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A royal collection of Bugis manuscripts

In: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Manuscripts of Indonesia 149 (1993), no: 3,
Leiden, 612-629

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ROGER TOL

A ROYAL COLLECTION OF BUGIS MANUSCRIPTS¹

1. Location of the collection

The National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta holds a number of manuscripts originating from South Sulawesi. These manuscripts formerly belonged to the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen. After Indonesia's independence these manuscripts – like all other manuscripts kept in that institution – were stored in the National Museum, and were transferred to their present location in 1989.

2. A collection within a collection

A description of the manuscripts may be found in the catalogue prepared by a team headed by Jumsari Jusuf (1983:119-134). All titles mentioned in it have been taken directly from a previous Dutch inventory of the manuscripts labelled Various Languages² kept at the Bataviaasch Genootschap, and are consequently in the Dutch language. A number of these titles point

¹ It is a pleasure to thank the management of the *Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia* for granting permission to carry out my research. Of the staff at the manuscript department I wish to thank in particular Dra Sitti Hasniati for her generous assistance. Thanks too to Dr D.J. Prentice and Dr T.E. Behrend for rendering my English less incomprehensible.

² Dutch '*Verschillende Talen*'. Thus the call numbers of these manuscripts bear the prefix VT. In practice under this heading were assembled all manuscripts written in languages other than Malay, Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese. The list is called *Klapper verschillende talen van de archipel* ('Register: miscellaneous languages of the archipelago'). There are at least two versions of this list: the original handwritten inventory and a typewritten copy. Dr J. Noorduyin kindly provided me with a photocopy of the original (given to him by Dr P. Voorhoeve). The typewritten list still may be consulted at the library.

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to similarity of origin as they apparently have been taken from a bundle of manuscripts referred to as '*het pak VT.81*', 'pack VT 81'. We come across intriguing 'titles' such as '*Boeginees en Makassars. Uit het pak VT.81*', 'Bugis and Makassar. From pack VT 81' (p. 122), '*Een pakket-Bugineesche Gedeeltelijk verteerd hs. uit het pak VT.81*', 'Partly decayed Bugis ms. from pack VT 81' (p. 126), or simply '*Uit het pak VT.81 (Judul tidak ada)*', 'From pack VT 81 (No title)' (p. 133). In several other descriptions there are also references to this 'pack VT 81 which has been split up previously' (for example on p. 129).

In other words, what we have here are the dispersed remnants of a collection which was formerly stored under a single call number, VT 81. Subsequently parts of this collection were separated and given different call numbers, that is VT 223-230. The date of this separation can be established by examining the photocopy of the original inventory. It shows that Dr Voorhoeve split the bundle around 1948.³ Now, forty-five years later, Dr Voorhoeve assumes that the reason why this run of eight manuscripts was separated is related to the fact that Dr A.A. Cense took them with him to the Netherlands that year in order to catalogue them.⁴ Indeed these manuscripts have been described briefly by Cense (except for VT 225, however) in a typewritten list kept at Leiden University Library (Cense [1950]). It remains unclear why Cense only intended to describe this small selection of manuscripts from VT 81's total number of thirty-three.

In the end, then, it is not a very difficult task to reconstruct the original collection: all we have to do is to inventory all the manuscripts that are gathered under the VT 81 code, together with those related to them as described above.

3. A royal collection

The minutes of the Bataviaasch Genootschap board meeting of 9 October 1905 tell us how the manuscripts entered the Bataviaasch Genootschap collection:

Reporting the receipt from the Commander of the Expedition to South Celebes of a pack of manuscripts, which were found in the house of the

³ VT 81 was added to the list in 1905 in the handwriting of Dr Ph. S. van Ronkel, who at that time was responsible for the manuscripts. However, call numbers 223 to 230 were added by Dr P. Voorhoeve, who was asked to assist in the care of the manuscripts when he was employed as a *taalamptenaar* (language officer) by the Instituut voor Taal- en Cultuur Onderzoek (ITCO, *Institute for Research on Language and Culture*) from November 1947 to March 1949 in Indonesia (Voorhoeve, personal communication, 2 March 1993). Although the original inventory does not mention dates of acquisition, in the margin of the photocopy is written 'Voorhoeve 1947/48' in Voorhoeve's handwriting.

⁴ Information kindly provided by Dr Voorhoeve, 2 March 1993.

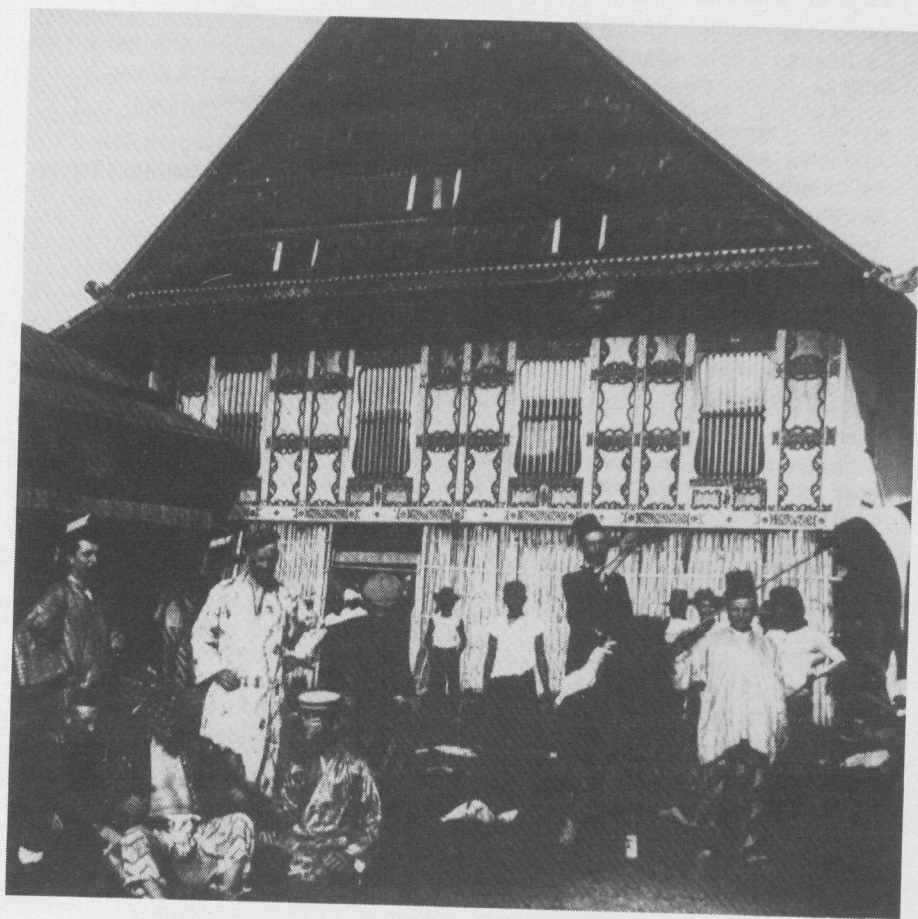


Fig. 1. The palace of La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri on 30 July 1905, moments after its seizure by the Dutch troops who are seen entertaining themselves with clothes and attributes (*Weekblad voor Indië* 2 [1905-1906]:315).

Ruler of Boni and offering these for the manuscript collection. (*Notulen* 1905:99)

At the same meeting two photographs were offered by a gentleman called Zimmerman which were taken in the capital of Boné, Watamponé, one of them showing the house of the ruler of Boné (*Notulen* 1905:100).⁵ Two months later an inventory was published with descriptions of belongings of the ruler of Boné: many household goods, but no manuscripts (*Notulen* 1905:117-121).⁶

There can be no doubt about the provenance of this collection of manuscripts: at the time of the so-called Fourth Boné War they were looted by the Dutch from the palace of the Boné ruler. Since we know that the occupation of the capital took place on 30 July 1905 (*Weekblad voor Indië* 2 [1905-1906:384]), it is plausible that the manuscripts were taken as spoils of war on the same date or shortly afterwards. Fig. 1 shows the scene immediately after the seizure of the palace. We see Dutch soldiers dressed in royal Bugis clothes inspecting paraphernalia taken from the palace. Some of these items were sent to the museum in Batavia – most probably together with the manuscripts. Some manuscripts, such as VT 230, also seem to bear witness to a sudden transfer of ownership, since they are for the most part empty.

Boné's monarch at that time was La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri (see Fig. 2), who became ruler of Boné in 1896, at about 55 years of age. He and his escort had fled the capital Watamponé and managed to evade capture until November 1905, after a pursuit that caused the Dutch government considerable embarrassment.

The person in whose name both the monarch and the manuscripts were seized was C.A. van Loenen, Colonel of the Infantry. As we have seen, the

⁵ I have not been able to locate these photographs in the National Library of Indonesia. However, they are most probably those published in *Weekblad voor Indië* 2 (1905-1906:315), where a photograph can be found corresponding to this description together with other photographs also offered by Zimmerman, viz. one portraying the female ruler of Tanété, and one with the mosque of Watamponé (*Notulen* 1905:100).

⁶ Boné (in old sources often spelled Boni) is regarded as the principal (i.e. most prestigious, influential) kingdom of the Bugis. There existed a small number of other large kingdoms as well in the Bugis area (the southwestern part of Sulawesi with the exception of the city of Makasar [=Ujung Pandang] and its most southern tip). Each of these kingdoms had quite a number of vassals. The history of South Sulawesi shows constant shifts of allegiance between these kingdoms and their vassals. From the nineteenth century onwards four wars were fought between the Dutch and the Bugis from Boné. The last took place in 1905 and brought an end to the relative independence of the Boné rulers in managing state affairs. Thereafter authority was fully in the hands of the Dutch. For the early history of South Sulawesi see Andaya (1981). On the Boné war of 1905 see Tol (1990; forthcoming) and Locher-Scholten 1991.



Fig. 2. La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri, ruler of Boné 1896-1905 (Patang 1976).

manuscripts arrived in Batavia first. La Pawawoi followed in December 1905 on his way to Bandung for internal exile.⁷

4. The composition of the collection⁸

In this paper the term 'manuscript' is used to refer to a physical entity, not to a particular text. By this definition one manuscript may contain more than one text.

Bundle VT 81 itself consists of at least 25 distinct manuscripts.⁹ The pack is wrapped in packing paper and tied with a string. From a physical point of view, that is with regard to size, number of pages, type of paper, writing material, and the like, the manuscripts in this pack form an extremely heterogeneous set. Since bundles VT 223-230 each contain one manuscript, the minimum number of royal manuscripts in this collection amounts to 33.

In order to obtain a general impression of its composition, let us begin with the description of the following four items from this collection: the oldest, the most recent, the smallest and the largest manuscript. The oldest manuscript in the collection is probably VT 81.10, an original daily register (also termed 'diary') covering the period 1795 to 1807. The most recent manuscript may be VT 226, which is a ledger mentioning the year 1902. The smallest – but by no means most insignificant – item is VT 81.12: an original letter of one page, dated 10 November 1866, from Ahmad Singker-ruq Rukka (ruler of Boné from 1860 to his death in 1871). This monarch was the father of La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri (Patunru 1989:268). The most voluminous manuscript (VT 225) has 393 pages, bears the date 1824, and contains historical accounts of the kingdoms of Boné and Wajoq. The manuscript also contains an original stamp whose owner can be identified as La Oddang Datu Larompong, Arung Pénéki, who may have used this stamp from 1888 to 1893.

These observations already give clues to certain aspects of the nature of the collection. We see that the collection basically consists of nineteenth-century manuscripts. The fact that correspondence of a previous ruler (and relative) was kept, combined with the fact that relatively old manuscripts form part of the collection, points to a tradition of keeping a royal family archive, which was transferred from one ruler to his successor.

The nature of the collection as a whole may be characterized by the following set of notions: (1) history, (2) religion, and (3) practical knowledge (including sexual behaviour). These three spheres will be dealt with below in more detail.

⁷ La Pawawoi died in 1911 in Batavia.

⁸ A more detailed description may be found in the Appendix.

⁹ Some items seem to contain more than one manuscript (or fragments thereof).

It is remarkable that almost all the manuscripts are on the *utile* ('useful') side of the balance, as there are no manuscripts containing *dulce* ('entertaining') texts. There is not a single line from that great Bugis mythical epic *La Galigo*, probably the most voluminous work in world literature. 'Literary' texts are only found within the contexts of one of the three categories mentioned above. We come across *toloq* texts, for example, within the historical sphere, texts on Lukman al-Hakim which are religiously oriented, and fragments on *adat* matters, possibly taken from the *La Toa*, which have a practical focus.

As will be apparent from the descriptions, there is not always a one-to-one correlation between 'manuscript' and one of the three notions mentioned above. In this connection it is important to note that almost all the manuscripts contain more than one text, and these texts belong to more than one 'genre' (see also Macknight 1984).

5. History

Of the historical manuscripts found in the collection, probably the most spectacular are the three diaries from Boné, from 1795-1807 and 1837-1842; year headings are missing from the third volume.

Bugis diaries have a peculiar, chaotic form. This is caused by their conventional, rigid lay-out, which is more or less similar to a condensed form of the modern executive diary. For each month of the Christian era there is one (folio) page set aside with dates already provided, so that the space for one day is limited. At the head of the page the year is written (in Arabic numerals). In the upper left corner the name of the month is given (in Malay with Arabic letters). In a vertical column parallel to the left margin of the page the dates of the months are written. Each Friday is marked with the word *Jum'at* (in red Arabic letters).

Usually we see many dates with no entry; apparently nothing worth mentioning occurred on those days. However, there are also days full of events not to be left unrecorded. In those cases it often occurred that the space assigned for one day was simply not enough. In order to expand his scribal *Lebensraum*, a writer would start to fill up the free space left on the other days and the margins of the page, rotating the page to do so. This fact causes the chaotic pattern of streams of letters moving across the page.

Consequently, the reader of such diaries has constantly to turn them around in order to be able to understand the message. Although the reader is thus actively involved in the process of reading, it does not make a very practical impression. Fig. 3 shows two pages of such a diary.

To date, quite a few Bugis diaries have been identified in at least five other collections: the British Library, the India Office Library, the School of Oriental and African Studies, the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, and the La Galigo Museum in Ujung Pandang. When we

compare the dates from these diaries with each other an interesting pattern emerges (see Table 1).¹⁰

Table 1. Years covered by diaries from Boné held in various collections.

British Library	India Office Library	SOAS	KITLV	Perpustakaan Nasional
1714-1718	1660-1696		1745-1762	
		1768-1777		
1774-1787	1776-1794			
1775-1795				
1780-1785				
1790-1800			1792-1798	
1793-1796				1795-1807
1800-1812				
1808-1809			1804-1819	
			1818-1834	
			1823-1843	
			1834-1840	
				1837-1842
			1848-1851	
			1868	
			1877-1879	
			1870-1879	
			1876-1893	
			1878-1888	
			1893-1910	

These bare figures motivate the following observations. Firstly, all these diaries taken together represent a nearly continuous stream of indigenous historical information on the period 1745 to 1910, almost two centuries.¹¹

Secondly, all these diaries seem to stem from one location, the Boné court. As far as I know, Bugis diaries from other regions are very small in number. In view of these facts there is reason to believe that the phenomenon of keeping daily registers in the Bugis area was linked with the Boné court.

¹⁰ Data have been taken from Ricklefs and Voorhoeve 1977:27-38 and Noor-duyn 1984-1986. Presently no data on the Ujung Pandang collection are available to me.

¹¹ Only the following gaps (amounting to 28 years) occur in this period: 1763-1768, 1843-1848, 1851-1867, 1869.

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Thirdly, the periods 1774-1812, 1818-1819, 1823-1840 and 1876-1893 are continuously covered by at least two different manuscripts. Moreover, two concentrations can be identified: the years 1792-1796 which are covered by four, sometimes even five diaries, and the years 1877-1888 which have been included in three to four diaries. The period 1792-1796 is more significant from a historiographical point of view since it is represented in diaries from four different collections, whereas the other concentration is only represented in diaries from the KITLV collection. It is probably no coincidence that the period of heightened activity between 1774 and 1812 almost perfectly corresponds with the reign of one particular ruler, La Tenri-tappu Sultan Ahmad Saleh Syamsuddin, posthumously called *Matinroé ri Rompégading*, who ruled from 1775 to 1812 (Patunru 1989:215-223).

The fact that so many diaries were kept at the same time by different writers is an exciting thought for philologists, historians and linguists alike. Eventually it may be possible to write an inside history of the Boné court for a specified period of time.

Apart from these diaries many other manuscripts are of profound historical interest, although there seems to be an underrepresentation of the well-known Bugis genre of *attoriolong* ('chronicles'). One such text seems to have a particular connection with the kingdom of Wajoq (VT 225). We come across various forms of correspondence, between ruler and ruler, and between ruler and subjects. Also the so-called 'literature' is historical in nature. Of the historical texts, *toloq* are by far the most popular. In this royal collection we notice several of them, of which one manuscript (VT 81.17) is even devoted entirely to a single text, the *Toloqna Boné*.

6. Religion

Many parts of the manuscripts deal with Islamic matters, ranging from short magico-mystical formulas to full-fledged tracts on Islamic law. Frequently one or two pages of a manuscript have been used for jottings on Islamic belief, be it the profession of faith, a prayer, praying techniques, or short magic diagrams and magic formulas. This is an indication of the importance that was attached to the Islamic faith. Another indication could be the size of a manuscript such as VT 81.06, the largest among these manuscripts, entirely devoted to the praise of God and Muhammad.

Two manuscripts contain stories adapted from the Islamic literary heritage (VT 81.09 and VT 81.25). In both cases they probably deal with versions of the story of Lukman al-Hakim. So apparently there was some room for entertainment at the Boné court, be it within Islamic control.

Codex VT 223 contains a text which is clearly related to the Qadiriyyah mystical order. It is perhaps worth noting that no links to the most influential mystical order in South Sulawesi, the Khalwatiyyah (Van Bruinessen 1991:251), have been found in this collection.

7. Practical knowledge

Quite a number of texts in the collection deal with practical matters on sexual behaviour between husband and wife. These facts of life are related within an Islamic mystical framework. Such texts therefore form an interesting subcategory, as they combine aspects from the religious category with plain practical matters. One of these texts is written in Makasarese and in that way almost symbolizes the close affiliation through intermarriage that existed between the courts of Boné and Goa, the main kingdom in the Makasar area.

The other items of the collection are extremely varied and give insight into what other matters were of special importance for the royalty at the Boné court. Of course a number of texts deal specifically with royal life and etiquette, and relations between rulers and subjects. The major texts in this field are *Budi Istiharaq* and *La Toa*. Fragments of both these texts form part of the collection (VT 81.02, VT 81.11, VT 81.18).

A number of ledgers testify to the practice of royal bookkeeping. Prominent in the recorded practical knowledge are magic formulas, for example formulas against rice diseases, but also formulas to be used as love charms. Furthermore, substantial attention is paid to all forms of traditional medication, by means of herbs, magic formulas, and also birds. Very practical indeed is the science of determining days of good and ill omen. Diagrams with such information are also regularly found. Also common in this category are architectural sketches of buildings (houses and forts in this collection), often with extensive written information on building techniques.

8. In conclusion

Being a first report, this paper cannot predict the end of the story. It is quite possible that other manuscripts from the collection of the National Library of Indonesia also originally belonged to this same collection. Possible candidates are the manuscripts whose catalogue descriptions are linked to a certain Van Lakerveld, an army officer in command of the district of Berru, who apparently donated a number of manuscripts to the Bataviaasch Genootschap. To judge from the descriptions, these manuscripts could very well be part of – or closely connected with – the collection described here, but the matter needs further investigation.

ABBREVIATIONS

KITLV	Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
Or	Codex Orientalis
VT	Verskillende Talen

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APPENDIX

A preliminary description of the manuscripts
from the collection of La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri,
kept in the National Library of Indonesia

The collection consists of thirty-three manuscripts. Twenty-five are stored in one pack with call number VT 81, each wrapped in red packing paper and carrying a number. These will be described as VT 81.01 to VT 81.25. The other eight are stored separately, with call numbers VT 223 to VT 230. Unless stated otherwise, the manuscripts are written in the Bugis language, using the Bugis/Makasar script.

- VT 81.01 An unbound manuscript of 38 pages. 31.7 x 20.2 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. Probably written by Arung Cinennung Daéng Palallo (pp. 7-8) in La Cokkong (Boné); bears a date 1801. Contents: on the history and culture of Palakka (region in Boné).
- VT 81.02 Part of a manuscript consisting of 60 pages (three quires). 31.5 x 20 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved (watermark 'Pro Patria' on p. 1), although partly disintegrated. No colophon. Contents: At least two texts: from p. 18-end a fragment of the *Budi Istiharaq*, a kind of compendium for monarchs (compare Matthes 1864:65-465). On p. 59 a fragment runs parallel to p. 299 of Matthes' edition, namely on sexual behavior (related in mystical terms). The text(s) preceding this are of a similar nature.
- VT 81.03 An unbound manuscript of 33 pages (two quires). 32.4 x 20.3 cm. Clear writing, paper partly disintegrated (watermark 'Pro Patria'). Loose leaf with watermark 'I.B. Davids'. No clear colophon (there is a year 1213 [=1798] mentioned on p. 25). Contents:
a) pp. 2-18, kind of debit and credit book, possibly kept by Petta Ponggawaé, commander of the Boné army (son of La Pawawoi; killed in action in 1905);
b) pp. 18-24: fragment of a *tolog* (heroic-historical poem), possibly the *Toloqna Boné* on events in the seventeenth century (compare VT 81.17);
c) pp. 25-33: various notes, for example wise sayings (p. 28), pastry (p. 30).
- VT 81.04 An unbound manuscript of 20 pages (pp. 10-11 blank). 30 x 19 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. No colophon. Contents: various notes, including magic formulas (p. 1; 19-20), peculiarities of chicken (pp. 2-6), house building (pp. 6-9) and astrology.
- VT 81.05 An unbound manuscript of 24 pages. 31.5 x 20.5 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Watermark 'Pro Patria Vrijhey' with 'Dutch Lion' (p. 8) with countermark 'GLB' (p. 17). Contents: part of a (probably original) daily register from Boné (compare entry of 26 August '*kuréweq ri Boné mabbenni*' (I returned to Boné to spend the night). One month per page. No years mentioned (this is very unusual in daily registers; probably the upper part of the manuscript [the place where the years are mentioned] has been cut off). Also remarkable is the fact that the months June and July are empty whereas all preceding and following months are filled.
- VT 81.06 Two sheets of 61 x 47 cm. Clear writing, paper partly disintegrated and with holes. Bugis and Arabic script and language. No

- watermark. No colophon. Contents: Islamic, on the qualities of God and His prophet.
- VT 81.07 An unbound manuscript of 6 pages. 32 x 22 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language. No watermark. No colophon. Contents: Islamic, praying techniques.
- VT 81.08 Three sheets of paper, 27 x 18.2 cm, two of which written in the same hand. Legible writing, paper partly disintegrated. Vague watermark ('Crown?'). No colophon. Contents:
 a) two sheets are on Islamic matters;
 b) third sheet: part of the early history of Boné (mention of *To Manurung*, 'He who descended from heaven').
- VT 81.09 An unbound manuscript of 16 pages. 33 x 21 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. 14 blank pages. No colophon. Contents: probably a fragment from the Islamic story of Lukman al-Hakim.
- VT 81.10 An unbound manuscript of 173 pages. 31.3 x 19.4 cm. Clear writing, paper partly in good condition, other parts in different stages of disintegration. Considerable ink corrosion. Many pages in wrong order. Contents: original daily register from Boné, January 1795 to May 1807 (December 1795 missing). One month per page. Interspersed with various short notes (on loans, debts, horse theft, fragment of a Makasar *sinrilig*, astrology, traditional medication for curing buffalos, auspicious and ominous days, house building, agriculture), usually on pages following a December month.
- VT 81.11 An unbound manuscript of 42 pages. 38.7 x 23.4 cm. Clear writing, paper disintegrating. No colophon. Contents: on *adat* matters, especially relations between rulers and subjects. Probably a fragment from the *La Toa*.
- VT 81.12 One sheet. 33.2 x 21 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. With black soot stamp at head of paper. The stamp has the form of an ellipse, the whole measuring 6.5 cm wide and 5.5 cm high, made up of three concentric ellipses. The innermost ellipse measures 4.2 x 2.2 cm and bears the Dutch coat of arms (crown with two lions and the text *Je maintiendrai*). The surrounding ellipse has a width of 0.6 cm and has the name Ahmad Singkerruq Rukka: in Arabic letters in the upper half, and in Bugis letters in the lower half. The outermost ellipse with a width of 0.5 cm has in Roman capital letters the text ACHMAD SINKARROE ROEKKA (upper half; the 'S' is reversed) and LEENVORST VAN BONIE (lower half; 'suzerain of Boné'). Contents: an original letter from the ruler of Boné Ahmad Singkerruq Rukka, written in the port town of Pallimeq and dated 2 Rajab 1286, i.e. 8 October 1869. It is addressed to a certain Daéng Matireq and declares him (and his direct kin) a free man, i.e. not belonging to the class of slaves. He is given a piece of land in Data which he is to administer according to the *adat* rules. This letter will protect him from claims on the land by persons from royal circles. Apparently the letter was never sent. It could also be a copy.
- VT 81.13 An unbound manuscript of 65 pages. 31.3 x 19.4 cm. Legible writing, paper in bad condition. Contents: (part of) original daily register from March 1837 to May 1842. Some months not filled in (compare VT 81.05).
- VT 81.14 An unbound manuscript of 85 pages. 21.5 x 13.4 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Bugis and Arabic language and script. No colophon. Contents: various kinds of magic formulas, referring to medication, exorcism, erotica, and other things.
- VT 81.15 A manuscript of 159 pages. 15 x 11 cm. Clear writing, although irregular (almost childish), paper of pp. 31-90 almost totally decayed by ink corrosion; the other pages in reasonable condi-

- tion. Watermark only partially visible (the letters 'LV...' and '...G'). Bugis and Arabic language and script. On front cover written in Roman letters 'Sjareat Agama Islam'. No colophon. Contents: Islamic law.
- VT 81.16 An unbound manuscript of 44 pages (two quires). 31 x 20 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Watermark (p. 25) 'Pro Patria' coat-of-arms with crown and lion. In border written 'Libertat'. Under the lion written backwards 'VRYHEYT'. Wrong numbering: page '26' should be page one, page '24' is in fact the last page. Written in different hands. No colophon. Contents: various historical and practical notes. On Boné, Goa, Soppéng and Wajoq (p. 4), on agriculture (p. 4), fragment of a *toloq* (pp. 6-10), on buffalo muscles and love charms (p. 11), topographical list of districts and vassals of Boné (each entry about 5 lines long) (pp. 12-21), a number of blueprints of forts (*bénténg*) with annotations (last pages).
- VT 81.17 A manuscript of 136 pages (last 25 pages empty). 17 x 10.2 cm. Almost illegible because of ink corrosion. Paper in bad condition, partially decayed. Watermark: elephant with palm trees and the name 'GUTHRIE & CO' in both Roman, Arabic, and Chinese script. Paper of this manufacture may be dated between 1887 and 1903.¹² On cover written in Roman letters: 'Tolona Bone'. No colophon. Contents: *Toloqna Boné*, a heroic-historical poem on the war between Boné (assisted by the Dutch) and Goa (this war took place around 1670; see also VT 81.03b).
- VT 81.18 An unbound manuscript of 25 pages. 32.5 x 20.6 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although partly disintegrated. No colophon. Contents: on royal ethics, probably a fragment from the *La Toa*.
- VT 81.19 A manuscript of 12 pages. 31.2 x 19.6 cm. Legible writing, paper in reasonable condition, although partly decayed. No colophon. Contents: on Islamic creed and doctrine.
- VT 81.20 A manuscript of 3 pages. 34 x 21.3 cm. Containing a few small pieces of paper. Legible writing, paper in reasonable condition. No colophon. Contents: Islamic matters, man's deeds in this world are judged in the hereafter.
- VT 81.21 A manuscript of 12 pages. 33.6 x 24 cm. Containing a number of smaller loose sheets. Various sorts of paper; one sheet of paper from a ledger. No colophon. Contents: various notes. On prayers, astrology. Contains also an (empty) envelope from a 'Petta Telleng' to the Panngulu Lompona Joaqé (army commander) of Boné. Also a letter from the latter to Petta Telleng in which mention is made of a visit by 'Tuang Pétoroq' (term for the local Dutch and government official). This letter is undated and written on a piece of paper from a ledger (probably beginning twentieth century).
- VT 81.22 A manuscript of 64 pages (pp. 38 and 40 empty). 10 x 8.3 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Watermark 'Crescent'(?). No colophon. Contents: this very small manuscript contains a story about the *dunrung* bird.
- VT 81.23 An unbound manuscript of 2 pages. 21.4 x 17 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language. No colophon. Contents: Islamic, praying techniques.
- VT 81.24 An unbound manuscript of 4 pages. 32.5 x 22 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language. No colophon. Contents: Islamic creed.

¹² Information kindly provided by Dr Russell Jones, 31 December 1992; this forms an emendation to Jones 1988:156, where the years 1892-1903 are given.

- VT 81.25 Two unbound manuscripts totalling 33 pages. 32.5 x 20.6 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved, although parts are missing. Two kinds of paper, each written in a different hand. Watermark 'Pro Patria'. Incomplete. No colophon. Contents: possibly an adaptation of a Muslim story such as *Lukman al-Hakim*.
- VT 223 A manuscript of 154 pages. 20 x 15.5 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Bugis and Arabic script and language (also Makassar). Opens as an Arabic book. Watermark: 'Pro Patria' with 'Vryheyt'. Written in at least two different hands. No colophon. Contents:
 a) on Islamic law, prayers in Arabic and Bugis (pp. 1-57);
 b) a mystical treatise on sexual life between husband and wife (in the Makassar language mixed with Bugis). Written in another hand (the letters are much smaller). This text is preceded by an *isnad*-like list of transmitters, starting with Muhammad and Gabriel and ending with the name of the writer's *anréguru* (teacher) Syaikh Muhammad ibn al-Syaikh Abdul Karim of the Qadriyyah mystical order. The name of the writer is not mentioned (pp. 58-77);
 c) traditional medication, e.g. for pregnant women (77-154).
- VT 224 A manuscript of 38 pages. 13 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Written in two different hands. Probably originally two different manuscripts bound together. No colophon. Contents:
 a) a mystical treatise on the use of the *tampalitetto* bird (kind of woodpecker; symbol of prosperity) in traditional medication (pp. 1-12). In order to read this part, the manuscript has to be turned upside down. The text reads from right to left (like an Arabic book);
 b) a mystical treatise on sexual life between husband and wife (pp. 13-37). This text in normal order.
- VT 225 A manuscript of 393 pages. 34.5 x 21 cm. Legible writing, although many pages decayed by ink corrosion. Different kinds of paper. Contains also one sheet of ruled paper (about 1900). No colophon. Contents: a kind of compilation, containing histories of Boné and Wajoq. Also a complete treatise (dated 1824) on the introduction of the Islamic faith in Wajoq. Contains also part of a sheet with an oval black soot stamp quite similar in shape to the stamp described under VT 81.12. This stamp has two concentric ellipses, the inner one similar to the one described above. The outer ellipse has the text (in Roman capital letters) DATOEWERI-LAROEPOE (upper half) and TAJAKORIDIE RIWAJOE (lower half). This is a mutilated spelling of Datué ri Larompong, Cakkuridi ri Wajoq 'Ruler of Larompong and dignity of Wajoq'. The bearer of this stamp can most probably be identified as La Odang Datu Larompong, Arung Pénéki (1852-1932), who combined these two functions for some time. He called himself Datu Larompong from 1893, whereas he fulfilled his function as Cakkuridi from 1888 (compare Tol 1990:325-326).
- VT 226 A manuscript of 70 pages. 33.5 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Date mentioned: 12 Rabi al-Awwal 1320 (19 June 1902). Contents: ledger. Contains references to loans and debts, names and prices of goods, and the like.
- VT 227 An unbound manuscript of 5 pages. 33.5 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. No colophon. Contents: counting tables with reference to the game called *galaceng*.
- VT 228 A manuscript of 44 pages (only first 10 and last 10 pages written upon). 33.5 x 10 cm. Clear writing, paper well-preserved. Blue paper. No colophon. Contents: ledger similar to VT 226.
- VT 229 An unbound manuscript of 7 pages. 34 x 22 cm. Ruled paper with no watermark. Paper in bad condition. Glued together with low

VT 230

quality adhesive tape, so its condition can only deteriorate. Makasar language. Bugis/Makasar and Arabic script. No colophon. Contents: modern copy (probably early twentieth century) of the Renewed Bungaya Tract of 7 August 1824 between the Dutch government and the rulers of South Sulawesi.

A manuscript of 166 pages (only 21 pages written upon). 32.5 x 20.5 cm. Clear writing, paper in deteriorating condition, partly disintegrated. No colophon. Contents: various notes. On weapons (p. 2), diary notes (pp. 6, 19, 30), traditional medication (pp. 146-147), magic formulas against rice diseases (p. 148), ominous and auspicious days (pp. 150-151, 166).