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Textual authority

The Toloq Rumpaqa Boné by I Mallaq Daéng Mabéla, Arung Manajéng

If one compares Dutch and Bugis accounts of the Boné war of 1905, it is striking to see how little has been preserved in writing from a people which is generally applauded for its historical consciousness as expressed in an age-long tradition of the production of texts of a historiographical nature. While the material on the Dutch side abounds with detailed military reports, contributions to all kinds of newspapers and magazines, eye-witness accounts and a plethora of archival documents – most of them providing maps and photographs – there seems to be only one Bugis text that is wholly devoted to that particular war. It is the *Toloq Rumpaqa Boné* ('The Poem of the Defeat of Boné'), written by I Mallaq Daéng Mabéla, Arung Manajéng.

Imperfect as the *Toloq Rumpaqa Boné* may seem from a western historical perspective, careful treatment of this text reveals much about Bugis perceptions of the past. In fact, a comparison of the history of this text with a similar text by the same author reveals interesting particulars about the way the *Toloq Rumpaqa Boné* must have been composed.

The manuscript

A key figure in the history of the *Toloq Rumpaqa Boné* is the Dutchman H.R. Rookmaaker, who was *controleur* of Boné from 1911 to 1920. To judge from his very readable and informative reports (1917, 1920) and his contribution to the *Indische Gids* (1924), he was a man of wide interest in things Bugis.¹ We know of at least two Bugis manuscripts which he collected during his stay in Boné. The first one, the *Toloqna Arung Labuaja*, 'The Poem of Arung Labuaja', is in the possession of the KITLV, most probably since 1923.² The flyleaf leaves no

¹ More information on Rookmaaker in Tol 1990:51-5.

² See Bestuursvergadering van 15 December 1923: Bookpresents received from [...]



I Mallaq Daéng Mabéla, Arung Manajéng and his family

doubt as to the author and date of composition: 'It was made by I Mallaq Daéng Mabéla, a resident of Panynyulaq, Tanété ri Attang, on 1 January 1920 [signed in Roman script:] Malla'. While preparing an edition of this text (Tol

H. Rookmaaker (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 80:V). The manuscript is shelved as Or.255.

1990), I have not found any other references to this text, either in Dutch or in Bugis sources, apart from a short, inaccurate description in Van Ronkel's catalogue of Malay manuscripts (1946:569) and a mention of it in an article by Drewes (1951:229). During a stay in the Bugis area, I found it to be virtually unknown, even among the direct descendants of Arung Labuaja.

More can be said about the second manuscript, the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné*. On 12 July 1937 the library of the University of Leiden received a sea-mail package from Telukbetung. Its sender was H.R. Rookmaaker, at that time in his last days as *resident* of the Lampung districts in South Sumatra. It consisted of two hard-cover exercise books, the first bearing the label *Tjerita Perang Bone hoeroef Boegis* ('The History of the Boné war in Bugis script'), the other being *Tjerita Perang Bone hoeroef Belanda* ('The story of the Boné war in Dutch script'), which contained a Malay translation of the former.³

On the first page of the Bugis text (which totalled 189 pages) the following lines were written:

This is a writing that deals with the events during the war of Boné with the Dutch Company in the year 1905. It has been written by I Mallaq Daéng Mabéla, son of I Bali Daéng Manémba, descendant of Petta Matinroé Mallimongeng [Ruler of Boné 1749-75]. Its writing was started in Boné, Watamponé, kampong Panynyulaq on 21 June 1908.

Again, it bears the signature of the author in Roman script: 'Malla'.

The identical scripts used in both manuscripts strongly indicate that we are dealing with two autographs. This is confirmed by an interesting note written on the flyleaf of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* manuscript, which reads:

By the author of this story the following has been copied completely after the original, with the exception of the introduction, which was written at my request. Watampone, 5 Sept., 1916 [signed] H.R. Rookmaaker.

So here we have the philological rarity of a double autograph: Mallaq wrote his text in 1908 and copied this eight years later at the request of the Dutch *controleur*, adding a ten-page historical introduction. Rookmaaker's note also gives rise to other questions: how far were the contents of the story influenced by the fact that the author was requested to copy his text? Did he actually rewrite it to suit the purposes of his masters? It would be interesting to obtain the original autograph of Mallaq.

The questions just asked are partly solved on reading the following section in Rookmaaker's article on Boné. He writes:

³ University of Leiden Library: Or.6773.

During this last Boné war I obtained by accident in 1917 [sic] a story of 189 pages in Bugis script, written by a certain S.[sic] Malla daeng Mabela (Note: brother-in-law of Pasenringi daeng Matanga, Aroe [i.e. Arung] Tanetteriattang, member of the autonomous government of Boné). It is strange to note that in that story the blame is put on the ruler, who by violating the contract had broken the bonds of friendship [with the Dutch] established by Aroe Palakka. No less striking is the fact that in the text no serious reproach is made against the Government's action, although *it certainly would never have occurred to the author that his work would one day fall into the hands of an official of the colonial administration.* (Rookmaaker 1924:402-3; italics mine.)

From this last line we may infer that the original was *not* specifically composed for the benefit of the Dutch official. It must have been written in the old Bugis tradition of *tolog*-writing. This, however, does not automatically involve an anti-Dutch attitude in this type of texts, as will be shown later.

But there is a small snag as regards the 'striking facts' mentioned by Rookmaaker. The author indeed puts the blame on the Arumponé, but this proves only to be the case in his introduction, which was written especially for Rookmaaker. In the work itself, we will see, other reasons are given for the defeat of Boné.

I was fortunate to get information on Mallaq Arung Manajéng's life from his grandson Andi Baso Amier, an entrepreneur and intellectual, *bupati* of Boné in the years 1967-1969.⁴ The following biographical data are largely based on data derived from him.⁵ It will seem a curious story, being a mixture of what we would call fact and fiction, but several of the strange events were independently told to me by other Bugis informants. Mallaq Arung Manajéng must have been a remarkable man. The short biography shows that the much debated characteristics of the Bugis – historical consciousness and superstition – live side by side.

Some time in 1944, at the age of 60, Mallaq Arung Manajéng felt he was going to die after forty days. He pointed out the place where he wanted to be buried and had his grave dug. Forty days later, he breathed his last, with his head on his daughter's lap. At that very moment he produced some sperm, an indication that the experience of dying was not so bad after all. He had led a dynamic life, in which he had been active as a warrior, magician, Muslim scholar, and writer. In all these fields he had acquired a certain reputation. It had been his task to defend Pattiro when the Dutch landed there. As a magician he had caused a great furor. He not only was very skilful in the performance of tricks, such as changing a rosary into a snake or conjuring up rings on someone's fingers, but he also was a man who by the power of asceticism had become invulnerable and capable of making himself invisible. He had no difficulty in making money either, as he was

⁴ Regretfully Andi Baso Amier passed away in 1990.

⁵ Andi Baso Amier, personal communication, 29 October 1985.

in the possession of a plant that produced gold which he could sell. Among his most famous – though not always appreciated – skills was his power to deprive women he considered arrogant of their sarung, leaving them naked in public. Another treat for arrogant women was to have their breasts walk on the wall. Unfortunately, his book of charms was later burnt because these feats were regarded as being shameful for women.⁶ His magical activities (he was also the reincarnation of the 16th-century sage La Mellong (Kajao La Liddong)) proved a good way for him to win peoples' confidence whenever he was on tour lecturing in local mosques and houses. Because of his magical knowledge he was believed to be very adept in Islamic sciences as well. He used to have lively discussions with other scholars, and wrote some five works dealing with mysticism, which were widely read.

Mallaq's writing career started at the age of twenty, when he published a novel entitled *Pabbaju rêndana Luwuq* ('The girl with the lace blouse from Luwuq') after a journey to Luwuq in pursuit of magical knowledge. But Mallaq was particularly well known for his *Toloq Rumpaqla Boné*. Writing also included story-telling, and he used to relate his stories on many occasions. He was especially liked by the local rulers because of his comic behaviour and humorous stories.⁷ He was summoned once a week by Andi Mappanyukiq, who was installed as Ruler of Boné (Arumponé) in 1931, to recite his *Toloq Rumpaqla Boné*, and explicitly no other works.

Other authors, too, have written texts similar to the *Toloq Rumpaqla Boné*, but all are based on the original of Mallaq.⁸ An instance of such a text could very well be the text contained in No. 2963 (old numbering: Mak.123) of the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan, which is a variant version of the *Toloq Rumpaqla Boné*. In 1967 and 1976 the Research team on the history of Boné published an Indonesian translation of the work in stencilled form, the last edition containing some notes by Andi Muhammad Ali (Malla Arung Manadjeng 1976). The latter told me that the translation was made from the original by Mallaq, but that after the completion of the translation this manuscript was lost without a trace.⁹ Comparison with the Leiden manuscript revealed a number of variant readings, however.

Toloq

For a proper understanding and evaluation of the text, it is necessary to say something first about the class of texts to which it belongs in relation to other Bugis literary genres (for a more detailed discussion see Tol 1990:1-34). *Toloq-*

⁶ Andi Mappassissi, personal communication, 29 August 1985.

⁷ Andi Mappassissi, personal communication, 29 August 1985.

⁸ Andi Muhammad Ali, personal communication, 3 September 1985.

⁹ Andi Muhammad Ali, personal communication, 3 September 1985.

texts are characterized by a combination of three features: 1. a clearly recognizable, conventional use of words, phrases and metaphors, all part of the 'poetic language'; 2. an eight-syllable metre; and 3. a heroic-historical content. Within the Bugis literary system, *toloq* occupies a place between the main categories *sureq* and *lontaraq*. Texts that are regarded as 'entertaining' are referred to as *sureq*. They usually are metrical texts which are recited using a particular melody. *Lontaraq* are in the first place texts of a historiographical nature. They are non-metrical and are not recited using a particular intonation (Fachruddin Ambo Enre 1983:17, 119). The voluminous epic-mythological Galigo literature is considered as the preeminent *sureq*. Pelras (1979:279) and Mattulada (1985:19) even hold the opinion that the genre *sureq* is equivalent to Galigo and that all other texts must be regarded as *lontaraq*.

Heroic poems such as the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* cannot be directly classified under one of the two mentioned main categories. On the one hand these *toloq* seem to belong to *sureq*-texts: they are metrical texts in an elevated, poetical language. On the other hand, they could very well be called *lontaraq*: they are historiographical texts in which historical personages play their part as heroes and historical events are related. Also with respect to their presentation, *toloq* texts apparently occupy a middle position, or rather a double position. They may be recited with a certain intonation, like a *sureq*, or without any particularly intonation, like a *lontaraq* (see Tol 1990:19). Thus *toloq*-texts contain both formal characteristics of *sureq* and content characteristics of *lontaraq*, with neither type demonstrably predominating.

Reading a *toloq* requires recognition that its literary conventions often supersede or intersect with the 'historical facts'. For example, the *toloq*-conventions require that no dates are given. As in the case of other Bugis historiographical products, time is reckoned by means of time intervals such as 'three days later'. On closer examination there appears to be a striking preference for sacred numbers such as 'three', 'seven' and 'forty', indicating that this method of time-reckoning is closely related to the oral tradition of storytelling (see Sutrisno 1986:128-9). Thus, the reader must be cautious about treating these measurements of time as strictly referential.

Somewhat less misleading are the so-called *mangngaruq* scenes – another requirement of *toloq*-texts. These pledges of allegiance to the ruler normally occur when the army is preparing to go to war. In the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* there are in one instance no fewer than fifty-five such pledges quoted at length, in which certain types of oaths may be discerned. There are short, conventional texts and long, innovative ones that deviate from the basic oath of allegiance. No doubt these ceremonies actually did occur, and words of this kind were uttered. But a *toloq* is also a work of art, and Mallaq has subtly played with the conventions to reinforce the structure of his story. Not only does he use the *mangngaruq* scenes at the beginning of the text as an excellent

way of introducing the protagonists – often with particulars of their name, title and function – but he alludes in several oaths to future events by putting prophetic words in the mouth of the swearer. As an example of this method of foreshadowing I would mention the oath of Arung Cellu, who predicts that if the Arumponé does not listen to the wise old men (*to matoa*), he will be exiled to Bandung – indeed the Arumponé's eventual fate. The often repeated references to oaths in the text for purposes of encouraging the warriors can also be regarded as important structural elements that lend a certain coherence to the narrative.

A *toloq* is usually of quite complex composition. The story is told chronologically, but from shifting perspectives. Sometimes the omniscient narrator is speaking, but frequently the story is told by a first-person narrator. In the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* these narrators may be either Bugis such as the *pong-gawa* ('commander-in-chief'), the *pangngulu lombo* ('commander') or a local *arung* ('ruler'), or Dutchmen, such as the governor-general. This shifting focus gives the story a many-sided, in a way 'objective' touch. This is corroborated by the remarkable fact that only very rarely are feelings of antipathy depicted by the author. Both opponents are treated in the same fashion, both Bugis and Dutch usually being described as fighting cocks. The story is an exposé of actions, mentioning numerous names of persons involved and giving detailed descriptions of the routes followed. However, especially as regards the presentation of personal names, it is striking to note that this is done only in the case of Bugis. The name of a Dutchman is mentioned rarely, as it is customary to mention only their functions, for example 'the Governor' or 'the Colonel'.

The sources a man like Mallaq used to write his work remain something of an enigma. For the Bugis side he was able to rely on his own experiences and the stories of his fellow-countrymen. But what access did he have to the Dutch side of the story? As he only knew Bugis and some Malay,¹⁰ he did not use written Dutch sources. Most probably he received his material orally from Dutch officials, perhaps even interviewing them on this point.

Historical background

There are many ways of supplying historical background information in order to trace the lines leading to the last Boné war. I have chosen to use for this purpose the 'introduction' to the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné*, which Mallaq wrote at the request of Rookmaaker. This circumstance has no doubt influenced his account of events, and has thus resulted in a curious document, in

¹⁰ Andi Baso Amier, personal communication, 29 October 1985.

which a Bugis author writes Bugis history from a Dutch perspective. The passages between square brackets are my additions. They contain information drawn from other, mostly Dutch, sources.

This, then, is the story of the ruler in former times, who was called Petta To Risompaé, Arung Malampéqé Gemmeqna [epithet of the famous 17th-century ruler of Boné, Arung Palakka]. He was at that time a very succesful ruler in the land of Boné. He also sailed westward to Jakettara [Jakarta, in 1666], and there, in Jakettara, was on brotherly terms with the government, and they exchanged pledges of friendship. So Arung Malampéqé Gemmeqna and the government together entered the land of Boné [the war with Goa and the Bungaya treaty of 1667]. After that there existed a relation of complete brotherhood between Petta To Risompaé and the government. At that time, too, the Almighty God bestowed prestige upon the Arumponé and the land of Boné. At the same time the standing of the Arumponé and the land of Boné became famous in Celebes. He was the leader of all the fellow-states and of all the lands he had conquered, which were obliged to follow his banner: all lands leeward of Celebes, eastward of the islands of Java and Sumatra. At the time of the Arumponé Petta To Risompaé, the old treaties of the land of Boné were observed and all the *adat* rules agreed upon by the Advisory Council and the Islamic Religious Council were drawn up. The rulers who ruled after Petta To Risompaé [died 1696] could not match him. Their realm in this world was in constant decline, their standing fell and their power diminished. The power of the people after him steadily decreased.

After some time [some 160 years later] Pancaitana Bessé Kajuara became ruler of Boné [1857]. She was the widow of La Parénréngi Arung Matinroé ri Ajang Bénténg. By a decree of the Almighty God a conflict arose between Singkerruq Rukka Ahmad Arung Palakka and Pancaitana Bessé Kajuara Arumponé. Thereupon Arung Palakka Singkerruq Rukka Ahmad left the land of Boné and drew up a new contract with the government. After the contract had been agreed upon, he entered Boné together with the government and in 1859 the government went to war with Boné. Boné was defeated by the government and the Arumponé Bessé Kajuara fled to Alitta, in the Ajattappareng district. That was the reason why Arung Palakka Singkerruq Rukka Ahmad was installed as ruler of Boné by the government [13 February 1860]. He adhered to the traditional customs and administered justice according to the law. But the land of Boné over which he ruled was only given in loan, because such was their bound contract (*kontaraq assi-jancingeng*). Then the government withdrew. The borderlines were set by the government along the Tangka River. The Tangka River follows a winding course. Also following a winding course were the government's holdings along the southern part of the river. The property of Boné at the northern part of the Tangka River was similar. Ahmad Singkerruq Rukka, posthumously called Matinroé ri Topacing, ruled all his life in Boné [he died in 1871]. The land of Boné had neither difficulties nor problems, because the members of the Advisory Council of Boné were of one mind. He followed the wishes of the Government as stated in the old treaty [the Bungaya treaty of 1667] and in the contract that had been accepted by the government. He was on affectionate terms with the fellow states, he loved his family, educated his slaves, cared for the poor and was steadfast in his religion through

out his life. Such was the nature of Matinroé ri Topaccing during his reign in Boné. After that his daughter named Patima Bauq Banri was appointed ruler of Boné. She was given in marriage to her cousin from Goa named Andi Bangkung Karaéng Popo. It was Karaéng Popo who [actually] ruled the kingdom of Boné, because his wife was the Arumponé, named Patima Bauq Banri. After she had been ruler of Boné for some time, the in-exorable will of the Almighty God was imposed upon her and Patima Bauq Banri moved into the mercy of the Almighty God [1895]. Her posthumous name was Matinroé ri Bola Mpareq. She left one daughter, named Bauq Cellaq Arung Apala.

After the burial of the ruler named Patima Bauq Banri Matinroé ri Bola Mpareq, the Advisory Council of Boné, the judges of Boné, the relatives of the Arumponé and the people all agreed to appoint Bauq Cellaq Arung Apala as ruler of Boné. After that it was decreed by the Almighty God that a conflict should arise between Karaéng Popo and the chief of the royal guard (*to malompona to Angké*). The chief of the royal guard left for Balannipa to seek refuge with the government, because he did not want to live in the land of Boné unless La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri was ruler of Boné. Thereupon the chief of the royal guard was appointed principal advisor (*arung makkedangngé tana*) by the government. At that time the government entered Boné together with the principal advisor, and consequently they did not install Bauq Cellaq Arung Apala as ruler of Boné. At that time the government appointed La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri as ruler of Boné, appointed the chief of the royal guard as principal advisor, appointed Arung Tanété ri Awang Baso Kaluku as prime minister (*to marilaleng*), and La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri Arumponé was given a contract [16 February 1896]. It was even more severe than the contract accepted by Arung Matinroé ri Topaccing, but not a single word of the contract was felt to be severe by the Arumponé at the time it was given by the government. He completely followed and accepted all the government's dictates. Neither did he deny a word, nor did he refuse anything at the time the bound contract was given. After La Pawawoi Karaéng Ségéri had ruled in Boné for some time, it was decreed by the Almighty God that he should not follow the rules that had been followed by his father, Arung Matinroé ri Topaccing. He merely followed his lusts (*nappessu*) in everything he desired and wanted. He acted in violation of all that had been considered appropriate by both himself and the government. The government felt embarrassed by the rules with which the Arumponé complied, because they deviated greatly from the bound contract between Boné and the Company [government]. In the opinion of the Company there was also a great difference from the conduct that the government considered appropriate. So the aversion of the Company became apparent. But he did not care, because he was not interested in the warnings of the government and did not heed its advice (*pap-pangajaaq*). Now, the land of Boné over which the Arumponé ruled had only been given him in loan. Furthermore, the Arumponé had promised that Boné would scrupulously observe every word of the bound contract, but in fact the Arumponé had violated that contract between Boné and the government numerous times. Thereupon the government felt that the contract made by Boné was of no value. But the government kept on warning the Arumponé, in the hope that he would repent. But he did not want to repent, nor did he wish to be cautioned. Then the government gave a final warning by reminding Boné of their bound contract: the

government wanted to levy taxes on all exported and imported goods in the Boné district. But the government was prepared to pay a reasonable compensation for Boné's losses. Furthermore, the government wanted to station harbour masters and it gave orders to preserve order in the harbours of Boné district [Pallimeq and Bajoé]. Then the government desired to appoint functionaries in Boné as stated in the bound contract. The time came when the government wanted to levy taxes in Celebes and Dependencies. They wished to give orders that these taxes should be taken care of by their agent. They also wanted to appoint one or more elderly Dutchmen to govern Boné. They were to assist the Arumponé and to give advice in the interest of the well-being and order of Boné. The Arumponé was set a time-limit of eight days [22 June 1905; see below for details]. After the eight days had passed, the request of the government was refused. Then, on Friday, 31st August in the year 1905 [the first Dutch troops landed on 20 July; see below for details], the Company struck a violent blow. From that time the government has been given by the Almighty God the greatness and authority to control Celebes and Dependencies. Such was the sequence of events from the beginning to the end.

Mallaq starts his survey with an encomium of that great hero of the Bugis, Arung Palakka, who during his reign succeeded in making Boné the most powerful kingdom of Sulawesi. The author explicitly mentions the strong bonds of friendship between Boné and the Dutch. Only with the help of God and the Dutch had it been possible to achieve such success and attain power and prestige. This bears a strong resemblance to the text of the memorandum of 1698, in which Arung Palakka's successor, La Patauq, declared that: 'the Company together with God were the only ones who had brought the Boné people from a state of slavery into a state of freedom and peace' (Rookmaaker 1924:400).

Mallaq does not want to offend his Dutch audience. He does not mention the years up to 1857, during which the Company's grip on events steadily lessened. Instead, he speaks of Boné's 'constant decline', while Dutch observers speak of its 'almost limitless command over the complete southern part of South Celebes' (Rookmaaker 1924:400; similar statement in Nijpels 1902, I:41). Also the war with the British in 1814 and the war of 1824-1825 (which was not very successful from the Dutch perspective) are passed over in silence (Nijpels 1902, II:107). Clearly, in Mallaq's view Boné's power is closely associated with Dutch control over the area.

Mallaq resumes the story in 1859 when the Dutch are beginning to regain control, praising the Dutch protégé Ahmad Singkerruq Rukka. In dealing with La Pawawoi, the tone of Mallaq's account becomes sharp, culminating in his accusation of La Pawawoi as someone who is following his lusts, which is one of the worst things a Muslim can do (Andaya and Matheson 1979:118). This version of the direct cause of the war and of the Dutch demands on Boné corresponds to a great extent with the Dutch accounts (see below).

So much for Mallaq's 'introduction', which in fact provides enough reasonable background information for us to be able to deal with his further account. In contrast to the introduction, the subsequent text is, of course, set wholly within the traditional *toloq* conventions.

The Toloq Rumpaqna Boné

I will now set out the contents of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* and compare the data given by it with the evidence found in Dutch sources. In view of the very different nature of the two sources, such a 'comparison' actually seems out of place. In the Dutch material – and I have only used published material – we come across hour-to-hour reports, official letters, statistics, landing orders, eye-witness reports, detailed maps and, especially in the popular press, a great many elucidating and excellent photographs. In order to do justice to the Bugis text, I have taken it as my basis text and have tried to clarify or contradict its data by using relevant Dutch data. Hence, only a small part of the Dutch actions, which encompassed almost the whole of South Sulawesi, can be dealt with. As has been mentioned before, in the Bugis text the events are frequently described using a Dutch focus: in a way, the account is less one-sided than its Dutch equivalents. It was not possible, however, for me to do justice to the main authoritative aspect of the work: the mention of literally hundreds of names of persons involved in the events, which would have made for even more exhausting reading.¹¹

The reason for the war is an alliance between Boné, Goa and Sidénréng. They do not want to live under the old rules and proclaim themselves rulers in this world. This becomes known to the governor in Juppandang [Makassar].

There was a strong feeling of animosity in Goa against the Dutch, because of incidents in February 1905, on which occasion the Dutch intervened in a conflict between Goa and Sawitto. In April the Dutch occupied the western harbour of Paré-Paré in anticipation of the projected levying of taxes by the Dutch instead of by Sidénréng, which felt threatened by this act. Together with other Ajattappareng districts, Sidénréng renounced its allegiance to the Dutch government on 18 May. The government had found indications that Boné, Wajoq, Goa and probably also Sidénréng and Soppéng were cooperating against the Dutch. The Governor of Celebes and Dependencies at the time was C.A. Kroesen (*Expeditie* 1915-16:13-8).

For seven years the government has been considering war against Boné.

¹¹ The contents of the Bugis text are set in small type; the annotations in normal type.

Probably since the contract of 1896 between Boné and the Dutch ('nine' and 'eight' are among the numerals that almost never occur in *toloq*), the government had grown increasingly anxious about the arbitrary behaviour of the Arumponé. Serious preparations for war against Boné (and Luwuq) started in December 1904 when the military objective of the expedition was formulated as 'to occupy the capital Watamponé; to seize the ruler, his relatives and the regalia' while its political goal was 'the subjection of the whole kingdom and its allies' (*Expeditie* 1915-16:9).

The governor-general (*Jiniralana Bettawé*, 'the General of Batavia') discusses the best day for an attack with the colonel (*koronéli bettaqédé*, 'the stout colonel'). The attack should take place on a Friday, this being an unlucky day for the commander-in-chief of Boné.

The governor-general at the time was J.B. van Heutsz and the colonel was C.A. van Loenen, who acted as commander-in-chief of the Dutch forces (the colonel's epithet bears witness to the usual feature in *toloq* of treating the enemy as an equal). The first landing of the Dutch troops took place on 20 July, a Thursday.

The governor-general orders the army's embarkation. The colonel, indigenous soldiers from Ternate, Ambon, Java and Makassar, and European soldiers go on board. For more than one month they remain in the harbour of Batavia before departing for Boné. They number thousands of soldiers and hundreds of *mare-chaussées* [military police]. After three days they reach Juppandang.

The plan was to depart from Batavia and Surabaya to Makassar in the beginning of July. There was a delay of ten days because of the government's last endeavour to find a peaceful settlement, during which Boné was given a term of ten days to respond to the governmental demands. The actual departure took place on 13 July from the harbour of Tanjung Priok. One ship, the *Van Riemsdijk*, sailed with the commander-in-chief on board directly to Makassar, where it arrived on 16 July. The other ships assembled in Surabaya, from where they departed on 15 July (*Expeditie* 1915-16:26-7, Bijlage V). In the Bugis text the soldiers bear the names of appropriate types of cocks, such as *dunrung mpulaweng* 'golden (Moluccan) cock' for the Ambonese and *worong laliq* 'big-crested cock' for the Makassarese. The Europeans are called *bellang mata* 'the grey-eyed'. The exact number of Dutch troops is not known. According to Rookmaaker (1924:402) the number must have been far greater than the 2,000 troops mentioned in *Expeditie* (1915-16, Bijlage V).

The colonel sees the governor of Juppandang in his palace. They take counsel together and agree to behave properly and to inform the Arumponé of their intentions. The colonel sails via Selayar to Bajoé. The fleet is seen by Haji Turuq. He is alarmed and hastens to Watamponé to report to the Arumponé. The Arumponé

listens silently and orders a messenger to call the commander-in-chief. They deliberate on the situation.

Karaéng Maros, the colonel's envoy, arrives and explains the intention of the Dutch: to integrate (*passiatdaq*) Juppandang into Boné, from the Tangka-river to Soppéng and Wajoq; the colonel will control the harbour of Pallimeq and levy taxes there. After a long silence the Arumponé states that he cannot reply because he has 'transferred the power of Boné to the Advisory Council'. Karaéng Maros returns to the fleet and reports exactly the Arumponé's words. The colonel is glowing with anger: 'the robust face of the stout colonel looked like glowing coals'.

This episode is an account of the mission undertaken by the Dutch on 22 June 1905. At that time the colonel was still in Batavia, as he would only arrive in Makassar on 16 July. The mission included the delivering of the Dutch demands to Boné. These were: 'The fulfilment of Boné's obligation, as had been agreed to in the contract between Boné and the Dutch on 16 February 1896, to cooperate in transferring to the government – with reasonable compensation – the right to levy import and export taxes as well as to recognize the government's right to conduct the maintenance of the harbours and to control the harbour police in that region, its implementation being attended by the appointment of government officials in Boné'. The term for reply was set for ten days (*Expeditie* 1915-16, Bijlage I:3). The 'integration of Juppandang into Boné' should probably be interpreted as the intention of the Makassar-based Dutch to conquer Boné.

Resident J.A.G. Brugman, *controleur* O.M. Goedhart, the *regent* of Maros Paké Daéng Masigaq, the *kapitan Melayu* Encik Lélé, the chief envoy for the interior Ahmad Daéng Marola, and the interpreter A.R. Cramer left Makassar on 21 June, escorted by two warships. They arrived in Bajoé the next afternoon. The Dutchmen remained on board while the *regent* of Maros, who was on friendly terms with both Boné and the government, went to Watamponé together with the *kapitan Melayu* and the chief envoy. Their welcome by the Bugis was quite offensive, but they returned safely. On 29 June the harbour-master of Bajoé, Haji Turuq, handed the negative reply from the Arumponé to the Dutch (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:274; *Ooggetuige* 1905:350).

The Arumponé engages in consultations with the commander-in-chief. The latter will recruit troops from all over the country. In the course of the next seven days these troops arrive in Watamponé. The *pongawa* delivers several spirit-arousing speeches. 'I don't care if the Dutch Company strikes at us, because I feel utterly ashamed (*masiriq wéggang ngaq*) to accept Javanese and Malays.' The Arumponé cries from 'unearthly shame' (*siriq tenriallino*), because the governor-general wants to take over his kingdom, and his country will be torn by the war. Then all, who are present take oaths of allegiance (*mangngaruq*), beginning with the commander-in-chief. Reacting to the oath of Arung Cellu, the Arumponé jumps up and delivers a heated speech. After this ceremony, all are ready to proceed.

Both the *pongawa* and the Arumponé refer in their words to the well known concept of *siriq*. In the long *mangngaruq*-scene no less than fifty-five oaths are fully quoted down to the ranks of *daéng* and *andiq*. The text says that dozens of captains and the soldiers also swore their oaths, but it does not cite these. According to Sagimun (1976:24) the words of the Arumponé's address are still known to the present day. The long quotation he gives parallels Mallaq's text almost word-for-word.

The *pongawa* and his army arrive in Bajoé, singing songs of war (*oseng*) 'like screeching parrots'. The colonel obtains Boné's 'gold-knotted summons for war' (*bila-bila singkerruq kati pammusuq*), looks through his binoculars, and discovers masses of Boné's subjects in Bajoé and Cellu.

While the *pongawa* is making preparations for war, Arung Manajéng arrives. He receives a complex order that brings him to the Arumponé, to whom he pledges a long oath of allegiance. Arung Manajéng is ordered to defend Ujung Pattiro. He assembles soldiers, inspects them and performs the prayer 'like a man who kills his faithful fighting-cock'. After a march through small villages he arrives in Ujung Pattiro.

Using binoculars, the colonel sees the people of Manajéng in thick rows standing southward of Lassareng. The colonel orders the drums to be beaten and the 'army of the ruler with the stone house' lands at Ujung Pattiro.

The *bila-bila* probably refers to the message from the Arumponé on 29 June. Mallaq (Arung Manajéng) elaborates, of course, on his own role in the battle of Pattiro. The delivery of the government's last ultimatum is not mentioned in the text. According to *Expeditie* (1915-16:30) and *Ooggetuige* (1905:353), the final ultimatum was delivered by an imprisoned man from Boné, La Patola Daéng Masappo, who obtained his freedom by this deed. In the final ultimatum, expiring on 20 July at 8:00 am, the aforementioned demands were repeated. To these demands were added: 'compensation of the costs made to transport the expedition from Java to Boné and back' and 'the concluding of a new political contract' (*Expeditie* 1915-16: Bijlage Ib, Bijlage IX).

In the translation (from Bugis or Malay?) of the letter from the Arumponé to the Dutch commander-in-chief dated 20 July 1905, there is no mention of transferring power to the Advisory Council. In that letter the Arumponé states that he does not intend to oppose the government, but that the demands 'are too heavy', that is he refuses to accept them. With regard to the demand for financial compensation by Boné to the Dutch, the Arumponé writes: 'Even if one would sell the complete population of Boné, the proceeds would in my opinion not be sufficient to pay the amount that has been fixed by the General' (*Expeditie* 1915-16, Bijlage XII). On 20 July at 7:30 am the ship *Koningin Regentes* cabled by marconigraph that the demands had been rejected. Immediately after, the landing started. The first troops reached the shore at 8:07 am (*Ooggetuige* 1905:353-4; *Expeditie* 1915-16:31).

Heavy fighting is initiated at Ujung Pattiro. Both parties alternately move forward. Some propose to Arung Manajéng that he withdraws, thus causing his frantic anger. Arung Manajéng is hit by a bullet, but keeps on fighting. When evening falls and he sees that there are many casualties among his soldiers, 'their dead bodies scattered all over the place', he withdraws at the request of dozens of soldiers. He sadly counts the dead: two officers and more than fifty soldiers.

Seven days later the battle in Bajoé and Béneq occurs.

Initially, the Dutch troops did not encounter many problems. But soon it became obvious that they hardly knew the local situation. The *bakuq-bakuq* bushes along the shore were practically impenetrable, the Pattiro-river proved too broad and too muddy to ford, and there was a shortage of drinking water. Two days after the landing, the commander-in-chief decided to return to the ships and try a new landing in Bajoé. It took five days to complete the withdrawal from Ujung Pattiro (*Ooggetuige* 1905:354; *Expeditie* 1915-16:31-7).

This failure caused much debate in the colonial press. Under the cynical heading 'Patiro-Patira' (Patira referring to French *patiras* 'scape-goat'), the blame for the 'tragi-comedy of Pati-ro' was put on 'the almost complete lack of topographical knowledge'. 'Is it the task of the leader of an expedition in South Celebes to play for Stanley?' commented Van Geuns (1905:288) referring to the well-known explorer of the African continent.

During their stay around Ujung Pattiro, the forces were mostly on the move, trying to find their way. Only one case of a battle was reported, resulting in fifteen Boné casualties (*Ooggetuige* 1905:354; *Expeditie* 1915-16:31). The landing in Béneq near Bajoé would take place on 28 July.

Early in the morning thousands of soldiers and hundreds of *marechaussées* flock together on the shore of Béneq. A fierce battle follows. One of the Boné heroes, son of the commander of Timurung, dies. Dozens of [Dutch] captains 'quickly remove the carrier of his headdress', that is behead him. The colonel lands early in the morning. Again, heavy fighting takes place, in which hundreds of Boné soldiers die. There are several unsuccessful sorties, causing more casualties among the Boné soldiers. The army of the colonel stands firm all the time. The *pongga* joins in together with, among others, the member of the Advisory Council Arung Tanété and 'the turbans from Mekka and the holy cocks from Madina'. Many Boné fighters die, among others the Arumponé's cousin Arung Ségéri and the son of Arung Mario. Both are decapitated by dozens of captains. Everybody, including the *pongga*, flees. He requests that all names of the dead be mentioned. The names of ten persons are reported, 'more than five-hundred children of noble blood' and an innumerable number of soldiers. The *pongga* bursts into tears.

On 27 July all ships moved to the roadsteads of Bajoé and reconnaissances were made. After a sham attack, the troops landed the next morning in the northern part of Béneq under heavy shelling from the ships. Three shots were

fired at Watamponé, about 10 kilometers from the shore. There was fierce resistance from the enemy; they fled only at the last moment. Others, however, due to a combination of hunger and opium were encountered staring woodenly in their trenches and let themselves be easily killed (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:313-4, 330).

The *pongga* stayed in Bajoé until five o'clock in the (next?) morning, 'but then thought it probably healthier to go to Watamponé'. 'The Raja himself was still in Watamponé during the landing, but hardly had a visiting-card of ours in the form of a 15 cm grenade fallen near the mosque, when he left helter-skelter for the interior' (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:331).

At 10:30 am the Dutch flag was hoisted. There were three dead on the Dutch side and 256 slain Boné soldiers were counted, but later the total number of slain was assumed to be about 500. According to some prisoners of war and persons who had surrendered, the Boné forces had numbered at least 2000 fighters, and had suffered about 1000 casualties. *Ooggetuige* (1905:356) puts the number at 4000 Boné troops and 600 dead.

The disembarkation of troops and stores was continued on 29 July and ended the next day. In the environment of the landing place no enemies were to be seen (*Expeditie* 1915-16:38-44).

It is reported to the *pongga* that the Arumponé is leaving Watamponé for Palakka and that the Company [government's army] is in the north with the intention of surrounding the Arumponé's palace. The *pongga* and his cousin, who is commander of Boné, flee bitterly weeping to Palakka, where they meet the Arumponé. According to the *pongga* a possible explanation for Boné's defeat is 'because all the works of our ancestors had been forgotten and the regalia not honoured' (*apaq dililu maneng ngi gauqna to ri olota, tenripakkalebbiq to ni arajangngédé ri Boné*). The Company's army follows. Heavy fighting develops and the *pongga* together with the Arumponé have to retire to Passémpeq. The *pongga* advises his father to leave first, so that he can block the Dutch army. The Arumponé and his following, including many women, flee.

Heavy fighting takes place at Passémpeq between the *pongga* and the colonel. The *pongga* withdraws to Gottang, where he meets the Arumponé. Next morning the colonel surrounds the place, the Arumponé flees, while the *pongga* fights a furious battle with the Dutch army. He inflicts many casualties on the Dutch, but has to retire to Ponré. Daéng Mangngatta has been taken prisoner at Gottang. He is interrogated, but does not want to tell the present location of the Arumponé. Rather, he is exiled to Java. He is brought to Watamponé and stays there for ten days, before he is sent to Juppandang where he enters the palace of the governor.

When the Dutch entered Watamponé on 30 July, the town was deserted. The next day a column went to Palakka, but found that place deserted as well. Various reports indicated that the Arumponé and the *pongga* would be near Passémpeq, so on 2 August the order was given to march to Passémpeq. Only a few shots were fired there, before the house where the Arumponé had

stayed a short time before was found.

Conflicting reports of the Arumponé's stay were received. Meanwhile many Boné aristocrats surrendered, among them the *to marilaleng* and the *anréguru anakarung* (9 August). The latter stated that resistance in Boné had ended, and proposed to hand the regalia (that were hidden in Passémpeq) over to the Dutch. The ceremonial transfer took place the next day (*Expeditie* 1915-16:44-55).

Based on information provided by the local population the Arumponé was pursued. On 16 August the village of Gottang was surrounded. Three persons were apprehended, among whom was Daéng Mangngatta, the head of ceremonial affairs. They informed the Dutch that the Arumponé had left the place the previous day, accompanied among others by his son the *pong-gawa* and some forty women (*Expeditie* 1915-16:64). Because of his poor clothes, Daéng Mangngatta was initially taken for a servant. But a beautiful shirt was found that fitted him exactly. Furthermore, he was identified by the Kapitan Wajoq. He was considered as having been influential with the Arumponé, and also because of his record of various acts of blackmailing, he was taken away and later sent to Makassar (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:422).

When the Arumponé has been in Ponré three days, the commander of Awang Tangka [South Boné] receives reports of the war. He decides to attack the Dutch fortress in Balannipa near Boné's southern border. All local leaders arrive to join in the war. One of them is Arung Labuaja. The next day Arung Labuaja and Daéng Mappaseng cross the Tangka-river and attack Balannipa. There is heavy fighting. The commander of Balannipa dies and is beheaded by Daéng Mappaseng. Both parties withdraw and a messenger is sent to Ponré to inform the Arumponé of the successful fighting of Arung Labuaja and Daéng Mappaseng. The Arumponé is happy when he receives the news.

The battle of Balannipa took place on 30 July. The Boné soldiers attacked fiercely, but did not push through. Eight Boné soldiers were killed; on the Dutch side one was killed and three wounded. One of the wounded was the commander of Balannipa, Captain K.J.L. Rijnen. The next day there was another, last attack from Boné.

On 2 and 9 August new Dutch troops arrived from Watamponé in Balannipa. During the following three days some important leaders surrendered: Arung Gona, Arung Kahu (the mother of Arung Labuaja), and, above all, the commander of Awang Tangka. On 16 August the mission had reached its objective: the subjection of Southeast Boné. Arung Labuaja, however, had not surrendered (*Expeditie* 1915-16:56-61, 85).

The Company surrounds Ponré. The Arumponé flees with his following to Citta. After heavy fighting, the *pong-gawa* also withdraws to Citta. The Arumponé con-

tacts the ruler of Soppéng to gain support and weapons. After a conversation with Soppéng's commander, the Arumponé asks him to return home because Soppéng's help would not be enough. He himself will go to Sangallaq in Tana Toraja. Having spent three days in Citta, the Arumponé sends his cousin to Mampu to look for the latter's wife. Next morning the Arumponé leaves, together with more than 500 women, children, and old people. In Wagé they cross the Walennaé-river with fishing boats, have lunch at the palace of the ruler of Pénéki, and arrive at sunset in Impakimpaq at the palace of the ruler of the Ranreng Tua, one of the main rulers of Wajoq. Support is offered, but the Arumponé prefers to go on. Next afternoon he leaves Impakimpaq and arrives in the evening in Loa, where he is offered shelter and help by the Cakkuridi of Wajoq, another important ruler. Again he declines help and leaves at midnight for Sangallaq. He arrives seven days later in Tana Toraja, at Mount Awo, where he is welcomed by his wives. The ruler of Sidénréng orders his son to go to the Arumponé to offer support. Three days later the son arrives on Mount Awo.

According to rumours among the population, the Arumponé was staying in the neighbourhood of Ponré together with the *pongawa* and some hundred followers. On 11 August Major Hildering was sent on a mission to apprehend them. He arrived in Ponré on 13 August and received information on the whereabouts of the king: he was supposed to be in Gottang, about 7 km north of Ponré. After reconnaissances and a difficult march, the major surrounded Gottang on 16 August, but the Arumponé had gone. The major followed the Arumponé's track, but the latter kept a lead of a one day's march. In the morning of 21 August Kampong Citta was entered, which was found to have been deserted by the Arumponé.

The information that the Arumponé had left for Wagé on 22 August was received. It was probable that he was now in Soppéng territory. Therefore, Hildering sent a message to the ruler of Soppéng, requesting him to arrest the Arumponé 'as was his duty to the Government' (*Expeditie* 1915-16:60-6, 95).

An important event took place on 19 August at Watamponé. During an official ceremony the *to marilaleng*, in the presence of the Advisory Council, offered his ceremonial dagger (*kris*) to the Governor of Celebes Kroesen, as a token of Boné's total subjection. At a summit meeting on 21 and 22 August, new measures concerning the future status of Boné were presented by the Dutch authorities (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:463-4).

Meanwhile, the main force was moved from Watamponé to Pompanua, which was more suitable for attacks on Wajoq, Soppéng, and Sidénréng (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:420-21).

In the course of the expedition against Wajoq, the Ranreng Tua of Impakimpaq surrendered on 27 August. In Pompanua the *pangngulu lompona joaqé* (commander of the Boné army) surrendered on 1 September (*Expeditie* 1915-16:97, 99).

On 5 September a mission was sent to Pitumpanua (a Boné enclave

between Wajoq and Luwuq) as it was reported that the Arumponé was staying there. The mission failed (*Gebeurtenissen* 1905-06:502).

The Company's army surrounds Mount Awo. Considering the situation, the *pong-gawa* agrees with the Arumponé that the war will be decided there, 'because the colonel will keep hunting us, even if we ascend towards heaven'. The members of the Arumponé's following take oaths of allegiance (*mangngaruq*) and an enormous battle takes place. Many Boné soldiers die. One of them is Daéng Mattengnga, who is beheaded by hundreds of *marechaussées*. Challenged by the colonel, the *pong-gawa* strikes furiously with his lance called Bolong Kahu, whose metal is hardly visible due to the enemy's blood that stains on it. For a moment both parties are silent, then the *pong-gawa* is shot by the colonel in the chest and dies on the lap of his wife, Datu Cinnong.

The colonel rejoices in Boné's defeat. The Arumponé flees into the woods. Datu Cinnong laments her husband's death extensively. She describes his beauty, his skill in cockfighting, and recollects the beginning of their mutual love. When the Arumponé sees his son lying dead on Datu Cinnong's lap, he sends an envoy to the colonel asking the colonel to withdraw because the *pong-gawa* and many others have died. The colonel replies in a provocative way that infuriates the Arumponé. He grabs his lance called La Salaga and advances. A dialogue between the colonel and the Arumponé follows: (The colonel) 'I warn you. You might get killed by a round cast bullet (*pécunang ritiriq lébu*)'. (The Arumponé) 'I refuse to follow a man who does not acknowledge the prophet Muhammad'.

The colonel wants to bring the Arumponé to Paré-Paré, but the Arumponé wants to bury his son first. This is permitted, and an emotional burial takes place. Then the Arumponé leaves with his wife, Datu Cinnong, servants, women, and girls, all guarded by the Dutch for Paré-Paré, where he arrives three days later.

After a three-day rest in Paré-Paré, he sails to Juppandang. In Juppandang he is welcomed by the governor and is brought to his palace. The governor asks him why the Advisory Council does not accompany him, as he has transferred power to them. The Arumponé replies that his fate has been destined by the Creator (Puang Mappancajié). Then the governor says to Datu Pattiro, the Arumponé's wife, that she has to accompany her husband to Java. However, Datu Pattiro wishes instead to stay with her family in Boné. Her refusal to go with him causes the Arumponé much grief and tears. The *pong-gawa*'s wife Datu Cinnong, on the other hand, does not want to return to Boné, but she is not allowed to go to Java either 'because the *pong-gawa* cannot accompany you to Java'. Both women are brought back to Bajoé, from where they proceed by palanquin to Watamponé.

The governor says to the Arumponé that he will be exiled to Java, 'the land of the Javanese and Malays'. He is brought to the colonel's ship and arrives three days later in Batavia. After having been welcomed by the firing of a salute, he is brought to the governor-general. The governor-general reproaches him for breaking the contract, but adds that the Arumponé will be provided with a dwelling according to his standard. The Arumponé is glad to hear these words of the man 'whose might looks like the might of a man from heaven'. Seven days are spent in the palace of the governor-general. There is a dispute between both men about the interpretation of the old contract between the Dutch and Matinroé ri Bontoalaq

[Arung Palakka]. According to the Arumponé 'no Dutch were allowed to rule in Boné as long as there still were descendants of the *manurung* under the golden umbrella'.

The governor-general says he will have him brought to Bandung. The Arumponé replies that he will never push aside the words of Muhammad, because 'my body follows the Company, but my heart does not' (*mangngolo sia tubukku, tem-mangngolo sia béla atikku ri Kompania*).

Then the Arumponé is brought by carriage to Bandung. Upon arrival in the evening he goes straight to the palace of the *resident* (*mpiséangngé ngngi ri Bandung*). He has to sit on a mat. After a conversation on the contract that had led to the war, the *resident* says that the Arumponé must be glad he has not died in Tana Toraja. The Arumponé is glad to hear the friendly words of the *resident*, 'whose might looks like the might of a man from heaven'.

During the month of September the Arumponé was chased in Pitumpanua district. In the course of October he was reported to have settled in the Awo area, in Wajoq, near the western border of Pitumpanua. Quite a few skirmishes with the *pongawa*'s army took place.

On 18 November Lieutenant C.H. Eilers marched from his bivouac of Lumingka to the dry fields (*ladang*) of Bumbutau, where he arrived at 11:00 am. A local resident who had been taken prisoner, informed him that the Arumponé had crossed the *ladang* only a few hours before and that he had gone in the direction of Batu. Immediately, the track through this difficult terrain was followed. At 3:15 pm a large number of fugitives were discovered, who tried to escape along a mountain slope. Among them were the *pongawa* and his second in command, Daéng Mitanga, firing machine guns. Both were killed. A short distance away the *pongawa*'s wife was found. Some 100 meters from that location the lame Arumponé, having been deserted by his bearers, was discovered by the Ambonese *marechaussée* Manuputy. He was taken captive.

Eight persons had died on the Boné side; there were no losses among the Dutch. The Arumponé and his followers were taken via Rappang to Paré-Paré on 25 November. In Paré-Paré a thorn in the Arumponé's left foot, which had rendered him lame, was cut out. The Arumponé and his fellow captives were then taken by ship to Makassar, where they arrived on 29 November. Upon arrival, he was taken to the government hotel, where he conferred with the governor. After that he stayed at a house that had been put in readiness for him. Then, in the afternoon of 14 December, the Arumponé, who was still not able to walk, was carried to the ship which was to convey him to Batavia (Eilers 1906; *Expeditie* 1915-16:245-58; *Vertrek* 1905).

Toloq Rumpaqa Boné: an authoritative text

As emphasized earlier, distinguishing literary conventions forms the key to understanding *toloq*-texts. These conventions operate in two ways. They can be analytically divided into 'entertaining' *sureq*-conventions, such as poetical language, traditional metaphors, parallelism, and the eight-syllable metre on the one hand and 'serious' *lontaraq*-conventions on the other. Apart from the historiographical content of a *toloq*, a number of *lontaraq*-bound conventions are used that accord authoritative features to these texts.

Probably in all *toloq* we find typical enumerations, *suro*-scenes (see below), and devices of focus-shifting. Usually, all kinds of enumerations abound, in particular with regard to names of persons and places. Such statements actualize and particularize the events mentioned in the text. The audience knows who has done something and where it has taken place. In most cases the persons who have been mentioned are very well known, either from other narrative texts – written or oral – or from genealogies. Furthermore, heroes and leaders were almost without exception related to each other and to the *toloq* audience, which consisted mainly of members of the aristocracy (see below). No doubt all these listings of persons and places contributed to the notion that they were to be understood as signs of referentiality. In addition, the fact that the heroes of the narrative were direct ancestors of the audience increased its credibility in their eyes.

As in *lontaraq*-texts, so-called *suro*-scenes occur very frequently in a *toloq*. In these scenes we see how a messenger (*suro*) receives or carries out an order. Such a *suro*-scene is depicted by means of a multi-stage narration technique. This involves depicting the person who gives the order telling the messenger the exact words he has to convey. Regularly, the person who receives such a message from a *suro*, in turn transmits the order to another person he has delegated by using his own *suro*. At every 'delegation' the words of the original order are repeated in direct speech. In this way the addressee is informed of the first order. This repetition functions in part to depict the correct conveying of the message; this narrative technique then serves as a reality marker.

In addition to this *lontaraq*-aspect, these *suro*-scenes also have a prominent structural function. They are an excellent means of transferring the focus of the narrative from one place to another. Although focus shifting is not an exclusive quality of historiographical texts, they certainly play a part in the assumed reliability of *toloq*-texts. The attention repeatedly moves between the various parties so that the audience gets information about the event from different perspectives. By following a *suro* on his journey, the focus of the narrative is transferred in a natural way from one side to the other. The elaborate negotiations which preceded the Dutch landing in Boné, have been

rendered using this technique in the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné*.

Very prominent too in the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* are the *mangngaruq*-scenes, which were earlier referred to as subtle literary tools. However, as is the case with *suro*-scenes, they have not only a literary function, but they also carry referential significance. The exceptional lengthy *mangngaruq*-scenes which occur in the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* are in fact listings of a great number of more or less important persons and function in the same way as the other enumerations discussed above.

As is the case with a *lontaraq*, these characteristics accord authority to a *toloq*. The texts possess qualities which cause them to be read as reliable accounts. The authoritativeness of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* in South Sulawesi historiography has been especially well established. Up to the present day, Bugis scholars have used this text as the main source of information in writing their accounts of the war of 1905. In his official biography of La Pawawoi, Sagimun (1976) on several occasions makes use of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné*. In the section on La Pawawoi, a book on 'the heroes of Sulawesi' literally cites his famous words to the Governor-General, 'my body follows the Company, but my heart does not' (Patang 1976:26). Andi Muhammad Ali's booklet on the Boné war (1984) follows Mallaq Arung Manajéng's story almost literally – it even bears the apt title '*Rumpaqna Boné*'. A recent monograph on the history of South Sulawesi is in its treatment of the 1905 war also clearly based on the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* (Massiara Daeng Rapi 1989:147-53). Probably the best illustration of the authority of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* is the section on the 1905 Boné war in the official publication 'History of the resistance to imperialism and colonialism in South Sulawesi', which for the greater part is a summary of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* (Sejarah 1985:100-10).

Toloq-texts are not only authoritative in general, but probably belonged to the authorities as well. Forty years ago Cense remarked that 'apparently the poets [of *toloq*] must be looked for between those persons who either belonged to the royal family or who have received data from court circles and possibly had access to family chronicles and diaries' (Cense 1951:58). This also holds true for the *toloq*-audience, which make these heroic poems, in fact, examples of court literature. The information available on the author of the *Toloq Rumpaqna Boné* confirms these statements. After all, he was Arung Manajéng, Ruler of Manajéng.