



Illustration 1. Map of Makassar, with two-way left and right view of Fort Rotterdam. Date unknown.

# Letter of the King of Bone La Patau Paduka Sri Sultan Idris Azim ud-din (r. 1696–1714) and Sira Daeng Talele Karaeng Ballajawa to the Supreme Government, 1697

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## 1 Introduction

L.Y. Andaya, “Letter of the King of Bone La Patau Paduka Sri Sultan Idris Azim ud-din (r. 1696–1714) and Sira Daeng Talele Karaeng Ballajawa to the Supreme Government, 1697”. In: *Harta Karun. Hidden Treasures on Indonesian and Asian-European History from the VOC Archives in Jakarta*, document 17. Jakarta: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, 2014.

BY L.Y. ANDAYA

Letter from La Patau and Daeng Talele to the Supreme Government, 1697.

### *Background History*

This letter was written by the nephew and successor to the famous Arung Palakka La Tenritatta, Matinroé ri Bontualak (r. 1672–1696), La Patau (Matinroé ri Nagauleng, (r. 1696–1714), and Arung Palakka’s primary wife, the Makassarese princess Sira Daeng Talele Karaeng Ballajawa. Written shortly after the death of Arung Palakka, it refers to an old conflict between the Datu Soppeng To-Ésang and Arung Palakka. After the death of the old Datu Soppeng La Tenribali in 1678, his second son, To-Ésang succeeded to the throne because of the untimely death of his elder brother and heir to the throne in 1669 at the very end of the Makassar War. La Tenribali had grave doubts of the abilities of this second son, and Arung Palakka did everything to prevent his exercising power in Soppeng. To-Ésang took advantage of Arung Palakka’s death in 1696 to depose the current Soppeng ruler, the Datu ri Watu (in the letter called “Dato Dijwasoe” and “Dato Dijwatoe”), and raise himself as ruler of Soppeng. The letter then recounts the events leading to La Patau’s campaign which defeats To-Ésang and restores the Datu Riwateru on the throne of Soppeng.

### *Arung Palakka and the Bugis*

In the late sixteenth century, the Makassar kingdom of Gowa located in the southwest peninsula of the island of Sulawesi in Indonesia became a major force in the region. By the first half of the seventeenth century, it had brought many of the kingdoms in eastern Indonesia under its influence and had gained dominance over the lucrative trade in cloves, nutmeg, and mace from northern Maluku. After Gowa adopted Islam in 1605, it embarked on what is known as the “Islamic Wars” that resulted in the forced Islamization of the non-Muslim kingdoms in the peninsula, ending with the conquest and conversion of the dominant Bugis kingdom of Bone in 1611. The Makassarese people of Gowa came to be regarded by the Bugis people as their oppressors, and in the mid-seventeenth century many Bugis from the kingdoms of Bone and Soppeng were brought to the city of Makassar to build fortifications in preparation for a feared attack by the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The harsh treatment of these Bugis forced laborers, coupled with the stigma associated with the forcible conversion earlier in the century, aroused among the Bugis the well-known phenomenon of *sirik*, a South Sulawesi concept that is usually defined as “shame”. In this concept, only the recovery of one’s self-respect often by force would remove this shame. Among the Bugis brought to labour in Makassar was Arung Palakka, a high-born individual from Soppeng. He and his followers were able to flee Makassar, first to Buton before finally seeking refuge in Batavia, the Asian headquarters of the VOC, where they were welcomed and given a place to settle in a suburb called Angké, hence the reference to the Bugis there as *To-Angké* or the “people of Angké”. While in exile in Batavia, Arung Palakka and his



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Illustration 2. Map Bantimoerangse mountains and mineworks in Celebes, east of Macassar. By T.J. Steinfeld, 1735.

Bugis followers were employed as Dutch auxiliary troops in the campaign in west coast Sumatra that resulted in the removal of Acehnese control over the Minangkabau settlements in 1666. The bravery and loyalty of the Bugis were noted by the Dutch, and so when they planned another siege of the port of Makassar in the kingdom of Gowa, their principal rival in the spice trade, they sought and received the cooperation of Arung Palakka. Arung Palakka was highly respected among the Bugis people, and when he arrived back with the Dutch fleet, he was able to attract numerous Bugis fighters to his side that turned the tide in favour of the invaders. Despite strong resistance by the Gowa defenders and their allies, they were eventually defeated for the first time in 1667 and finally for the second and last time in 1669, thus ending the protracted Makassar War (1666-1669).

*Background to the Letter's Contents*

In this letter, reference is made to the Treaty of Bungaya, which ended the first phase of the Makassar War in 1667, when the Bugis were restored their dignity and self-worth, hence removing the burden of *sirik*. This priceless gift to the Bugis people from the Dutch sustained an unwavering loyalty to the Company shown by Arung Palakka and his successor, La Patau, throughout their lives. When Arung Palakka ascended the throne of Bone in 1672, he became the undisputed leader of the whole of the southwest peninsula of Sulawesi and was assured of total support from the Dutch. Any considered to be disloyal to him was removed from power, forced to flee abroad, or punished. This resulted in a large exodus of people from Sulawesi and their involvement in the affairs of other kingdoms throughout the archipelago. The reference



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to the deposing of To-Ésang as ruler of Soppeng by Arung Palakka was one example of the situation in this period. The death of Arung Palakka in 1696 provided the opportunity for those who had been exiled or deposed to seek reinstatement. The effort by To-Ésang to gain the throne of Soppeng is the subject of this letter, and the long explanation given by La Patau and Daeng Talele, the people closest to Arung Palakka, can be seen as an example of the manner in which they both sought to maintain Arung Palakka's legacy in the peninsula. Throughout La Patau's reign, he was confronted by such challenges as explained in this letter, which he was able to surmount with the unquestioning backing of the Dutch garrison and administration stationed in Casteel Rotterdam in Makassar.

*Suggested Readings*

- Andaya, Leonard Y. *The Heritage of Arung Palakka: A History of South Sulawesi (Celebes) in the Seventeenth Century*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981.
- Andaya, Leonard Y. *Warisan Arung Palakka: Sejarah Sulawesi Selatan Abad Ke-17*. Makassar: Ininnawa, 1st printing 2004, 2nd printing 2006.
- Cummings, William (tr. & ed.). *The Makassar Annals*. Leiden, KITLV Press, 2010.
- Gibson, Thomas. "The Sea King and the Emperor". Chapter 7 in Gibson, *And the Sun Pursued the Moon: Symbolic Knowledge and Traditional Authority Among the Makassar*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005



## 2 Transcription of the Dutch text

L.Y. Andaya, "Letter of the King of Bone La Patau Paduka Sri Sultan Idris Azim ud-din (r. 1696–1714) and Sira Daeng Talele Karaeng Ballajawa to the Supreme Government, 1697".

FROM: DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA CASTLE , 29 JUNI 1697 [COMMENCING AT FOL. 484]

Translaat Maleytse missive door Radja Bony, en Dain Telille aan Haar Edelens de Hoge Regeringe tot Batavia geschreven. [fol. 485]

Dese brief van opregte en suyvere genegentheyt des herte, verseld met hartgrondige salutatie van Paduka Radja Bony en Paduk Bonda Poetry Daing Telille wil den Almogende laten toekomen aan Sijn Edelheyt den heere gouverneur generael Willem van Outhoorn en de heeren raden van India, dewelcke den hoogh verheven God heeft volmaekt in haer vermogende en hoogaansienelike waerdigheden etc.

Wijders wanneer U Edele Hoog Agtbare voortreffelijcke missive, benevens de daerbij gevoegde ongemeene schenkagie alhier wierd aangebragt soo belasten wij deselve met alle statieusheyt op het aansienlijkste nae de maet van ons vermogen in te halen. Doen wij dien brief lasen soo versprije uyt alle hare regels paerlen van onwaerdeelijkheyt en dat vanwegen de Hoog Aansienelijke, en voortreffelijke woorden van Uw Edele Hoog Agtbare, sijnde wij ten hoogsten verheugt en wel vergenoeght doordien U Edele Hoog Agtbarens gonstelijck hebben gelieve aan te nemen onser aller Bonesen woorden en versoek, en is ons vertrouwen grootelijx vermeerdert, doordien wij hebben gesien U Edele Hoog Agtbares geschenck en weldaden aan ons bewesen, hebende wij met alle eerbiedigheyt op het volmaekste opgevolgh den inhoud Uwer Edele Hoog Agtbares missive, alwaer van het Bangayse contract werd gementioneert, want dat contract alleen stelt ons in vrijheyt waerdoor wij Bonesen en Sopingers weder de exercitie van ons reght en eygendorf hebben bekomen, konnende wij klaerlijck sien, dat het de Compagnie alleen is door wien God Sijne goedertierenheyt aan ons heeft blykbaer gemaect, waerdoor Bony en Soping weder haer naam [fol. 486] hebben bekomen, hebbende wij daerom een groot vertrouwen op de Compagnie en sijn eeuwig dankbaer niet alleen voor de redenen die in U Edele Hoog Agtbare missive werden gementioneert, en welcke ons tot lessen en onderwijsingen strecken, maer ook dat U Edele Hoog Agtbare gelieve meldinge te doen, wegens de goede diensten die onsen overleden heer aan de Compagnie heeft bewesen, en dat daerom U Edele Hoog Agtbare genegentheyt en liefde groot was, over alle die van onsen overleden heer nagelaten, en weder door U Edele Hoog Agtbare tot de vrijheyd hersteld zijn, hetwelcke zekerlijck de oorsake is, dat U Edele Hoog Agtbare hare heylsame onderwijsinge aan ons gelieven te doen, waerdoor wij vermeerderinge van vreugde en eere genieten.

Voorts hebben U Edele Hoog Agtbare haer over ons gelieven te ontfermen wegens



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het examineren der beginselen van de Sopingse saken over hetwelcke wij seer dankbaer sijn, alsoo U Edele Hoog Agtbare niet onbekend is, hoe dat degenen die buyten ons zijn haer uytterste vlijt aanwenden, om de Compagnie onbehoorlijcke dingen wijs te maken want bij aldien U Edele Hoog Agtbare van die saak geen mentie hadde gemaekt, soo waren wij in dit labirint gebleven zonder dat de Compagnie kennis soude hebben gehad van het bedrog en arglistigheyt onser wederparthije, daerom sijn wij ten hoogsten dankbaer en verheugd, dat U Edele Hoog Agtbare begeren te weten en in waerheyt te verstaen, wat eygentlijck van het Sopingse gedoente is, waerop wij dan aanvankelijck seggen, wanneer Toysangh blijken van sijn onbehoorlijck comportement gaf, tot groot discontentement van onsen overleden heer Radja Sopingh, die aan onsen heer, den overleden Paduka Bony, tot Bontouwala testament hadde gemaekt soo geschieden [fol. 487] het dat den overledenen Radja Bony, ordonneerden dat er een vergadering der Bonees en Sopingers in de negorij Sopingh soude gehouden worden om malcanderen te indagten de redenen en woorden waerdoor ons den Admiraal Speelman heeft aangenomen en ook om gesamentlijck te beraaden wegens de executie van het testament door den overleden Radja Sopingh aan Radja Bony gemaect, als wanneer de Bonesen en Sopingers, in een goede hermonie tredende, zeyden dat haer welvaren en levensonderhoud principalijck bestont in het nacomen van het testament van haren heer, ter welcker oorsake die van Sopingh, en Bone, met eendragtigheyt, tot Coning van Soping vercoren Dato Dijwasoe, en voorts met gemeender stemmen besloten, Toysang te verstoten, gelijk sulx de heer commissaris Dirk de Haas, oock is aangediend, doe Sijn Edele van Ambon tot Macasser aanquam, waeraan wij ons vasthouden en daerbij blijven persisteren.

Wijders aangaande de oorsaken, ofte eerste beginselen van onse Sopingse saken zoo is 't sulx, doe wij wierden verlaten van onsen heer den overleden Paduka, zoo maakten wij hem een graff tot Goa, en wij bewaakten dat graf, ook wordende ik door Radja Goa, bij hem in sijn Hoff ontboden, en zijde Radja Goa tot mij, ik heb een brief aan Toysangh gesonden, hem aanseggende, ghij sult uw eerst niet bewegen soo lange mijn woorden tot uw niet gecomen sijn, seggende Radja Goa wijders bij aldien Toysangh op dese mijne woorden niet antwoord, soo is het seker dat sijn bedrijf niet goed is. Onderwijlen begeerden ik op dit seggen van Radja Goa, niet te repliceren. Doe nu 20 dagen verstreken waren dat [fol. 488] onsen heer in het graf hadde gelegen, zo weken wij terugh na Boutowala etc. alwaer wij den 29e dagh der maand july aanquamen. Wanneer Dayangh Balykangh uyt ordre van Radja Goa bij ons quam, seggende tot ons heeft Radja Bony ook wetenschap dat Toysangh weder tot het rijck van Sopingh is gekeerd? En dat Dato Dywatoe uyt sijn rijck is verdreven geworden? Horende wij Bonesen doe eerst het bedrijff van Toysangh dat hij het volck van Sopingh belast hadde, hem aan te nemen uyt Menpoe, en met de wapenen te adsisteren.

De veldoversten, ofte de voorgangers der Sopingers waren Ladayang en Toubaky, dewelke haer met de wapenen in onse negorij hadde gegeven, terwijle wij daer niet present waren, en deselve ledigh was, hetgene ons geadviseert wierd, door een Bonees man, van Boegis comende, waerdoor ons herte seer beroerd wierd, en hebben dierhalven alle de volckeren van Bony tesamen vergaderd in Bantowala, om haer te indagi-



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gen het testament van onsen heer den overleden Radja Sopingh, aan den Paduka Radja Bony gemaect, zijnde wij met Arong Itoe overeengecomen, om ons benevens alle de coningtjes van Bony na Sopingh te begeven, alle de volckeren van Soping bijeen te roepen, en 't gementioneererde testament nader te overwegen, dewijle sulx ons leven en welvaren concerneert, want doe wij binnenuquamen, en aan de gouverneur Isaek van Thije versoghten dat wij nae 'Tsienrana wilden, sonder hem iets verders te seggen, soo hadden wij in ons herte gantschelyk niet besloten om Bony met Sopingh in misdaad, off overhoop te helpen. Na 'Tsienrana vertreckende, ontmoeteden wij onsen affgesondene, die [fol. 489] tot ons zeyde, dat sij Sopingers, niet het alderminst hadden geantwoord. Tot Tanete comende belasten wij dat hij weder na Soping zoude keeren, om onse vorige reden aldaer de novo te repeteren, daerop ook niets ter wereld is gereplieceert geworden.

Wij onderwijlen voortmarcherende, geraackten tot zeekere rustplaets genaamt Tou-dangang, van waer een afgesonde tot ons quam, zeggende dat Radja Bony Sopingh dogh niet soude aangieren, siende onse volckeren inmiddens de wapenen van de Sopingers etc. Eyndelijck quamen wij tot 'Tsienrana, alwaer wij doe hoorden dat de Sopingers onse Touradjase volckeren hadden ontboden, ordonnerende haer een vastigheyd te maken, begerende dat die van Mandar haer met deselve soude conjungeren, soomede die van Wadzio, Sedinre, Sowyto, Mohyna, Maichyna, Hyryna, Manpoe, en den ouden Arong-Tenete, Arongh Oudziongh, mitsgaders de volckeren van Patan Panoya, zijnde wij alle dese dingen in waerheyt te weten gecomen, alsoo een ygelijck deser volckeren, het geschrift verthoonden, dat de Sopingers aan haer gesonden hadden.

Op den zoe dagh der maand september quam Dyangh Mambany, gesonden zijnde door Toysangh, en seyde dat Toysangh met Dato Dijwatoe, eene residentieplaets tesamen hadden, en dat hij (Dajangh Mambany) herwaerts gesonden was, om te seggen het goed soude wesen dat Radja Bony bedagt, om de broederschap te maken met het land van Bony en Sopingh, gelijck voordesen is besloten geworden, daer wij op antwoorden hetselve ons principael oogmerk te wesen, en daerom onsen gesant soo dickwils hadden afgevaardigt, begerende die van Bony en Soping [fol. 490] tot een stantplaets te hebben, hoewel ghijlieden sulx niet hebt gewild.

Op den eersten dag van october Radja Sopingh tot 'Tsienrana comende en alleen verseld zijnde met twee personen van coninglijken afcomst, en eener zijnder slaven, soo vraagden ik hem is het waeragtigh dat mijn heer met Toysangh een besit heeft? En Dayang Mambany herwaerts gesonden hebt? Daar Radja Soping op dienden, ik hebbe geen eene besittingen met hem, seggende hij Radja Sopingh wijders, O vader! Ik ben om geen andere oorsaeke herwaerts tot uw gecomen, dan om mijn toevlucht bij uw te nemen, en mijn selven aan uw over te geven, dewijle ik door de Sopingers uyt mijn coningrijk ben verdreven, alsoo Toysangh sigh selven tot Coning van Soping heeft verheven, zijnde ik sulx te weten gecomen, omdat ik gehoord heb 't geluyt der trommelen en 't gerugt der volckeren die den eed van getrouwigheyt, aan hem gesworen hebben, hebbende hij mij ontnomen hetgene waermede uw heer vader mij beweldadigt heeft.

Op den 2 october verrigten de volckeren van Bony, hetgene sij van dien gouver-



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neur Van Thije hadden versogt, doe wij na Boegis wilde vertreken, te weten, dat sij volgens de oude gewoonte Radja Bony tot conink van sijn rijk verheften, en het goude sonnedeck des rijx boven hem openden en uytspreyden. Doe dit ons werck g'eyndig was, soo belasten de Bonyse volckeren dat men eenige presenten, en goederen aan die van Soping soude laten toecomen, en wij haer doen te binnen brengen, het testament van den overleden Sopingsen coningh aan Paduka Radja Bony gemaekt ('tgeen wij deden). Dogh de Sopingers wilden sulx niet aannemen, maer vielen op de negorij [fol. 491] van onsen heer Dat Datsyta aan, beroofden en ruineerden alle de inwoonders van deselve, soomede de negorij Wato, als wan-neer een afgesondene van Marobo bij ons quam, en ons om adsistentie versoght, seggende wij moesten haer ook te keer gaan, hetwelcke ons een groote hertseer veroorsaakten, dewijle wij dese twee saken van haer Sopingers niet conne verdragen, als eerstelijk dat yemand veranderinge maakt in de woorden die wij van den Admirael Speelman hebben aangenomen, en ten tweden dat ymand verandering maakt, in hetgene onsen overleden Heer heeft gedaen. Want wij zijn ten hoogsten gebelgt over het bedrijff van Toysangh, die in de vastgestelde saken van onsen overleden heer veraderinge heeft gemaect, agtende ook, bij aldien wij dit ons niet aantrocken, dat de Compagnie misschien daerom hare genegentheyt tot ons zoude intrecken.

Wij dan wijders de mars na Soping nemende, quamen den 11e october tot Tanta-tenga, passerden aldaer de groote revier en bevolen doe weder goederen aan de Sopingers te brengen met recommandatie, het verhaelde in agth te nemen, dogh sij wilden sulx niet aanvaerden, begevende ons vorders na de negerij Mare-Mare als wan-neer Dayang Malaba, tot ons quam, seggende wij hebben in opmerkinge genomen het testament van onsen heer den overleden Sopingsen coningh aan Paduka Radja Bony Marhoem gemaekt, daer wij op antwoorden, wij sijn wel vergenoegt van herte dat ghijlieden het testament van onsen heer in agt en waerde hout, en het een goede zaek soude wesen dat die van Bony en Soping een besit hadden, en met eendraght tesamen spanden om [fol. 492] na te comen en te volbrengen de uytterste wille van onsen heer daer Dayangh Malaba op antwoorden, laat ik eerst terughkeren om in dit reguard, met alle de Sopingers te beraadslaan, waerop Dayangh Malaba na Sopingh vertrock, comende hij des morgens daaraen weder, zeggende het goed, morgen sullen wij die van Bony en Sopingh in eene besittinge stellen ter welcker oorsake wij ook agteloos zijn geworden.

Marcherende alleen des avonds. Onderwijlen quamen de Sopingers op de been, vatteden het geweer aan, en dreven ons nederwaerts, dog wij wederstonden haer, maer doe de Bonesen zagen dat wij van de Sopingers wierden afgewesen, zoo grepen zij met hevigheyd de wapenen ook aan, en quamen ons bij. En wij benevens haer sloegen er wacker onder, en dewijle wij zeer vergramd waren, vielen wij haer des morgens op het lijf, vegtende met haer tot den avond toe, verliesende sij den slag, en vlugtende om een goed heencomen.

Wanneer Dayang Malaba weder bij ons verscheen, zeggende ik geringe ben hier gecom, om het testament van onsen heer aan te vaarden, brengende meteen-



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en mede Arang Saloutango en Toubagy, dewijle zij de oorsaak van alle dese differenten zijn, waerop wij antwoorden O Dayangh Malaba, wat is er dogh bij mij? Ghijlieden sijt het testament van onsen heer ongehoorsaam geweest en hebt de eerste beginselen voortgebracht om ons te attaqueren, dat ghij nogh versch cont heugen, 't is dan wel, wij willen morgen een aanvanck maken van eene besittinge.

Des morgens dan vergaderden wij de volckeren van Bony en Sopingh [fol. 493] opdat wij tesamen met eendragtigheyt de uytterste wille van onsen heer, den overleden Conink van Soping, aan den overleden Radja Bony bevolen, zoude volbrengen, waerop wij eenparigh hebben verclaard, dat sulx een saek was, die ons heyl en welvaren raakten, en met gemeender hand besloten om Arongh Saloutongo, en Toubagy te laten doden, dewijle het den wegh ter dood van des conings kinderen van Bony en Sopingh is, bij aldien deselve schelmagtigh tegen de usantie en wetten der negorijen comen te doen. En alsoo dese twee personen de wetten der negorijen hebben gebroken en geschonden, zoo sijn se ook daerover gestorven.

Dit verricht zijnde, weken wij weder na 'Tsienrana en wierden van de Sopingers gevolght, om onsen heer (Dato Dywatoe) den Coning van Soping bij te comen, en hem weder in sijn rijk te herstellen. Wanneer wij tot 'Tsienrana quamen, zoo keerden den vorst Dato Dywatoe tot zijn Sopings rijck gelijck voordesen, zonder datter eenige moeyelijheden door ons aan hem sijn veroorsaekt en wierd er een eenigheyt tusschen die van Bony en Soping besloten. Aldus is het kenbaer geworden met alle waerheyt en sinceriteyt, den staat en de saken van Soping. Finis.

Eyndelijck het gering present dat dese missive vanwegen Paduka Radja Bony aan den heer gouverneur generael ende raden van India, bestaat in thien slaven, en van Paduka Poetry Dayingh Telille twee slavinnen. Dit is hetgene dat na ons vermoeden gesonden, hoewel het met de waerde van het gesondene niet overeen comt. Finis.

Geschreven in de negorij Bantawalo in het Coningrijk Bony. Den 4e dagh der weke, en den 29e der maand Majus in dit jaar.



### 3 English translation

L.Y. Andaya, "Letter of the King of Bone La Patau Paduka Sri Sultan Idris Azim ud-din (r. 1696-1714) and Sira Daeng Talele Karaeng Ballajawa to the Supreme Government, 1697".

FROM: DAILY JOURNALS OF BATAVIA, 29 JUNE 1697 [BEGINNING WITH FOL. 484]

This sincerer letter of unblemished, genuine affection carries with it the most heartfelt salutations of Paduka Raja Bone and Paduka Bonda Petry Daing Telille who hope that the Almighty shall allow to arrive in the hands of His Excellency the Lord Governor-General Willem van Outhoorn and the Gentlemen Councillors of Asia, whom the sublime God has set in their mighty and most highly esteemed dignities etc.

Moreover, when Your Most Highly Honoured [Gentlemen's] excellent letter, and the extraordinary [large] gifts which were sent with it were brought hither, we ordered that these same should be received with all the pomp and ceremony we could muster.

As we read the letter, from every line it exuded pearls of wisdom of inestimable value, and on account of the eminent and most excellent words of Your Excellency, we are greatly delighted and competely satisfied to be able to take cognizance of Your Excellencies' favourable response to the words and petitions of all of us, the people of Bone.

Furthermore, our trust is immeasurably increased because we have seen this made manifest by Your Excellencies' gift and benefactions. With the greatest respect, we have obeyed to the very best of our abilities the contents of Your Excellencies' letter, in which the contract with Bungaya is mentioned. It is this Contract and it alone which gives us our freedom, in which we the people of Bone and Soppeng can once again administer our law and [govern] our property. God in His Compassion has made most explicitly clear to us that it is the Company [and it alone] which has restored our good name to us, the people of Bone and Soppeng [fol. 486].

Therefore our trust in the Company is great and are eternally grateful, not only for the reasons Your Excellencies have mentioned in your letter which serves us as lessons and instruction, but also because Your Excellencies have graciously condescended to mention the good services which our late Lord rendered the Company. Therefore Your Excellencies' affection and love great for all [the people] who have been bequeathed by our late Lord, and [who] have had their freedom restored to them by Your Excellencies must be great. This is surely the reason that Your Excellencies have been pleased to pass on your salutary lessons, which have only augmented our joy and honour.

Furthermore Your Excellencies have been pleased to pay us your attention by examining the ins and outs of the Soppeng affair, for which we are very grateful, as Your Excellencies are not unaware, that there are those outside us who have been doing their utmost best to misinform the Company, so that had Your Excellencies not mentioned this matter, we had been trapped in this labyrinth and the Company would have remained ignorant of the deceit and guile of our opponents. Therefore, we are deeply



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grateful and most content that Your Excellencies desire to know more about and get to the heart of the matter of the causes of the Soppeng affair. To [comply with] this we shall commence by stating that, when Toysangh revealed evidence of his unseemly behaviour, to the great distress of our late lord Raja Soppeng, who had made his will at Bontoala in the presence of our overlord the late Paduka Bone, as a consequence [fol. 487] it happened that the late Raja Bone decreed that a meeting of the people of Bone and those of Soppeng should be convened in the *negorij* (chiefdom) Soppeng so that they could remind each other of the reasons and words by which Admiral Speelman took us under his protection, as well as to consult each other about the execution of the will drawn up in favour of Raja Bone by the late Raja Soppeng.

Thereupon the people of Bone and those of Soppeng met [together] harmoniously. They asserted that their prosperity and means of livelihood stemmed principally from the fact that they had honoured the testament of their lord, as a consequence of which those of Soppeng and of Bone had unanimously chosen Dato Diwasu as King of Soppeng, and had then voted in common to depose Toysangh. This [decision] was also announced to the lord commissioner Dirk de Haas when His Excellency arrived in Makassar from Amboina. To this we hold fast and continue to insist [that this is the truth].

Moreover, as concerns the causes or the fundamentals of our Soppeng affair, this is what happened. When we were bereft of our lord the late Paduka, we prepared him a grave at Goa, and we guarded that grave. Also I was summoned before Raja Goa and his court, and Raja Goa said to me, 'I have sent a letter to Toysangh, saying that you are not to make any move before you acquiesce in my words'. And Raja Goa went on to say 'Should Toysangh send no reply to these my words, then there is no doubt that what he is up to bodes no good.'

I, meanwhile, had no wish to respond to what Raja Goa had to say. After twenty days had passed that [fol. 488] our lord had lain in his grave, we returned to Bontoala etc. where we arrived on the 29th day of the month of July. When Daeng Balykangh came to us on the orders of Raja Goa, enquiring of us, 'Does Raja Bone know that Toysangh has once again returned to the kingdom of Soppeng? And that Dato Dywatu has been driven from his kingdom?', this was the first inkling of what Toysangh had undertaken and that he had commanded the people of Soppeng to submit themselves to him at Menpu, and to lend him armed assistance.

The generals, or the leaders of the people of Soppeng, who had proceeded to our kingdom with weapons while we were absent and it was empty, as we had been advised by a man of Bone who came from Bugis, were Ladayang and Toubaki. This [attack] caused us much heart-ache. As a consequence we gathered all the peoples of Bone together at Batoala, in order to inform them of the [contents of the] will drawn up by our lord the late Raja Soppeng in the presence of the Paduka Raja Bone.

We reached an agreement with Arung Itu that we and all the petty kings [chiefs] of Bone would go to Soppeng, to summon all the peoples of Soppeng together, pay greater attention to the said testament, all the more so as it concerned our livelihood and prosperity. Because, when we entered [Fort Rotterdam, Makassar] and asked permis-



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sion of the governor, Isaek van Thije, to proceed to 'Tsienrana, without informing him of the rest of the story, we had absolutely not resolved in our hearts to commit any crime or to launch into any conflict between Bone and Soppeng. After we had departed to 'Tsienrana, we met out envoy, who [fol. 489] who told us that the people of Soppeng had not answered with a single word. Once we had arrived at Tanete, we ordered him to go back to Soppeng, in order to repeat our words once again, to which again not a word was given in reply.

In the meantime, we continued our advance and reached a certain halting place called Toudangang, where an envoy came to say that Raja Bone would not deign to visit Soppeng, seeing our people the arms of the people of Soppeng. Eventually we arrived at 'Tsienrana, where we heard that the people of Soppeng had summoned our Toraja people, ordering them to construct a redoubt, desiring that they should join up with the people of Mandar, as well as those of Wadzio, Sedinre, Sowyto, Mohyna, Maichyna, Hyryna, Manpu, and the old Arung Tenete, Arung Oudziongh, plus the people of Patan, Panoya, thereby discovering the truth about all these matters, as one of these peoples showed us the document which the people of Soppeng had sent them.

On 20th of the month of September, Syangh (Daeng) Mambany, [who] had been dispatched by Toysangh, announced that Toysangh was sharing a place of residence with Dato Dijwatu, and that he (Daeng Mambany) had been sent hither to say that it would be good if Raja Bone were to enter into an alliance between the countries of Bone and Soppeng, as had been decided earlier. To this we replied that this was also our principal goal, and it was for this very reason we had so often dispatched an envoy [to him], desiring that those [people] of Bone and of Soppeng [fol. 490] should share one place of residence although you people have never wanted anything of this sort.

On the first day of October, Raja Soppeng came to 'Tsienrana, accompanied only by two people of royal descent and one of his slaves. On this occasion I asked him if it were true that my lord shared property with Toysangh and had sent Daeng Mambay hence? To this Raja Soppeng averred, 'I share in no common property,' and Raja Soppeng went on to say, 'O Father! I have come hither to you for no other reason than to seek refuge with you, and to surrender myself to you, because I was driven out of my kingdom by the people of Soppeng, and thereafter Toysangh proclaimed himself King of Soppeng. I was informed of this same by hearing the beating of drums and the acclaim of the people who have sworn an oath of fealty to him, as he has robbed me of that with which you My Lord Father gladdened my heart.'

On 2 October the people of Bone accomplished what they had sought of Governor Van Thije, when we planned to depart to Bugis, namely that they would raise Raja Bone to be king of his realm according to the ancient customs and [they] unfurled and spread out the golden parasol of the realm above him. As this signalled the end of our task, [the king] commanded the people of Bone to send some presents and goods to those of Soppeng. And we carried them thither with the will of the late King of Soppeng, drawn up in the presence of Paduka Raja Bone (the which we did). Nonetheless, the people of Soppeng would have none to do with this, and instead attacked the *negorij* [fol. 491] of our lord Dat Datsyta, robbing and ruining all the inhabitants of the



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same, and also perpetrated the same on those of the *negerij* Wato.

When a messenger from Marobo came to us, and asked for our help, saying that we must also help protect them, which greatly grieved us, as we could not tolerate these two Soppeng affronts, first because somebody had made changes in the words by which we been accepted [under his protection] by Admiral Speelman, and secondly because somebody had tried to undo what our late Lord had achieved. As we were extremely indignant about the business of Toysangh, who had made changes to the settled affairs of our late lord, also fearing, if we did nothing about it, that perhaps for this reason the Company would withdraw its favour from us.

Thereupon, having resumed our march to Soppeng, we arrived at Tanatenga on 11th October, where we passed [through] the great hunting reserve and once again ordered that goods be taken to the people of Soppeng, with the recommendation that they should accept that which had been brought, but they refused these point blank. We then moved on farther to the *negerij* Mare-Mare where Daeng Malaba came to us, 'We have taken note of the testament drawn up in the presence of Paduka Raja Bone al-Marhum by our Lord the late King of Soppeng.' To which we answered that we were glad that you (the people of Mare-Mare) respected and appreciated our Lord's will, and it would be a good thing were the people of Bony and Soppeng to be united, joining together [fol. 492] in order to honour the [terms of the] testament, and to comply with the very last wish of our Lord. To this , Daeng Malaba answered, 'Permit me to return first to discuss this reply with all the people of Soppeng.' Thereupon Daeng Malaba departed for Soppeng, from where he returned again in the morning, saying it was good, tomorrow shall we the people of Bone and Soppeng make a united front.

For this reason we became careless, only marching that evening. In the meanwhile, the people of Soppeng were afoot, and taking up their arms, and [attempted to] drive us off, but we withstood them, but when the people of Bone saw that we were being driven onto the back foot by the people of Soppeng, they also took up their arms with great ferocity, and came to our assistance. And we fell on the people of Soppeng ferociously, because we wanted to get our own back, we attacked them in the morning and fought with them until evening, [when] they lost the battle and fled seeking shelter.

When Daeng Malaba reappeared before us [he said], 'I have come here with no other purpose than to submit to the will of our Lord', bringing with him Arung Salutango and Toubagi there and then, as they were the cause of these differences. To this we replied, 'Daeng Malaba, what do you want of me? You have disobeyed the will of our Lord and you began the whole affair by attacking us, as must surely still be fresh in your memory, if this is so, tomorrow we shall make a beginning to become one unified whole.' On the morrow, we assembled the peoples of Bone and Soppeng [fol. 493] together as we wanted them to be unified so as to fulfil the last wish of our Lord, the late King of Soppeng, as [he had] recommended to the late Raja of Bone. Thereafter we have as one man declared that such an affair was one injurious to our weal and prosperity, and we with joined hands had decided to execute Arung Saloutongo and Toubagy, despite the fact that the path to the death of the royal children of Bone and Soppeng is tantamount to villainy, going against the custom and laws of the *neorijen*. Therefore as



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these two people have broken and abused the laws of the *neogrijen*, so have they died.

When this had been accomplished, we returned to 'Tsienrana whither we were followed by some people of Soppeng, who wanted to assist our lord (Dato Dywatu), and to restore him to his kingdom. Afterwe arrived at 'Tsienrana, so did the ruler Dato Dywatu as before return to his Soppeng realm, without us causing him the slightest difficulty and unity was settled between Bone and Soppeng. Thus is made known in all truth and sincerity how matters stand in Soppeng. Finis.

In conclusion, the humble present for the Lord Governor-General and the Council-lors of Asia which accompanies this letter on the orders of Paduka Raja Bone consists of ten [male] slaves, and from Paduka Putri Daeng Telille two female slaves. This is what is in our capacity to send, although it does not match the value of what was sent to us. Finis.

Written in *negorij* Bantoala in the Kingdom of Bone. The 4th day of the week, and the 29th day of the month of May in this year.



## 4 Colophon

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