār (s-ī-k-ū-f-r).
517b: makota (m-l-ū-t).
517c: Sjahi (sāh).

(512) And so the Macassar fort was blown up,
a gap some six fathoms wide being made.
The Dutch and Bugis, that race of infidels
wasted no time in resuming the attack.

(513) The fighting was ruthless
as the Macassarese were driven back by the thieving Bugis.
They fought until midday
when they fled to Goa.

(514) — Listen, sirs, to my advice:
never make friends with the Dutch.
Possessed of a sort of devilish cunning,
no country can call itself safe when they're around.

(515) Listen, sirs, to my words,
for I shall not tell you any lies.
That was the original cause of the happenings I have
All the Macassarese fled into the citadel. [narrated. —

(516) It was the will of God Almighty
to decree that the days of the Macassar struggle were numbered.
It was at Sombaopu, the main citadel,
that the Sultan's troops rallied for their last stand.

(517) All the gentlemen of rank visited the Sultan's quarters
and had audience with him.
They came to receive their orders, saying:
"We await your commands, by day and by night."

(518) Asked the senior Karaéngs:
"What plan shall we adopt, gentlemen?
If we are to retreat, let us fall back on Goa
and have all the womenfolk brought in first."

(519) Setelah sudah putus musjawarat
Sultan keluar lalu berangkat
segala Melaju tiada mufakat
Datu' (Maha)radjaléla membawa si la'nat.

(520) Sudahlah kalah negeri Mengkasar
dengan kodrat Tuhan malik al-djabbar
patik karangkan didalam fatar
kepada negeri jang lain supaja terchabar.

(521) Memohonkan ampun patik tuanku (35a
kehendak Allah telah berlaku
kepada sjara' tidak berlaku
Bugis Buton Ternaté hantu.

(522) Lima tahun lamanja perang
sedikitpun tidak hatinja bimbang
sukatjita hati segala hulubalang
melihat musuh hendak berperang.

(523) Mengkasar sedikit tidak gentar
ia berperang dengan si kuffār
djikalau tidak ra'jatnja lapar
tambahi lagi Welanda kuffār.

(524) Tuan dengarkan fakir bermadah
tamatlah karangan Mengkasar alah
dengan si Tunderu' orang bida'ah
itupun sudah kehendak Allah.

(525) Banjaklah salah kata dirambang
djikalau salah tilik dan pandang
minta ampun dagang mengarang
sudahlah putik mendjadi kembang.

519d: (Maha)radjaléla (r-ā-dj l-l-ī-l).
520b: kodrat (q-ū-d-ā-r-t).
520c: fatar (q-t-r).
521d: Ternaté (t-r-n-ā-n-ī).
523b: si kuffār (s-k-ū-f-r).
523d: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
524c: si Tunderu' (s-t-n-d-ū-r).

(519) When their plans had been decided upon,
the Sultan left the palace.
The Malays refused to carry out the plan
and the Dato' Maharaja Léla had to compel the rebels.

(520) And so Macassar was defeated,
its fate being in the hands of God Almighty.
Although in a wretched state I have composed this ballad
so that report of it may reach other lands.

(521) I ask Your Highness' pardon,
one cannot fight against the will of God.
They showed themselves poor sort of Muslims
did the Bugis, Butonese and fiendish Ternatéans.

(522) Five years the fighting lasted
without any fall in the spirits of the Macassarese.
Our soldiers were overjoyed
when they saw, in the enemy, a target for their weapons.

(523) No sign of fear did the Macassarese show
when they fought with the infidels.
Who knows, if the army had not been short of food,
and opposed, moreover, by the infidel Dutch . . . .

(524) Listen, sir, to my words.
This is the end of my story — the defeat of Macassar
by that heretic Palakka.
And even so, fate was against us.

(525) There are many mistakes and many words carelessly used,
and if, on examining it, you find cause to complain,
I can only ask your pardon for the hapless wight who
but what no one expected has come to pass. [composed it.

(526) Tamat karangan perang Mengkasar
téwas dengan Bugis Welanda kuffār
disebatkan orang anak Mengkasar
téwas perangnja karena lapar.

(527) Entji' Amin empunja karangan
mendengarkan dia terlalu njaman
ialah sadjak empunja buatan
mengatur nazam berpandjangan.

(528) Entji' Amin itu empunja kalam (36)
mentjeriterakan perang kaum Islam
barang jang mati beroléh Islam
kemudiannja itu wallahu a'lam.

(529) Tamatlah kissah duli jang ghana
dikarang fakir hamba jang hina
dimeterai dalam kertas Tjina
sadjaknja larat banjak ta' kena.

(530) Ajuh tuan segala jang membatja
djanganlah apa pudji dan tjutja
djika salah betulkan batja
karena kalbu tidak tjuatja.

(531) Dalam menjurat mengikut paju
kalbu ta' periksa mengidap raju
badan jang lelai mendaju-daju
adalah sedikit menaruh raju.

(532) Kalbupun tidak amat periksa
pendengar tidak ada berdjasa
kepada Allah Tuhan jang esa
minta ampun sebarang dosa.

526b: kuffār (k-ū-f-r).
527a: Amin (ā-m-b-n).
528a: Amin (ā-m-b-n).
530b: pudji (p-ū-dj).
531c: lelai (l-ī-l-ī).

(526) This is the end of the story of the Macassar war,
and Macassar's defeat at the hands of the Bugis and
They blockaded the people of Macassar [infidel Dutch.
until finally hunger defeated us.

(527) Enche' Amin it is who composed the poem;
it is a pleasure to listen to it.
He it was who composed these verses
making a ballad of some length.

(528) Enche' Amin has written the story
telling of the war fought by the Muslims.
Those that died in the fighting shall receive the reward of the
but God alone is omniscient. [true Muslim

(529) This is the end of the story of our most liberal ruler,
composed by your very humble servant,
recorded on Chinese paper,
although the verses are poor ones, with many deficiencies.

(530) All you who read my story, gentlemen,
neither praise nor revile me.
Wherever you find a mistake, correct it as you read,
for the author is a man of little insight.

(531) In composing the poem, I am nothing more than a hireling,
writing carelessly, a prey to affliction.
I felt weak and moaned softly
and I was not free from sorrow.

(532) The writer is not a man of intelligence,
and there is no merit in listening to his story.
I ask the One True and Almighty God
to forgive me all my sins.

(533) Tamatlah sudah kias 'ibarat
fakir da'if jang menjurat
disurat didalem kalbu gelorat
fikirkan badan sangat melarat.

(534) Fakir jang gharib punja karangan
kalamnja tidak berpandjangan
kertas sekeping bekal tangan
akan pengiburlah angan-angan.

TAMAT AL-KALAM

533c: gelorat (gh-l-ū-r-t).
534d: pengiburlah (p-ng-ī-ū-r-ā-l-h).

(533) This is the end of the metaphors and similes
written by the poor wretch of an author.
Written with a heart full of anxiety
for the weaknesses of the body.

(534) The composition of a wretched outcast —
but I must not drag on;
with a sheet of paper as provision for my pen
I have tried to soothe your cares away.

FINIS

NOTES

In the same way that the romanisation of the text was based upon Purwadarminta: KUB, so the Notes have been based upon Wilkinson: MED, to the extent that it has been thought necessary to explain only such words as are not included, or are not explained satisfactorily, in Wilkinson.

A list of the words thus explained immediately follows the Notes.

1a Bismi'llah

For comment on the doxology, see Introduction.

1c muttaṣil

Arabic *muttaṣil* (connected, attached, joined).

2b kunhi zat

Arabic *kunhi dzāt* (the Divine Essence). Possibly a quotation from Hamzah Fansuri (see Introduction).

4a adjla

An elative form — from the Arabic *djalī* — meaning "(shining) brightest".[1] The word is not given in Wilkinson: MED but is found in Klinkert: MNW, who quotes the example *dalil jang adjla*.[2]

1 Wehr: ARW (under *djalā*.)
2 Klinkert: MNW, p. 7.

9c sahib al-mimbar

Not a common expression in Malay or in Arabic *(ṣāḥibu'l-minbar)*, but presenting no difficulty of meaning.

9c kuffār

The text has *k-ū-f-r*, which I take to be the Arabic *kuffār* (plural of *kāfir*). Although not perhaps as common (in non-religious works) as *kāfir*, the word can be found in the oldest Malay mss., e.g. the translation of al-Būṣīrī's *Burda*.[1]

1 see Drewes: BUR, p. 58 etc.

12d harimau Allah

'The Tiger of God' is a common epithet for the Caliph 'Ali in Malay, especially in works with a Sji'ah colouring.[1] It is probably a Malayanisation of such titles as the Persian *ḥaidar-i-karrār* (the impetuous lion) and the Arabic *asad Allāh al-ghālib* (the victorious lion of God).[2]

1 see e.g. Winstedt: HML, p. 215.
2 EIS (under 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib).

13b duli makota 'alam

i.e. the Sultan of Goa, Hasanuddin, usually referred to in Macassarese records by his posthumous title of Tuammenang-ri-balla'-pangkana. A son of Sultan Muhammad Said, Hasanuddin was born in 1631 and became Sultan of Goa in 1653. He apparently abdicated in favour of

his youngest son, Amir Hamzah, on 29th June 1669, making a brief re-appearance on 31 July 1669 to sign the treaty that brought to an end the second bout of hostilities between the VOC and Macassar. His death is recorded on 12 June 1670, aged 41.[1]

The author of the sja'ir — his secretary — not surprisingly has nothing but praise for his master and seems to hint that the Sultan occupied a fairly important position in one of the Sufi orders.[2] A tendency towards mysticism is however rarely combined with forthright statesmanship and the English Factors write of him: "We see this King's fearfulness makes him incapable of any good advice".[3] Disappointment may well have made the Factors exaggerate (although in the event their pessimism was well founded), but even so they were probably nearer the truth than certain Indonesian writers who, apparently eager to confuse local resistance to the VOC with modern Indonesian nationalism, have resuscitated Hasanuddin as a 'national' hero[4] and can write of him: "As a warrior, he dared to go into the front line, and as a head of state, he was sagacious in all that he did. Because of this it is not surprising that Sultan Hasanuddin was honoured and respected by friend and foe alike".[5] Such a view appears to be based on little more than sentiment; it is certainly not based on reliable historical evidence, for in point of fact, throughout most of his reign Hasanuddin was ruler of Macassar in name only, the real ruler being now Karaéng Sumanna' and now Karaéng Karunrung.

Although it is easy to be misled by the title of 'Sultan' into forgetting that, in the oligarchy that Macassar was at the time, it would have required an exceptionally strong king to have ruled effectively, it is nevertheless difficult to acquit Hasanuddin of the charge of being 'a dull-spirited king'.[6]

By far the most convincing character-sketch is given by Speelman, who (in a passage too good to be abbreviated) sums him up as follows:

"... as regards the King of Macassar: in his youth, he was inclined to drinking and gambling, and these inclinations have persisted since his taking office; has made little effort to deal with matters of high import; received scanty education when a lad and, as a result, has only a limited intelligence, possessing neither administrative ability nor resolution; fails to make the best of his abilities, being timid and unsteadfast in adversity; inordinately avaricious — rewards no services done him, even his personal attendants get nothing out of him; fond of women, but nevertheless, as appearances go, very pious, being most punctual in his attendance at divine service; entirely devoted to the pursuit of money, no matter how

it be obtained — would even let a slave from the streets do business with him if there were the slightest chance of making any profit out of it; is vindictive and rancorous but prepared to compound any offence for money, and withal fickle enough to be a Company's King; and I dare affirm that the peace of Bungaja would never have been broken if he had been master in his own house and able to follow his own inclinations, having not hesitated to lend a willing ear to our repeated injunctions to make an end of the war; however, as his power became less and less, did not dare to make his intentions public, in case they should conflict with the view held by Karaéng Karunrung . . . " [7]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 91-132. 'Aged 41', of course, is calculated according to the Muslim, and not the Christian calendar, Hasanuddin being born in 1040 A.H. and dying in 1081 A.H.

2 See e.g. v. 144-146. Most interesting, in this connection, is Speelman's remark " . . . and yet, to all appearances, is he careful about his religion, punctilious in observing the (ritual prayer-) times . . . " (Speelman: NOT, p. 425).

3 JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 151. Written by James Bale (see v. 263) on 22 April 1667.

4 e.g. naming a University after him — the 'Universitas Hasanuddin' at Macassar.

5 Mangemba: SUL, p. 87. (The article from which the quotation is taken originally appeared in the Djakartan weekly *Siasat*, p. 16 of the issue of 14-vi-53.)

6 JAV, Vol. 3, part III, fol. 175. Written by the then Chief Factor, Mainstone, on 8 June 1660.

7 Speelman: NOT, p. 425-426: " . . . wat belangt de Coning van Macassar: in sijne jonckheijt is hij genegen geweest tot drincken en speelen, zedert in emploij comende is dat naar-gebleven, heeft zich weinich becommert in observantien van wigtige saecken, cleen onderwijs ontvangen in zijn minder jaricheit(,) van dezelve, 't verstant niet groot, sijnde geen man van directie, noch van resolutie, disponneert van sigh selven niet, vervaert en verset in tegenspoet, gierigh boven maten, loont geen diensten, zijn domesticquien selve crijgen niet, genegen tot vrouwen, nochtans naar 't uijtterlijck, fijn in 't geloove, precijs op zijn getijen, heel opgegeven tot gelt conquestie, 't sij op welcke wijse het ook wesen magh, sullende een slave van de straat bij hem ter negotie admiteeren, soo der een weinigh winst bij is, wraeck suchtig en haet-draegende is hij, evenwel zijn alle misdrijven bij hem voor gelt vergeeffelijk, echter speels genoegh om een Comps. Coning te wezen, en ik derve ook vast stellen, dat de vreede van Bonaaije, niet en soude zij vervalle, soo hij sich selven, meester waar geweest en zijn eigen zinlickheijt opgevolcht waare, hebbende het ook niet aan hem gehaperd, onse successive aanmaningen van harten te amplecteeren, om een eijnde van 't oorlog te maecken: dan gelijk hij zijn maght langer onmaghtig was, soo en doorfde hij ook sijne intentie niet te kennen geven, indiense was contraire de opinie van Cronron . . . " The fact that Speelman could still see in this venal character a "Company's King" is an interesting comment on the venal nature of the Company Speelman served.

13c Sjahi 'alam

The text here (L only) has what appears to be *s-ī-ā-'*. In modern

Malay, the usual form of the title would be *sjah 'alam* [1] (spelt *sj-ā-h '-ā-l-m)* and it is possibly this pronunciation that was intended here by the copyist of L, who, in v. 42d, spells the first word of the title as *sj-ā-h.*

This same spelling is however the correct (Persian) spelling of *sjāhi* (*'ālam*), the iḍāfa-affix *-i* being represented, if necessary, by a kasrah.[2]

As S, the later of the two mss, prefers the spelling *s-ā-h-ī* (in v. 42d and v. 146a) to *s-ā-h* (in v. 517c only), obviously reflecting the pronunciation *sjahi,* I have preferred the reading *sjahi* throughout.

1 Purwadaminta: KUB lists only the form *sjah ('alam).*
2 cf. Levy: PER, p. 32 (and note 1).

14c 'ilmu empat belas laksana

An uncommon phrase in Malay, although apparently fairly common in Achehnese (as *èleumèë peuët blaïh*).[1] What these fourteen sciences were is doubtful. Snouck Hurgronje suggested two possible explanations:

(a) that it derives from a misunderstanding of the exact number of the scientific attainments required of a candidate for the post of qadhi or judge (often described as a mastery of the f i f t e e n sciences);

(b) that is derived from the expression *taṣrīf empat belas* (Achehnese: *teuseuréh peuët blaïh*) indicating the 14 forms which, in a tense of an Arabic verb, serve to mark all distinctions of number, gender and person.[2]

It would not be difficult for the layman to confuse a knowledge of Arabic grammar with Islamic law, and it is possible that the expression *'ilmu empat belas (laksana),* is the result of such a confusion.

Its use here in connection with the following line (where *hakikat* and *sempurna* are part of the mystic's technical vocabulary) suggests that the 'fourteen types of knowledge' are those required to reach a state of perfection (the state of the *insān kāmil,* in fact) in which incorporation with the Godhead (*fanā'*) is achieved and the Absolute Truth (*ḥaqīqah*) attained.

1 Djajadiningrat: ANW (under *èleumèë*).
2 Snouck Hurgronje: ACH. Vol. 2, p. 58.

20a Sultan di Goa

In the middle of the 17th century the government of the state known as Macassar was in the hands of an oligarchy of which the rulers of Goa and Tallo' were traditionally the leaders.[1] According to Macassar chronicles, Goa and Tallo' were twin-states [2] that had come into existence as the result of a division of the kingdom between two of the

King's sons, the elder becoming ruler of Goa, and the younger becoming ruler of Tallo'. The theory of government in Macassar and the traditional supremacy of the ruler or 'Sultan' of Goa (Macassar embraced Islam in the first decade of the 17th century) is illustrated by a letter written in 1666 by the Head of the English East India Company's factory in Macassar to his superintendant at the Bantam factory: "Your Worship's letter to Craine Seman arrived two days before his death .... but the Great King (i.e. of Goa: C.S.) taking the government upon himself received them and the powder. Also gave him a barrel of powder and the King of Tallow as being jointly in government ..." [3]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 2-3.
2 Matthes: MCH, p. 451, quotes (from a work he calls the 'oudste Geschiedenis van Gòwa, Tâllò ...') a passage translated as: "Goa and Tallo' are to be considered as o n e people under t w o masters. And whoever so much as dreams of setting the two races against each other shall be put to death." (Macassarese text on p. 180).
3 JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 136. Written by our James Bale on 28 September 1666.

20c mendjauhi nahi mendekatkan amar

This is, of course, the Malay form of the traditional precept *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'n-nahy 'an al-munkar.*[1]

1 see e.g. von Grunebaum: ISL, p. 127.

21b seraksi

The ms. (L only) has *s-l-q-s-ā* and one might perhaps conjecture *selaksa(na)* — 'of one and the same kind as'. However, *selaksana* does not seem to be very common, and I have preferred to conjecture the far commoner expression *seraksi,*[1] which would certainly be a very appropriate term to stress the 'perfect harmony' in which the 'brother-Sultans' would conventionally be assumed to live.[2]

1 Purwadarminta: KUB prefers the form *rasi,* but in Malaya at least, the word is never pronounced without the glottal stop.
2 The basic idea, of course, being 'born under similar stars' cf. Wilkinson: MED, under *raksi.*

21b adinda di Telo'

The 'young king of Tallo'' referred to here is Harun al-Rasjid (posthumous title: Tuammenang-ri-lampanna) born in 1640. He succeeded to the throne of Tallo' while still a minor, his uncle, the famous Karaéng Pattingalloang, acting as regent. He was, at least nominally, in command of the Macassar expedition that put down a premature Bugis

rising in June, 1667 (see v. 152-203). After the end of hostilities he paid a visit to Batavia, in company with many other Macassar notables, to attend the great 'burying the hatchet' banquet given by Governor-General Maetsuycker in December, 1669.[1] He died, some five years later, in 1674.[2]

1 DAG, entry under December 20th, 1669, p. 480.
2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 102-137.

26b asma

One would normally expect the word (Arabic *asmā'*, plural of *ism* — 'a name') to be used to describe the 'names' or attributes of God, but both here and in v. 27c (*menjatakan asma radja jang ghana*) the writer seems quite clearly to use it to describe the various attributes of his master, the Sultan of Goa (cf. v. 29a: *Tamatlah sudah memudji Sultan*).

As the particular names or attributes cited are (naturally) all favourable ones, I have translated it rather freely as 'virtues'.

26c sindir

The use of *sindir* here and in v. 27 seems a little strange. It might possibly be used to deprecate the poet's skill as a versifier, but it is more likely that the writer's use of the word is influenced by the cognate Macassarese word *sinrili'* which, according to Cense, is "a general term for different types of verse".[1]

1 Cense: MBG, p. 59; cf. also the article 'Sinrili' by Mangemba: SUL, p. 45-47.

29b Welanda

Purwadarminta: KUB gives only the forms *Wolanda* and *Belanda*. It seems unlikely — as the prevalence of the form *Belanda* testifies — that the (mid-)high vowel could have maintained itself in normal Malay speech, where there is a decided tendency for such vowels to slide into the central position in the imaginary vowel triangle.[1] I have therefore preferred the form *Welanda*.

1 Spellings such as *gulita, gumbira, musjawarat,* etc. have little relation to the pronunciation of these words in normal Malay speech today (i.e. as *gelita, gembira, mesj(e)warat* etc.)

29c Kornilis Sipalman

Cornelis Janszoon Speelman (1628-1684) went out to Batavia as a minor official of the VOC in 1645. After a brilliant career that included a stay in Persia (1651-1652), he was appointed Governor of the Coromandel Coast in 1663 and held that office for two years. It was originally intended that the 1666 expedition against Macassar (whose exploits are

related in our sja'ir) should be under the command of Johan van Dam, who had already conducted one successful campaign against Macassar in 1660, but upon his refusing the command, the office of 'Superintendant, Admiral, Commander-in-Chief and Commissioner' was entrusted to Speelman.

Speelman won several more military triumphs before succeeding Rijkloff van Goens as Governor-General in 1681. Great things were expected of a man with such an outstanding career behind him and Dutch historians have been intrigued by the fact that nothing so became his Governor-Generalship as his leaving it — with the most expensive funeral that had ever been staged in Batavia.[1]

Through most of his career however, Speelman seems to have combined military talents of the highest order with a tireless attention to detail reminiscent of a Raffles — all the more remarkable in that he lacked nothing in conviviality. In a letter written to his friend, Johan van Hoorn, he refers to himself as "... that great professor (who teaches) the pupils of Bacchus..." and his biographer, Stapel, adds drily: "He might well have added the name of Venus".[2]

1 Stapel: CJS, passim.
2 Stapel: CJS, p. 81.

29d Tatkala ke Buton membawa angkatan

Speelman's expedition was not, of course, specifically directed towards Buton. On October 5th, 1666, the Supreme Council of the VOC at Batavia had decided to send a powerful force to visit the Eastern districts to protect the interests of the VOC and its allies against attack from Macassar. Although it subsequently became known at Batavia that the projected Macassar attack had been postponed, the VOC decided to go ahead with the expedition and on the same day (November 2nd) officially declared war against Macassar. The 'Commission for Mr Cornelis Speelman' signed by Governor-General Maetsuycker proposed "... to despatch a considerable military force to the Eastern districts in order to afford the Company's valuable provinces of Ambon, Banda and Ternaté general protection against the invasions of the Macassarese..." On the same day (November 23rd) Speelman received detailed instructions as to how he was to proceed. He was first of all to visit Macassar and try and conclude a peace with the King before proceeding eastwards via Buton. These instructions Speelman faithfully carried out, as our sja'ir records.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV (see in particular Appendices 1 and 2a).

29d Buton

The island off the South-Eastern tip of the Celebes, now called Pulau Butung. Although, in the middle of the 17th century, Buton still acknowledged the overlordship of Ternaté (the VOC's ally), it lived in a constant state of fear of the nearer, and by then more powerful, state of Macassar. In October 1666, an expedition had set out from Macassar under Karaéng Bonto Marannu, determined to conquer Buton once and for all. Speelman's expedition arrived just in time to save Buton (see v. 98-135).[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 28, p. 125.

30b Bugis

The name *Bugis* (usually taken as being derived from *Wugi'* — a district in Wadjo') [1] is probably best regarded as a generic name for the peoples inhabiting the states of Luwu', Wadjo', Boné and Soppéng. Luwu', the most northerly of these states was probably the first to be organised as a political unit and is traditionally regarded as the parent-state, but it seems to have lost its supremacy well before the end of the 16th century. In 1582, Wadjo' (now increased in size at the expense of Luwu') entered into a loose form of federation with Boné and Soppéng (the *Tellumpotjo* or 'Compact of the Three States'), but in face of the growing might of Macassar in the first half of the 17th century the compact seems to have lost its force, for Wadjo' became a loyal ally of Macassar while Boné and Soppéng — frequently conquered by Macassar — just as frequently rose in revolt, the common burden of defeat and oppression serving to draw the two states even closer together. At the time of Speelman's expedition the Macassarese had become easily the strongest power in Celebes, with the leader of the Bugis 'rebels' — the Soppéng princeling Arung Palakka — an exile, driven to take service with the VOC. The VOC attack on Macassar was, of course, too good a chance to be missed and the Bugis of Boné and Soppéng once more rose in revolt, playing a vital part in Macassar's eventual defeat. This defeat (taken full advantage of by Arung Palakka, subsequently King of Boné) resulted in the Bugis displacing the Macassarese as the most important race in South Celebes, with Boné as the leading Bugis state.[2]

1 Dr. Noorduyn, in a letter to the writer, considers that "it cannot be said that the name Bugis is derived from the name of the village Wugi' in Wadjo'. In Buginese, there is a characteristic difference between *Wugi'é,* the Bugis, as a name for all people who speak Buginese, and *toWugi'é,* the people from the village Wugi'."

2 ENI (under "Boegineezen"); Noorduyn: KWA (passim); APA (passim).

30d Radja Palaka

Arung (Prince) Palakka was born on 15 September 1634, the son of Arung Tanatengnga, La Pottobune',[1] who was apparently a vassal of the King of Soppéng. Of all the Bugis states, it was Soppéng and Boné that put up the strongest resistance to the growing might of Macassar, but by 1640, both states had been forced to acknowledge Macassarese suzerainty, and it was perhaps as a page in attendance upon the then Sultan of Goa that Arung Palakka learnt to know, if not to love, the Macassar court and its personalities.

From early manhood, Palakka seems to have regarded his main task in life as the overthrow of Macassar; certainly he lost few opportunities of waging war against her. Speelman's campaign was obviously his great opportunity, and he embraced it with both hands, fighting against the Macassarese and their allies with a bravery that verged upon (and often merged with) recklessness. Although something of a 'difficult customer' to handle,[2] Palakka not unnaturally became something of a favourite with the Dutch, and after the final defeat of Macassar in 1669, Palakka became the leading figure in the Southern Celebes, being elected King of Boné in 1672.

Palakka was, of course, of great use to the VOC, who often acted through him. At a later stage of his career however, the Dutch became aware that Palakka, while speaking in their name, was not always acting in their interests, particularly when these conflicted with the interests of Boné and Arung Palakka, and some friction resulted. Despite this he died, in 1696, without being unseated, the head of a powerful Bugis state.[3]

1 For the date of birth, see Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 95. APA gives a different date (1629) and a different father, but, as a source, is probably not so reliable.

2 Not least because of this same recklessness, which Speelman often had occasion to regret and to rebuke (cf. Stapel: HBV, p. 103, p. 146-147, p. 153-154, p. 156-160; CJS, p. 53).

3 Apart from the authorities quoted, I am indebted to Dr. Noorduyn for 'vetting' the accuracy of the statements made above and for pointing out the unreliable nature of the APA article.

31c Mengkasar

The Malays (like the Dutch and English) paid little heed to the niceties of Macassar political institutions and referred to the twin-states of Goa and Tallo' by the name of the most important commercial settlement in the state of Goa — Macassar.[1] *Mengkasar,* rather than *Mekasar,* would appear to be the original Malay pronunciation.[2] The

Macassarese word *Mangkasara'* is basically a racial/linguistic, rather than a topographical, epithet, applied to all Macassarese-speaking tribes.

1 Stapel: HBV, pp. 2-3.
2 cf. Valentijn: ONO, "Macassar (known by the name of Mangkasar to the Natives, in their Malay writings)".

31d Tunderu'

(Si) Tunderu' is the sja'ir's usual name for Arung Palakka. It is the Bugis *to-unru'*, probably a shortened form of *to-appatunru'* ('he who subdues' — i.e. The Conqueror).[1] Although Palakka's 'surname' was La Tenritata, he was apparently better known by this, his (nick)name To-unru'. It was certainly a common apellation for him in the Macassar of the 1660's for James Bale [2] writes (to his Chief at Banten) on December 21st, 1667 (just two days after the arrival of Speelman's fleet before Macassar): "The Dutch with 3 ships and 7 or 8 sloops have been before this Road, T u n d r o and the rest of the Buggis with them threatening fire and sword . . . . " [3] Again, in (the contemporary Dutch translation of) a letter written to Governor-General Maetsuycker in 1669, the King of Bima refers to " . . . . S i t u n e r o de Radja Bougys".[4]

1 Niemann: GTA, p. 40, p. 157; Noorduyn: KWA, p. 122.
2 See note to v. 263.
3 JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 137-138.
4 DAG, entry under July 22nd, 1669.

37a tudjuh ratus enam puluh soldadu

In the 'Instructions for Mr. Cornelis Speelman' drawn up on November 23rd, 1666 (one day before the expedition set sail), the number of troops is stated to be 500 Dutch and 300 Native soldiers. Stapel, apparently quoting Speelman, says that an inspection of the troops held a few days out of Batavia produced the following figures:

ships' personnel	818
Dutch soldiers	578
locally-enlisted soldiers	395

but is, naturally enough, at a loss to account for Speelman's total of 1711 personnel. Elsewhere, Stapel merely says that there were almost 600 Dutch soldiers, besides the Bugis and Ambonese.[1] The author of the sja'ir is substantially correct in the figures he gives.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 97, p. 99, p. 195.

37b kamsol

The Dutch *kamizool* — a coat with sleeves, possibly the leather jacket

worn by 17th century soldiers. The word is now obsolete (cf. Pigeaud: JNH).

38a Delapan belas kapal jang besar

Stapel deduces from the slighty conflicting contemporary statements (in Speelman's Commission, in his Instructions, and in the Dagh-Register) that there were in all twenty-one ships in Speelman's fleet [1] and this number is confirmed by the Macassar Court Diary that records under 19th December, 1666: "The ships of the Dutch are sighted, twenty-one in number." [2] Of these twenty-one however, only fifteen had any right to be called 'war-ships', the remaining six being smaller craft of the sloop type.[3]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 97.
2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 125.
3 Stapel: HBV, p. 97.

38d sampailah ia kenegeri Mengkasar

The fleet arrived before Macassar on December 19th, 1666.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 100; Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 125.

39a Barombong

A village on the coast some eight or nine km. south of Macassar.

42a Daéng

A title given to Macassarese of noble but not royal descent (for whom the title *karaéng* is reserved). The title may however be given to Karaéngs before they attain maturity.[1]

1 Matthes: MHW (under *Daéng.*)

42a Karé

A Macassarese title for a person of some rank. Lower than *Daéng.*[1]

1 Matthes: MHW (under *Karé.*)

44a Keraéng

Macassarese *Karaéng* (Prince), the senior title of nobility in Macassar, borne by those of royal descent.[1]

1 Matthes: MHW (under *Karaéng.*)

44a Keraéng Ketapang

Karaéng Katapang, son of Karaéng Data (a half-brother of Hasanuddin's great-grandfather), hence the familiar way in which he addressed

the Sultan. The Macassar Court Diary records his death on July 31st, 1668.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 129 (In his index (ibid. p. 242), the date is wrongly listed as 31 July 1660.)

45a perkandjar

von de Wall: MNW gives:

"I. *Kandjar:* To stamp, e.g. with impatience, especially with the keris drawn and held high, before someone to whom one is swearing loyalty."

Tromp, writing in 1888, says that *kandjar* is the name of a dance popular in Kutai and with the neighbouring Dayak tribes. The dancers dance in a long row, with or without movements and flourishes.[1] W. Kern agrees with Tromp that the dancers do not carry weapons.[2] The present text would however appear to support von de Wall's interpretation against Tromp and Kern, for in v. 56 we have:

Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé'
ia berkandjar mentjabut sunderik
berdiri melompat seraja bertempik
barang dimana dititahkan patik.

Matthes gives *kanjdjara'* (to dance) and goes on to say that the expression *pakanjdjara'* is used to indicate a special way of beating the drum (Macassarese *ganrang2* cognate with Malay *genderang*) when the dancers *mangaru* (Malay *mengaru,* cf. v. 47a) or set out to do battle.[3] I take *(ber)kandjar* to be identical with *mengaru* and translate *genderang pe(r)kandjar* as 'war-drum'.

1 Tromp: USK, p. 104.
2 Kern: CSK, p. 53.
3 Matthes: MHW (under *kanjdjara'*.)

46a Keraéng Popo'

Karaéng Popo', uncle of the Sultan of Tallo', born c. 1613. The Macassar Court Diary reports him fighting against the Dutch in 1655 and going to Batavia to sign the treaty that ended the 1660 war with the Dutch. He died on the island of Bima on March 7th, 1680.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 94-148.

46b sunderik

I am obliged to Sir Richard Winstedt for suggesting the translation 'cutlass'.

47a mengaru

"In giving assurances of loyalty and obedience at a public assembly, the speaker often dances, flourishing his spear or sword .... This is intended to express rage at and defiance of an imaginary enemy." [1]

The above quotation, which describes perfectly what is meant by *mengaru* (in Wilkinson: MED, as *mengarok)* is an interesting proof that this custom is widespread among the races of Indonesian origin. It is taken from a description of a sword-dance met with among the Hovas, the ruling race of Madagascar, who are of Indonesian origin. (see also note to v. 45a.)

1 Sibree: MBC, p. 171.

47a Keraéng Léngkés

Karaéng Léngkésé', born in 1627, the elder brother of Karaéng Djarannika, married a sister of the Sultan of Tallo' in 1649. In 1664, he succeeded his father (Karaéng Tjenrana) as *Tu-mailalang* (roughly 'Chancellor'). Accompanied the Sultan of Tallo' on the expedition to put down the premature Bugis rising in Boné in 1667 (see v. 152 et seq., particularly v. 177). At a later stage of the campaign however, Karaéng Léngkésé' went over to the Dutch (see v. 444 et seq.). He died on April 10th, 1695.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 90-165.

48a Keraéng Garasi'

Karaéng Garassi', nephew of Hasanuddin's grandfather, married an aunt of Hasanuddin. Hence his referring to the Sultans of Goa and Tallo' as *anakanda kedua* (v. 48b). According to Speelman, Hasanuddin became Sultan of Goa only because Karaéng Pattingalloang and Karaéng Garassi' were unwilling to stand for election. He died on June 9th, 1668.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 92-129.

49a Keraéng Bonto Madjanang

Karaéng Bonto Madjannang, brother of Hasanuddin, born in 1643. In April, 1667, he went to defend Bantaéng against Dutch attacks but was unable to prevent its capture some two months later (see v. 216). He was wounded in the fighting subsequent to the Treaty of Bungaja and died (probably of wounds) on September 10th, 1668.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 104-129.

50a Keraéng Djaranika

Karaéng Djarannika, a younger brother of Karaéng Léngkésé', born

in 1641. Upon his elder brother's desertion to the Dutch, he probably took over the function of *Tu-mailalang* (Chancellor). According to our text, he was the outstanding warrior among the Macassarese (see v. 347, v. 460 etc.) and the Dutch recognised him as "a renowned warrior of the enemy".[1] Speelman describes him as being " .... crafty and cunning when it comes to doing what he is told, more of a fighting-man. Treacherous in his dealings and fond of killing .... "[2] The Macassar Court Diary does not mention him by name during the 1666-1669 fighting but subsequent entries show him leading one war-like expedition after another until his violent death, on Lombok, at the hands of the Balinese, in 1700.[3]

1 DAG, entry under 30 May, 1669 (p. 331).
2 Speelman: NOT, p. 472.
3 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 102-171.

51a Keraéng Pandjalingang

Karaéng Pandjallingang, born c. 1637. Little is known of him apart from a quarrel with Karaéng Bonto Madjannang over the latter's wife. His death is recorded in the Macassar Court Diary (under the date 13th August, 1668) with the words: "Karaéng Pandjallingang has his head struck off at Marusu' " (i.e. Maros: C.S.), while the Dagh-Register of September 1st, 1668 records the receipt of a letter from Speelman announcing " .... how our Bugis, on the twelfth of this month (August: C.S.) won a considerable victory over the enemy at Marusu', driving them completely off the field and obtaining 65 severed heads, among them that of Karaéng Pandjallingang, a prominent Macassarese general".[1]

1 DAG, p. 150. See also Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 120-129.

52a Keraéng Bonto Sunggu

Karaéng Bonto Sunggu, son of Karaéng Pattingalloang and brother of Karaéng Karunrung, born in 1643. He married a half-sister of Hasanuddin in 1656. He later became *Tu-mailalang* (Chancellor) and, living to a ripe old age, seems to have acted as a sort of 'king-maker' in Macassar, deposing the Sultan of Goa in 1712. He died on July 3rd, 1726.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 105-205.

52c tjutjuk

Here apparently used in the sense of 'vanguard, leader of the assault'.

53a Keraéng Balo'

Karaéng Ballo', son of Karaéng Katinting, born in 1646. He married a half-sister of Hasanuddin in 1663. After the cessation of hostilities, he was one of the party of Macassar notables that went to Batavia to ask forgiveness of the VOC. He died on the 18th March, 1680.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 107-148.

54a Keraéng Sanderaboné

This almost certainly refers to Hasanuddin's son, 'Abdu'l-djalil (born 1652), although he was not officially installed as Prince of Sanderaboné until March 1668.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 111-182.

54c Sopéng

Soppéng, which, together with Boné, was the most important of the Bugis states and leader of the revolt against Macassarese domination. Arung Palakka (see note to v. 30d) was a Soppéng prince.

54c Boné

The district and state of Boné and its capital (Watamponé). With the reign of Arung Palakka (see note to v. 30d), it became the most important of the Bugis states and the most important state in South-West Celebes. As a political entity, the Kingdom of Boné was abolished by the Dutch in 1905.

54d Sula'

The Sula islands are some 400 km. South of the Northern tip of the Celebes. At the time of the incidents described in our sja'ir, they seem to have acknowledged the overlordship of the King of Ternaté,[1] and it was the news of a proposed Macassar expedition against the Sula islands (and thus against the VOC's ally, the King of Ternaté) that had helped to decide the VOC to go ahead with the punitive expedition against Macassar.

It is unlikely that Speelman had any Sula troops on board his invasion fleet when he set out from Batavia. The author is perhaps anticipating, for Stapel quotes a decision made by Speelman after the victory at Buton (in January, 1667) to bring back with him from his visit to the Eastern Territories as many troops as possible " .... ook Inlanders, zoals Ternatanen, Tidorezen, Xoelaërs en Tagelanders".[2]

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 314. ENI (under *Soela eilanden.*)

2 Stapel: HBV, p. 113 ("also native (troops), such as Ternatéans, Tidorese, Sula and Tagulandang men").

54d Burné

Burné is the original name of the state of Brunei, once the most important kingdom on the island of Borneo, to which it gave its name.[1]

The Dutch appear to have had comparatively little to do with Brunei during the 17th century. On the West coast, Sukadana and Sambas, and on the South coast, Bandjarmasin, received some attention from the VOC but it seems most unlikely that the Dutch obtained any assistance from Borneo in their campaigns against Macassar.

1 Veth: BWA, deel 1, inleiding, p. xxxiii.

56a bagé

The word *bagé* occurs four times in the sja'ir as follows:

Bertjakap bagé Keraéng Mandalé'	(v. 56a)
Bertjakaplah bagé Daéng Mangépé'	(v. 59a)
Menjahut bagé Kapitan Djepara	(v. 133c)
Menitah bagé Sultan jang besar	(v. 278a)

spelt *b-ā-g, b-ā-g-ī, b-g-ī* and *b-ā-g-ī* respectively. In every case it occurs before some form of tittle (Karaéng, Daéng, Kapitan, Sultan) suggesting that it is some form of honorific, possibly a shortened form of *baginda.* This view is strengthened by the *baginda Keraéng Ketapang* of v. 44 and the *baginda Keraéng Popo'* of v. 46. I have accordingly translated it as 'noble'.[1]

1 Whether it is or not a shortened form of *baginda,* it seems very likely that it is, like *baginda,* derived from the Sanskrit *bhāgya.* Cf. Javanese which in fact has the form *bagé.*

56a Keraéng Mandalé'

Karaéng Mandallé', son of Karaéng Karunrung, born in 1653. He was a member of the party that went to Batavia in October, 1669 to ask forgiveness of the VOC. Married in 1687, he died some three years later.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 113-160.

57a Keraéng Mamu

Karaéng Mamu (according to Ligtvoet, his real title was Karaéng Palémba). He too went to Batavia in October 1669. He was murdered at Bontoala' (in Macassar) in 1677.[1] The sja'ir depicts him as one of the bravest of the Macassar warriors (see vv. 354, 480-481, 502-503, 505).

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 131-143.

58a Daéng Mabéla

This is probably the t h i r d son of Karaéng Popo'. According to the DVG, the latter's e l d e s t son was born in March 1647, which would make our Daéng Mabéla indeed as young as the sja'ir makes him out to be.[1]

1 Personal communication from Dr. Noorduyn. Cf. Matthes: MCH, p. 188 and DVG, p. 108 (entry under 31 March, 1647).

58b menjampaikan destar

To show how deeply he was stirred, how much his honour was involved. That is was no mere gesture here is proved by his subsequent death in battle (see v. 376).

59a Daéng Mangépé'

The reference here is probably to Daéng Manggappa, a half-brother of the Sultan of Tallo'. According to Matthes: MCH, p. 193, the Sultan of Tallo' had two half-brothers, one called Daéng Manggappa, and the other called Daéng Manjépé (the latter name perhaps to be read as *Daéng Mangngépé'*).[1] Our text seems closer to the second of these two names, but, whether or not our author has confused the two names, he is probably referring to the more prominent of the two half-brothers, Daéng Manggappa. It is Daéng Manggappa who is mentioned by name in the Treaty concluded on 9 March 1668, between the VOC and the Sultan of Tallo', where the latter refers to him (in the Dutch translation) as 'my brother', while a later Treaty between the same two parties records the presence of Daéng Manggappa (daijen Mangappe) half-brother of the King of Tallo' . . . .[2]

1 Personal communication from Dr. Noorduyn.

2 Heeres: CDN, p. 382, p. 415. See also p. 417, where he is referred to as *dajang Mangappa.*

60a Daéng ri Boko sahbandar jang tua

There were two Sjahbandars in Macassar, the *s(j)ahbandar jang tua* and the *s(j)ahbandar jang muda* (v. 61). The usual translation of Sjahbandar as 'Harbourmaster' probably does scant justice to the importance and profits of the office in the Indonesian port-kingdoms.

The Court Diary of Goa and Tallo' records that Daéng ri Boko was appointed 'Sabandar' on August 6th, 1661.[1] He and his family are given a good deal of attention by the author of our sja'ir (vv. 60, 357, 367-375), and in view of this and in view of the office he held, one might suspect that he was a *Melaju* rather than a Macassarese.

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 119.

61a Sahbandar jang muda

See note to v. 60a. It seems likely that this was a Daéng Makkullé, whom the Macassar Court Diary records as having been appointed 'Sabandar' in April, 1661. The sja'ir shows him taking part in the crushing of the Bugis uprising in 1667 (see v. 173). The Court Diary records his death in 1677 aged 62.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 119-144. For the name, see also Heeres: CDN, p. 417.

61c Mangalékana

Probably Mangallékana, a coastal village between Sombaopu and Udjung Pandang.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 155.

62a Datu' Maharadjaléla

According to Abdurrahim,[1] the Datu' Maharadjaléla was a Malay nobleman from Patani, who, taking umbrage over some insult offered to him, left his native land and came to Macassar in the year 1632. He was subsequently elected 'headman' of the Macassar Malays, an appointment confirmed by the then Sultan of Goa.

Abdurrahim does not name his source(s), but his version tallies very well with what the sja'ir tells us about the Datu'. It is he who is given command of the stockade manned by the M a l a y s (v. 322) and, later on, it is he who is called upon to assert the Sultan's authority over the refractory M a l a y s. Moreover, the relative prominence given to him in the sja'ir is another fairly safe indication that he was a leading member of the Malay community at Macassar (and thus a very likely customer or patron of our author.)

The titles *Maharadjaléla* (and also *Seri Amar Diradja* in v. 63) would appear to be part of a specifically Malay system of government, having no place in the politicial institutions of the Macassarese.

1 In the article 'Kedatangan Orang Melaju di Makassar', included in Mangemba: SUL, p. 143-151 (see especially p. 146).

63a Datu' Seri Amar Diradja

Another member of the 'Malay' community (see note to v.62a). The father-in-law of the Macassar interpreter, Entji' Djabar (see v. 273).

67b Entji' Amin

See Introduction.

67c ghalat

L has *ch-l-t,* which might perhaps be read as the Arabic *challat* (incomplete(ness)),[1] but I prefer the far commoner[2] *ghalat* of S here.

1 Wehr: ARW (under *challa.*)
2 e.g. Wilkinson: MED and Purwadarminta: KUB both give *ghalat*; neither give *chalat.*

67d muchtasar

The word also occurs in v. 70a and v. 71a spelt as follows:

67d (in L only): *m-ḥ-t-ṣ?*
70a (in S only): *m-f-ḥ-t-ā-ṣ-?*
71a (in L only): *m-ḥ-t-ṣ-r?*

In view of the rhyme scheme in v. 71 (where the other end-rhymes are *Djab(b)ar, besar* and *dikisar*) I have conjectured *muchtasar.*[1]

The meaning of the word (shortened, abbreviated, succinct)[2] would seem to fit the context fairly well, i.e. the Macassar reply to the 'insolent missive' of the VOC would not waste much time on flowery compliments but would confine itself to a brief statement of the Macassar case.

1 The transition from *ch* to *ḥ* is one that is easily made, both intentionally (cf. spellings such as *tachta/taḥta*) and unintentionally (the loss of a single dot.)
2 Wehr: ARW (under *chaṣira.*)

67d tiada dibuat

I can only conjecture a meaning akin to *dibuat-buat* (to pretend, to sham) and take the line to indicate that the letter was not full of the usual hypocritical flattery but went straight to the point.

70a surat....

Although S supplies the missing word(s) — "jang muchtasar" — I think the rhyme scheme demands their rejection. The verse in S is obviously corrupt — 2 lines are missing — and the fact that, in an identical position in the very next verse, the same two words occur, prompts the suspicion that S has not only missed two lines but has also unconsciously written the end of v. 71a for the end of v. 70a. The similarity between v. 70b and v. 71b would cause him, as he has done, to omit v. 70c and v. 70d and proceed straight on to v. 71c.

71b Djabar[1]

Another member of the Malay community, the son-in-law of Datu'

Seri Amar Diradja.[2] A letter from the English Factors at Macassar provides confirmation of Djabar's existence (and profession). Writing of the arrival in Macassar of a VOC mission (headed by van Wesenhagen), James Bale notes: "March 13th (1666): Craine Semana (i.e. Karaéng Sumanna') sent Segebar Durubassa (i.e. Si Djabar djuru bahasa) with Codga Ebrahim (i.e. Chodja Ibrahim) to write in Malayan what the D(utch) requests were".[3]

1 As a common Malay name, the spelling of the Arabic *djabbār* has been 'Malayanised' here (as distinct from its occurrence in phrases such as *malik al-djabbār,* which have been spelt as listed in Purwadarminta: KUB.)
2 See v. 273a.
3 JAV, Vol. 5, section 72a, fol. 111.

72a Djuru bahasa jang disuruh

Stapel says the Macassar party consisted of four men, two nobles and two interpreters, The author of the sja'ir notes only Djabar, the Malay member of the party.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 101.

76c Bima dan Dompu

As the apparatus criticus shows, the reading is doubtful. Palakka is here talking to the Macassar envoys. Stapel says that it was in this way that the expedition learnt of the Macassarese expedition against Buton (see note to v. 29d).[1] This makes it possible that by 'Bima dan Dompu' is meant the Radja of Bima and his son-in-law the Radja of Dompu (both places are in Sumbawa), who had accompanied the Macassar expedition. Although both these Radjas were captured by Speelman after the defeat of the Macassar army on Buton in January, 1667, the Radja of Bima later succeeded in escaping, killing 9 Dutchmen in the process,[2] a performance that later ensured his being classified as a 'war criminal' by Speelman and exempted from the general amnesty that followed the Bungaja Treaty of November, 1667.[3]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 102.
2 DAG, 22nd July, 1669 contains an interesting letter from the Radja of Bima to the Governor-General cointaining the downright phrase "...and then I spitted nine Dutchmen, killing them, in order to gain my freedom...", p. 371.)
3 Stapel: HBV, p. 151-152, p. 242.

78b sehari semalam

The Macassar emissaries (delegates and interpreters) came on board the Tertholen (Speelman's flagship) on December 20th, 1666. Speelman refused to let them go back but kept them on board until the return

of his own emissary to the Sultan of Goa. Only when the latter was safely on board did Speelman allow the Macassar delegation to return — on the afternoon of the 21st.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 101-102.

79d Garasi'

Garassi', a village at the mouth of the Djéné Bérang, south of the trading centre (the modern Macassar).

80a Welanda

This was 'Pieter de tolcq' (Peter the Interpreter), no stranger to Macassar. He went ashore on 20 December and was back on board the next morning, after delivering his letter to the Sultan.[1]

1. Stapel: HBV, p. 101-102.

80b Udjung Karang

Probably at the mouth of the Bérang River.

81c bura'né

Bura'né is the Macassarese for 'man(ly)' (Malay *djantan*), and *anak bura'né* may simply be a rendering of the Malay *anak djantan,* either literally, 'male child(ren)' or with the meaning of 'a person with "guts" '. A simpler explanation would be to take *bura'né* as the name of a locality (*anak Bura'né* being translated as: inhabitants of Bura'né), but although Bura'né is found as a placename, I have not been able to find any Bura'né on the route that 'Pieter de tolcq' must have taken.

83a Disuruh batja

According to Speelman's emissary, the letter to Hasanuddin was read by the Sultan of Tallo'.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 102.

84d kita pula disuruhnja tunduk

The Sultan of Goa had summed up Speelman's letter correctly.

86d nadjisnja

This is offensive language but in fact, when the envoy did return on board, he complained of being cursed and called a Dutch dog.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 102.

87d tiada mufakat

Speelman concluded, in fact, "....that the King and his Nobles were not in the least prepared to give way...." and officially declared war on Macassar.[1]

1 DAG, entry under 11 April, 1667 (p. 259.)

88c bedil

Speelman did, in fact, fire off a volley, as a sign that the VOC had declared war on Macassar.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 102.

89b bermimpi puasa

I take this to refer to the Malay beliefs connected with the *lailatu'l-qadr* (cf. Qur'ān, Sūra 97) e.g. "there is a certain brief moment during that night when any prayer from the faithful is heard and any request made to God is literally granted. The blessed moment, it is said, is marked by miraculous occurrences in the surrounding world of nature.... The spectacle may be a spiritual illusion, but it has indeed been seen by many blessed souls, and prayers made during this brief moment are known to have been literally answered and granted." [1] My translation is intended to convey the effect of 'spiritual illusion' and wish-fulfilment.

1 Zainal-'Abidin: FES, p. 98. This writer says that the *lailatu'l-qadr* usually occurs on the 27th of Ramaḍān (*malam tudjuh likur*), but other writers merely say that it can occur any night in the last half of the fasting month (see e.g. Husain: ICH, p. 183.)

93d bain

Arabic *bā'in* (clear, definite).

94d dibakarnja rumah beberapa buah

Not including Bantaéng, Speelman burnt some 30 to 40 Macassar villages.[1] The Macassar Court Diary records under December 23rd: "Kalumpang kéké is burnt by Tu-nisombaja" (i.e. Radja Palakka).[2]

The expedition landed at Bantaéng at dawn on Christmas Day, 1666, and after a short battle, defeated the enemy and burnt the place.[3]

1 Stapel: HBC, p. 105.
2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 125.
3 Stapel: HBV, p. 104.

96b pahanja luka

Speelman records that Palakka was "....wounded in the fleshy part

of his leg, and in consequence had to be carried off".[1] The Macassar Court Diary reports: "Tu-nisombaja (Palakka: C.S.) burns Bantaéng and receives a spear-wound." [2]

1 DAG: 11th April, 1667 (p. 260.)
2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 126.

98a Sampai ke Buton

The fleet anchored off Buton on January 1st, 1667.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 105.

98b memasang meriam

The bombardment seems to have lasted only two days: on the third day the Macassarese asked for an armistice.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 106-109.

98b legah dan leguh

Wilkinson: MED (under *legoh*) gives only *legoh dan legah* as a compound form. Kern: ASH, p. 231 (correcting Rusconi's transcription *laguh-lagah*) points out that in Bandjarese Malay sja'irs, the regular form is *lagah-laguh*. In romanising the word I have kept the Riau-Johore pronunciation.

99b Keraéng Bonto Maranu

Karaéng Bonto Marannu left Macassar on 23rd October, 1666 at the head of an army of over 10,000 men, to conquer Buton. His generalship versus the Dutch appears to have been poor. After a short but fierce encounter on January 1st, 1667, he withdrew his army from its well-fortified position along the coast and moved inland, setting up camp on a hill. However, after a day of bombardment from the Dutch cannon, he sent envoys to treat for peace on January 3rd, and on January 4th agreed to a virtually unconditional surrender (with the sequel touched on in v. 126). Although captured by the Dutch, he escaped, (breaking his parole),[1] and rejoined the Macassar forces in time to take part in the expedition that put down the premature Bugis rising in June, 1667 (see v. 176). Speelman was particularly incensed at his escape and expressly excluded him from the general amnesty that followed the signing of the Treaty of Bungaja in November 1667.[2] After the final end of hostilities in 1669, he went first to Bantam and later to East Java, where, with what was virtually a pirate fleet, he continued to harass Speelman and the VOC, by assisting Truna Djaja in his efforts to conquer Mataram.[3]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 141.
2 See articles 15 and 28 of the Treaty (Heeres: CDN, p. 375, p. 379-380).
3 Stapel: CJS, p. 85.

99c Keraéng Peté'né'

Karaéng Patté'né', of whom little is known beyond his death in the action described here.[1] After the fighting at Buton was over, Speelman sent to Batavia various hostages, among them the 'orphan child of Karaéng Pateete'.[2] It seems very likely that 'Pateete' here is an attempt to render the Macassarese Patté'né'.

1 He is mentioned also by Matthes and Ligtvoet. See Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 105 (entry under 3rd October, 1644).
2 DAG, entry under 30th October, 1667 (p. 371).

105b peluru baling-baling

Wilkinson: MED appears to recognise only the form *bulang-baling,* but there can be no doubt of its meaning here.

106a Keraéng Tompong

Karaéng Tomponga. Apparently the son of Karaéng Patté'né'. Little seems to be known of him apart from his subsequent death (in the fighting that broke out after the Bungaja Treaty). The Macassar Court Diary records his death (in its usual laconic way) on 30th October, 1668 with the words: "Karaéng Tomponga has his head struck off".[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 129.

108r tunggul putih

One of the Macassar 'High Command' on Buton, the Radja of Bima, wrote "At the time when all the Macassarese boats lying outside the Macassarese stockade had been burnt, I then left my station and proceeded to Karaéng Bonto Marannu's position. The latter had already sent envoys (to treat for peace: C.S.), so that I too gave orders to hoist the white flag . . . . " [1]

1 Dutch translation in DAG, 22 July, 1669 (p. 367).

109d Mandar

The territory around the Gulf of Mandar (North of Macassar). Originally a confederacy of (nine) states, each with its own king or *Mara'dia,* of whom the most important was the Mara'dia of Balangnipa.[1]

1 ENI: under Mandar.

111a turun kekapal

When Karaéng Bonto Marannu and the Radjas of Bima and Luwu' came down from their camp on the hill to sue for peace (on the morning of January 4th), Speelman had them brought on board the Nuysenborg so that negotiations could be carried on in private.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 108.

113a Mara'dia

The title given to the rulers of the Mandar states. Here it probably refers to the Mara'dia of Balangnipa.

114a Keraéng Bonto Maranu naik kedarat

Stapel states that it was the Raja of Luwu' who went back on shore to superintend the disarmament of the Macassar army, Karaéng Bonto Marannu being transferred to the Zirricksee. [1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 109.

118a mengjangkan djagung

The Macassarese had little love for the Butonese, whom they regarded as cowardly traitors (cf. e.g. v. 213d). Moreover, the Macassarese, as active champions of Islam, would be quick to jeer at people such as the Butonese, who, although professing the tenets of Islam, did not scruple to ally themselves with a Christian power against a Muslim one.

118b turun merampung

After the Macassar surrender, the King of Buton advised Speelman to kill all the prisoners. It is likely that some degree of retaliation was carried out by the Buton.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 110.

119a mengjangkan ubi

Visiting Buton in 1616, that paladin of the English East India Company, John Jourdain, noted of the Butonese that "The greatest parte of their foode is upon fishe and rootes called ombis, which they eate in lieu of rice and bread, and is good either rost or boyled, and is very good foode; our men would rather eate them then rice. This roote doth somethinge resemble a pottato roote." [1]

1 Jourdain: JOU, p. 291. See also ibid., p. 287-288.

120a Radja Bala' Nipah

The Mara'dia of Bala(ng)nipa, the head of the Mandar confederacy.

121a gerak

I take this to be an involuntary movement or twitching of some part of the body, taken to be a sign of inspiration from God.

121b belah

Here apparently in the sense of 'breaking out', i.e. escaping. At Palakka's urgent request, Speelman had at first agreed to grant the Mandar contingent in the Macassar army their freedom, on condition that they came over to the Duch. The Mandarese were therefore allowed to spend the night on Buton. During the night there was a rainstorm under cover of which the Mara'dia and an escort made their escape by boat and succeeded in getting back to Mandar. After which the remaining Mandarese were condemned to the same fate as the other prisoners (see v. 126). The Mara'dia was subsequently killed in the fighting at Galésong some seven months later.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 110, p. 147.

124d habis mendjelus

Up to the time of their leader's escape, the Mandar contingent in the captured Macassar army had been treated as potential allies (and not, like the Macassarese, cast away on Verwinnaerseiland to die of starvation.) After the flight of the Mara'dia, thus breaking his parole, they were treated as unreliable and condemned to the same fate as the Macassarese. I take it that the line is spoken by Palakka (or some other VOC leader) and addressed to the Mandarese, i.e. "Since you (Mandarese) have given us so much cause for resentment, you leave us no choice but to 'pay you back' for it." The word *djelus* is not given in Wilkinson: MED, but occurs in Purwadarminta: KUB (as a Djakartan word) meaning *iri hati, tjemburu.*

125a Bima Sumbawa

Bima is, of course, the biggest town on the island of Sumbawa, but the name is also used as a cover term for East Sumbawa, together with the islands between Sumbawa and Flores and the Western part of Flores (called Manggarai).

The text probably refers to the troops of the Radjas of Bima and Dompu (see note to v. 76c).[1]

1 For the presence of the Radja of Dompu with the Macassar expedition, see e.g. DAG, entry under 22 July, 1669 (p. 369), where (as 'Radja Dempo') he is called 'my brother' by the Radja of Bima.

125c punggawa

In Macassarese (and Bugis) the word *punggawa* seems to have only military connotations.

126a serau

Wilkinson gives the meaning as 'noisy, rowdy', but that hardly fits the bill here. It is probably the Minangkabau *sarau* meaning 'disastrous, accursed' (see M. Thaib: KBM).

126b banjaklah Mengkasar dibuangnja kepulau

This was Speelman's solution of the problem of what to do with his prisoners. After the Bugis in the Macassar force had been incorporated under Palakka's command, there were still over 5.000 prisoners left. There were not ships enough to take them with Speelman on his visit to the Eastern Districts, or to send them back to Batavia, while to entrust them to the King of Buton would probably have resulted in their being massacred.[1] Speelman therefore decided to leave them on a desert island in the Bay of Buton. However, the prisoners were only allowed to take with them a small stock of damp rice. It was obvious that apart from a few almost super-human swimmers, the prisoners would soon starve to death. In Speelman's own word "What other prospect awaits them but to die a miserable death .... ?"

Nearly four months later, a Dutch ship calling at the island (renamed by Speelman 'Verwinnaerseiland' — Conqueror's Island) found that "....not a single man survived, and so many corpses were found on the island that you could scarcely get near for the overpowering stink...."

The Macassar prisoners have at least one memorial. The name Verwinnaerseiland soon fell into disuse and to-day the island is to be found on the map as Pulau Makas(s)ar [2], though its name in the Wolio language of Buton is Liwuto Makasu, the Nearer Island.

1 See note to v. 118b.

2 Stapel: HBV, p. 110-111; E. J. van den Berg, 'Poelau Makassar', in: Cultureel Indië I, 1939, p. 366.

127d Sambopu

Somb(a)opu, a district to the south of Sambung Djawa, in the (then) central part of the town of Macassar (i.e. along the coast, not in the town of Goa) where the 'castle' (stockade) of the Sultan of Goa stood.[1]

I take it that the Butonese are speaking euphemistically (and sarcas-

tically) when they use the word *disutjikan,* particularly in view of the violent reaction the words provoke from Karaéng Tomponga (see next verse).

1 Wieder: MCA, plates 115, 116 (in Vol. 5) has a fine view of Sombaopu in 1638 (see the frontispiece of this work). It is reproduced on a smaller scale in Valentijn: ONO (plate 23).

128d berkata besar

The expression seems rather weak and may derive partly from the need of an end rhyme in *-ar.*

130a Radja Lubu'

The Radja of Luwu' was a nephew of Karaéng Bonto Marannu and, although apparently only in his teens, accompanied the latter on the expedition against Buton. After the expedition's defeat, he was captured and sent on to Batavia but later succeeded in escaping and making his way back to the Celebes.[1]

1 Speelman: NOT, p. 109-110; DAG (1668) p. 216, (1669) p. 370, (1671) p. 406, 420; (1672) p. 17.

133a Kapitan Djepara

This is almost certainly Danckert van der Straeten, who, until October 1666, had been the 'Opperhooft' and Chief Merchant at Djapara. He returned to Batavia on October 27th, and two days later Governor-General and Council passed a resolution "... to employ the Factor, Danckaert van der Straeten, as the second-in-command of the expedition to the Easterly Districts."[1] As second-in-command, van der Straeten took over command of the expedition when Speelman went for a brief 'rest cure' in June, 1668,[2] and our sja'ir shows Speelman turning to him for advice (see v. 306). He died on 8 September 1669, barely a month after the final defeat of Macassar.[3]

1 DAG (1666) p. 164, p. 167.
2 Stapel: CJS, p. 51.
3 Stapel: CJS, p. 61.

134a Kapitan Djepon

This must be 'Capiteyn Pierre Dupon', although if it is, the author is again anticipating. Capitain Dupon, who had previously served in Ceylon, was in command of a detachment of VOC troops on the island of Ambon and did not join the expedition until Speelman arrived there in May, 1667 — some four months after the Council-of-war described here.[1]

1 DAG, entry under 23rd August, 1666 (p. 138); Stapel: HBV, p. 123.

134b Meluku

The author of the sja'ir often uses the word *Meluku* to refer specifically to Ternaté, e.g. *Radja Meluku* (v. 388c). As a matter of interest, Speelman did obtain reinforcements from the Moluccas.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 122.

134b Ambon

Speelman also obtained military reinforcements from Ambon.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 123.

135b ke Djakatra

Speelman sent the Pimpel to Batavia (where it arrived on April 11th, 1667) to inform the authorities there of his victory at Buton,[1] but there is no record of any other vessel being despatched until his return from his visit to the Eastern Districts.

Djakatra is, of course, the old form of *Djakarta* (cf. Macassarese *Djakattara'*).

1 DAG, entry under April 11th, 1667 (p. 258-261).

136a berbahagi dua

Arung Palakka and his Bugis, together with a detachment of Dutch troops remained behind to guard Buton and to liquidate the undesirable elements reported to have gathered at 'that ugly den of robbers' — Tibore (on the northern coast of the island of Muna). Captain Joncker was also to have joined in this latter expedition but, as the result of a storm, landed up at Ambon — his birthplace(!) — nearly two months later, on April 17th.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 117, p. 118 (footnote 1).

136d dipantai Meluku kapal mengambang

Speelman arrived at Ternaté on 14th March, 1667.[1]

Wilkinson: MED under *ambang* gives only 'to float in (mid-) air' and, strangely enough, makes no mention of its basic meaning — 'to float'.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 118.

138c Radja Ternaté

Sultan Mandar Sjah (in Ternatéan *Mandarsaha)*. He had succeeded to the throne of Ternaté in 1648, thanks largely to the support he received from the VOC, who saw in him, to quote Heeres's frank words

"an easier tool to manipulate",[1] than the two other claimants, Kaitjili' Manila and Kaitjili' Kalimata.[2]

Until the 17th century, Ternaté had been the leading Indonesian state in the area and as Macassar grew stronger and stronger, subjecting more and more of the states that had hitherto acknowledged the overlordship of Ternaté, Mandar Sjah was only too pleased to assist the VOC (whose first 'mutual assistance' treaty with Ternaté dated back to 1607) in their campaign against Macassar (see also note to v. 140a).

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 10.
2 See note to v. 181d.

139b Amiral ada menanti di Buton

The author must be mistaken here as it was Speelman himself who visited Ternaté, although Palakka and a Dutch force (under a comparatively junior officer) had been left behind at Buton to await Speelman's return.

139c Berbalik kita dari Ambon

This was, of course, what happened. After leaving Ternaté Speelman visited Ambon and arrived back at Buton on June 19th. The expedition attacked and stormed Bantaéng on July 7th, the first action in the battle for Macassar.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 131-132.

140a Djawa Kelana Tjili Mandarsah

The King of Ternaté (see note to v. 138c). *Tjili* is short for *Kaitjili'*, Ternatéan for 'Prince'.[1] *Kelana* occurs in many Malay titles, e.g. *Datu' Kelana* (of Sungai Ujong, Negeri Sembilan).[2] *Djawa* is possibly a corruption of *Djaja* (cf. the title *Kelana Djaja Putera*).[3]

1 Heeres: CDN (Part 1), p. 75.
2 Wilkinson: MED (under *Kelana*).
3 'Ali: TNF, passim.

141c ke Ambon

The author of the sja'ir would seem to be at fault here. Speelman and the fleet arrived at Ambon and left (for Buton) on June 6th.

141d Kapitan Djongkor

Although Speelman had originally decided that Joncker should stay behind, Joncker had, by misadventure(?) reached Ambon on April 17th, 1667 and was awaiting Speelman when the latter arrived there over a month later.

Born on the island of Manipa (between Buru and Seram) in about 1630, Joncker entered the service of the VOC under De Vlamingh van Outshoorn in 1656. He served in India and Ceylon, gaining the rank of Captain. He took part in the VOC's campaigns on the West coast of Sumatra in 1666 and no sooner had these been successfully concluded than he returned to Batavia to join Speelman's expedition. He served in many subsequent campaigns (in 1679 he succeeded in trapping Truna Djaja) before settling down in Batavia in the district that still bears his name (Padjongkoran — east of Tandjung Periuk). Despite his European-sounding name, Joncker was a Muslim and on suspicion of being one of the leaders of a Muslim movement to expel the Dutch from Batavia, he was cast into prison where he died in 1689.[1]

1 ENI, under Jonker.

142b kura-kura

It was by kura-kura that Speelman travelled from Ternaté to Batjan (en route to Ambon). The biggest kura-kuras were about a hundred foot long, carried over a hundred men and were fitted with cannon.[1]

1 See Valentijn: ONO (IIde Deel), Plate XLII (facing p. 184), for a good illustration of a 'cora-cora'.

142d para

Although not common in Malay, the word is given in Wilkinson as meaning 'sentry-go', 'guard duty', which fits the context well. It is just possible that it is the Macassarese *para,* meaning 'together', 'in common', in which case it could be taken here to mean 'to assemble', 'to gather together', which would give probably better sense. As the author uses Macassarese words very sparingly, I have, however, preferred the former meaning.

144d chalifah

Although generally associated with the successors of the Prophet — the 'Caliphs' — the word has a much wider significance. "In the religious orders, especially among the Ḳādirīya, the Khalīfa is the delegate of the Shaikh of the order and is invested with a certain amount of his powers and represents him in countries remote from the parent zāwiya." [1] Snouck Hurgronje defines *khalifah* as 'a spiritual successor to the founder of the order'.[2] Used with the following *fana* (see Introduction), it seems possible that the author intends to suggest — as far as such a matter could be suggested openly — that Hasanuddin

occupied a position of some importance in one of the Sufi orders (see also v. 14c and note).

It has already been suggested that the author of the sja'ir, Hasanuddin's secretary, was well acquainted with the works and doctrines of Hamzah Fansuri, a member of the Qadirijjah. The interest shown by the Macassar royal family in Sufism is shown by the career of Sjaich Jusuf — himself possibly a relation of Hasanuddin and certainly a contemporary — who was *al-tādj al-chalwatī al-maqāṣarī*.[3]

1 EIS (under *khalīfa*).
2 Snouck Hurgronje: ACH, vol. 2, p. 251.
3 See Cense, VSJ, p. 42-60.

145b kedua negeri
Goa and Tallo'.

146c wasil

The ms. has *w-ṣ-ī-l* but this is probably merely one of the many faulty (i.e. non-Arabic) spellings of Arabic words, in this case, of *wāṣil*.[1]

In Shi'ite Islam, the *chalifah* (see note to v. 144d) is usually termed the *Imām* and is presumed to possess special powers enabling him to communicate directly with God (*waṣla*). The strong influence of Shi'ism upon Sufism, particularly in Indonesia, has brought about a tendency to attribute to the head of a Sufi order (the *chalifah*) the same powers as those possessed by the Shi'ite imam, among them the ability to communicate directly with God. People possessing such powers are *wāṣil*.[2]

1 See note to v. 146d (under *mukamil*).
2 The more extreme form of Sufism believes that any true 'lover' can attain union with God (see EIS, under *Shī'a*).

146d 'arif

Here probably in the sense of *'ārif billāh*, i.e. versed in (Sufi) wisdom.

146d mukamil

The text is vocalised as above and not, as one would expect, *mukam(m)al*. The form *mukam(m)il* is almost certainly that used by Hamzah Fansuri in a verse that bears a striking resemblance to the verse here.[1] The form is found in other 17th century Sufi writings in Malay.[2]

The verse, containing as it does, such Sufi technical terms as *chalifah, kamil, wasil, 'arif* and *mukamil* seems to suggest that Hasanuddin was a Sufi mystic of quite high standing (see also note to v. 14).

The closeness of the verse to similar verses of Hamzah Fansuri however causes one to refrain from any definite conclusion. Was praise of his abilities as a Sufi part of the conventional eulogy of one's patron or were perhaps the rulers of 17th century Indonesian states ipso facto high-ranking members of the Sufi orders?

1 Doorenbos: GHP, p. 70 (see also Introduction).
2 Johns: MSU, p. 38.

147c 'alam

The author's end-rhymes show a certain worldly resignation.

148c Minangkabau

It is not certain who Hasanuddin's mother was. Speelman apparently believed that she was a Bugis commoner (and that Hasanuddin was not therefore entitled to the throne of Goa). Ligtvoet however, quotes a Macassarese account that repeats the point about her being a commoner but gives her birthplace as Laikang, in the Turatéa area (south of Macassar).[1]

So far as can be ascertained, there is no record that suggests she was of Minangkabau origin. As the author was himself 'a Malay of Macassarese descent', it is possible that the line contains some wishful thinking. The Muslim 'Apostle of Macassar', Dato' ri Bandang, was of 'Malay' or Minangkabau descent, and this may have given the Malays/Minangkabauers some prestige in Macassar.[2]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 112.
2 Eerdmans: HLG, p. 32.

149d kebengkalan

Purwadarminta: KUB gives *bengkal, kebengkalan—kemengkalan; tersedak,* suggesting that the wish of the author is to see the Bugis choke to death.

150a Patang Birang

This would be 'Patambirang', the (Macassarese) name for the Patambirang area in the south-west of Boné territory. The area includes the villages of Teko and Sanrego (cf. Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 206).

150b memalas pulang

Accepting a suggestion by Dr. Voorhoeve, I have taken *pulang* here as the equivalent of the modern *pula.*[1]

As to *memalas,* it may simply be an alternative form of *membalas* (as I have interpreted it in the translation), but may possibly refer literally to the Bugis 'coming back'.

I take it that the incident referred to here and in the next verse is the Bugis uprising of February, 1667. Although Speelman had urged the Bugis to wait until his return from his visit Eastwards so that their revolt would coincide with the Dutch attack on Macassar, the Bugis (incited by the ever-impatient Arung Palakka) rose prematurely and were easily defeated, as the sja'ir goes on to tell.

1 For such a usage in older mss. (i.e. mss. more nearly contemporary with our sja'ir than most) cf. Shellabear: HSR, p. 19, line 8 (and note 36); Voorhoeve: TMG, p. 15 (introduction).

150c pawang

The following line seems to give these pawangs such a degree of authority, that I have hesitated to translate the word by its usual modern equivalent of 'medicine-man'. The word possibly denotes here a medicine-man with definite executive functions, holding a fairly high place in the tribal hierarchy, rather like the situation found in some of the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula where the tribal head (Batin) is both chief and medicine-man. Winstedt: TMM, p. 9-10 quotes the case of the State Shaman of Perak who bore the title of Sultan Muda and was of full royal descent.

159b Sultan berangkat

The Macassar Court Diary records under 30th May, 1667: "Tuwammenang-ri-lampanna (the Sultan of Tallo': C.S.) and Karaéng Léngkésé' go to Boné to attack Matinrowe-ri-Bukaka" (the King of Boné, La-Ma'daremmeng: C.S.).[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 126.

159b ketika seri

One of the most popular of the Macassarese *kotika* (tables of divination) given by Matthes: MBK, is the *kotika-lima.* As one might expect from our sja'ir, it shows that the *ketika seri* would be one of the favourable conjunctions.

160c seperti sakai

The point being, I assume, that the king has as many *hulubalang* attending upon him as an ordinary nobleman would have *sakai.*

160d seperti mempelai

This and the end-rhyme of the preceding line (*sakai*) suggests that there might be some reminiscence here of Hamzah Fansuri's

rupanja élok seperti mempelai
rupamu ketji' seperti sakai.[1]

1 Doorenbos: GHP, p. 25.

162a pélang

Although Wilkinson: MED (under *pelang*) merely says 'an old type of trading-ship', the description here is very similar to the description of the vessel usually called *bélang*, viz. "a large prahu, using sails and oars, native to the Kei Islands. The prows (of these vessels) rise up sharply and are usually handsomely carved and painted. It is the 'State Vessel' of the Native Chiefs and, on ceremonial occasions, is decorated with flags. The Chief and his guests take their place on a platform amidships, the rowers ply their oars in time to the rhythm given out by musicians playing upon percussion instruments (the *tifa* gong), while a couple of men perform dances on the forecastle".[1]

1 ENI (Supplement V), under Vaartuigen.

162b terus

I take it that *terus* here emphasizes the fretted nature of the carving. The ms. might be read *turus* (it has *t-r-ū-s*) but the feeling for the caesura shown by the author of the sja'ir suggests that the normal division of the line (and its syntax) is

ukirnja terus/berkerawang

with *berkerawang* here used as parallelism.

162c perada terbang

Perada is the Portuguese *prata* (silver), used in Malay for thin plating of all sorts, particularly gold foil and gold leaf.

Terbang I can only conjecture to mean 'giving the appearance of moving in the air, glittering' (of something sprinkled or scattered catching the light).

163d berkilat tjahajanja amat tjemerlang

The barge they sat in, in fact,
"..... like a burnish'd throne,
burn'd on the water; the poop was beaten gold ....." [1]

1 Enobarbus's description of Cleopatra's barge (Shakespeare: Antony and Cleopatra, Act II, Scene 2).

164a Dua ratus enam puluh orang berkajuh

The number seems excessive but not necessarily impossible.

165b musta'ib

See Spelling of the mss.

166b Maros

Maros (Macassarese: Marusu') is about 40 km. north-east of Macassar. From Macassar to Maros the journey could be made by boat; somewhere along the river Maros the party would have to strike across country to get into Bugis territory.

167d Radja Mampu

According to Speelman, the Radja of Mampu referred to here was 'Touky'(?), the father of the King of Soppéng, La Tenribali.[1] Bugis sources confirm that he had taken part in the earlier rising of 1660,[2] thus justifying the charge of perfidy levelled against him in v. 173-174.

1 Speelman: NOT, p. 185; Dr. Noorduyn suggests that by 'Touky'(?) is meant the name To-uki'.

2 Personal communication from Dr. Noorduyn.

170b gua

Discussing the geological formation of South-West Celebes, van Heekeren notes that "Along the entire foot of the limestone range.... there exists a series of caves at a height of 30 m. above sea level." [1]

1 van Heekeren: STO, p. 49.

173d dua kali

See the remarks in the note to v. 167d.

175b Patiro

Pattiro a coastal town in the Gulf of Boné, south-east of the town of Boné.

175d tjilo-tjilo

Macassarese (and Bugis) *tjilo-tjilo* — hats made of plaited bamboo.[1]

1 Matthes: MHW (under *tjilo*).

176d putera marhum

He was the son, if not of the Sultan, at least of the Sultan's chief minister, Karaéng Sumanna'.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 108.

178b perkenan

The use of *perkenan* (instead of the now usual *berkenan*) may

conceivably be dialectic, or somewhat archaic, but the data is too restricted to allow of any definite conclusion being drawn. There are, moreover, indications that the author/copyist did not always differentiate very much between the two forms, e.g. *beroléh pangkat* (v. 16d), but *aku peroléh* (v. 76b.)

179a Daéng Marupa

Daéng Maruppa. He is mentioned in the Macassar Court Diary as divorcing his wife on May 14th, 1674,[1] but apart from this little is known of him.

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 139.

181d Tjili Kalimata

Kaitjili' Kalimata. One of the three claimants to the throne of Ternaté and as such the enemy of the VOC (see note to v. 138c.) Driven from his homeland, he had settled in Macassar and by 1664 had married and divorced a half-sister of the Sultan of Tallo'.[1] He fought against Speelman until the signing of the Bungaja Treaty in November 1667, but remained loyal to the Dutch in the fighting that followed the Treaty.[2] He died in Macassar on 23rd February 1676.[3]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 122.
2 Heeres: CDN, p. 411, van Dam: BOC, p. 247-248.
3 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 141.

182b terlalu tahu akan kerdja berperang

As well he might. He had been fighting his brother, Mandar Sjah, and the VOC for close on twenty years.[1]

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 10.

182c tunggulnja

It is interesting that the distinctive nature of Kalimata's banner should (of all others) be singled out for special mention in the sja'ir. A letter from one of the Dutch commanders who, together with the Radja of Soppéng, was fighting against the Macassarese, noted that "... . Radja Soppéng presumes that Kalimata must be with the enemy, as a result of seeing opposite Radja Soppéng's position a standard that is supposed to be his (Kalimata's: C.S.)".[1]

1 Quoted by Stapel: HBV, p. 142, footnote 2.

182d turang-berturang

I take this to mean 'forming a pattern' (see Wilkinson: MED), i.e.

the smoke from the muskets appeared to add a fresh element to the design of the flag.

189c jang masturi

The text has *n-ī-ng m-s-t-r-ī*. To conjecture one dot too many in the *n-ī-ng* and reduce it to *i/j-ng* is not too difficult, but *m-s-t-r-ī* is puzzling. One might perhaps conjecture a dialect form of *bestari*,[1] but according to the lexicons, *bestari* is applied exclusively to persons, never to things. The shape of the word (particularly the initial *m-* and the final *-ī*) suggest — a little too emphatically even — a word of Arabic derivation, and I can do no better than conjecture *mastūrī* as a hypercorrect, Malay-Arabic derivative of *mastūr* (covered, hidden, veiled) — a word which, although not common, has been used in Malay (see Wilkinson: MED, under *mastur*.)

I have taken it that, like most sensible people (cf. *singgah berteduh* in the following verse) the Sultan of Tallo' would prefer the shade to the sun and would be sheltered from the direct rays of the sun, perhaps by a parasol, that essential ingredient of royalty in the east (cf. v. 191d).

1 A lowering of the velic in pronouncing voiced bilabial stops is found in many (Peninsular) Malay dialects, both on the West coast (e.g. in the Province Wellesley area — writer's own observation) and on the East coast (see Brown: SCM, p. 168.) And is the *tiang mendéra* (for *tiang bendéra*) found in Munsji Ibrahim's Journal really a misprint? (Ibrahim: KPI, p. 57.)

191c pakur

The ms. has *p-k(g)-r*. I can only conjecture *pakur* (Macassarese: *pangkuru'*), a type of small craft found in Macassar waters. The pakur is often called *lepa-lepa*.[1]

1 Nooteboom: VMA, p. 27, p. 29 (the article contains a photograph of a pakur, plate 7).

191d berla'lang

The Macassarese *la'lang* — parasol, which as in other Eastern countries, was an emblem of royalty.[1]

1 Matthes: MHW (under *la'lang*).

193c Inggeris

The English East India Company had a Factory at Macassar since 1613 and naturally supported the Macassarese against the VOC, sometimes with gunpowder but more often with exhortations.[1] Just as the VOC's expedition against Macassar in 1660 (under van Dam) had had

as one of its main aims the expulsion of the Portuguese,[2] so Speelman's expedition had as one of its aims the expulsion of the English (see article 27 of the Treaty of Bungaja).[3]

1 Bassett: EIC, passim.
2 Heeres: CDN, p. 170 et seq.
3 Heeres: CDN, p. 379.

195b Sungai Garasi'

I take it that this refers to what is now the Bérang river. In his "Notitie",[1] Speelman mentions only one river of any size in the Sombaopu area, which he calls the "Gresse" River.

1 Speelman: NOT, especially p. 23-24.

200a (di)karunia

The modern form would be *dikaruniaï* and one might expect this form here. However, the copyist (who is otherwise fairly punctilious about giving the affixial *-i* graphic representation) has no *-i*, either here or in the only three other cases where the verbal form of the word is intended (v. 201b, v. 202b and v. 453b). I have taken it that this indicates a preference for the un-suffixed form, which is, of course, far easier to pronounce.

201d tjintjin

The rhyme-scheme of this verse is obviously more visual than phonetic.

204a Tatkala datang kafir jang dusta

This probably refers to the r e t u r n to Macassar of the VOC expedition in July, 1667.

204b fakir nin lagi diluar kota

It is not clear whether the author's absence from the 'fort' (he probably means the royal stockade at Sombaopu) was a matter of a few days or possibly for the remainder of the campaign (up to the signing of the Bungaja Treaty in November, 1667). From the apparent confusion of facts that occurs in subsequent verses,[1] one would incline to the latter view.

1 See e.g. note to v. 306d.

205b djanganlah apa tuan menjumpah

The line is an 'obvious' one, but may just possibly owe something to Hamzah Fansuri's repeated:

djanganlah apa saja disumpah.[1]

1 Doorenbos: GHP, (e.g. p. 29, p. 33).

207a Belajarlah Welanda dari Buton

Speelman and the fleet left Ambon on 6 June 1667 reaching Buton on 19 June. They left Buton a week later.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 128.

207b Bugis

Speelman sent Palakka on ahead to reconnoitre, and it was some time before contact could again be established with him.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 128-129.

208a Si Tunderu' singgah di Patiro

Palakka's advance force of Bugis (see note to v. 207b) had been dispersed by storms. Speelman sent Captain Poleman with a company of Dutch soldiers and two pieces of artillery to re-establish contact with Palakka,[1] and restore morale among the Bugis. Poleman eventually made contact with Palakka at Kasi on 6 July 1667.[2] In the meantime, Speelman and the fleet had arrived at Bantaéng on July 4th and had stormed the town on July 8th. Palakka and Poleman therefore decided to march overland to join the main force at Bantaéng.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 129.
2 Stapel: HBV, p. 133.

208b menghimpunkan Bugis

In view of the suppression of the recent uprising and the dispersal of Palakka's force, it was not surprising that the number of Bugis rallying to Palakka's standard was, at least at first, not all that had been hoped.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 133.

210a Welanda sampai ke Bantaéng

On July 4th, 1667.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 131.

210d meriam berkantjing

The *kantjing* are possibly the lug-holes (fitted to the heavier pieces of artillery to facilitate transport.)

214 dimata-mata

I take this to mean 'by direct attack', i.e. by men who dared to attack them *menentang mata.*

215b habislah orang di Bantaéng lari

Speelman stormed the town (whose defences had been strengthened since the assault in December, 1666) on July 8th, 1667, the Macassarese troops retreating towards Macassar.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 131-132.

216a Keraéng Bonto Madjanang

The Macassar Court Diary records (under July 8th 1667): "A messenger from Karaéng Bonto Madjannang comes with the news that he has been attacked and defeated by the Dutch".[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 127.

219a djila

The text has *ch-ī-l.* I conjecture *djila* — glowing, lustrous.[1]

1 Wilkinson: MED (under *jilah*). Cf. Macassarese *tjilla'* — glow(ing), a ray (Matthes: MHW).

220a Belajarlah Welanda dari Bantaéng

On the evening of July 20th.

220d Buton

There were, of course, Butonese troops assisting the VOC against their mutual enemy.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 138-139.

220d Sula'

See note to v. 54d. After Speelman had sailed from Buton (see note to v. 207a), the Sultan of Ternaté remained behind for a few days to wait for the arrival of a number of Ternaté ships that were expected from the Sula islands. It is reasonable therefore to suppose that the Ternatéans who accompanied their Sultan in the campaign against Macassar included at least a few from the Sulas.

221a Kapal berbélok menudju kedarat

This possibly refers to the landing of a small detachment of troops at Laikang (Turatéa) who burnt a few houses and some rice-barns.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 134.

222a Sangat berani Radja Ternaté

In the absence of any confirmatory evidence, the words should probably be taken as a conventional rather than spontaneous, tribute.

224b baluarti dan kota

Probably referring to the stockade at Sombaopu.

225a Udjung Pandang

The coastal district of Macassar, to the north of Sombaopu, where the English had their Factory.[1] The site of Fort Rotterdam.

1 cf. Valentijn: ONO, p. 130.

229a dirantaikan

The text has *d-r-n-t-ī-k-n,* which I take to mean 'spreading quickly', i.e. from one person to another, as one link in a chain is connected to another. It is not a usual expression however, and Sir Richard Winstedt suggests a copyist's error for *dirampaikan* (widely disseminated and embroidered upon.)

229b seorang Minangkabau hamba tuturkan

Presumably because the author was still *diluar kota* (see note to v. 204a).

230b Kapal mengambang dilaut negeri

The Dutch fleet anchored in the Macassar roads on 13th July, 1667.[1] The Macassar Court Diary records on that date: "The Dutch fleet, consisting of 17 ships, 20 djuwangans, 10 sloops and 41 smaller vessels, anchors in the roads." [2]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 134.

2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 127 (the Dutch text has 16 Julij which is obviously a misprint — see the Macassarese text on p. 28).

230d hendak turun beli-membeli

When the fleet arrived, emissaries of the Sultan of Goa came out to the flag-ship bringing with them four sacks of gold and silver coin as compensation for the plundering of Dutch ships (and the killing of members of their crews) prior to the Speelman expedition. Speelman accepted the money provisionally and, over a glass of wine, asked the emissaries to give his compliments to the Sultan and say that he would be obliged "if he would be so kind as to provide me with chickens, ducks, etc.".[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, u. 134-135.

231a Bandan

Speelman did, in fact, use a Bandanese as his emissary on at least one occasion — at Bantaéng (see note to v. 210a).

231b marab-marab

A Javanese word which Pigeaud: JNH, p. 261, translates as 'flaming'.

233a Sipalman

The text here has *s-ī-p-ū-l-m-n,* and although the context makes it clear that it is Speelman who is referred to here, one might (on the analogy *si Tunderu'*) read *si Pulman.*

Of all Speelman's lieutenants in the Macassar campaigns, none was more outstanding than Christiaan Poleman (or 'Poolman', as it is sometimes spelt) whose actions certainly gave the Macassarese something to remember him by.[1] Although I see no reason to prefer the reading *si Pulman* to *Sipalman,* either here or anywhere else in the sja'ir, I think it not unlikely that the inhabitants of the South Celebes (including our author) found it difficult to distinguish between the famous deeds of the legendary *Sipalman* and the legendary deeds of the famous *si Pulman.*[2]

1 see Stapel: HBV, p. 133 (and footnote 3). cf. also notes to v. 208a, 295a, 314a, 332a.

2 The best account of Poleman and his career is that given in van Dam: BOC (Deel III), p. 391 (footnote).

233c tuanku

I take it that the line is making fun of the Bandanese, who in his fright, comes flying back to his master, addressing him in the most fulsome of terms.

233d béta

One might perhaps see an attempt at 'dialect characterisation' here as *béta* is the normal 1st person singular pronoun in 'Ambonese' (including Bandanese) Malay. However, its use by such characters as Arung Palakka (v. 32d etc.) and the son of the Senior Sjahbandar (v. 372a) seems to suggest that it was in use over a fairly wide area of the Eastern archipelago (and without the honorific associations it now possesses.)

235b berbahasa Djawa

Probably referring to the Javanese *mendjangan* in v. 233d.

242b mamang

Wilkinson: MED is not satisfactory in his translation of the word. Purwadarminta: KUB gives *bingung, ketakutan.*

248a Setelah terbitlah njata matahari

Stapel says that in the early morning of the 19th July, the enemy (i.e. the Macassarese: C.S.) unexpectedly began a heavy bombardment.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 137.

248b Seri Negeri

The most famous of the cannon possessed by the Macassarese is referred to by the Dutch as *anak Makassar* and it is possibly this cannon that is referred to here as 'Macassar's Glory'. Certainly it would appear from Speelman's correspondence that *anak Makassar* was placed on the North-west bastion (the 'groot bolwerk') where it would command the sea, to the west, and the land in the direction of Udjung Pandang, to the north. Crucq estimates that the cannon was 6 m. long with a calibre of about 40 cm. and fired a shot of some 48 lbs.[1]

1 See Crucq: HKM, p. 74-95 for a masterly discussion of *anak Makassar* and other Macassar artillery. Incidentally, Crucq refutes Stapel's statement (CJS, p. 58, note 1 — based upon Worm: OIP, p. 108) that *anak Makassar* remained in Batavia until c. 1710.

248c sjamsu wa'l-qamari

I take it that the adjectival (or genitival) *-i* here is added in the interest of the rhyme scheme.

249b kenalah kapal si la'nat Allah

The Macassarese concentrated their fire on Speelman's flag-ship, the Tertholen and in a short space of time had succeeded in killing six and wounding twelve of those aboard her.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 137.

250a Ki Naung

For *Ki* as the 'title' of a cannon cf. the famous *Ki Amuk* in Banten.[1]

1 Crucq: BAN, p. 359-391.

251c Si Kongkong

Wilkinson gives *kongkong* as an onomatopoeic word for the baying of hounds. In Macassarese *kongkong* is, in fact, the word for 'dog'.

253a Pendjagur Besi

Pandjaguru' is the Macassarese for 'fist'. Cf. the famous Djakarta cannon, *Si Djagur* (alias *Kjai Setama*) that has the breech end in the shape of a huge clenched fist making what most people would consider to be a rude gesture.[1]

1 Crucq: HKB, p. 103-129 (the photograph facing p. 125 shows the clenched first very clearly).

254a Tjap Kapal

I am indebted to Dr. Voorhoeve for drawing my attention to the VOC's device of a sailing ship, that was often stamped upon its cannon.

255a Kampung Tjina

I cannot trace this on the map. Valentijn refers to the district immediately north of Sombaopu as "The northern side of the city, in which not only Macassarese, but other races as well reside",[1] and if, as seems likely, he includes Chinese in his 'other races', Kampung Tjina might tentatively be located to the north of the royal stockade.

1 Valentijn: ONO, plate 23.

258c melata-lata

The morning after the bombardment, Speelman informed his officers that the previous day had seen one-third of their available gun-powder consumed, in firing off 4000 shots, so that there would seem to be no exaggeration by the author here.[1]

The translation here is based on phrases such as *air melata,* used to describe the swift flow of water from a water-fall.[2]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 137.
1 Wilkinson: MED; Purwadarminta: KUB, both under *lata.*

262d waswis

The text is so vocalized. I cannot find this form in any of the dictionaries and it may well be a poetic improvisation.

263a Mister Ba'il

James Bale. Arriving in Banten in 1661, Bale went to the Macassar Factory a year or two later. When his Chief, William Turner, finally left Macassar in 1665, Bale succeeded him as Chief Factor. After the Dutch victory in 1667, all the factors were taken prisoner by the Dutch

and sent to Batavia. Bale was released in May, 1668 and went to the Factory at Banten but he was dead before the year was out.[1]

1 JAV, Vol. 3-5, passim. The English East India Company, in a memorial to the Secretary of State (10th May 1669) complained that his death was caused by the 'barbarous inhumanity' of the Dutch (Sainsbury: CCM, p. 194-195) but this seems merely a propaganda point (cf. Stapel: HBV, p. 188).

264a Mister Pil

Henry Pearle. He arrived in Macassar probably in 1659. When Bale became Chief Factor, Pearle became the Second Factor (hence *Fétor jang ketjil,* cf. *Tuan besar* and *Tuan ketjil*). With Bale, he was taken prisoner by the Dutch and eventually released in May, 1668. A year later he had become a private trader making a profitable voyage to, amongst other places, Sukadana. In November, 1670, he left Banten to sail back to England but died a few days later while the ship was still lying off the Bantam coast.[1]

1 JAV, Vol. III-V, passim.

265a lama

Bale, the Chief Factor, had been in Macassar since about 1662. Pearle seems to have been stationed in Macassar since 1659. The author would seem to be fully entitled to use the word *lama,* particularly in those short-lived days.

265b menémbakkan meriam dua puluh putjuk

When the Dutch arrived in Macassar in July, 1667, Speelman was told that the English Factors had fortified their Factory and had mounted three cannon on it.[1] The author is perhaps using *meriam* as a generic term to include *rentaka* (swivel-guns).

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 135. The information was given to Speelman by the captain of a Portuguese ship.

266a Entji' Maris

Unknown. The Macassarese *Antji'* is the regular 'title' for *peranakans.*

266d mati

See note to v. 249b.

268c dua tempajan ubatnja habis sekali

See note to v. 258c.

269a Datu' Pasar

Unknown. Probably another of the 'Malay' community.

271a hulubalang Tjampa

It is possible that *Tjampa* here refers to Seri Amar Diradja's origin. The Chams are related to the Malays in race, religion and culture and there are various stories of Cham communities settling down in the kingdoms of Malaysia.[1] Tomé Pires confirms the presence of Chams in Malacca in 1512 and the Malay Annals state that selected *nachoda Tjampa* were given privileged seats in the audience hall of the (probably early 15th century) court of Malacca.[2] Another *nachoda Tjampa* (the word *nachoda* here referring definitely to a profession and not used as a title) is recorded as having helped Hang Tuah abduct Tun Tédja from Pahang.[3]

It is not clear to me what, if any, connection 'Tjampa' has with the Minangkabau *tjampo* (in the expression *arimau tjampo,* meaning apparently a particularly fierce and vicious type of tiger/leopard.)

It would perhaps merely be adding to the confusion to suggest that *Tjampa,* in connection with the word *hulubalang,* may derive from the Sanskrit *cāpa* (bow — of an archer), giving a meaning something like 'Bodyguard of Archers.'[4]

1 Marrison: CMA, p. 90-98.
2 Winstedt: SEJ, p. 85. English translation in Brown: MAN, p. 55.
3 Winstedt: SEJ, p. 170. English translation in Brown: MAN, p. 145.
4 Such bodyguards are by no means uncommon. In Indonesia, the officers *(pandji)* of the *pradjurit njutra* (a detachment of the Sultan of Jogjakarta's Bodyguard) were armed with bows, and were attended by their quiverbearers *(wanèngbaja)* — see Groneman: GAR, p. 84b and plate XIV. And in Britain, the sovereign, as ruler of Scotland, is still waited upon by the 'Royal Company of Archers'.

276a Mandjanang

I have taken this to refer to Ma(n)djannang, which according to Speelman's Notitie would appear to have been the name of the district adjacent to Sambung Djawa.[1]

1 Speelman: NOT, p. 25 (where it is called 'Maiennang').

276b Datu' L-ā-l-n-ng

Unknown. It is quite likely an error for *Datu' Lenang* (see v. 476, 478, 482) — also unknown.

281a undurlah kapal kelaut dalam

Towards dusk the Dutch ships broke off the bombardment and drew off to sea.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 137.

281b bangkai

The word is used probably to indicate the unclean habits of the Dutch, i.e. not ritually slaughtering their chickens (and thus rendering them *ḥalāl.*)

284c memasang meriam

Stapel does not refer to any bombardment on the following day (July 20th), although he may be referring to shots fired off on this day when he mentions Speelman's complaints about the poor quality of the gunpowder he received from Batavia per the Quicsteert on the morning of the 20th July.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 138.

284d bertampal-tampal

I take it that the shots kept 'plomping' down on the town, rather in the same way as one slaps down a patch on a place to be mended.

286a Keraéng Laksamana

Unknown. *Laksamana* is a Malay title and does not occur in the Macassarese political hierarchy. It is just possible perhaps that the copyist has made an error in transcribing the title of a 'Karaéng Bonto Langkasa' ', but the end-rhyme would not appear to favour this hypothesis. Moreover, the only people bearing this title significant enough to be mentioned in the Macassar Court Diary are not contemporary with the incidents of our sja'ir.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 143, p. 146.

290a sentiasa hari

It is not clear what fighting is referred to in this verse. On 21 July 1667, Speelman and the fleet sailed away from Macassar southwards along the coast (firing off an occasional shot as they went). On July 23rd, he landed a detachment of troops that attacked and burnt the village of Batu-Batu (see note to v. 301b). On the 24th, the fleet sailed back to Macassar but on the 27th, Speelman sailed south again to Barombong and bombarded the village. Speelman was, of course,

waiting for Palakka and Poleman (and the Bugis who had rallied to Arung Palakka) to join him and hoped moreover that the activity of his fleet would distract the attention of the Macassarese forces blocking Palakka's path (see note to v. 295b).[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 138.

291a Kekal kiranja apalah entji'

This and the following verse bear all the marks of having been recited to a (probably largely illiterate) audience with the hope of gain. One can almost hear the echo of money dropping into a collection-box in the writer's hope that his audience will 'not forget him' and his obsequiously grateful blessings on those who have kindly presented him with *air barang setitik* (or the equivalent).

It may indeed be felt that such sentiments are t o o obsequious to have been penned by the Sultan of Goa's secretary and are therefore more likely to be an insertion on the part of a later copyist (and professional reciter). The status of the writer — any writer — qua 'writer' in the society of the day was not however such as to rule out the possibility of the author himself making such an appeal.

295a Maros

As the 'hereditary king of Tjenrana',[1] Karaéng Léngkésé' almost certainly exercised overlordship over the Maros district.

1 See Heeres: CDN, p. 382.

259b Keraéng Léngkés

It would appear that at this time, Karaéng Léngkésé' was in command of the Macassarese force that, by occupying the pass of Lajo' (in the Turatéa mountains), was effectively preventing Palakka and Poleman from rejoining Speelman and the fleet (see note to v. 208a).[1] It seems therefore that the author of the sja'ir is at fault here, for the disposition of the Macassarese forces in vv. 293-297 seems to refer to the area in and around Macassar.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 139-140.

298d ia

The missing lines probably made it clear which side is referred to here. In view of the following verses I have taken it to refer to the Dutch.

299b Batu-Batu

About a quarter of an hour's walk south of Barombong.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 151.

299d alah dan menang disanalah tentu

Precisely. Although on this occasion the Dutch merely raided Batu-Batu, they returned there in force on September 3rd and very heavy fighting ensued, so heavy, in fact, that the Macassarese were eventually compelled to ask for an armistice that led to the signing of the Treaty of Bungaja.

301b naiklah Welanda di Batu-Batu

The Dutch sent a raiding expedition ashore at Batu-Batu on July 23rd and burnt the village.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 138.

306d larinja itu turun kekapal

Although the author refers to the fighting in vv. 301-306 as having taken place at Batu-Batu, it seems very likely that he has confused what was a mere raid on Batu-Batu on July 23rd with the (first) Dutch attack on Galésong on July 30th. The latter was a much more serious affair and cost the Dutch a good many casualties including one officer killed and three wounded. Like the author of the sja'ir (see v. 303b and v. 305a), Speelman was critical of the bravery of the Ternatéans and Butonese, who, he said, fought like 'dishonourable cowardly villains'. So fierce indeed was the Macassarese resistance that the Dutch and Bugis, although fighting bravely were in fact forced to act in the manner decribed here and retreat back to their ships.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 138-139.

307b dari

The use of *dari* where one would nowadays expect *di-* is not unknown in Malay mss. The present writer has found it occurring fairly often, e.g. in documents relating to the civil wars in Kelantan in the early 19th century. Thus, a spy writes to report that rebel leaders are making no move, using the words *Tuan Tengah anak radja Banggul ada duduk dari Kampung Laut .... Tuan Lebai itu ada duduk dari Banggul lagi ....*[1]

1 Lebai: KEL, lines 9, 10.

307b Galésong

On the coast, about 20 km. south of Macassar. The Dutch and their allies landed at Galésong on the morning of July 30th, 1667. Fierce fighting went on the whole day, and towards dusk the Dutch forces were compelled to re-embark without achieving their object of establishing a camp ashore.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 139.

307c bilik

Possibly a sort of block-house cum gun-emplacement.

308d kota berdjalan

Probably one or more cannon mounted on some sort of wheeled platform.

312 Welanda lari

Speelman speaks of 'a certain amount of disorder and falling back'.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 139.

314a Dari Galésong Welanda naik

After finally establishing contact with Palakka and Poleman on July 31st (see note to v. 295b), Speelman decided to make another attempt to establish a camp at Galésong. The Dutch and their allies landed on the morning of August 1st and after very severe fighting the Macassarese had at last to abandon their defensive positions along the coast. The Dutch could make little further headway however, and it was August 19th before Galésong was finally reduced, mopping-up operations continuing until August 27th.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 141-150.

315a Sultanpun keluar

Speelman was informed by deserters that Hasanuddin himself had taken part in the fighting of August 1st (see also v. 316d).[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 143.

316c Welanda dan Bugis banjak terpotong

This may well be a literal statement. The Macassar Court Diary records under August 1st, 1667: "The Dutch land at Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen have their heads hacked off".[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 127.

319a Tjili Kalimata

On August 3rd, 1667, Speelman received a letter from Corporal Hans Melcker, who had been left in charge of the Dutch detachment with the Bugis at Laikang (see note to v. 295b), reporting that Kalimata was one of the leaders of the Macassar forces in the Turatéa area. If this is correct, the author of the sja'ir is mistaken in making Kalimata one of the Macassar leaders at Galésong. On August 3rd, Palakka, with a fair-sized detachment of Dutch troops to help him, had returned to Laikang to supervise the transfer of the large Bugis force gathered there to Galésong. Before the move had been completed, Palakka had launched a night attack on the Macassarese position there and had stormed one of their stockades. If Kalimata was in fact at Laikang, it would thus have been quite possible for him to have opposed Palakka in battle (as v. 319-320 suggest), but in the Turatéa area, not at Galésong. However, a closer examination of Melcker's letter reveals that what he actually wrote was: " .... Radja Soppéng presumes that Kalimata must be with the enemy, as a result of seeing opposite Radja Soppéng's position a standard that is supposed to be his (Kalimata's: C.S.)", i.e. that Stapel may be even more presumptuous than the Radja of Soppéng and Corporal Melcker in assuming that Kalimata was at Turatéa.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 142.

319b ipar

The Macassar Court Diary records under June 9th, 1664: "Katjili Kalimata separates from Karaéng Panaikang". According to Ligtvoet, Karaéng Panaikang was the half-sister of Harun-al-Rasjid, the Sultan of Tallo'.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 122.

322c oléh Mengkasar Melaju peranakan

The syntax of this and the following line is difficult to follow, as though the author had gone on to a second idea without finishing off the first. It is tempting to conjecture *orang* in place of *oléh*.

323a Datu' Gagah

Unknown. From the context, obviously another of the Malay community. Cf. DAG, entry under 2 May 1667 (p. 272): "Dato Aloga (which I take to be an error for 'Gaga(h)' C.S.) was placed in command of the Malays who were 2000 strong, among them 800 with muskets, being all charged with the defence of the fort Sambopo."

324a Entji' Djohor

Unknown.

325d belajarlah kapal ke Batu-Batu

Speelman and the main body of the expedition sailed north from Galésong on the night of September 2nd-3rd, 1667, and anchored off the mouth of the River Aéng, close to Batu-Batu on the following morning. Under cover of the ships' cannon, the Dutch and their allies were able to establish a defensive position ashore, just south of the Aéng.[1]

The Macassar Court Diary records (under September 4th): "The Dutch go to Batu-Batu and erect fortifications at Aéng." [2]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 151.
2 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 128.

326c golok

The text has *k-ū-l-t,* which might perhaps be taken as a reference to water-containers made of leather. I have however preferred the reading *golok* (*k* and *g* are, of course, interchangeable, while the difference between a final *q* and *t* is not very great) — the machetes or choppers that would be essential for a landing party intent on putting up fortifications as quickly as possible. It is perhaps significant that, speaking of this same Batu-Batu landing, Stapel observes: "Under cover of the ships' cannon, the army landed unopposed and very soon every man was busy constructing a fortified encampment, for which purpose baskets filled with earth had previously been prepared." [1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 151; Dr. Voorhoeve suggests that *kulit* may refer to leather containers for these 'prefabricated' fortifications.

328a Datu' Adi

Unknown. The missing two lines make it difficult to supply any background for him.

329a Sultan

Although Stapel makes only one mention of the Sultan's presence on the battlefield (in the fighting on October 14-15) during the Dutch attacks around Batu-Batu this does not mean that this was the only occasion on which the Sultan took part in the fighting. It is unlikely that the fighting referred to here is that of October 14th-15th, as the Dutch attack related in v. 332 probably occurred on September 17th.

331a berkata kasar

Thus justifying the comparison made between him and *Sang Bima*

(see v. 502). In the wajang purwa, for example, Bima (alias Radèn Brataséna) is ".... someone who never uses refined language; no matter to whom he speaks, even to a god, he uses the language of the common people." [1]

1 Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 80-81. Similarly the Bima of the Sundanese wajang golèk is described as follows: "His language is unrefined and violent, but has a simple honesty..." (Salmoen: PDP, p. 122).

332a Berperang itu pagi-pagi hari

It is possible that this refers to the first large-scale attack made by the Dutch at Batu-Bau, on he morning of Sepember 17th. Palakka and his Bugis, supported by Butonese and Ternatéans (see v. 333b) attempted to clear the woods south of Batu-Batu, but a determined attack by the Macassarese put first the Butonese and Ternatéans, and later the Bugis to flight. Eventually Captain Poleman managed to hold the Macassarese attack and give the Bugis time to re-form.[1]

From this point on in the sja'ir up to v. 386 there appears to be virtually no correspondence between the sequence of events given by the author of the sja'ir and that given by Stapel (basing himself upon Speelman's own account of the campaign). It has therefore not been possible to equate the two accounts, as has been done up to now in these notes.

Stapel's account, although decidedly 'Batavian' in its approach, seems fairly reliable as to dates, and it seems very likely that the author of the sja'ir has not much idea of the chronological order of events in the fighting at Batu-Batu (confirming the impression given in v. 204 and v. 306 that, for the period July-November 1667, the author is relying on, at the most, second-hand evidence.)

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 153.

339d alpérés dan saréan

The two Portuguese-derived words provide some indication of the 'staying-power' of Portuguese in the archipelago.[1] It is interesting to note that Speelman himself probably conducted at least some of his negotiations with the Macassarese in Portuguese. At the discussion preceding the signing of the Treaty of Bungaja in November 1667, Speelman refused to conduct negotiations through interpreters on the grounds that ".... the entire administration understood Malay, and most of them Portuguese too...." and described the chief Macassarese negotiator, Karaéng Karunrung, as being "the most fluent" in Portuguese.[2]

Both words appear to be used here with their original military significance (*sargento* and *alferes*), although subsequently being used as the titles of civil officials (*saréan*, in fact, is still used in parts of Djakarta for the official usually referred to by his official title of *lurah (kampung).*) [3]

1 See e.g. Drewes: IWC, especially p. 138-139.
2 Stapel:HBV, p. 179.
3 See Purwadarminta: KUB (under *saréan*).

348 Keraéng Patunga

Beyond the fact that such a title did exist in contemporary Macassar,[1] nothing is known of the person referred to here.

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 94 (entry under 16th September, 1633).

348a Gatotkatja

Although virtually unknown in modern Malaya, Gatotkatja (Sanskrit: Ghaṭotkaca) is, in most parts of Indonesia, the standard type of the young heroic warrior.[1]

1 "Radèn Gatotkatja has muscles of (steel) wire, bones of iron and his blood is made of pitch; he can fly in the sky and sit on the passing clouds. When he flies, he is as fast as lightning and as fierce as a thunderbolt. As to his superhuman prowess in war — he is strong enough to wrench off the heads of his enemies" (Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 84-85). Altogether a formidable opponent.

348b Sang Djaja Amarta

I am not certain to which of the heroes of the Indian epics this refers. The name Amarta suggests Judistira (Sanskrit Yudhiṣṭhira) who, in the Javanese and Sundanese wayang stories features as the King of Amarta,[1] but to compare a soldier to Judistira is something of a left-handed compliment, as the one thing that Judistira never engaged in was fighting. Gericke and Roorda [2] say that, in the wajang purwa stories, *djajamreta (Djajamarta)* occurs as a sort of war-cry or slogan, used only by the Pandawas. One might therefore suggest that Sang Djaja Amarta refers to one of the Pandawas, probably Ardjuna. A further possibility (suggested by Dr. Voorhoeve) is that the hero intended by the author was (Sang) *Djajadrata* (Skt: Jayadratha), who fought bravely for the Kaurawas.

1 Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 77. Salmoen: PDP, p. 162, p. 171.
2 Gericke and Roorda: JAV, Vol. II, p. 417b.

352b seperti perang Maharadja Bumi

When Maharadja Bumi, i.e. Maharadja Boma, and his army went to war, the fighting was indeed *terlalu ramai* (v. 352a).[1]

Kern has already commented on the familiarity with the Hikajat Sang Boma shown by the author of the Salasilah Kutai.[2] It would appear that the author of the sja'ir was equally familiar with the story.

1 *Maka berperanglah segala hulubalang dan rakjat Maharadja Djantaka dengan segala hulubalang rakjat Maharadja Boma serta dengan rakjat raksasa, terlalu ramai ia berperang itu* (HSB, p. 31).
2 Kern: CSK, p. 25.

354a Sang Samba

Although Sang Samba (the hero of the Hikajat Sang Boma) was no mean fighter,[1] he was probably more famous for his handsome appearance,[2] and it may be this that is referred to here.

1 HSB, p. 77-81.
2 HSB, p. 59-60.

354b serba kesumba

Dr. Voorhoeve points out that to be dressed 'all in red' would be the normal 'uniform' for a warrior about to do battle.

355a Keraéng Bonto

There would seem to be a name left out here, as 'Bonto' generally occurs before the names of places (cf. Karaéng Bonto Madjannang, Karaéng Bonto Marannu, Karaéng Bonto Sunggu etc.). One might query *laksana* here and conjecture *Karang Bonto Langkasa'*, but although such a title did exist in 17th century Macassar,[1] there is no record of a Karaéng of that name taking part in the fighting against the Dutch.

1 cf. Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 143 etc.

355a Sang Radjuna

Ardjuna. Although usually associated with the Mahabharata, Ardjuna also figures in the Hikajat Sang Boma.[1]

1 HSB, passim.

355c Maharadja Rawana

The 'villain' of the Hikajat Seri Rama [1] (in rather the same way that Satan is the 'villain' of Paradise Lost).

1 Shellabear: HSR, passim.

356a Daéng Maréwa

Unknown. Possibly the same as the 'daijen Maleeuwa' who appears in a treaty concluded by the VOC at Macassar on 1 October 1669.[1]

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 426.

356a Sang Parta

Another name for Ardjuna in the wayang stories.[1]

1 Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 87; Salmoen: PDP, p. 179.

356b suasa

Strictly speaking, *suasa* is not pure gold, but 'gold with a large admixture of special alloy'. However, to use some such term as 'pinchbeck' or even 'alloy' (both of which have derogatory associations in English) would not, I consider, do justice to the writer's intentions here, particularly as a good *suasa* — as contrasted say with *emas muda* — would be even more valuable than gold.[1]

1 Wilkinson: MED (under *suasa*).

357b panah jang dua

Possibly referring to *Pésopati,* the arrow presented by the gods to Ardjuna. See illustration in Hardjowirogo: SWP, p. 145.

360a anak sumpitan

Equipped as they were with a fairly formidable battery of cannon, blow-pipes must have been rather vieux jeu to the Macassarese. They were certainly not unknown in Macassar,[1] but I can find no reference to their having been used in the 1666-1669 campaigns. We cannot however rule out the possibility of their use during the fighting (just as they were used nearly three hundred years later against Japanese troops in Borneo.)

1 See e.g. Tideman: TBA, p. 495 (also note by van Hoëvell). Foster, commenting on John Jourdain's visit to Macassar in 1613, observes "The sumpitan, or small arrow blown through a tube was the chief missile in use before the introduction of firearms. The arrows were often poisoned, and the old travellers tell terrible stories of their deadliness". (Jourdain: JOU, p. 295, note 1).

360b kebisaan

Writing in April 1668, Speelman complains: "The worst of it is, that the wounds we receive, even quite minor wounds, heal so badly and take so long, that we perceive that now, as before, the scoundrels

use mostly poisoned bullets, an example that we shall henceforth not scruple to follow." [1]

This certainly suggests that poisoned missiles of some kind were used during the fighting both before and after the Treaty of Bungaja. In an account of the VOC attack on Macassar in June 1660 we read that, during a determined Macassar attack, "Thousands of arrows and poisoned javelins whizzed through the air".[2]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 49. For some blood-curdling (and exaggerated) accounts of the poison used by the Macassarese against their enemies, see the article on Upas, in Yule and Burney: HOB, p. 729-731.
2 van Dam van Isselt: JVD, p. 20.

366a Tiga puluh tiga kepala Welanda

Although the author seems to place this incident definitely after the landing at Batu-Batu (at the beginning of September, 1667), the statement bears a suspicious resemblance to the entry in the Macassar Court Diary under 1st August, 1667, viz: "The Dutch land at Manalo and in the fighting 34 Dutchmen have their heads hacked off." [1] It seems likely that this is one more example of the author's unreliability as to the sequence of events.

Both Macassarese and Bugis (like the modern Gurkhas) were attached to the habit of bringing back their enemies' heads as proof of their victory.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 127 (See also note to v. 316c).
1 See e.g. note to v. 51a.

367c berpaling

In the sense of *memalingkan muka,* to turn aside from, to desert (one's Ruler).[1]

1 cf. Purwadarminta: KUB (for *berpaling,* Purwadarminta gives *membélot, murtad*).

374d tuan

There is some doubt here as to whom the word refers. At first sight, it looks as though the reference is to the speaker, i.e. the sjahbandar's wife, but comparison with v. 381-384, where 'tuan' is used by the speaker obviously to refer to her dead son, suggest that in v. 374d too the reference is to the dead relative.

375c médjan

The word is pronounced and spelt in a variety of ways in various parts of Malaysia (see Wilkinson: MED under *mesan.*)

376c badan sadja

Presumably because the head had been hacked off. See e.g. note to v. 51a.

377c burhan

Arabic *burhān* (proof, evidence). I take it that the word is used here as a synonym for the Arabic *sjahīd* (someone who gives evidence, bears witness, on behalf of the true religion, and dies as a martyr, *fī sabīl Allāh*).

377d mendjadi zaman

A curious phrase. Perhaps a copyist's error for *achir zaman* (a phrase that occurs in v. 15d.)

378a Djuru datjing

The importance and wealth of this official — in a port kingdom — was obviously far greater than a literal translation of the title would indicate. Writing in 1665, the English Factors at Macassar complain that "the Capolla Dachin[1] is unavoidable being in the nature of the Kings Customes and not only we but all the trade here are held to it . . . ." [2]

1 Although of course cognate with the Malay *kepala datjing* the words refer not, as might perhaps be expected, to the official in charge of the weighing (whom the Factors call the 'Dachineer'), but, as the Factors explain, to that part of the load on the scale set aside for the King. See Matthes: MHW under *datjing*.

2 JAV, Vol. 5, Section 72a, fol. 34.

381a Ajuh tuan lihatlah ibu

The theme of the bereaved mother bewailing her son (or daughter) is a perennial one in Malay literature. An interesting modern parallel is provided by the Indonesian writer "Selasih" in her poem Ratap Ibu, containing verses such as:

Parau suara kering rangkungan,
Memanggil tuan emas djuita;
Mengapa tidak tuan dengarkan —
Suka melihat ibu berduka? [1]

(Hoarse my voice and dry my throat
with calling you, my darling child;
Why do you not hear my words?
Can it please you to see your mother grieve?)

1 Alisjahbana: PBA, p. 18.

383c santapan

The use of this 'royal' word for the food of a commoner may be just one more example of the author's high regard for the (Malay) commercial aristocracy of Macassar. It is more likely, however, that the (limited) 'krama' vocabulary of Malay had not yet become fixed in the 1660's, particularly in a non-Malay state.

385a Ditjorék

Wilkinson: MED does not give an entirely satisfactory translation. I take *tjorék* to be another form of *tjorét* — a line (scratched into the earth).[1]

1 Purwadarminta: KUB (under *tjorét*).

386a Di balai Bunga

The text reads *d-ī-b-ā-l-ī-b-ū-ng* which, as the ms. often represents a modern e-pepet by *ā*, might — in the context of the preceding verse — be read as *Dibeli bunga* .... The following phrase however (*terlalu ramai*) makes rather an uneasy bed-fellow for *Dibeli bunga,* while the following line:

" .... and it was there that peace negotiations began"

seems to call for some kind of place name. Following this cue and treating *di-* as a preposition, we are left with the name *Balai Bunga.*

The negotiations referred to began on November 13th, 1667, when Speelman and the allied commanders met Hasanuddin and the principal Macassar nobles just outside the village of B u n g a j a.[1] The place name, Bungaja, is according to Matthes derived from the Macassarese *bunga*[2] (identical in form and meaning with the Malay *bunga),* the suffix *-(j)a* being equivalent to the definite article (het bepalend lidwoord).[3] It seems not unreasonable therefore to equate the Macassarese *bunga(ja)* with the text's *bunga* and locate our Balai Bunga at Bungaja. The Balai referred to might even be the structure erected at Bunga(ja) to shelter the negotiators.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 178-181.
2 Matthes: MHW (under *boenga*).
3 See Matthes: MSP, p. 34.

386d terlalu ramai

So numerous in fact were the Macassarese at the negotiations that Speelman, fearing a trap, sent a message to Hasanuddin insisting that the number of Macassarese gathered around the appointed meeting-place

be reduced. This was subsequently done and negotiations then proceeded.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 179.

387b habislah orang sekalian gempar

According to Stapel, towards the end of the negotiations, some of the Macassar commanders, trying to push their own troops back, set about them with sticks, knocking some of them down. In the resulting confusion, a certain amount of panic occurred, and both sides were on the point of reaching for their weapons.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 181.

387c Amiralpun lari

According to Stapel (who appears to base himself entirely upon Speelman's own account), the panic that arose was prevented from having any serious consequences due to the calmness of Speelman on the allied side, and Hasanuddin on the Macassarese side.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 181 (footnote 1).

391b Radja jang tua

I take these words to refer to Karaéng Karunrung, who although not particularly old in the literal sense [1] (he was born in 1631, in the same year as Hasanuddin), certainly acted the part of elder statesman at Hasanuddin's court. A son of the former Chancellor, Karaéng Pattingalloang, Karunrung was himself Chancellor when banished in May 1664. Returning in February 1666, he was banished again before the year was out, returning again July 1667 in time to take a prominent part in urging Hasanuddin to fight the VOC to the end. At the abortive negotiations that took place on November 2nd, 1667, Speelman had brusquely rejected a Macassar request for an armistice, saying that unless the Macassarese agreed to treat, he would at once carry on with the war. Valentijn records that when Speelman's message was brought before the Macassar court, it was received in silence until Karunrung said with a laugh: "Well, aren't they right? What is there that needs discussion? If we don't attack them, they'll attack us!" [2]

At the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Bungaja, it was Karunrung (whom Speelman describes as being the most fluent in Portuguese of the Macassar nobles), who acted as the Macassar spokesman.[3]

Speelman was always apprehensive of what he described as Karunrung's 'evil deeds and schemes',[4] regarding him as 'the sole cause of the

violated Treaty of Bungaja' and inserting into subsequent treaties a clause requiring the handing over of Karunrung 'dead or alive'.[5] Despite this, however, 1671 saw Karunrung once more Chancellor of Goa and he died at last in 1685, after what was obviously a very full life.[6]

1 For the use of *tua* in the sense of 'senior' cf. the sja'ir's *Sahbandar jang tua* (as opposed to *Sahbandar jang muda,* e.g. in vv. 60-61). It seems likely too that references to the Sultan of Tallo' as *Sultan jang muda* (e.g. in v. 152c) imply that he was the 'junior' Sultan of Macassar as opposed to the 'senior' Sultan, i.e. the Sultan of Goa.

2 Valentijn: ONO, p. 156.

3 Stapel: HBV, p. 179.

4 Stapel: GNI, p. 346. Karunrung's fame as a 'bogeyman' seems to have stretched from Macassar to Batavia. In his birthday verses addressed to 'Miss N.N. on Her Ladyship's Seventh Birthday, Anno 1669', the Batavian poetaster, Aernout van Overbeke, refers to '... Cronron dat duyvels-spogh ...' (Karunrung, that devil's spawn), see du Perron: MJC, p. 73.

5 Clause V of the Additional Provisions (Nader Poincten) drawn up in July 1669, and signed by the Sultan of Tallo' and other prominent Macassarese, reads: "Should Karunrung, being the sole cause of the violated Bungaja Treaty, not come in person and unarmed, to humble himself and ask for forgiveness, placing himself entirely at the disposal of the Supreme Government at Batavia (with the assurance, not mandatory, that his person shall remain unharmed), they will then, in that case, assist in pursuing, arresting or slaying him, as circumstances allow; and also put at the disposal of the Company all property taken from him, by way of remission of the sum that has to be paid to the Company in accordance with the prescribed agreement" (Heeres: CDN, p. 414).

6 Ligtvoet: DVC, p. 103-156.

394b arang belanga

The word *arang* here would probably have rather more associations than is indicated by the rather literal translation given. To have one's face 'smeared with soot' is, of course, proverbial for a very grave insult, not to be borne by a grown man,[1] and calling out for some drastic form of revenge.[2]

1 Perhaps because of the custom, still fairly wide-spread in the country districts of Malaya (at least in the North-West) of warding off the malignant spirits who like to come out at twilight — particularly when the twilight is accompanied by fine rain — by smearing soot on the faces of infant children. In the Province Wellesley district, for example, the writer has seen a Malay lady (his wife), after bathing and 'dressing up' her son (aged about 2 months) ready for a late afternoon visit to the next-door neighbour, get as far as the head of (outer) stairs, and then double back to the *pelantar* (roughly: 'kitchen') to get some soot to smear on the child's forehead. The defenceless infant who, in his bright and shining state, might attract the unwelcome attention of the jealous spirits, becomes (literally) tarnished, losing much of his attraction, and is thus (usually) left in peace.

2 Thus, one of the reasons given by Hang Tuah for killing Hang Djebat (in

the Hikajat Hang Tuah) was to 'wash off' such an insult (see e.g. Brown: MAS, p. 11-12).

394c seperti kambing takut akan singa

This is possibly a reference to the Mousedeer story-cycle where the Mousedeer plays off the t i g e r s against the goats. Confusion between lions and tigers would be the easier in that the lion also occurs in the stories.[1]

1 Klinkert: HPD, pp. 4-10. For the lion(s), see p. 19 et seq.

394d kedjut dengan daun telinga

dengan is rather strange here, but I think the meaning is clear. Wilkinson: MED, gives *Bĕrkĕjut tĕlinga* — 'holding his ears stiffly erect, of a timid horse'.

396a si Tunderu'

The familiarity between Hasanuddin and Palakka related in this and the following verses may seem somewhat surprising as between two men who were virtually sworn enemies but, at the negotiations of November 13, Speelman himself commented "....they (the Macassarese: CS) gave Radja Palakka uncommonly friendly greetings and embraces...."[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 181.

398b dipermaburi

Pigeaud: JNH, gives: *mabur:* '1, to fly up, fly away; 2, to go through the air, to fly' and refers to the root *bur,* one of whose meanings is given as 'to get lost, to vanish'. I have translated the word as 'to make away with'.

399d suruhlah kembali Boné dan Sopéng

At the negotiations referred to in v. 386 and the following verses, Speelman had presented the Macassarese with a series of demands, some twenty-six in all, to be accepted by the Macassarese as the basis of a formal treaty. The demands do not include any specific demand for the return of Bugis captured by the Macassarese.[1] It is not impossible that Speelman made, as the sja'ir implies, a verbal request on these lines, for, according to Stapel, on the morning of November 18th the Macassarese released a number of Bugis, both men and women.[2] The final

draft of the peace treaty certainly included a formal demand for the restitution of all captured Bugis.[3]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 179-181.
2 Stapel: HBV, p. 184.
3 Heeres: CDN, p. 376-377.

406d saudara sepupu kepada Sultan

I take this and the missing lines to refer to the Sultan of Tallo' (cf. *kakanda* in v. 408c).

Hasanuddin's great-grandfather, Tu-nidjallo', had a daughter called Karaéng-ri-Naung. She married Karaéng Matoaja the grand-father of Harun al-Rasjid, the Sultan of Tallo'. Hasanuddin and Harun al-Rasjid were thus strictly speaking cousins once removed (*saudara dua pupu*) and not first cousins (*saudara sepupu*).[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 106.

409c anak marhum Petingaloang

The third word here reads *p-t-ng ā-ng-k-ā-w-ng,* which might well be a later (Malay) copyist's attempt to reproduce a distinctly unfamiliar name. On the models of *marhum Pahang, marhum Perlis,* I take the phrase to mean 'the late (King) who died at Pattingalloang' and the reference here to be to Harun al-Rasjid's father Muẓaffar (Tu-mammaliang-ri-Timoro').[1]

1 The Macassar Court Diary records the date, but not the locality, of Muẓaffar's death, but allows it to be assumed that the death took place in or around Tallo' — an area which would certainly include Pattingalloang (see Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 103, entry under 18 May 1641). Dr. Noorduyn suggests that the phrase *marhum Petingaloang* be taken to mean 'the late (Karaéng) Pattingalloang', pointing out that the Karaéng acted as guardian and regent for the young Harun al-Rasjid, who might well, therefore, be regarded as a sort of adopted son.

410a Radja di Bontoala'

cf. Speelman (writing just after the end of the war): "Bontoala' lies about a third of a 'mile' (mijl) inland due east of Fort Rotterdam; apart from the fact that this locality was acquired by us by right of conquest, the King of Tallo' made it over to the Company during the time of the Treaty of Bungaja . . . . " [1]

1 Speelman: NOT, p. 69. By 'mijl' here is meant the so-called 'French mile' (see WNT under *mijl*) equivalent to about 4½ km.

412d qā'im

Arabic *qā'im* — steadfast, continuing.

414a Antara selang beberapa hari

There was, in fact, an interval of four days between the negotiations referred to in v. 386 etc., and the actual signing of the Treaty of Bungaja on November 18th, 1667.

417c segala hartanja disuruhnja ganti

Article 29 of the Bungaja Treaty reads: "The Government (of Macassar) promises to pay the Company, in compensation for its expenditure during the war, 250.000 Rijksdaalders, to be paid in five consecutive monsoons; the sum to be paid in cannon, merchandise, gold, silver or jewels, each according to its value." [1]

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 380.

417d lima puluh kati

The amount agreed upon was 250.000 Rijksdaalders, which would make one kati (presumably of gold) equal to 5.000 Rijksdaalders. This seems most unlikely. According to Stapel, there were various sorts of *mas* in Macassar with values ranging from one rijksdaalder to 30 stuivers.[1] Even taking the Macassar *emas* as being worth one rijksdaalder, one *tahil* would be worth no more than about 16 rijksdaalders, which would make a kati worth between three and four hundred rijksdaalders.[2] It seems likely that *ratus* should be substituted for *puluh* in the text.

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 101.
2 These figures are calculated according to the table given in Newbold: PSA, Vol. 1, p. 25-26.

418a Radja jang tua

If, as seems likely, the words refer to Karaéng Karunrung, the somewhat jocular tone of the remarks in the verse would appear to be in keeping with what is reported of his character (see note to v. 391b).

419c Udjung Pandang

Article 11 of the Treaty of Bungaja reads: "The northerly fort called Udjung Pandang shall, immediately after the Agreement has been solemnly attested, be vacated by the Macassarese garrison and handed over to the Company in good order . . . . " [1]

Speelman himself described the fort as "a strong fortress with a supply of good drinking-water and situated in a healthy locality, possessing moreover a suitable harbour where our ships can shelter from almost

any wind, so that it might well be termed a bastion of the valuable Easterly Districts." [2] In fact, Speelman re-named it 'Fort Rotterdam', in honour of his birth-place.[3]

1 Heeres: CDN, p. 374.
2 DAG, entry under 14th March, 1668.
3 Stapel: HBV, p. 190.

419d pindjam

The Treaty obviously regards the 'loan' of the fort at Udjung Pandang as a fairly permanent one.

420b sambing

A Minangkabau word. Wilkinson: MED gives *saming*, 'yet, still, only', but his source, van der Toorn's Minangkabau dictionary, gives both *sami(e)ng* and *sambi(e)ng*.

421a berbunjilah bedil

After the Treaty had been signed and attested, both sides fired off salvos.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 186.

423b kéring

The text has *k-r-ī-ng*, and with *keraéng* (spelt in identical fashion) on either side of it, one may legitimately suspect a copyist's error. I am, however, unable to conjecture anything more appropriate than the Javanese *kéring*, which, according to Pigeaud: JNH, might perhaps correspond to the English 'respected, honoured, venerated'.

423c kembalilah segala Boné dan Sopéng

See note to v. 399d. Writing to Governor-General Maetsuycker in September 1668, the Sultans of Goa and Tallo' complained that Speelman had been acting in a manner quite incompatible with the provisions of the Bungaja Treaty " . . . . although we had already returned the Bugis captured earlier".[1]

1 DAG, entry under 18th March, 1669.

425b Udjung Pandang

The Macassar Court Diary records under November 21st, 1667: "The Dutch take possession of Udjung Pandang." [1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 128.

426c Lajo' dan Bangkal

I take this to refer to Karaéng Lajo' and Karaéng Bangkala'. During

the final stages of the fighting preceding the Bungaja Treaty, these two held a key position in the Macassar defensive system behind the Aéng River. By an act of well-planned treachery, the two Karaéngs went over to the VOC on the night of November 2-3, 1667, enabling the VOC to turn the Macassar defence-line, so that Hasanuddin had no option but to sue for peace.[1]

The two Karaéngs had thus been well and truly 'got at' by the VOC and I think it likely that it is this 'getting at' that is referred to here. The phrase *kena masuk* may even contain a contraction of *masuk hantu,*[2] i.e. the Karaéngs had fallen a prey to the wiles of some evil spirit (and were thus unable to resist the blandishments of the devilish VOC.)

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 170-172.

2 The writer has heard the phrase *kena masuk* used (in Province Wellesley, Federation of Malaya) in the sense of *masuk hantu.*

427b sehari-hari ke Sambopu berulang-ulang

Protesting to the Governor-General about the unilateral actions of Speelman, following on the Treaty of Bungaja, the Sultans of Goa and Tallo' complained that certain undesirable elements, with Speelman's backing, had "... . often come into the fort of Sombaopu and carried off, at their own pleasure, slaves belonging to (our) people." [1]

1 DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p. 274).

427c segenap kampung mengambil orang

Despite the next line, I take the words to refer not to the restitution of captured Bugis (see note to v. 423c) but to kidnapping carried out by the VOC's allies. The Macassarese rulers complained to Governor-General Maetsuycker about this in their letter to him dated 18th September, 1668.[1]

1 Given in full (in its Dutch translation) in DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p. 273-276).

428b melihat laku Bugis djahanam

The conduct of the victorious Bugis certainly left much to be desired. Speelman himself complained bitterly that "... . the Bugis did nothing else except steal, rob and murder... . " [1]

1 Speelman: NOT, p. 209.

428c sabarlah ia sekalian diam

The Dutch translation of the letter already mentioned (see note to v. 427c) contains an interesting echo of this line. Speaking of their patience

in putting up with breaches of the Treaty of Bungaja, the Sultans of Goa and Tallo' say: "....however, Their Highnesses and the people of Macassar have suffered this to take place, passing over the matter in silence...." [1] and again "....in all this the Macassarese kept silent...." [2]

The Dutch is a translation of 'a Malay letter written by the King of Macassar to the Governor-General and Council of the Indies'.[3] As such, it would presumably be written by the Sultan's writer, Entji' Amin, the author of our sja'ir.

1 DAG, (1669) p. 274.
2 ibid., p. 275.
3 ibid., p. 273.

431b sudah putik mendjadi kembang

I take this to be an equivalent of the phrase *sudah putik berbalik bunga,* i.e. 'the unexpected has happened.' [1]

1 See e.g. Brown: MSA, p. 56.

432a seorang Keraéng

Although the verse is incomplete, it seems likely that the Karaéng referred to is Karaéng Léngkésé'.

The Karaéng whose 'wicked conduct' [1] is deplored in these verses is obviously to be found among the number of those Macassarese noblemen who, after the Bungaja Treaty had been signed, showed a willingness to 'fraternise' with the VOC. The most prominent of these noblemen were the Sultan of Tallo' and Karaéng Léngkésé' (who, for a time at least, remained loyal to the VOC, when fighting broke out again in April 1668).[2] In point of fact, our author very rarely refers to the Sultan of Tallo' as *Karaéng;*[3] Karaéng Léngkésé', on the other hand, is more than once so termed.[4]

Moreover, pursuing the similarity (already commented on) [5] between the sja'ir and the Sultan of Goa's letter of the 18 September 1668, it is significant that the letter makes a special point of the damage done to the Sultan's cause by Karaéng Léngkésé', complaining: "Further, that Karaéng Léngkésé' with his brothers and children, has once again deserted of his own accord, to be received by him (Speelman); and all the aspersions he casts against His Highness are accepted...." [6] Such conduct might well prompt the comment:

hilanglah budi luput upaja
Sultan tidak lagi pertjaja.[7]

1 See v. 432b.
2 DAG, entries under 13 May 1668 (p. 76) and 15 June 1668 (p. 103).
3 He is usually referred to as *Sultan di Telo'*.
4 e.g. in v. 445b and v. 470b.
5 e.g. in the note to v. 428c.
6 DAG, entry under 18 March 1669, p. 275.
7 v. 433.

434d terlanggar kedarat

I cannot trace this incident. It is just possible (cf. the reference to *tariklah kapal perbuat bénténg* in the following verse) that the verses are an attempt to decry the resourcefulness of the VOC in erecting a strong defensive position shortly after the recommencement of hostilities.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 49.

436a pertama mula perkataan

The chronology of this and the following verses is rather puzzling. There seems little doubt that v. 436-441 give details of the desertion of Karaéngs Bangkala' and Lajo' in November 1667.[1] On the other hand, v. 442, with its reference to Speelman at Udjung Pandang, clearly refers to some time in 1668, after the cession of Udjung Pandang to the VOC (as a result of the Treaty of Bungaja). The obvious explanation is that the author has confused the actions of Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala' during the first campaign (i.e. before the Bungaja Treaty), with their actions during the second campaign (i.e. after April, 1668).

One might perhaps take the verses as a 'flash-back'. We should then imagine the author, when about to relate how Karaéng Lajo' and Bangkala' (together with Karaéng Léngkésé') joined the VOC in an attack on Sanraboné, recalling for his own, and his readers'/listeners', benefit, the treachery of the two Karaéngs on an earlier occasion (v. 436-439). He tells how, after their treachery, the Karaéngs fled to their 'counties' in Turatéa and tried to get in touch with Speelman (v. 440), eventually succeeding (v. 441) some time after the Bungaja Treaty. In v. 442 we are in April 1668,[2] Speelman is in Udjung Pandang, and the Karaéngs are agreeing to take part in the attack on Sanraboné (v. 443).

The author's chronological reliability is scarcely such as to justify

the choice of the (rather tenuous) 'flash-back' explanation to the obvious one of mistaken chronology.[3]

1 See note to v. 426c.
2 This appears to be confirmed by the mention of Karaéng Lénkésé' in v. 444a. One of the 'last-ditchers' in the first campaign, Karaéng Léngkésé' had not made his peace with the VOC until 13 March 1668 (Heeres: CDN, p. 382-383). He is reported as taking part in a VOC attempt on Turatéa on 10 April 1668 (DAG, entry under 18 March 1669, p. 275).
3 The unreliability of the author's chronology is discussed in the notes to v. 204b, 306d,, 332a and 366a.

437d berkélok

Although not given as such in Wilkinson: MED, *berkélok* is identical in meaning with *berbélok* (cf. Purwadarminta: KUB, under *kélok.)*

439a Ketika malam

Karaéngs Bangkala' and Lajo' abandoned their key stockade to the VOC (after a token defence) on the night of 2 November 1667.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 171.

439c Datu' ....

This may possibly refer to Arung Palakka,[1] who acted as the 'contact man' in negotiating the desertion of Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala'.[2]

1 Whom the author refers to elsewhere as *Datu'* (cf. v. 208d).
2 Stapel: HBV, p. 170-171.

440a lari kedarat

The two Karaéngs fled to their 'seats' in Turatéa.[1]

1 Stapel: HBV, p. 171-172.

443d ke Sanderaboné akulah masuk

The town of Sanraboné lies on the coast, on the north bank of the river of the same name, about 40 km. south of Macassar.

Rather surprisingly, there is no mention in Stapel of this attack on Sanraboné. The only reference to an attack in the Sanraboné area comes in a letter from the Sultan of Goa to Governor-General Maetsuycker on the 18 September 1668. In it the Sultan complains " .... now, on 9 April, Speelman sent Karaéng Léngkésé' to a town in Turatéa called Poelongbangkis (Polombangkéng?), before which he appeared on 10 April .... " [1] As this name Karaéng Léngkésé' plays an important part in the Sanraboné attack,[2] it seems not unreasonable to date the Sanraboné attack as occurring round about 10 April 1668, which would fit in very well with the chronology of our sja'ir.[3]

The point that appears to be made here is that it was aggressive action on the part of the VOC and its associates in attacking Sanraboné that caused hostilities to recommence. The point is worth bearing in mind in view of Stapel's pronouncements on the subject.

In his CJS (p. 49), Stapel says: "A number of small incidents soon showed that the situation was gradually worsening, and on 12 April, after they had paid almost 200.000 florins of the sum fixed for war-damages, the Macassarese once again went over to the offensive", relegating to a footnote the perhaps somewhat ingenuous observation: "The Macassarese later asserted that Speelman was reponsible for starting hostilities. From the documents (not quoted by Stapel, but apparently drawn exclusively from VOC sources: C.S.) it appears that Speelman had learnt from spies that Macassar had been busy for some time making preparations to renew the struggle. On 12 April, some Karaéngs stationed their troops on the open ground between the city and Fort Rotterdam, and set up their battle-standards there. Speelman took this as a resumption of hostilities. To remain passive would amount to 'waiting for the enemy to get in the first blow' ". The disparity between these two pronouncements appears to have struck Stapel himself, for, writing some three years later, he confines himself to the observation "Both sides accused the other of commencing hostilities. It is a fact that, warned by spies that Macassar was again making preparations for war, Speelman was on his guard and ready for action." [4]

Summing up, the sja'ir provides some support for the view that the responsibility for the recommencement of hostilities in April 1668 must be placed as much (if not more) on the shoulders of the VOC as on the Macassarese.

1 DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p. 275).
2 cf. v. 444-470.
3 Although at first loyal to the VOC, Léngkésé' went over to the Macassarese before the end of May 1668 (DAG, entry under 15 June 1668, p. 103) and any attack by the VOC in which he took part must obviously have occurred before 31 May 1668.
4 Stapel: GNI, p. 346.

449a Keraéng Sanderaboné

It may be rather difficult to associate the courageous bearing ascribed to Karaéng Sanraboné here and in the following verses with a lad some 16 or 17 years old.[1] However (writing at the beginning of 1670), Speelman testifies that " . . . .the King of Sanraboné is still young and wild, between 18 and 19 years old; in the recent war, he gained some reputa-

tion for bravery, or at least some respect, amongst the Turatéa people . . . . " [2]

1 See note to v. 54a.
2 Speelman: NOT, p. 493: . . . de Coning van Sadrebone is noch jong en wulps tusschen 18 a 19 jaar out, in 't laeste oorloch heeft hij wat reputatie van dapperheijt, off altoos ontsach onder die van Tourata gecregen . . . 'Tourata' is, of course, Turatéa, where Karaéngs Lajo' and Bangkala' had their seats.

452b Radja di Telo'

This would seem to be an error on the author's part as the Sultan of Tallo' deserted the VOC on the same days as Karaéng Léngkésé' [1] and appears at no time to have fought against Léngkésé'. Possibly the need of an end-rhyme (and perhaps an unconscious reminiscence of v. 52) 'forced' the line into the author's (or copyist's) mind.

1 DAG, entry under 15 June 1668 (p. 103).

455a Sultan

The Sultan of Goa.

456d bergandjar

I prefer this reading to *berkandjar* (possessed of a *chandjar*, a form of dagger). It is just possible that *berkandjar* means 'having performed the *kandjar* dance' (see note to v. 45a), as the dance seems to have amounted to the taking of an oath of loyalty to the Sultan before doing battle against his enemies — a meaning that would fit in with the context. However, the *berkandjar* ceremony (in the sja'ir at least, see vv. 45-64) appears to have been something of a solo effort, performed by noblemen.

On the other hand, the rewarding of one's troops b e f o r e the battle (to ensure their loyalty in the coming fight) [1] was a common practice in Indonesian warfare, common enough, for example, to be parodied in the Balinese Jaya Prana.[2]

1 cf. v. 282.
2 Hooykaas: LJP, p. 57 (v. 62 and note). vv. 309-313 of our sja'ir show both sides rewarding their troops.

471b talu

Although not given in Wilkinson: MED the word, occurring as it does in the Kota Kapur inscription of Çaka 608 (A.D. 686) must be one of the oldest authenticated Malay words.[1]

1 Coedès: IMC, p. 48 (the word occurs in line 5 and line 7 of the inscription). Coedès translates as 'chatié'.

472b gedung Inggeris

The English lodge was situated a little to the south of Udjung Pandang, i.e. some three or four kilometres north of Sombaopu.[1]

1 Valentijn: ONO plate 22 (between p. 138 and p. 139).

476c Datu' L-n-ng

Unknown. This is probably a more correct spelling of the name of the person referred to in v. 276b.

478a 'ijān

Although not given in Wilkinson: MED, the Arabic word *'ijān* (the seeing (clearly) of something with one's (own) eyes) occurs in al-Rānīrī's *Ḥall al-ẓill* [1] and, given the background of our author, would very probably be familiar to him.

1 cf. Voorhoeve: LGR, p. 161.

481a Sambung Djawa

Between Sombaopu and Udjung Pandang.

484d luka bahunja

Stapel records that Palakka was wounded in the fighting of April, 1668 [1] and it may be this that is referred to here.

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 49.

487b Tuwadjo'

Tu- (i.e. 'men of') *Wadjo'*, the Bugis state north of Boné and east of Soppéng. The Wadjo' Chronicle declares, with truth that, when the VOC attacked Macassar: "All Goa's vassals were disloyal, and Goa was joined only by Wadjo', for Wadjo' alone refused to be disloyal." [1] The Wadjorese remained loyal to Macassar throughout both VOC campaigns, and as late as May 1669, the Macassarese were still obtaining reinforcements from Wadjo'.[2] The Wadjo' Chronicles states that "503 Wadjorese were killed when Sombaopu was stormed".[3]

1 Noorduyn: KWA, p. 275 (Bugis text on p. 274).
2 Stapel: CJS, p. 56. See also Noorduyn: KWA, p. 122.
3 Noorduyn: KWA, p. 275 (Bugis text on p. 274).

490b di Sambung Djawa

The storming of Sambung Djawa described in this and subsequent verses took place in October, 1668.[1]

1 Ligtvoet: DVG, entry under 12 October, 1668, (p. 129).

499d Madjanang

The text has *m-n-dj-ng*. I conjecture *Ma(n)djanang* (see note to v. 276a), either by metathesis, or by the omission of the second 'n'.

501d Balang Baru

The text has *b-l-ng b-ū-r-ā-h,* which I take to be a corruption (by metathesis) of *Balang Baru(h)* — a locality apparently quite close to Sambung Djawa [1] and hence in the vicinity of the fighting referred to here. In Macassarese, *Balang Baru* would be pronounced as *Balambaru* (cf. 'Karaéng Balambaru' in Ligtvoet: DVG, p. 95, entry under 23 August 1634).

1 See DAG, entry under 18 March 1669 (p. 275).

502 Keraéng Djaranika

A letter from Speelman to Batavia records that Karaéng Djarannika led a fierce Macassar attack upon the Schelvis (that was lying moored close to the shore) on the night of the 12th-13th May, 1669.[1] It seems likely that it is this attack that is referred to in this and subsequent verses. For the comparison with Bhīma, see note to v. 331a.[2]

1 DAG, entry under 30th May, 1669 (p. 331).

2 The comparison was a popular one in Malay literature. In the *Sja'ir Hémop,* Radén Narimat is described as *mengamuk seperti laku Sang Bima* (Rusconi: SKW, p. 101, distich 3235).

509c menggali lubang malam dan siang

The storming of the stockade at Sambung Djawa on October 12th, 1668, had not been without cost and two days later Speelman, with forces diminishing daily (due more to disease than battle), thought it politic to enter into peace negotiations. These were unsuccessful, as were similar overtures made a month later. About the beginning of November, Macassarese victories over Bugis forces in the Maros area seem to have given Macassar fresh heart, and a third attempt by Speelman to negotiate (in February, 1669) was also unsuccessful. With the arrival of fresh reinforcements Speelman went over to the attack, and by the middle of April, 1669, had reduced the Macassarese to the fort of Sombaopu and the town of Goa. Speelman proceeded to mine his way forward, and by the middle of June had succeeded in laying mines under the walls of Sombaopu. It seems unlikely that the idea of laying mines originated with Palakka.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 54-56.

510c Déwata

The use of the word here is perhaps indicative of the comparative recentness of Macassar's acceptance of Islam (cf. the use of the words *Déwata Mulia Raja* in the Hikajat Seri Rama commented on by Winstedt: HML, p. 28.)

511a Terbakar oléhnja kota Mengkasar

The mines (see note to v. 509c) were sprung early on the morning of the 15th June.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 56.

512a kota Mengkasar

The bitter and bloody struggle for the fort made a deep impression, not only upon the Macassarese, but also on the Dutch. A hundred years after Sombaopu had been destroyed, the heroine of Onno Zwier van Haren's tragedy *Agon, Sulthan van Bantam* ('Fathema, prinses van Makasar') urges her suitor first to avenge her by destroying Batavia,

> "en geef my dan de keur t'ontvangen uwe hand
> of op dat bloedig puyn, of op Samboepo's strand . . . . " [1]
> (and then give me the choice of accepting your hand (in marriage),
> either on that bloody ruin, or on Sombaopu's shore).

1 du Perron: MJC, p. 196.

512b enam depa

I take this to refer to the size of the breach blown in the walls of the fort. According to Stapel, the springing of the mines had blown a breach 'a good five roods wide'.[1] Estimating a rood (*roede*) at about 12 feet,[2] this would mean a breach of about 60 feet.

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 56.
2 WNT describes the lenght of a *roede* as varying between 3½ and 4 metres

512d sebentar

Something of an understatement, as is indicated in the next line.

513a Berperang tidak lagi berdjandji

The mine was sprung on the morning of June 15th and the VOC at once attacked. Very heavy fighting ensued and went on continuously so that it was mid-day on the 17th before Speelman was able to establish anything like a lodgement in the fort area. Fighting continued virtually without a break, and it was only on June 19th that the wall of the main

defensive position was stormed. Even then, the battle still raged furiously and very heavy 'street-fighting' went on with every house having to be taken by storm. It was not until late on the evening of June 24th that the whole of Sombaopu was in the hands of the VOC.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 56-57.

513d lari ke Goa membawa diri

After the reduction of Sombaopu the Macassarese still defiant, retreated on Goa, and it was not until Speelman had indicated (on June 30th) that he was prepared to open negotiations, that the Macassarese Karaéngs acknowledged defeat.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 57-59.

515d kedalam kota

If the narrative were in strict chronological order, *kota* here should refer to some stockade in the town of Goa, but it seems likely that the author means Sombaopu. Within the fort itself were two main defensive positions (one commanding the approach by sea and the other built around the royal palace), each of which might well merit the title of *kota* and it is possible that the line is meant as an equivalent of line 517a, with *kota* as the palace-bastion.

517a masuk kedalam

I take it that in the light of v. 518c *dalam* here refers not to the royal palace in Goa, but to the royal palace within the Fort of Sombaopu. Although the walls of the fort had been occupied by June 19th, it was not until the 24th that the whole of Sombaopu was captured. During the last few days of the fighting, Macassarese resistance centred around the palace, the *dalam*.[1]

1 Stapel: CJS, p. 57.

519c segala Melaju tiada mufakat

Presumably the Malays were jibbing against a continuation of the fight. It is perhaps this that is referred to by Abdurrahim when he says that ('when Karaéng Karunrung was the dominant figure in Macassarese affairs'), the Macassar Malays were suspected of intriguing with the Dutch against the Macassarese and were therefore expelled from the state.[1] In this connection however one should note that, writing at the beginning of 1670, Speelman lists a fairly substantial number of Malays residing in Macassar, and it would seem unlikely that so many could have r e t u r n e d there so soon after the recent war.[2] Perhaps

the expulsion/deportation referred to lacked the 'total' nature that our 20th century experience has led us to expect?

1 'Kedatangan Orang Melaju di Makassar' in Mangemba: SUL, p. 146-147.
2 Speelman: NOT, p. 710-714.

520c fatar

I have taken this to be derived from the Arabic root *f-t-r* (to subside, to flag, to languish). It is, of course, common for Malay writers to apologise for physical as well as poetical defects (cf. v. 531 and v. 533).

522a lima tahun

From the VOC point of view, the war lasted almost four years and dragged on from A. D. 1666 to A. D. 1669. From the Macassarese (Muslim) point of view, the war dragged on through f i v e years, i.e. from 1077 A. H. until 1081 A. H.

523c djikalau tidak ra'jatnja lapar

This was no mere excuse. Blockade had been one of Speelman's strongest weapons. While the VOC fleet held control of the seas, the Bugis forces were active in seizing and destroying Macassar's rice-fields inland.[1]

On April 5th, Speelman wrote to Batavia that "... . many of the enemy were dying of hunger",[2] while all the captives and deserters to the VOC were "... . starving men — a wretched sight — with the skin drawn tightly over the bare bones".[3]

1 Stapel: CJS (see especially p. 55).
2 DAG, entry under 27th April, 1669 (p. 310).
3 Quoted by Stapel: CJS, p. 56.

526d disebatkan

Although *sebat* is usually taken in the sense 'to beat, to thrash', the following line (*téwas perangnja karena lapar*) suggests that the word here has the meaning 'blockade(d)'.

Apart from the sound similarity with the words such as *sekat*, Wilkinson: MED gives as a secondary meaning of the word 'a choking feeling caused by an obstruction in the nose or throat', suggesting that one of the basic ideas behind the word is the idea of 'obstructing, blocking'.

529c kertas Tjina

Although giving *dawat China* (as 'Indian ink'), Wilkinson: MED

does not give *kertas China.* Many Malay mss. are written on Chinese paper.

531a mengikut paju

According to the price or value (*paju*), i.e. instead of being a (noble) amateur, tossing off the lines with an effortless grace and ease, the writer is a professional writer, a mere 'hack'.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Words discussed in the Notes.

(The reference, in brackets, is to the verse and line.)

adjla (4a)
(aru) mengaru (47a)
asma (26b)
bagé (56a)
bain (93d)
(balas) memalas (150b)
béla (37a)
(belah) membelah (121b)
(bengkal) kebengkalan (149d)
béta (233d)
Daéng (42a)
dari (307b)
(djelus) mendjelus (124d)
fatar (520c)
gerak (121a)
(kaim) see *qā'im*
kamsol (37c)
(kantjing) berkantjing (210d)
Karé (42a)
(karunia) dikarunia (200a)
(kélok) berkélok (437d)
kéring (423b)
kuffār (9c)
kunhi (zat) (2b)
(la'lang) berla'lang (191d)
(lata) melata-lata (256c)
legah dan leguh (98b)
(mabur) dipermaburi (398b)
mamang (242b)
marab-marab (231b)
mastūrī (189c)
(mimpi) bermimpi puasa (89b)
muchtasar (67d)
mukamil (146d)
musta'ib (165b)
muttaṣil (1c)
pakur (191c)
pélang (162a)
(puasa) see (mimpi)
qā'im (412d)
(rantai) dirantaikan (229a)
sambing (420b)
saréan (339d)
(sebat) disebatkan (526d)
serau (126a)
sindir (26c)
sunderik (46b)
talu (471b)
terbang (perada terbang) (162c)
turang(-berturang) (182d)
tjilo-tjilo (175d)
Tjina (kertas Tjina) (529c)
tjorék (385d)
tjutjuk (52c)
wasil (146c)
waswis? (262d)
Welanda (29b)

APPENDIX B

Index of proper names occurring in the Sja'ir

The numbers are those of the verse(s) in which the word occurs.

Where a proper name is used constantly in a general sense (e.g. 'Bugis', 'Welanda' in v. 30) only the verse in which the word first occurs is listed.

Except for a few very common names, a note will be found (in the Notes) on the first mention of a particular person or place.

This index does not include mythological characters (such as 'Maharadja Rawana' etc.).

A

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'Ali 12
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(orang) Ambon 134, etc.
Entji' Amin 67-69, 527, 528
Amiral: see under (Kornilis) Sipalman
Anggara 279

B

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Radja Bala' Nipah (also called Mara'dia, Radja Mandar) 113, 116, 117, 120-124
Balang Baru(?) 501
Keraéng Balo' 53, 452
(orang) Bandan (hamba Amiral) 231-239
Keraéng Bangkal 426, 436, 437, 439-442, 445-447, 451, 452, 466, 468, 471
Bantaéng 95, 210, 214, 215, 218, 220
Barat Laut 285
Barombong 39
Batu-Batu 299, 301, 325, 326
(orang) Bima 76?, 125, 277
Boné: see also under (negeri) Bugis 34, 153-155, 184
(orang) Boné: see also under (orang) Bugis 54, 150
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(orang) Bugis 30 etc.
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I

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K

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Kapitan kapal 138, 139
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L

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(isteri) Daéng ri Boko 373, 374

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(orang) Welanda 29, etc.

APPENDIX C

A note on maps.

(A) Sketches, plans, etc.

Stapel: HBV

(a) p. 63. Sketch map of Macassar. Date appears to be c. 1650. Although there is no acknowledgement by Stapel, this map is taken from IJzerman: EEN, p. 354.
(b) end-paper 'Kaart van het oorlogsterrein in de jaren 1666-68'. Covers the Celebes, Banggai and Sula islands.

Wieder: MCA

(a) Plate 114. Panoramic view of Macassar. Of little use compared with (b), upon which it appears to be based.
(b) Plates 115, 116. Fine panorama of Macassar, dating from 1638. Shows clearly the position of Sombaopu between the river mouths (reproduced in our frontispiece). Valentijn: ONO, plate 23 is merely a smaller and slightly less skilful reproduction of these plates.

(B) Manuscript map.

Inventaris der verzameling kaarten berustende in het Rijks-archief. I, 1867 (by P. A. Leupe), p. 192, No. 1293:
Caarte ende teykeninge van Macassar soodanig als ter ordre van d'E Heer Fransois Prins President over deselve in den Jaare 1693 door my ondergesz. bereyst, opgesteld en verbeeld, etc. A very large map of the southern part of the Celebes. Anon. A small part of this map is reproduced in our plate II.

(C) Modern maps.

1. *USA Army Maps in Series 'Celebes, N.E.I. 1 : 50,000'.*
('Photolithographed and reprinted from a Dutch map dated 1924'). Sheets 74/XXXIV-B and 74/XXXIV-D. These two sheets between them cover the area 12°30′ - 12°40′ East (meridian of Batavia/Djakarta), 5°00′ - 5°20′ South and are easily the most detailed of the modern maps.

2. *British Admiralty Chart 1293 — 'Approach to Macassar'.*
Covers the area 118°56′ - 119°31′ East, 4°52′ - 5°45′ South. Is useful for the coastal area south of Macassar, as far as the Bay of Laikang.

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PER: Perintis Sastera translated by Raihoel Amar gl. Datoek Besar, Djakarta, 2nd edition, 1953.

Husain Manaf

ICH: Ensiklopedi Islam 'Ichtisari' (Djakarta, 1958).

Ibrahim (Muhammad, bin 'Abdullah, Munsji)

KPI: Kissah Pelajaran Muhammad Ibrahim Munsji (Arabic script), 2nd edition, Johore Bahru, 1956.

Iskandar (Teuku)

HIK: De Hikajat Atjéh (VKI, 26, 1958).

IJzerman (J. W.)

EEN: Het schip De Eendracht voor Makassar in December 1616 (BKI, 78, p. 343-372, 1922).

(Java Records)

JAV: Java Records of the East India Company (ms.) in the Library of the India Office, London.

Johns (A.)

MSU: Malay Sufism, as illustrated in an anonymous collection of 17th century tracts (JMBRAS, 30 (2), 1957).

Jourdain (J.)

JOU: The Journal of John Jourdain, 1608-1617 (edited by W. Foster, Hakluyt Society, 2nd series, No. 16), Cambridge, 1905.

Juynboll (H. H.)

CMS: Catalogus van de Maleische en Sundaneesche Hss. der Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Leiden, 1899.

Kern (W.)

ASH: Aantekeningen op de Sja'ir Hémop (Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina) TBG, 82, p. 212-257, 1948).
CSK: Commentaar op de Salasilah van Koetai (VKI, 19, 1956).
KVK: De Kroniek van Koetai (review) (TBG, 77, p. 294-314, 1937).

Klinkert (H. C.)

HPD: Hikajat Pelandoek Djinaka, Leiden, 1885.
MNW: Nieuw Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek, Leiden, 1916 (reprinted 1947).

Lebai (Nik)

KEL: Report on the disposition of forces in the Kota Bahru area (ms. letter, Wachirayan National Library, Bangkok, Section 3/1201, No. 281).

van Leur (J. C.)

AEC: Eenige aanteekeningen betreffende de mogelijkheid der 18e eeuw als categorie in de Indische geschiedschrijving (TBG, 80, p. 544-567, 1940). English translation in: Indonesian Trade and Society, The Hague, 1955, p. 268-289.
GNI: Review of Stapel: GNI (TBG, 79, p. 589-595, 1939). English translation: ibid. p. 261-267.
IGE: Enkele aanteekeningen met betrekking tot de beoefening der Indische geschiedenis (KOL, 21, p. 651-661, 1937). English translation: ibid. p. 147-156.

Levy (R.)

PER: The Persian Language, London, 1951.

Ligtvoet (A.)

DVG: Transcriptie van het Dagboek der Vorsten van Gowa en Tello, met vertaling en aanteekeningen (BKI, 28, p. 1-259, 1880). Unless otherwise mentioned all references are to the Dutch translation.

van der Linden (A. L. V. L.)

EML: De Europeaan in de Maleische Literatuur, Meppel, 1937.

Mangemba (H. D.)

SUL: Kenallah Sulawesi Selatan, Djakarta, 1956.

Marrison, (G. E.)

CMA: The Chams of Malacca (JMBRAS, 24 (1), p. 90-98, 1951).
MPO: A Malay Poem in Old Sumatran Characters (JMBRAS, 24 (1), p. 162-165, 1951).

Marsden (W.)

GML: A Grammar of the Malay Language, London, 1812.
MEM: A brief Memoir of... William Marsden, written by himself. London, 1838.

Matthes (B. F.)

MBK: De Makassaarsche en Boegineesche Kotika's (TBG, 18, p. 1-38, 1864). Reprinted in: H. van den Brink, Dr. Benjamin Frederik Matthes, Amsterdam, 1943, p. 458-496.
MCH: Makassaarsche Chrestomathie, Amsterdam, 1860.
MHW: Makassaarsch-Hollandsch Woordenboek, Amsterdam, 1859.
MSP: Makassaarsche Spraakkunst, Amsterdam, 1858.

Mees (C. A.)

KVK: De Kroniek van Koetai, Santpoort, 1935.

Newbolt (T. J.)

PSA: Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlement in the Straits of Malacca, London, 1839.

Niemann (G. K.)

GTA: Geschiedenis van Tanette, Boegineesche text met aanteekeningen 's-Gravenhage, 1883.

van Nieuwenhuijze (C. A. O.)

SVP: Sjamsu'l-din van Pasai, Leiden, 1945.

Noorduyn (J.)

ISL: De Islamisering van Makasar (BKI, 112, p. 247-266, 1956).

KWA: Een achttiende-eeuwse Kroniek van Wadjo', 's-Gravenhage, 1955.

Nooteboom (C.)

VMA: Vaartuigen van Mandar (TBG, 80, p. 22-33, 1940).

Pané (A.)

MIL: Kort Overzicht van de Moderne Indonesische Literatuur, Djakarta. 1949 (originally appeared in 'De Fakkel', July-August, 1941).

du Perron (E.)

MJC: De Muze van Jan Compagnie, 2nd edition, Bandung, 1948.

Pigeaud (Th.)

JHN: Javaansch-Nederlandsch Handwoordenboek, Groningen, 1947 (2nd edition).

Ploetz (K.)

EWH: An Encyclopaedia of World History (compiled and edited by W. L. Langer, London, 1940).

Purwadarminta (W. J. S.)

KUB: Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia, Djakarta, 1952. (Since reprinted).

Pijnappel (J.)

MLB: De Maleische Hss. der Leidsche Bibliotheek (BKI, 17, p. 142-178, 1870).

van Ronkel (Ph. S.)

MAL: Catalogus der Maleische Handschriften in het Museum van het (K)BG (VBG, 57, 1909).

SUP: Supplement-Catalogus der Maleische en Minangkabausche Handschriften in de Leidsche Universiteits-Bibliotheek, Leiden, 1921.

Runciman (S.)

HCR: A History of the Crusades, Vol. 1, Cambridge, 1957.

Rusconi (J.)

SKW: Sja'ir Kompeni Welanda berperang dengan Tjina, Wageningen, 1935.

Sainsbury (E. B.)

CCM: A Calendar of the Court Minutes etc. of the East India Company, 1668-1670, Oxford, 1929.

Salmoen (M. A.)

PDP: Padalangan di Pasoendan, Djakarta, 1948.

Shellabear (W. G.)

HSR: Hikayat Sri Rama (JSBRAS, 70, 1915).

Sibree (J.)

MBG: Madagascar before the Conquest, London, 1896.

(Sja'ir Perang Siak)

SPS: Sja'ir Perang Siak (I) (ms. Kl. 154 in the Leiden University Library). See van Ronkel: SUP, p. 85.

Skeat (W. W.)

MMA: Malay Magic, London, 1900.

Skinner (C.)

PMB: Prosa Melayu Baharu, London, 1959.

Snouck Hurgronje (C.)

ACH: The Achehnese, translated by A.W.S. O'Sullivan, London, 1906 (2 Vols).

Speelman (C. J.)

NOT: Notitie dienende voor eenen korte tijd en tot nader last van de hooge Regeeringe op Batavia... (ms. (Aanwinsten, Eerste Afdeeling, 1926, Nr. 1, sections 10 and 11) in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, 's-Gravenhage).

Stapel (F. W.)

CJS: Cornelis Janszoon Speelman, 's-Gravenhage, 1936 (reprinted from BKI, 94, p. 1-227, 1936).

GNI: Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië, Vol. III, Amsterdam, 1939.

HBV: Het Bongaais Verdrag, Groningen, 1922.

Teeuw (A.)

ROM: De Maleise Roman (in 'Forum der Letteren', May, 1960, p. 108-119).

TEV: Taal en Versbouw (Inaugural Lecture), Amsterdam, 1952.

Thaib (M. glr. St. Pamoentjak)

KBM: Kamoes Bahasa Minangkabau-Bahasa Melajoe Riau, Batavia, 1935.

Tideman (J.)

TBA: De Toe Badjeng en de Legende omtrent hun oorsprong (BKI, 60. p. 488-500, 1908).

van der Toorn (J. L.)

MSK: Minangkabausche Spraakkunst, 's-Gravenhage, 1899.

Tromp (S. W.)

USK: Uit de Salasila van Koetei (BKI, 37, p. 1-108, 1888).

Valentijn (F.)

ONO: Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien, Dordrecht, 1724-1725 (unless otherwise stated, references are to the 'IIIde Deel, 2de boek').

Veth (P.)

BWA: Borneo's Wester-Afdeeling, Zaltbommel, 1854.

Voorhoeve (P.)

LGR: Lijst der Geschriften van Rānīrī (BKI, 111, p. 152-161, 1955).

LIM: List of the Indonesian Mss. in the Library of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1951 (typescript).

TMG: Twee Maleise Geschriften van Nūruddīn ar-Rānīrī (publication No. 16 of the de Goeje Foundation), Leiden, 1955.

von de Wall (H.)

MNW: Maleisch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek (edited by H. N. van der Tuuk, Batavia, 1877-1884).

Wehr (H.)

ARW: Arabisches Wörterbuch (für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart), Leipzig, 2 Vols. 1952.

Werndly (G. H.)

MSK: Maleische Spraakkunst, Amsterdam, 1736.

Wieder (F. C.)

MCA: Monumenta Cartographica, 's-Gravenhage, 1925-1933.

Wilkinson (R. J.)

MED: A Malay-English Dictionary (romanised), Mytilene, 1932 (reprinted Tokyo, 194?).

Winstedt (R. O.)

HML: A History of Malay Literature (JMBRAS, 17 (3), 1939, actually published 1940).

SEJ: The Malay Annals or Sĕjarah Melayu (JMBRAS, 16 (3), 1938).

(Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal)

WNT: Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, 's-Gravenhage, Leiden, commenced 1882.

Worm (J. G.)

OIP: Ost-Indian- und Persianische Reisen (edited by C. Weise, 2nd ed., 1745).

Yule (H.) and Burnell (A. C.)

HOB: Hobson-Jobson, A glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, London, 1886.

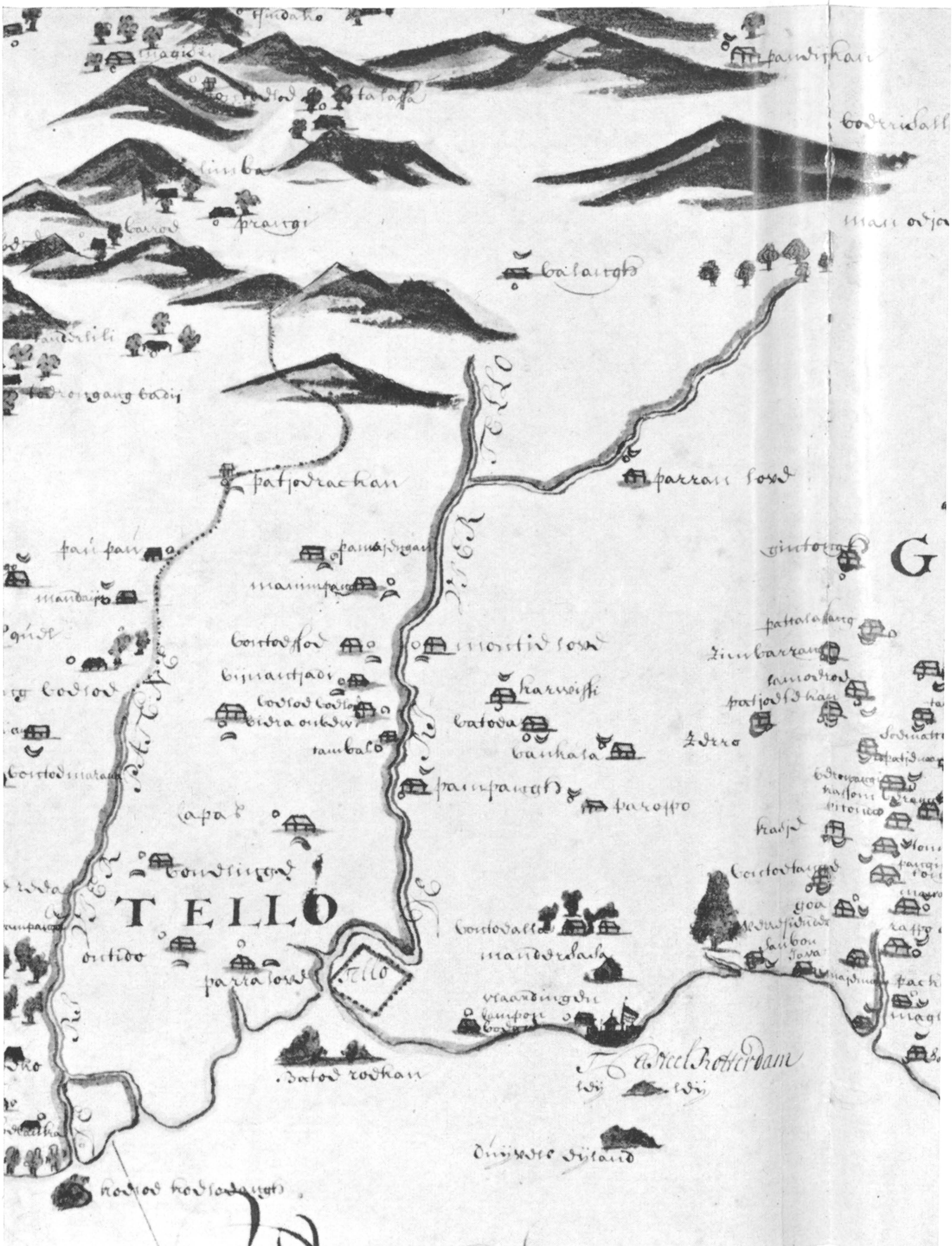
Zainal-'Abidin (bin Ahmad)

FES: Malay Festivals, and some aspects of Malay Religious Life (JMBRAS, 22 (1), p. 94-106, 1949).

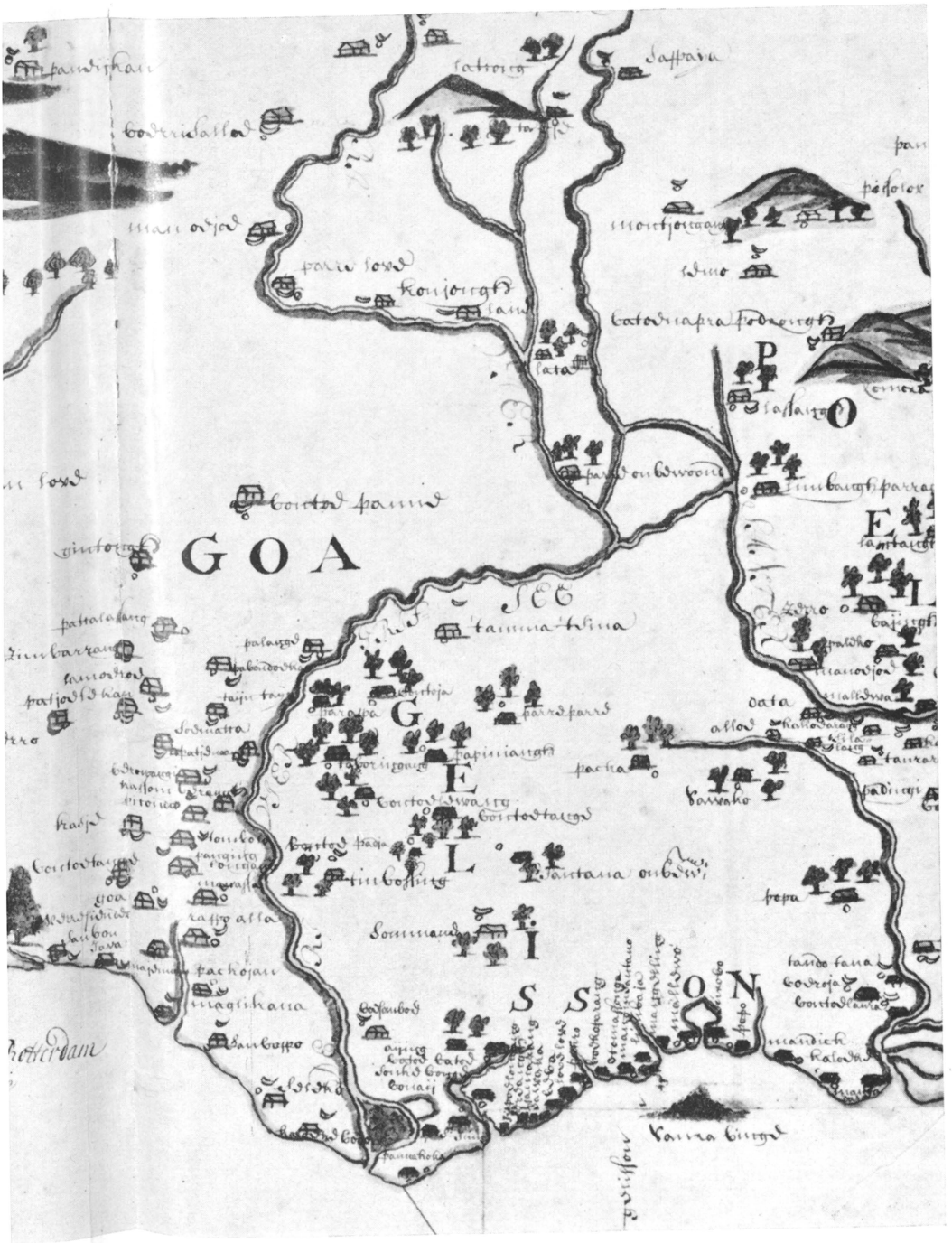
APPENDIX E

Abbreviations used.

BEFEO:	Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient.
BKI:	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië (KI).
JMBRAS:	Journal of the Malayan Branch (RAS).
JSBRAS:	Journal of the Straits Branch (RAS).
KI:	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde.
KBG:	Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.
KOL:	Koloniale Studiën.
RAS:	Royal Asiatic Society.
TBG:	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KBG).
TNI:	Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië.
VBG:	Verhandeling(en) (KBG).
VKI:	Verhandeling(en) (KI).
VOC:	Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Generale Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oost-Indische Compagnie).



MAP OF MACASSAR (



P OF MACASSAR (1693)