

Held's History of Sumbawa

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Held's History of Sumbawa

An Annotated Translation

Hans Hägerdal

Amsterdam University Press

Cover illustration: Highland village in West Sumbawa
Photo: Hans Hägerdal

Cover design: Coördesign, Leiden
Lay-out: Crius Group, Hulshout

Amsterdam University Press English-language titles are distributed in the US and Canada by the University of Chicago Press.

ISBN	978 94 6298 161 4
e-ISBN	978 90 4853 127 1
DOI	10.5117/9789462981614
NUR	692

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The map illustrates the geographical layout of Java, Sumatra, and Lombok. Java is on the left, Sumatra in the center, and Lombok on the right. The map includes labels for various regions and cities. On Java, regions like Sanggar, Tambora, and Pekat are marked. On Sumatra, regions like Dompur and Sumbawa are marked. On Lombok, regions like Karangsem, Banjar Getas, and Bayan are marked. The map also shows the Java Sea to the west, the Indian Ocean to the east, and the Lombok and Alas Straits. The map is oriented with North at the top.

Source: L.Y. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, published on Martinus Nijhoff 1981

Translator's introduction

Yearning and wondering, Kajsa and I had been looking at the sky-high Tambora volcano from our camp on Satunda. In the middle of the day it lay embedded in dense, white clouds and hidden for our gazes. Early in the morning however, and right before the sunset, the sight was clear and our eyes were drawn towards the jungle-clad mountainside, up to the barren top which made an uneven silhouette, sometimes in the bluest blue, sometimes in violet, purple or gold.

– We will encamp high up there in a few weeks, I said to our boy Duruhama. From there Satunda will look like a small bubble on the sea!

Duruhama shook his head, disapprovingly.

– This is no good place, *tuan*. It is terribly cold on Tambora. And there are large, dangerous dogs – so large that their footprints are as those of tigers. When they bark, something in your ears is damaged, so you become completely deaf. And even worse are the forest people. They live in the trees and are no larger than children, and are mean and horribly ugly.

Nay, *tuan*, it is better to stay here on Satunda!

Had it only been true! How about catching a little forest troll, hairy and with a tail, or a cute puppy, large as a horse! However, vain hope; it is only the folk fantasy which – apart from the same pucks, goblins trolls and fairytale animals as back home – have also created a bunch of others on the Lesser Sunda Islands. Every mountain, every river and lake are populated by curious beings, and when you try to gather data about the animals of the islands, the islanders usually blend fancy with reality and tell about the most hideous fauna.¹

Thus did the Swedish adventurer and cameraman Rolf Blomberg describe his experience with Sumbawa in the last waning days of the Dutch East Indies in 1941. Attracted by the dragons of nearby Komodo, Blomberg was one of the utter few outsiders to describe this sizable island, half the size of Belgium, for the general audience. His perspective might be typical of an educated Western traveller in late colonial Asia: a keen sense of observation coupled with a somewhat patronizing attitude to his 'boy' and the superstitions that permeated local culture. The two spots mentioned both loom large in the historiography of Sumbawa: the Tambora volcano due to the notorious eruption of 1815 with global consequences, and the picturesque

1 Blomberg, *Sydvart*, p. 88. Translation by the editor.

island Satunda (Satonda) as the place of origin of Bima, the leading kingdom on the island. A few months after the visit, the Imperial Japanese troops invaded the Western colonies in Southeast Asia. The Sumbawans were quick to overthrow the weak Dutch administration on their island and invite the Japanese authorities in the spring of 1942 – incidentally belying the passive image of them in Blomberg's account. While Blomberg was able to wait out the war unharmed on Java, most Europeans fared worse and were interned in camps. Among the tens of thousands of internees was a Dutch scholar and official who survived the ordeal and later on wrote the text that is translated and published here. But before we detail the life of Gerrit Jan Held, a few words about Sumbawa are called for.

Among the larger islands of Indonesia, Sumbawa has so far attracted relatively limited attention in spite of its obvious historical and ethnographic interest. Tucked in between the forces of Javanese culture, Makassarese influences, the impact of Islam, and the 'traditional' East Indonesian flow of life, Sumbawan civilization is the result of a centuries-long negotiation between religious, commercial, cultural and political forces with a larger Southeast Asian significance. While it might be less well-known than Bali, Lombok, Flores and Timor, the island is therefore a fascinating historical case that points to the processes that made Indonesia what it is today.² Geographically, Sumbawa lies close to the absolute centre of Indonesia, about halfway between Sabang and Merauke, a centrality that is reflected in the impact of the above-mentioned forces. It is also the very spot where two major groups of Austronesian languages meet; the language of West Sumbawa, Basa Semawa, is related to that of Lombok, while that of East Sumbawa, Nggahi Mbojo, has affinities with the languages of Sumba and Flores and is closer to Polynesian tongues than Malay and Javanese. The demographic centre of gravity is in the east with a population that was 50 per cent greater than the west in modern times.³ From a historical point of view the two ethnic groups have had somewhat limited intercourse;

2 It has been argued that exactly this in-between-ness has made the island a neglected field with regard to Western scholarship on Indonesia. The position of Sumbawa was 'too' transitional between the eastern and western parts of the archipelago to catch much attention. It would have been too peripheral to interest those concerned with mainstream Indonesian culture, and too Islamic too attract students of East Indonesian cultures. Just, *Dou Donggo Social Organization*, p. 21.

3 Just, *Dou Donggo Social Organization*, p. 20. In c. 1986 there were 300,000 speakers of Basa Semawa, and 450,000 people speaking Nggahi Mbojo. There are (or were) also two minor highland languages in Bima which are distinct from Nggahi Mbojo: Kolonese and Wawonese. Just, *Dou Donggo Social Organization*, p. 46. An unrelated language was spoken in Tambora, a historical kingdom wiped out by the notorious volcanic eruption of 1815.

neither group had a name for the entire island, and it was only European cartographers in the early-modern era who established such a denomination by applying the name of the historical region in the west.

Sumbawa is around 15,448 square kilometres, and is therefore not a particularly small island.⁴ It is the ninth island in Indonesia in terms of size. It is irregular in shape with the Saleh Bay as an inland sea in the middle, flanked to the north by the vast caldera of Mount Tambora, rising almost three kilometres into the sky. Like the other islands of the so-called Nusa Tenggara (Southeast Islands) group, Sumbawa is only partly fertile, although it has a tropical climate regulated by the monsoon. It has a periodically dry savannah climate and uneven rainfall. Especially during the easterly monsoon, from April to November, it makes an arid and barren impression. The lowlands are characterized by grass plains, while the highlands consist of forests and savannahs. The island lies to the east of the Wallace Line with a fauna that is a mixture between Asian and Australian features. It is suited to raise horses, a major export product for at least five centuries. Other Sumbawan products of note included rice, honey and sappanwood, a type of wood that was important for dyeing.⁵

Unlike in some other parts of eastern Indonesia, rice is a major commodity. Particularly in East Sumbawa, the harvests used to be plentiful enough to allow for export. The low population density – no more than about 20 people per square kilometre in the early twentieth century and substantially less in the early modern period – meant that there was plenty of land. This in turn favoured cultivation on *ladang* (dry rice fields) rather than the labour-intensive *sawah* (wet fields). The methods of cultivating the rice lands closely paralleled those of Java, with some variation.⁶

At the same time, Sumbawa lies somewhat outside the political centre of gravity of the sprawling archipelago. Like most regions in the East Indies, the island suffered its fair share of petty warfare, piracy and invasions, and it was deeply involved in political alliances and commercial networks. This is highlighted by the several splendid kettle drums from the ancient period that have been found on the adjacent island Sanghyang Api and that have

4 Cribb, *Historical Atlas of Indonesia*, p. 3. About 5,200 square miles including the nearby islands according to Goethals, *Kinship and Marriage in West Sumbawa*, p. 12; that would mean 13,500 square kilometres. Under the word 'Sumbawa', the English *Wikipedia* (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sumbawa>, accessed 16 February 2016) gives 15,214.13 square kilometres. The editor has no explanation for these discrepancies.

5 De Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and Time Perspective in Natural Resource Management', pp. 261-267.

6 Jasper, 'Het eiland Soembawa en zijn bevolking', p. 88.

parallels with various other regions in Southeast Asia.⁷ Still, its traceable history shows fewer disruptions than many other parts of Indonesia. Apart from a Javanese invasion in 1357, little is known of violent altercations in the ancient period. Influences from ancient Java are clearly discernible in the form of images, inscriptions and traditions, though we still do not know a great deal about the social and cultural dynamics of this impact.⁸ The Javanese poem *Deśawarnana* (1365) mentions Taliwang, Dompu, Sape, Sanghyang Api, Bima, Seran and Utan as places coming under the authority of the Majapahit Empire. The degree of actual Javanese control is debatable, but it is assumed that the Javanese introduced horses and irrigated rice cultivation.⁹

Historian Tony Reid has argued that Southeast Asia experienced an upsurge in trading activities from the fifteenth century until about 1680, the 'age of commerce', propelled by its strategic geographic location and its own valuable export products.¹⁰ From what little evidence there is, Sumbawa was involved in the system of interlocking trade routes that linked various parts of maritime Asia; in fact, it was the only region in the Southeast Asian archipelago that specialized in cutting and exporting the valuable sappanwood. Other export products known from the early modern era include, rice, beeswax, honey, bird's nests, salt, cotton, and not least horses of excellent quality.¹¹ Premodern texts from Bali and Lombok refer to Bima, Kore (Sanggar), and West Sumbawa as places where good horses could be obtained.¹² Sumbawans were not among the more common skippers in the early modern ports of Java, but they were far from unknown.¹³ Makassar in South Sulawesi was a vital partner in trading relations, both before and after the onset of Dutch suzerainty. When the Portuguese conquered Melaka in 1511, part of its trade moved to other places on Sumatra, Java and Sulawesi. Later on, in the seventeenth century, the trading centres on Java were afflicted by political troubles which altered the inter-island trade route. At this point Makassar became an important emporium, and soon a wide-reaching maritime empire. Traders from Makassar would go to Sumbawa to acquire Bima cloth, horses, buffaloes, genitri seed and sappanwood. From Makassar

7 Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, p. 239.

8 Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 30–31.

9 De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 39.

10 Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, I-II.

11 De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 39.

12 Chambert-Loir, 'Etat, cité, commerce', p. 101, referring to the Javano-Balinese text *Rangga Lawe*; Suparman, *Babad Lombok*, p. 349.

13 Knaap, *Shallow Waters, Rising Tide*, p. 209.

the Bima cloth was in turn exported to Spanish Manila, Pasir and Kutai (on Kalimantan) while the sappanwood found buyers in Portuguese Macau.¹⁴

In the course of the eighteenth century West Sumbawa exported increasing quantities of raw cotton, rice and other agricultural products to Makassar, receiving Indian cloth and earthenware in return. Bima in the east likewise exported rice, which was vital for faraway places such as Banda and, later on, Batavia. In the eighteenth century it also and increasingly provided South Sulawesi with maritime products.¹⁵ The island was moreover a station in the intricate network of trade routes operated by the traders of East Ceram in Maluku who acquired slaves, massoi bark and other valuable items in the far east and sold them in the harbours of Sumbawa, Lombok, Bali and other places.¹⁶ Indeed, the Bima Bay which enters about 20 kilometres into East Sumbawa from the north, forms one of the best natural harbours in the world, and it therefore not surprising that the rice- and sappan-producing Bima Kingdom held special importance in relations with the outer world.¹⁷ Manggarai in East Flores and Sumba were claimed and at least partly dominated by Bima since the sixteenth or seventeenth century although these areas did not adopt the Muslim religion that was so fervently upheld by the elites of West and East Sumbawa. The Bimanese held a patronizing attitude to their eastern neighbours, reflected in the claim made by a commander in 1762 when speaking to Manggarai chiefs: 'Know that if Bima is the soul, Manggarai is the body; and if Bima is the wind, Manggarai is the leaves of the tree.'¹⁸ A darker side of the picture is the steady stream of slaves that went from these regions to Makassar and Sumbawa.¹⁹ Unlike the situation today, premodern Southeast Asia was usually sparsely populated and Sumbawa was not an exception with maybe ten to twelve inhabitants per square kilometre; thus, human labour was a valuable item of trade or tribute.

Considering its commercial importance in the region it comes as no surprise that Bima has loomed large in the few historical studies which

14 Noorduyn, 'De handelsrelaties van het Makassarsche rijk', pp. 97, 104, 106, 114.

15 Knaap & Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, pp. 141-142.

16 Widjojo, *The Revolt of Prince Nuku*, p. 135.

17 Just, *Dou Donggo Social Organization*, p. 17; Chambert-Loir, 'Etat, cité, commerce'.

18 Sjamsuddin, *Memori Pulau Sumbawa*, p. 63. One may compare a Bimanese history of Manggarai from c. 1819 which alleges that the Manggaraians 'were as devils who had no master to govern them until by Allah's omnipotence a *dewa-dewa* named Sang Bima, with his comrades came.' Sang Bima is the ancestor of the rulers of Bima, a culture hero who taught the Manggaraians to cut their hair and wear loincloths. From this time Manggarai and Sumba allegedly pledged allegiance to Bima. Lewis, *The Stranger-Kings of Sikka*, pp. 172-173.

19 Knaap & Sutherland, *Monsoon Traders*, p. 142.

have been devoted to Sumbawa. Henri Chambert-Loir has characterized Bima as a remarkably structured kingdom, vertically as well as horizontally. Vertically, society was divided into two noble classes (*ruma* and *rato*) and a class of free people (*dou mardika*) while the numerous slaves, often originating from Manggarai and Sumba, did not have a legal status. Kinship was based on cognatic descent, meaning that it was counted on the father's as well as the mother's side and entailed cousin marriages. Presumably, this was due to strong cultural influences from South Sulawesi.²⁰ Horizontally, the population was divided into groups known as *dari* which are often likened to guilds since they were defined after professions. However, they can also be defined as endogamous groups deriving from clans. The system was kept in place by a relatively strong royal centre headed by the king or sultan and his vizier, Raja Bicara.²¹ The actual handling of the affairs were not done by the sultan himself but rather by the Raja Bicara, who governed with the help of a council consisting of a large number of dignitaries with executive, legislative and religious functions. Their activities reached down to the village level, thus cementing the social stratification. It was a stable but not always dynamic society which took great care to document itself: the historiography of Bima is fairly extensive and varied although it has still not been fully utilized by researchers.²²

West Sumbawa, or Sumbawa Proper, displays parallels with Bima as well as great differences. In a similar way one can discern a division between nobles, free men and slaves. Unlike many societies of eastern Indonesia, society was not based on clans; the kinship system as we know it was cognatic, where non-unilineal descent groups had great importance.²³ The king or sultan governed in cooperation with a council consisting of three ministers (*menteri*), five lords (*memanca*) and seven chiefs (*lelurah*).²⁴ The state was based on a strong aristocracy which possessed the agricultural land, and a network of religious figures, ulemas. While the ruler was the object of popular devotion and the focal figure of government, adat (body of customary rules) and law, his position was decidedly less stable than his counterpart in Bima. The kingdom was in fact a relatively loose federation of states whose lords (*datu*) had extensive autonomy: Taliwang, Serang and

20 Muhammad Adlin Sila, Jakarta, personal communication, February 2016.

21 Known also as Ruma Bicara, 'the lord who speaks'. The titleholders formed a sub-dynasty within the royal clan, similar to many Timorese kingdoms. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, p. 609.

22 Chambert-Loir, 'Mythes et archives', pp. 220-221.

23 Goethals, *Kinship and Marriage in West Sumbawa*, p. 39.

24 Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 77.

Figure 1 A woman pounding grain in a highland village of West Sumbawa



Photo: Hans Hägerdal

Jarewe.²⁵ The known history of West Sumbawa is filled with power struggles among the nobility which allied with the Makassarese, Bugis, Balinese or Dutch, as the opportunity arose. Historical traditions from the Sumbawa Kingdom are much less precise than in Bima, although there was a body of writings in a Sulawesi-derived script.

²⁵ Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I, pp. 680-681.

From political, cultural and economic perspectives Sumbawa was deeply involved with its neighbours. West Sumbawa, the land to which the term 'Sumbawa' originally applied, has a tongue related to the Sasak language of Lombok and had many historical affinities with its western neighbour. East Sumbawa, where an entirely different Austronesian language is spoken, was even more prone to political and commercial expansion and maintained strong interests on Flores and Sumba, possibly from the sixteenth century. But the island itself became a component and occasionally victim of the wider power game in the East Indian Archipelago. The local kingdoms came under the suzerainty of the Makassar Empire of South Sulawesi for a period in the seventeenth century, partly because of the abundance of rice that was produced in Bima.²⁶ It was a brief but significant period when Islam was established as the hegemonic creed, accompanied by Makassarese cultural influences. The royalty of Bima and Sumbawa Proper married princes and princesses from South Sulawesi with some regularity up to the mid-eighteenth century. As observed by modern anthropologists, religious practices do not seem to be much influenced by Java; the early missionaries rather came from the Malay world via Makassar.²⁷ The lively relations with Malay culture can be seen in the Arabic-derived Jawi script, which became common in East Sumbawa from the mid-seventeenth century.²⁸ Even more important was the arrival of lots of immigrants from Sulawesi during this period, which contributed to changes in marriage customs, clothing, architecture and so on. Meanwhile, increasing *sawah* cultivation meant that a larger population could be fed.²⁹ Historical methods do not allow secure counterfactual conclusions, but it is possible that the major archipelagic realms such as Aceh, Mataram and Makassar would have proceeded on the road towards expansion and political and cultural integration if early modern colonial forces, in particular the Dutch East India Company (VOC), had not interrupted the process. Historian Victor Lieberman has made a useful distinction between protected and vulnerable zones in Eurasian history, where the geographical features give protected zones a measure of safety against foreign invasion – Europe, Japan, mainland Southeast Asia – and therefore important preconditions for inner economic and political integration. On the other hand, the Middle East, India and China are vulnerable

26 Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, I, p. 67.

27 Damsté, 'Islam en Sirihpoean te Bima (Soembawa)'.

28 Sila, *Being Muslim in Bima of Sumbawa, Indonesia*, p. 28.

29 De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 39; Sila, *Being Muslim in Bima of Sumbawa, Indonesia*, p. 46.

zones that have repeatedly been the subject of military aggression.³⁰ Island Southeast Asia was largely a protected zone until European sea power was able to penetrate the region after 1511.

With Makassar's might broken through a succession of wars, the VOC took over its role as suzerain in 1667-1669. This circumstance enabled a number of minor polities in eastern Indonesia to pursue an autonomous existence under the contracts concluded with the Dutch. To these belonged the six princedoms of Sumbawa – Sumbawa Proper, Bima, Dompu, Tambora, Sanggar and Pekat. Their governance stabilized in forms that were not fundamentally changed until the early twentieth century. Still, the close ties that had been formed between the aristocracies of Sumbawa and South Sulawesi were not broken that easily. For a very long time after 1667 the Sumbawans had intense intercourse with their former suzerains, not always under peaceful circumstances. In the late seventeenth century dissatisfied elements from the Bugis and Makassarese lands used Sumbawa as a base for operations against European or indigenous enemies.³¹ They sometimes turned to indiscriminate piracy and ravaged the coastal lands of the island. Nevertheless, the islanders were occasionally able to put the seaborne marauders to flight, as exemplified in a letter by a few indigenous lords to the VOC authorities:

In this time [the Makassarese pirate princes] Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang once again arrived at Kampu in order to strengthen their fortification. They asked Raja Kore to hand over all the Dompunese who were in his land. However, Raja Dompu would not allow it. For we had promised, all together, to fight the enemy in unison, so that Your Grace's men, Raja Tambora, Raja Dompu, Raja Kore, and Bumi Partiga [of Bima], took to the arms. There was mutual fighting, but Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang were put to flight, retreating to their ships at night. However, Kare Kanjar and all the Makassarese with him, who had remained at Alas, were attacked by Tureli Barambon who got at them at Alas with some Tamborese and Dompunese. The men of Your Grace put trust in the power of the [Dutch East India] Company and overwhelmed their stockade where their wives and children had been left. Kare Kanjar and 30 of his men fell, and we also took 70 of their cannons, over which

³⁰ Lieberman, *Strange Parallels*, II, p. 85.

³¹ Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 280-281.

victory we felt a great joy in our hearts, for we were first like stones sunk in the sea, but now we are like the wood that floats on the waves.³²

Possibly inspired by the external threats, there were also local ambitions to unite the island under one rule, most notably by the Tambora Kingdom, in the last years of the seventeenth century. The violent and anti-Dutch struggle of the Tamborese in 1695-1697 has its given interest since it was the first known initiative to create an independent all-Sumbawan realm, although the resources of the small kingdom were soon exhausted.³³ The eighteenth century saw a higher degree of stability although it had its share of armed conflicts. The cultural ties between West Sumbawa and Lombok also played a role in engendering conflicts due to the expansionism of the Balinese Kingdom of Karangasem. Lombok was subordinated by the Balinese in the period 1676-1748, which led to an outdrawn up-and-down struggle with the West Sumbawan kingdom, lasting up to 1789.³⁴ The six princedoms carried on under varying fortunes, loosely supervised by the VOC authorities in Makassar and a minor outpost in Bima in the east.

At the very least, the attentiveness of the VOC employees ensured that an amount of archival sources about Sumbawa has survived – it is only from the mid-seventeenth century that we possess sufficient materials to write a detailed history of the island. The colonial archive contains regular reports, travel diaries, legal proceedings, economic figures, and copies and translations of correspondence with local rulers. Since the texts were intended for internal use rather than to be disseminated, and were often secret in nature, they were less prone to embellishments than the travel accounts and geographical descriptions that flourished in earlymodern Europe. The problems of the European materials are nevertheless formidable. They are naturally written from an outsider perspective, sometimes by employees with an outspoken hostile attitude to the local populations. The well-known thesis of Edward Said of the connection between elliptic power relations and the production of knowledge about the 'East' is certainly applicable here: the very mechanism of data output was intimately tied to the economic

32 VOC 1637, f. 85-86, Letter from those of Tambora and Kalongkong to Governor-General Willem van Outhoorn and his council, received 7 August 1700. This and all subsequent references to archival VOC documents are from Nationaal Archief, The Hague, 1.04.02.

33 Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, p. 290; Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 838. Under more peaceful circumstances, the Queen of Sumbawa and the Sultan of Bima married in the late eighteenth century, creating a bond that covered most of the island. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 23.

34 The process is treated in some detail in Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*.

and political interests of the Company.³⁵ Fortunately there is a limited but important category of indigenous Sumbawan historical sources of some consequence, those from Bima being listed by S.W.R. Mulyadi and S. Maryam R. Salahuddin. They include genealogies, legends, royal chronicles, poetic texts, diaries and collections of documents, and they provide an 'inside' version of events from at least the seventeenth century.³⁶

One event on Sumbawa did have a wider, even global, significance: the volcanic eruption of Mount Tambora on the north coast in April-June 1815. The result was enormous destruction and loss of human life on Sumbawa and the nearby islands, either through the eruption itself or the rain of ash that caused severe famines. Estimates of the number of victims are notoriously unreliable, but the Swiss naturalist Heinrich Zollinger has calculated that half of the island's pre-1815 population of 170,000 disappeared: 10,000 were killed by the eruption itself, 38,000 died from famine and sicknesses, and 36,000 escaped to other islands.³⁷ Of the three kingdoms in the vicinity of the volcano, Pepek and Tambora were completely wiped out, while most inhabitants in the third, Sanggar, succumbed from the eruption or the hardships that followed. One of the relatively few survivors, the Raja of Sanggar himself, has left a unique eyewitness account of the devastating event:

About 7 pm on the 10th of April [1815], three distinct columns of flame burst forth near the top of Tambora Mountain, all of them apparently within the verge of the crater, and after ascending separately to a very great height, their tops united in the air in a troubled confused manner. In a short time the whole mountain next Sanggar appeared like a body of liquid fire extending itself in every direction. The fire and columns of flame continued to rage with unabated fury until the darkness, caused by the quantity of falling matter, obscured it at about 8 pm. Stones at this time fell very thick at Sanggar – some of them as large as two fists, but generally not larger than walnuts; between 9 and 10 pm ashes began to fall, and soon after a violent whirlwind ensued, which blew down nearly

35 Said, *Orientalism*. For a discussion of the uses of VOC data in an East Indonesia context, see Hägerdal, 'The Colonial Official as Ethnographer'.

36 Mulyadi and Salahuddin, *Katalogus Naskah Melayu Bima*. There were three writing systems in operation on the island: the Bugis-Makassarese script, a system deriving from the last-mentioned, and the Jawi script which was used in the Malay world and became the dominant system in East Sumbawa until the introduction of Latin letters in modern times. The preserved Bima literature is written in Malay rather than Bimanese.

37 Zollinger, *Verslag van eene reis naar Bima en Soembawa*, p. 176.

every house in the village of Sanggar, carrying the tops and light parts away with it. In the part of Sanggar adjoining Tambora, its effects were much more violent, tearing up by the roots the largest trees, and carrying them into the air together with men, houses, cattle, and whatever else came within its influence (this will account for the immense number of floating trees seen at sea). The sea rose nearly 12 feet higher than it had ever been known to be before, and completely spoiled the only small spots of rice lands in Sanggar – sweeping away houses and everything within its reach.³⁸

The quantities of ashes that spread in the atmosphere caused the global 'year without summer' with severe socio-economic implications around the world.³⁹ Archaeologists are currently uncovering what has been termed an Indonesian Pompeii in the area buried by the eruption, and the results give telling evidence of life on Sumbawa before the onset of the modern world.

A further interesting theme in Sumbawan history is the islanders' efforts to come to terms with external and modernizing forces. The VOC was certainly external, but it was hardly 'modernizing' in a meaningful way. Being a commercial company with early colonial features, it was opposed to free trade and made great efforts to control inter-island shipping. Although it was not always successful, the economic policy had petrifying effects and contributed to a sense of continuity in the six kingdoms of Sumbawa. One may ask how the Sumbawan elites and commoners actually regarded their foreign suzerains. The strongly Muslim and nationalist writer M. Hilir Ismail, in his study of Bima, portrays every sultan since the seventeenth century as an upright Muslim inspired by hatred of the Dutch and trying to oppose them whenever he could.⁴⁰ This is not entirely borne out by the original materials. Apart from a brief uprising by the King of Tambora in 1695-1697 and chaotic conditions in the Sumbawa Kingdom around 1762-1766, there were no anti-colonial rebellions coming from the court centres. In the best of worlds the Company could even function as a 'stranger king' whose foreign character made it suitable to mediate in intra-island conflicts.⁴¹ The court diaries from Bima published by Henri Chambert-

38 Witness account given to the British officer Owen Phillips, in De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', pp. 40-41. Spellings somewhat modified.

39 De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815'; D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora*.

40 Ismail, *Peran kesultanan Bima dalam perjalanan sejarah Nusantara*.

41 For the 'stranger king' syndrome in Indonesian-Dutch relations, see Henley, *Jealousy and Justice*.

Loir actually suggest genial Dutch-Sumbawan relations for periods.⁴² Most commoners on the island before 1900 probably never saw a European, and the internal legal framework and administration were entirely left to the indigenous rulers. It was important that the VOC did not interfere in an institution that increasingly permeated the identity of the local population: the Muslim religion. While the Dutch suzerains were *kafir* and presumably provoked an amount of resentment for that reason, this did not translate into anti-colonial resistance until the late colonial era, more than a century after the demise of the VOC (1799).

Here we should consider, first, the changing faces and strategies of European (and Japanese) colonialism, and second, the efforts of the postcolonial state to replace ostensibly feudal and outmoded structures with a modern bureaucratic framework. The Sumbawan princedoms – those that survived the Tambora disaster – were able to pursue their own ways with a minimum of European presence throughout the nineteenth century, but at the same time the noose was tightened through the development of the colonial state. As remarked by theorists of colonialism such as John Gallagher and Ronald Robinson, colonialism was not merely a question of expansion of direct rule, but also of integrating territories and resources in one's own sphere of interest. Indirect forms of colonial domination might be tolerated until exceptional circumstances forced direct intervention.⁴³ This may be seen in the Sumbawan case. In the contracts concluded over time, the role of the Dutch was transformed from that of allied superior to sovereign power. This culminated in the inclusion of the Sumbawan princedoms as 'fiefs' in the colonial state in 1905, and the direct colonial handling of taxation, public works, legal responsibilities and so on. As elsewhere in colonial Southeast Asia, direct interference caused anti-colonial uprisings, quickly suppressed by military force. Early protest movements were socially conservative, led in an impressionistic way, poorly armed, and unsupported by the traditional rulers. The pattern is roughly the same as in contemporary Burma, Vietnam, Laos and Timor. In a way the protests pointed forward to revolutionary and post-revolutionary times: the collaboration of indigenous rulers with the foreign and non-Muslim Dutch lowered their status in the eyes of the people.⁴⁴

42 Chambert-Loir, *Iman dan diplomasi*.

43 The thesis of Gallagher and Robinson has been discussed in an Indonesian setting by Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 4-7.

44 Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*.

A new kind of intervention was the Japanese occupation in 1942 to 1945, which co-opted the two remaining sultans on the island. With one stroke the fragility of the colonial system was highlighted. A mutiny among soldiers and policemen paved the way for the invaders who were actually formally invited by the sultans. In Bima cheering crowds shouted '*Hidup Nippon!*' (Long live Japan!) and welcomed the soldiers with a gate of honour labelled with the Japanese year 2602 (Anno Jimmu Tenno).⁴⁵ The Dutch may have underestimated the resentment against colonial control even in areas with relatively few Western enterprises and initiatives disturbing the 'traditional' way of life. As in the rest of Indonesia, the Japanese period brought hardships and excesses, with forced *rumusha* labour and recruitment of comfort women, but also paved the way for nationalist sentiments. The new masters paid attention to basic education which the Dutch had not cared much about – some 99 per cent of the population was illiterate at their arrival.⁴⁶ After Sukarno's proclamation of independence (17 August 1945) and the formal Japanese capitulation (2 September), the republican-minded Sultan of Sumbawa formally took over the authority held by the Japanese *bunken-kanrikan*.⁴⁷ The stance of the Sultan of Bima was less emphatic but he claimed his land as a special territory within the Indonesian Republic.⁴⁸ The Dutch soon retook their positions on the island, however. Although Sumbawa was a comparatively tranquil part of the Dutch-directed pseudo-state Negara Indonesia Timur during the Indonesian National Revolution, incidents occurred, and the attachment to the traditional rulers decreased as they were forced to cooperate with the colonial authorities. A number of changes took place to make the hierarchical system of the sultanates more accountable and introduce a degree of popular participation in the political processes. But it was increasingly clear that the old elite lived on borrowed time. After the gaining of independence in 1949, the old forms of power were phased out as feudal remains and the sultanates were abolished in the late

45 Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap van Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, p. 269.

46 *Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, pp. 176-177.

47 The *bunken-kanrikan* was the Japanese leader of a sub-district (Dutch *onderafdeling*).

48 Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap van Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, p. 281; Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 342. The position of Sultan Bima is portrayed rather differently depending on the writer. Indonesian historiography has tended to describe him as a good anti-colonial nationalist, while others write that he tried to restrain republican agitation in his realm in the fall of 1945.

1950s, like hundreds of similar princedoms in the old Dutch possessions in Indonesia.

In spite of its obvious interest in the context of Indonesian historical processes, relatively little research has been undertaken about the past of Sumbawa. Indonesian history has often been scrutinized from the central perspective of Java or Batavia/Jakarta, and studies on colonial history were overly focused on Dutch dispositions until not so long ago. Since about the 1970s, historians and anthropologists with a historical perspective have discovered the great variety of the historical experience in the area now known as Indonesia. International research has highlighted the trajectories of indigenous polities of Sumatra, Sulawesi, Maluku, Timor and so on. In Indonesia itself, local studies were not encouraged during the over-centralized Orde Baru, the Suharto regime that held sway until 1998. Subsequently, however, local historical studies have received a boost here, too.⁴⁹

For Sumbawa there is so far no comprehensive historical narrative in a Western language. The closest we get is *Bima en Sumbawa* (1987), a collection of hitherto unpublished Dutch texts by Albertus Ligtoet and Gerrit Pieter Rouffaer, edited and commented by the late Jacobus Noorduyn, director of the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV). These texts give a number of historical particulars about the principal sultanates (Sumbawa Proper and Bima) and about the antiquities of Bima. Although very useful, the notes are too fragmentary to serve as a historical survey and are written in a language that few people outside the Netherlands master. Two important studies of the sultanates were undertaken in late Suharto times. The Sumbawan nobleman Lalu Manca wrote *Sumbawa pada masa lalu* (1984, new edition 2011) which followed the vicissitudes of Sumbawa Proper (West Sumbawa) up to the eve of the Japanese occupation in which he had a role as the trustee of the sultan. Lalu Manca made use of a few Dutch sources, but built his study primarily on local materials such as chronicles (*buk*) and poetic-historical works (*syair*), presenting much information not found elsewhere. A similar effort was undertaken by the educationist and Golkar functionary H. Abdullah Tajib who, with his *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo* (1995), studied the history of Bima up to Indonesian independence in great detail. This study contained much that was new, utilizing local

49 Hågerdal, 'Eastern Indonesia and the Writing of History', pp. 91-92.

chronicles, documents and traditions.⁵⁰ Bima has also been the object of research by the anthropologist Michael Hitchcock, whose work *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia* (1996) contains many historical references, and the French scholar Henri Chambert-Loir, who has published several historically significant Bimanese texts in Malay. Moreover, a number of works dealing with the so-called Southeastern Islands (Nusa Tenggara), the chain of islands from Lombok to Timor, have included discussions of Sumbawan political, social and economic history. To these belong the official standard work *Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat* (1977/78). The Balinese historian I Gde Parimartha has traced colonial expansion and economic structures in the area in *Perdagangan dan politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915* (2002), where he makes some very useful remarks about trading connections that tied Sumbawa to the outer world. The period after 1915 has been similarly studied by another Balinese scholar, I Ketut Ardhana, in *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950* (2000). The Tambora disaster has lately received considerable attention. The subject was briefly researched by Bernice de Jong Boers, and the wide-reaching global implications were later expanded by a host of scholars, including Clive Oppenheimer and Gillen D'Arcy Wood.⁵¹

There is, however, a narrative of Sumbawa's history that lay buried in a private home and later in an archive in the Netherlands for 60 long years due to the untimely demise of its author. This is Gerrit Jan Held's text 'Sumbawa; geschiedenis' from 1955, which is here translated under the title *History of Sumbawa*. Held may not belong to the more well-known Dutch Indologists, for the simple reason that his academic career was abruptly cut short before it had taken off in earnest. He can be seen as a not untypical example of the academics who were drawn to Oriental studies in the later days of the Dutch colonial state. Held was born on 1 July 1906 in Kampen, an old Hanseatic city on the banks of the IJssel River. In the interwar years Leiden was – as it still is – a major centre for Indology and colonial studies, and the young man commenced university studies in the field in 1926. Over the next five years, up to 1931, he studied languages,

50 Tajib seems to draw heavily on an unpublished manuscript by Abdullah Ahmad, 'Kerajaan Bima dan keberadaannya' (1992). A number of studies on Bima have surfaced in Bahasa Indonesia in the last decades, some of them highly derivative and adding little that is new about the pre-independence history, others containing certain new perspectives and data. Among these are Zuhdi and Wulandari, *Kerajaan tradisional di Indonesia: Bima*, and Ismail, *Peran kesultanan Bima dalam perjalanan sejarah Nusantara*.

51 De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815'; Oppenheimer, 'Climatic, Environmental and Human Consequences of the Largest Known Historic Eruption'; D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora*.

history, and anthropology, and later took up post-graduate studies. In 1936 he successfully defended his PhD thesis, *The Mahabharata: An Ethnological Study*. The high quality of this work was awarded with the *cum laude* ('with praise') label. In the meanwhile he married Bouwina H.G. Haan; the couple never had any children. (Much later, about five years after Held's death, Bouwina married another Dutch Indologist, the scholar of Sulawesi A.A. Cense.) In 1935 Held was employed by the Dutch Bible Society in New Guinea (Papua). His task was to provide the society with advice about local cultures which could be useful for conducting Bible translations and missionary work. Furthermore he was to carry out linguistic and ethnographic work and keep check on the prospects for missionary work on Bali, Java and Sulawesi. It was by no means an easy task; the society saw Papuan cultures in a negative light that contrasted with Held's scholarly curiosity, and relations with his employers deteriorated over time. In 1940 he took up work in the service of the government in Bandung as a *taalamtenaar* (language official). By this time the winds of war were already blowing across the world, and when the Japanese occupied the East Indies in 1942 Held shared the fate of so many of his compatriots. He joined the KNIL (Royal Dutch Indies Army) as an officer in the reserve and was taken prisoner. During the remainder of the war he was kept in a prisoner camp which he endured relatively well.

After the conclusion of the war Held was appointed professor at the Faculty of Letters and Philosophy in the Nooduniversiteit te Batavia, which later became Universitas Indonesia. While the Indonesian National Revolution unfolded he published a major ethnographic work on Papua, *Papoea's van Waropen* (1947), which contained materials about social structure, material culture, ritual and tradition.⁵² With the Indonesian achievement of independence a new situation arose. American academics, motivated by political needs, showed an interest in conducting systematic studies of the new republic. Held suggested that American anthropologists start up fieldwork in northern Maluku, while he and his colleagues in the Institute of Language and Cultural Sciences would produce monographs about other parts of the island nation. It was now that he started to think of Sumbawa as a potentially interesting case. In 1950 he nevertheless returned to the Netherlands, frustrated by his cumbersome experience with Indonesia. An American colleague invited him to teach at Yale, an offer he gratefully accepted. After a moderately successful sojourn in

52 The KITLV Archive, Leiden, houses a collection of documents about Papua (Or. 521, KITLV-inventaris 173) by Held, donated by Bouwina in 1980.

the United States, he was notified that the Indonesians would be happy to receive him back to conduct anthropological research since his work stood in high regard.

In 1952 Held therefore came back to Indonesia – a somewhat unusual event since most of the old Dutch officials preferred to leave the country after independence. He now developed plans for a major anthropological investigation on Sumbawa, a region hitherto little treated in the Dutch colonial scholarly literature. In 1953 he carried out eight weeks of preliminary fieldwork on the island. In 1954 he stayed at Dompu between June and September, and, as the present text shows, he took a great interest in the history and culture of this neglected sultanate. In June–September 1955 he again spent time on Sumbawa, this time in Bima in the east.⁵³ For Held, Sumbawa displayed certain old Indonesian societal patterns in spite of its present Muslim profile, which made the island a fascinating field of study. Unfortunately, he was never given the opportunity to publish what he had found. Back in Jakarta he prepared to leave for the Netherlands again to take up a new academic position. Before departure, however, he expired after a heart attack on 28 September 1955. While Held was among the more prominent Dutch anthropologists of his time, his career was rather uneven. According to his colleague and friend J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong he was not an entirely easy person to get along with. He could be somewhat brusque and prickly in his communication with others, and hid his mindset under a cover of irony and light-hearted mockery. His reactions were often unexpected and even bewildering, although he could also be a strongly stimulating intellectual acquaintance. Nothing of this diminishes his status as a sharp, daring and devoted thinker whose early demise was a great loss for anthropological studies in the Netherlands. Since 1980 his papers have rested at the KITLV in Leiden.⁵⁴ The Held collection encompasses 94 pieces in all, consisting of letters, copies of articles, and various texts in progress. His more important unfinished works on Sumbawa can be summarized as follows:

53 In his PhD thesis about the kinship system of Sumbawa, Peter Randall Goethals thanks Held '[f]or his important stimulation, and personal encouragement'. Goethals, *Kinship and Marriage in West Sumbawa*, p. iii.

54 This biographical sketch is based on a short account of his life authored by Bouwina and appended to his collection in KITLV, Leiden, H 1220: 1; and the obituary by J.P.B. de Josselin de Jong, 'Herdenking van Gerrit Jan Held', pp. 343–354.

- 28. Geschiedenis.
- 29. Individu en verwantschap; Functionele groepen.
- 30. Politieke organisatie.
- 31. Rijksmythe en Structuur.
- 32. Individu en verwantschap (pp. 1-49). – Dari (pp. 53-73).
- 33. Dari (pp. 73-144).
- 34. Politieke organisatie (pp. 1-86).
- 35. Rijksmythe. – Structuur (pp. 1-188).
- 36. Tekstfragmenten.⁵⁵

The present text, 'Sumbawa; geschiedenis', has been translated from Dutch into English. Some of the passages in the text contain multiple subordinate clauses, making them difficult to translate into readable English. I have therefore made slight changes in the syntax, often splitting longer sentences into shorter ones. Furthermore, the spelling of names has been modernized except in some older quotations. The original 'tj' is rendered as 'c', 'dj' as 'j', 'j' as 'y', 'oe' as 'u'. Geographical names have sometimes been altered in accordance with modern Indonesian usage: for example, Tallo' rather than Tello, Bungaya rather than Bongaai. The same goes for a few indigenous terms that occur over the pages: Arung instead of Aroe, Datu instead of Datoea. The original is typewritten and consists of 61 pages plus a number of additional pages. On the back sides of the manuscript sheets Held scribbled down extensive notes, clearly for his own use. These notes are hardly legible, however, so no attempt has been made to transcribe and translate them. In the original there is no real division of the text into chapters. For the sake of clarity I divided the work into six chapters. I also added a few headings within the chapters to avoid unnecessary confusion. The original, on the other hand, has numerous headings in the margins that indicate the subject of the following paragraph or paragraphs. These headings have been kept and put within brackets.

In spite of the relative lack of research on Sumbawa, our knowledge of the island has increased substantially since Held wrote his piece. Original

55 The list follows H 1220, KITLV-inventaris 36. I understand that there have been plans of publishing some of Held's anthropological field notes, although this does not yet seem to have materialized. Cf. Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, p. 18. At another place in the KITLV Archive a transcript of a Bima chronicle made by Held is found, Or. 505(a). This chronicle – or rather document compilation – *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, was much later published by Chambert-Loir and Salahuddin (1999). Strangely, Held does not seem to have been acquainted with the important Bimanese mytho-historical text *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa* (also published by Chambert-Loir, 1985).

sources have been published, such as the *Generale missiven* of the VOC and a number of indigenous Bimanese texts edited by Henri Chambert-Loir. Apart from the works mentioned above, academic studies of Lombok, Sulawesi, Flores, the Dutch colonial state and maritime Southeast Asia in general have relevance for our understanding of the Sumbawan past. I have therefore tried to bring the text up to date by adding detailed footnotes. Held's narrative is as good as his sources, and he was occasionally led astray by faulty data in older studies by Zollinger, Van Braam Morris, Jasper etc. For referential purposes it is therefore necessary that the reader consults the footnotes. While I have made some forays into unpublished materials – Dutch archival sources, local manuscripts in Bahasa Indonesia – it needs to be emphasized that there is much more to be done in terms of archival research. To a large extent the history of Sumbawa remains to be written by anyone with the time and patience to go through the archival bundles in The Hague and in Jakarta.

What, then, does the manuscript tell us of Sumbawa that we do not know from other published sources? The author took his information from a wide range of sources. Apart from Dutch standard works he used old travel accounts, *daghregisters*, contracts, and so on, but also archival and oral materials that he came across during his research. For example, Held repeatedly refers to a text by a certain Van der Velde with information about historical events, which the editor has not managed to track down in any bibliography or inventory. He also refers to texts with historical content that he found in Indonesia and which may now be lost. Many details which were still obscure at his time have been greatly clarified by recent research, but until now no satisfactory narrative of the whole history of Sumbawa has been published, which justifies the endeavour to make the Held text available to a broader audience.

1 The ancient period

In the history of Sumbawa we should distinguish between two periods:

- I Until 1667, the year when the Bungaya treaty was concluded, when the Island of Sumbawa more or less constituted a closed cultural territory.
- II From 1667 to the present, a period of distinct development, where we may consider the year 1815 (the eruption of the volcano Tambora) as the conclusion of the first part, and the period from 1815 until today as the second.

The first period is concluded by the flight of the Sumbawan kings from the defeated Gowa. This is the age when Islam obtained a permanent position and gained an increasing influence on the social development. If we had more information on the pre-Muslim period, there would be every reason to describe the seventeenth century as an age of transition. From the available information one gets some impression about the changes that took place, but no clear picture of the culture before these fundamental changes.¹

The entire eighteenth century is an age of search for a new political balance, both internally, between the kingdoms on the Island of Sumbawa, and in their relations with Gowa, the Kompeni² and the intruding Balinese. In this period [West] Sumbawa lost its influence on Lombok, and Bima on Sumba, and, in spite of repeated attempts of restoration, also on West Flores.

1 Sixty years later this is still largely the situation. In spite of the great strides of Southeast Asian historical research, sources for the study of Sumbawa before the early seventeenth century are still very rare. The most explicit historiographical traditions are found in Bima in East Sumbawa. A chronicle known as *Bo* was supposedly written in the time of King Manggampo Jawa, presumably in the sixteenth century. No trace of this text remains today. Another tradition says that a *Bo* was written in the age of Tureli Nggampo La Mbila, son of king Bilmana, perhaps in the late sixteenth century, in the Bimanese language and written with Bugis script. The manuscript survived until 1935 but was then lost. An update was made in the early Islamic period, in 1050 H (1640 AD); see Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 25; Malay manuscripts from Bima are listed in Salahudin, *Katalogus naskah Bima*. Similar source problems are reported for West Sumbawa by Lalu Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 24. A number of *Buk* containing genealogical and historical information were preserved among aristocratic families until the last century, but are now partly lost. Historical traditions collected by Lalu Manca are quite vague about the period before the mid-seventeenth century. Since not much on Sumbawa is found in Portuguese sources, we have to wait until VOC times for fuller documentation from archival sources.

2 Kompeni, the Company; originally the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC) but after the demise of the VOC a conventional term for the Dutch colonial apparatus.

Under the influence of Islam there is a process in the nineteenth century whereby the settlement of the gift exchange system is increasingly completed; by this, the political power of the national government is strengthened. The Tambora disaster in 1815 gives rise to confusion, whereby a more puritan way of life is encouraged. This in turn leads to a decline of the contractual relation between the government of the land and the people.

In the middle of the preceding [nineteenth] century a stronger orthodox-conservative influence appears, one that departs from the religious scholar Abdulgani, of whom we unfortunately know little. This movement, again, leads to a purification of the gift exchange system and a reduction of the *dari* system, the institution by which the subjects could connect to the political authorities through a network of duties. The kings, who are champions of the influence of Abdulgani, increasingly appropriate more of the old functions into the core of their own government.

In the beginning of this century, under Dutch influence, the governing powers are increasingly concentrated in the hands of the government of the territory [*landschap*]. On the other hand, however, the prestige of the government of the territory is shaken, because of the integration of the territories in larger administrative conglomerates. The relation between the government of the territory and the territory becomes more impersonal. The recent development during and after World War II, and the resulting vanishing of Dutch power, has influenced the whole process, the results of which are not yet clearly visible. [Follows an illegible text, thus not translated.]

[*Kingdoms before 1616*]

A more or less reliable account, based on historical information as such, does not bring us much further back than the first decades of the seventeenth century in the case of the Island of Sumbawa.³ Since this information tells us that Sumbawa Island was subjugated to the then powerful Kingdom of Gowa at the time, while the available data more than proves the cultural

3 After their arrival to the East Indies in 1596 the Dutch seafarers systematically surveyed the region, as seen in numerous travelogues. However, there are just few early remarks on Sumbawa. The first Dutch captain to approach Bima was Steven van der Haghen, on 9 February 1605, who took in provisions on his way from Jayakarta to Ambon. He relates that the inhabitants hid their women on his arrival, since the Portuguese had abducted a few women two years previously. The Dutch and the Bimanese leaders exchanged some gifts, and some 150 Dutchmen went inland to hunt, without any success. Tiele, 'De Europeërs in den Maleischen Archipel', p. 226. A very general note on the trading geography of Sumbawa was included in a report from 1603, as discussed in full in a later footnote. It points out (East) Sumbawa as a station on the trade route between Java and Maluku. De Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, III, p. 161.

preponderance of South Celebes, the conclusion would be that the kingdoms of the Island of Sumbawa also are creations of Gowanese politics. Thus a leading authority as Van Vollenhoven says: '[The principalities] on eastern Sumbawa and western Flores have been established from South Celebes' (Van Vollenhoven, *Adatrecht*, p. 435).⁴

With this statement Van Vollenhoven says in brief that the kingdoms of East Sumbawa are no older than the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, this suggestion seems to have been made since the power expansion of the South Celebes kingdoms is only mentioned at this time. As for West Sumbawa, which Professor van Vollenhoven places within the Bali-Lombok region,⁵ this line of thinking may project its political history somewhat further back in time, since the kingdoms of this circle belong to the Hindu sphere of influence.⁶

Although the students of adat law rightly abstain from pronouncing statements in the field of history, it should be noted that their line of thought in this case departs from historical points of view. Thus Professor Ter Haar also distinguishes between a popular sphere and a princely sphere, where the latter are societal strangers [*gemeenschapsvreemden*]. Of these societal strangers, he distinguishes between princes who have entered from outside and princes⁷ who have arisen from the popular order and thereby become

4 C. van Vollenhoven (1874-1933), a well-known scholar who systematized the Indonesian adat law in numerous writings, but whose ideas about the application of adat are nowadays unfashionable.

5 Balinese historical tradition in fact posits a genealogical connection between the Balinese and Sumbawan elites. According to the chronicle *Babad Dalem* (eighteenth century?), the first Balinese king from Majapahit had three siblings. One brother became ruler of Blambangan, another the ruler of Pasuruan, and their sister married the ruler of Sumbawa, meaning West Sumbawa. The siblings were contemporary with the renowned *patih* of Majapahit, Gajah Mada (d. 1364). It is difficult to know how much to make out of this late tradition. Wiener, *Visible and Invisible Realms*, pp. 105-106.

6 It seems that Held was not yet aware of the recently published and translated geography from c. 1515 by Tomé Pires, *Suma Oriental*. Pires speaks about Sumbawa and Bima as two separate islands, and expressly mentions that they were ruled by kings. While his information about Sumbawa is pretty general, he provides us with some specific details about Bima. It was ruled by a heathen king and was well provided with *perahus* and foodstuff. Slaves and horses were exported to Java, while Brazilwood was brought to Malacca and re-exported to China. Merchants going to Banda and North Maluku called at Bima to purchase cloth that could be sold in Maluku. There was a degree of monetization since Javanese cash was used. The Bimanese are described as swarthy people with straight hair, residing in a large number of villages. Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, p. 203.

7 The Dutch term *vorst* has been translated in this book as *prince*. In a literal sense, the word denotes a ruling prince as opposed to *prins*, which means any male member of a royal family.

estranged.⁸ With the former group, the so-called Hindu kingdoms are clearly alluded to; Ter Haar brings the kingdoms of South Celebes among the second group.⁹ With the first-mentioned group of Hindu princes, we have to imagine a process of historical influences in itself, although it is not explained in detail how this process of estrangement should be thought of in any of the two cases. From the words of Van Vollenhoven one may either way conclude that a certain historical continuity also might be affirmed for princes who did not come from outside, and this tallies well with the idea of a *terminus a quo* that might be applied to the kingdoms of East Sumbawa after the rise of the South Celebes kingdoms, from whence these kingdoms would be derived.¹⁰

A fundamental proof that kingdoms existed on East Sumbawa before the seventeenth century cannot be obtained from available materials.¹¹ Also it is by no means convincingly proved that these kingdoms not were established from South Celebes, but it is important to note that we cannot a priori be affected by the imagined derivation from South Celebes, let alone tacitly assume that the kingdoms from East Sumbawa date from the period

8 The concept of stranger kings is well-known in insular Southeast Asia, especially the eastern parts. Origin stories frequently focus on immigrants from far away who are accepted as rulers over an autochthonous population. This clearly applies for both West Sumbawa and Bima. The first kings of Sumbawa, Seran and Selaparang (Lombok) were brothers who supposedly descended from 'Sunan', probably meaning Sunan Giri on Java, while the dynasty of Bima traced its roots back to the Indian heroes of the *Mahabharata* epic; see Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 26; Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 54-65.

9 The first ancestors of the South Sulawesi dynasties are commonly said to have descended from the sky. In that way the lineages are considered indigenous from the very beginning of their existence.

10 A look at Bimanese mytho-historical tradition in fact shows traces from various quarters. Henri Chambert-Loir has analyzed the text *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa*, which traces the mythical and legendary forefathers of the royal dynasty. There are references to Quranic stories, Hindu-Javanese mythology, Malay stories of Iskandar Zulkarnain, the *I La Galigo* epic of South Sulawesi, and the Pandavas of the *Mahabharata* epic. These influences may conceivably have entered Bima between the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries and in any case speak against a Bugis-Makassar origin of the royalty of East Sumbawa. Chambert-Loir, *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa*, pp. 73-96. For a similar text from the early eighteenth century, the *Hikayat Sang Bima*, see Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, pp. 139-218.

11 This is invalidated by the aforementioned account of Tomé Pires, which seems to prove that a Kingdom of Bima existed by 1515. Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, p. 203. The Ambonese chronicle *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (seventeenth century) also asserts that a Bima Kingdom existed by 1500. Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu*, p. 103.

after the well-known power expansion of the kingdoms of South Celebes.¹²
[A crossed-out section follows in the manuscript.]

[*Muslim kingdoms installed by Gowa?*]

An argument that may also be important on this point, though formulated in brief, is the dating of the arrival of Islam. It is quite certain that the conqueror of Sumbawa, Sultan Alauddin of Gowa (1592-1639), was also the first Prince of South Celebes who took up Islam, namely in 1605.¹³ Since we know that the first Sultan of Bima with a Muslim name, Abdul Kahir (Bara Wadu), who is also known as the man who officially introduced this religion, died in 1640, we may have a hint here that he was the first prince who was installed by the first Muslim Sultan of Gowa after the latter's expedition of conquest to Sumbawa.¹⁴ It is true that Abdul Kahir was the 38th prince according to Bimanese tradition, but this argument need not carry a great weight since the first 35 names in this list seem to be nothing but mythical forefathers.¹⁵ For the 36th prince, Sarise, under whose rule we

12 As explained in the preceding footnotes, the idea of South Sulawesi origins should in fact be discarded, although some institutions and cultural specifics date from the period of Makassarese overlordship.

13 Local chronicles from Sulawesi assert that the *datu* of Luwu' first accepted Islam in February 1605, soon followed by the ruler of Tallo' in Makassar in September in the same year. Over the next years the other South Sulawesi rulers followed suit. Pelras, 'Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi', p. 109. Nevertheless, there are indications that Islam had been known in the region for quite some time before that, and that certain rulers were sympathetic with the creed.

14 According to a Bimanese chronicle (*Bo*), the sixteenth King of Bima, Mantau Asa Sawo, signed a contract of alliance with Gowa. When he passed away a usurper called Salisi took the throne and killed the legitimate heir. The latter's brother, La Kai alias Rumata Ma Bata Wadu, now allied with Gowa and accepted Islam on 15 Rabi al-Awal 1030 (7 February 1621). The initial Makassarese attempts of assistance were defeated by Salisi, however. The future sultan and three of his closest followers, staying as refugees in Makassar, became the pupils of the well-known missionaries Dato' ri Bandang and Khatib Bungsu di Tiro. When the Gowa court had its hand free it dispatched an armada under the command of the Bimanese grandee La Mbila, which achieved victory and installed La Kai as Sultan Abdul Kahir on 5 July 1640. The chronology is doubtful since 1640 appears to be the date of Abdul Kahir's demise rather than his enthronement. Chambert-Loir, 'Dato' ri Bandang', p. 152.

15 The number of pre-Islamic princes varies between the lists. Mulyadi and Salahuddin, *Katalogus Naskah Melayu Bima*, mention 24 rulers before Abdul Kahir (c. 1620-1640). Most of them are mere names for us. In one version the Pandava brother Bhima (Sang Bima), of *Mahabharata* fame, was shipwrecked off Satonda, an island near Sumbawa. There he met a golden dragon woman whom he married. Two sons were born from the marriage, Indera Kumala and Indera Zamrut. Being equipped with supernatural powers, they flew from Satonda to a rock near the village of Dara. The local *ncuhi* (chief), impressed with the brothers, invited them to reside there, and Indera Zamrut became the first ruler of Bima. In another version Sang Bima

are told that the first Europeans, perhaps Portuguese, arrived in Bima in 1545, we might make an exception; and also for his successor, Sawo, who is accounted for as the last heathen prince.¹⁶ However, that hardly alters the fact that a reasonably reliable summary account of the princes does not bring us any further back than the rise of Gowa.

One should nevertheless not give this argument too much credit, since the absence of reliable information does not in itself prove that there were no princes before Abdul Kahir. Also, the information is actually derived from sources from Gowa itself. One may accept that the conquest of Gowa considerably strengthened the influence of Islam, but one may also reckon with the possibility that Islam was known in East Sumbawa before the conquest of the land in 1616-1626.

[Islam from Ternate?]

A possibility in this direction might be sought in the contact with Ternate, where Islam had been introduced by in the sixteenth century.¹⁷ The greatest

sent his sons to eastern Sumbawa after having conquered Java; Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, p. 31; Chambert-Loir, 'Les sources malaises de l'histoire de Bima', p. 176.

16 The year 1545 is found in Van Braam Morris, 'Nota van toelichting behoorende bij het contract gesloten met het landschap Bima', p. 226. The editor has not seen any indigenous text containing that date. If, as the genealogies suggest, Sarise was the uncle of Sultan Abdul Kahir (c. 1620-1640), the date seems rather early. Local historian L. Massir Q. Abdullah has guessed that it was actually the first Dutch visit to Bima by Steven van der Haghen in 1605. However, there is a traditional account of the first arrival of a Dutch ship in the time of King Sarise. The ship would have captured a Portuguese vessel off Sape. The surviving Portuguese joined with the crew of another Portuguese ship and attacked and killed some of the Dutchmen at Belo. King Sarise stepped in and assisted the Dutch, killing or expelling the Portuguese. He then made an agreement with the Company at Cenggu. From VOC sources it is known that a similar event took place in 1618-1619. The Company, eager to purchase rice in Bima, stationed some men there. They managed to capture a Portuguese frigate but were later murdered for the most part by the crew of the frigate. If the two events are identical, Sarise would have flourished as late as around 1619. Some genealogical lists have four rulers between Sarise and the first Muslim ruler, Abdul Kahir (c. 1620-1640). Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the Islamization of Bima', pp. 332-334.

17 The spice sultanates Ternate and Tidore were formally Muslim by the first European visit to Maluku in 1512. Various European accounts indicate that the local Ternatean and Tidorese elites converted in the interval from 1435 to 1470, although Islamization was in fact an outdrawn process. The Ambonese chronicle *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (written before 1657) says that the first Muslim ruler of Ternate, Zainal Abidin, visited Java in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, and met there with Chief Jamilu from Hitu (Ambon). Jamilu returned to Hitu after some time. On his way back he stopped at Bima and befriended the king there, whose daughter he married. There is no suggestion that the king was a Muslim, although Jamilu was. As for Sultan Zainal Abidin, he engaged a Muslim preacher on Java to follow him back to Maluku. On their way back the Ternateans also landed at Bima, but were less successful than the Hitunese, since they ran into trouble with the king of that place. A fight took place where a Bimanese grandee

extent of Ternate's power occurred under Sultan Babullah (1570-1584), who managed to break the power of the Portuguese in his realm in 1575. Ternate upheld claims on the islands in the waters close to the Island of Sumbawa far into the seventeenth century. According to tradition, Sultan Babullah brought 70 islands under his sceptre at the height of his powers, and to these one would also count at least parts of the Island of Sumbawa (the Kingdom of Sanggar is mentioned).¹⁸ Buton was apparently Islamized by Babullah in 1580, and he seems to have visited Makassar about this time and to have handed over Selayar to Gowa on the occasion.¹⁹ Gowa and Ternate quarrelled over Buton for many years and it was also near the disputed territory of Buton that Speelman encountered the forces of Gowa in 1666, and defeated them.²⁰ In 1667 Gowa had to cede its claim on Buton, but Selayar was again transferred to Ternate, probably because Speelman wished to exclude Gowa. Thus, in 1667 there was once again a Ternatean garrison in Selayar which was, however, so decimated and aroused so much opposition from the Selayarese that it had to be withdrawn in 1670. In 1675 the power of Ternate over Selayar ended for any practical purposes, although it was still nominally acknowledged in 1683 (*Corpus*, II, p. 550; III, p. 309). In 1683 Ternate had to cede its claim on Buton (*Corpus*, III, p. 304). In 1667 it was already made clear that Ternate and Tidore could henceforth only sail to Sumbawa with permission from the Kompeni.²¹

wounded Zainal Abidin with his spear. His bodyguards hastily brought him aboard and set sail. According to the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, Zainal Abidin died from his wound, while Ternatean tradition as reported by the eighteenth-century writer François Valentijn insists he survived. Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel*, I, pp. 32-33; Valentijn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, I-2, p. 143; Ridjali, *Historie van Hitu*, pp. 20, 103.

18 In his study of Ternate, F.S.A. de Clercq also mentions that the power of Ternate in the age of Sultan Babullah stretched as far as Bima, without any further details. De Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de kennis der Residentie Ternate*, p. 154.

19 According to François Valentijn, who based his conclusions on Maluku sources, Babullah of Ternate appeared in Makassar in 1580. The aim was likely to negotiate the borders of the respective spheres of influence, but he is credited with converting the Gowa ruler Tunijallo' (r. 1565-1590) to Islam. Makassar sources, however, do not mention such conversion but merely state that Babullah recognized the influence of Gowa on Selayar; Pelras, 'Religion, Tradition and the Dynamics of Islamization in South Sulawesi', p. 112.

20 Cornelis Janszoon Speelman (1628-1684), naval commander of the VOC forces which defeated Gowa and Tallo' in 1667 and 1669, later Governor-General in Batavia in 1681-1684. He authored a comprehensive 'Notitie' filled with economic and political data about Sulawesi and eastern Indonesia. Held repeatedly refers to this 'Notitie', a transcript of which is kept at the KITLV Archive, H 802 I-III.

21 A local Ternatean chronicle, in fact, makes claims on territories otherwise claimed by Bima. Shortly after his accession to the throne, Sultan Mandarsyah of Ternate (r. 1648-1675) is said to have dispatched a seaborne expedition under Kapitan Laut Ali bound for Sulawesi, aiming to

It is apparent from all this that it is quite possible that Islam was known on the Island of Sumbawa before the island was conquered by Alauddin. One indication can be read in an intriguing letter from the Sultan of Ternate, who in 1672 noted an incident that took place 'at the time when Paducka Siery had Sultan Bima circumcised' (*Daghregister*, 1672, p. 266). It is clear that the Sultan of Ternate, when speaking of this 'Paducka Siery' alludes to one of his predecessors, though he does not say who. It is unlikely that a Sultan of Bima could have been circumcised via the Sultan of Ternate, once Bima had been conquered by the enemy of Ternate, Gowa. From this, one may draw the conclusion that this circumcision took place before the conquest of Bima. R.A. Kern also speaks directly to this question: 'It is not said if the introduction of Islam on Sumbawa dates from the conquest by Gowa. Presumably this is the case; after this, the island was Mohammedan. Of Muslim activity before that time, nothing is known; there was some trade with the Javanese on the island' (Stapel, I, p. 357).

Although one may not discern any positive proof in the story of the circumcision of a Bimanese sultan by a Ternatean, it is still questionable whether the introduction of Islam through Gowa can be considered as proven. Under Ternatean influence Islam might very well have been known before that. That Abdul Kahir would have been installed by Gowa as the first Muslim prince is nowhere stated, although Stapel seems to hold this as possible when he speaks about 'the king placed over them' (Stapel, *Bongaa's verdrag*, p. 25). Ligtvoet says: 'It was the custom of the Makassarese not to depose a prince from the government when they had conquered a land for the first time, or to have it ruled by governors' (A. Ligtvoet, 'Geschiedenis van Boeton', p. 34). Certainly there was, according to Speelman, a grand governor, a kind of commissioner for Sumbawan affairs who also had the personal right to the harbour duties of the port of Papekat, which, according to Speelman, was the seaport of Dompu. Speelman mentions Karaeng Marowangi, Karaeng Aulij, Karaeng Jancarang alias Karaeng Pasi, and finally Karaeng Popo, who went to Bima in 1678 and passed away there in

fight the might of Gowa. Kapitan Laut Ali sails to Buton and allies with the King of Bone; Gowa is swiftly defeated. As a token of friendship the King of Bone hands over three territories to Ternate, namely Indi (Ende), Manggarai, and Pandai on Pantar Island. The Ternatean armada visits these places in turn and is received by the locals with a submissive attitude. No mention is made of Bima here. Van der Crab, 'Geschiedenis van Ternate', pp. 450-454. The account is historically problematic, since the well-known Ternatean commander Kapitan Laut Ali is otherwise known to have passed away in 1632/33. Van Fraassen, *Ternate, de Molukken en de Indonesische Archipel*, p. 19. The alleged Bimanese suzerainty over Manggarai and Ende was probably vague enough for Ternate to stake claims of its own.

1680. For the Island of Sumbawa, the taxes which were decided for Gowa were brought together in Bima.

[*Pre-Muslim kingdoms*]

That there was in any case a political organization before the coming of the Gowanese can be concluded from the acceptance of the *hukum*, the official representatives of Islam, in the royal council, something that according to Bimanese tradition took place in the beginning of the reign of Sultan Abdul Khair, thus around 1640.²² There is hardly any question to seriously doubt the accuracy of this date. From the whole account it is more than clear that we have to do with an important change in an already existing organization. It is difficult to accept that such an organization, that is furthermore based on the *dari* system, was a recent installation at the time.²³

All the information, taken together, strongly suggests the existence of kingdoms before the seventeenth century which took up Islam, probably around the beginning of that century. There is no information known to me to positively demonstrate that this was not the case. About 1640, the *hukum* was adapted in the adat, at least in Bima. In Dompu, which was

22 While Islam was introduced under Abdul Kahir, Islamic institutions took hold in earnest in the reign of his son, Abdul Khair (Abi'l Khair). Bimanese historical traditions relate that the grandson of the pioneer missionary Dato ri Bandang from Sumatra, Dato Maharajalela, continued the religious work of his grandfather. He settled in Ule with six Malay companions and further followers; this was the origin of Kampung Melayu in Bima. After the death of Sultan Abdul Kahir the old adat of Bima tended to outweigh Islamic principles again. However, Maharajalela found a remedy for this by introducing the colourful Siri-Puan festival at the Prophet's birthday (Mauwlud). Lasting for fifteen days, there was eating, drinking, dancing and decorations. Sultan Abdul Khair visited Ule and enjoyed the festival, requesting Maharajalela to hold it every year. In return the cleric could ask for any favour. Maharajalela then made the sultan promise to encourage the implementation of Islamic precepts in his kingdom. This was confirmed by a solemn oath at the court. Damsté, 'Islam en Sirihpoean te Bima (Soembawa)', pp. 56-62.

23 The *dari* are treated in other unpublished texts by Held (H 1220: 32-33). They are task groups, somewhat similar to guilds but more properly defined as endogamous groups who were obliged to render specific services for the sultanate. The commoners of Bima, especially in the capital, were divided in such *dari*, the number of which varies from source to source. A *dari* would be responsible for a particular task, such as different handicrafts, military duties, palace services etc. in the service of the royal court and the high-ranking officials, and kept a particular representative before the sultan. Some were scattered in the various villages and only summoned when needed, such as soldiers and people working the rice fields of the sultan. Sila, *Being Muslim in Bima of Sumbawa, Indonesia*, p. 47; Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 84-85. A detailed list of 29 *dari* is given in Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, pp. 609-613.

only conquered by Alauddin of Gowa in 1626, the *hukum* might have been incorporated into the royal council later on. From an account in the old papers from Dompou, it appears that the official Muslim feast days were installed no earlier than 1806 in place of the previous feasts of the realm.

[*The dependencies of Majapahit*]

It is much more difficult to imagine conditions in the pre-Muslim period. In the well-known list of dependencies of Majapahit there are some names mentioned, among which are several kingdoms: Taliwang, Dompou, Sape, Sanghyang Api, Bima and Hutan (Krom, in Stapel, I, p. 270).²⁴ Kuperus finds it likely that the Seran mentioned in this list means the petty state Serang/Setelok in West Sumbawa, an opinion that Le Roux shares. The name Kadali, also mentioned in this list, is tentatively associated by Kuperus with Kampung Ngali (G. Kuperus, 'De Madjapahitsche onderhoorigheid Serang'; C.C.F.M. Le Roux, 'De Madjapahitsche onderhoorigheden Hutan, Kadali en Gurun en de oude naam voor het eiland Flores', TKNAG LIX (1942), pp. 770, 922, 914).

The same names are also partly to be found in the map from the first [Dutch] maritime expedition of 1595-1597, reproduced in Stapel, II, p. 351, where Stapel mentions Sambawa (Sumbawa), Bima and Gunung Api. Aram is according to Le Roux a place at the north coast that also occurs on other maps and is called Aranaran by Pigafetta.²⁵ The last-mentioned, writing in 1521 [*sic* for 1522], also mentions a certain place Mani that according to Le Roux could mean the Island of Moyo (Le Roux, *Feestbundel* KBG, II). Pecato

24 The relevant passage in the poem *Desawarnana* (*Nagarakertagama*) runs (in Stuart Robson's translation): 'To the east of the island of Java, this too should be mentioned: / Bali with as leading places Badahulu and Lwa Gajah, / Gurun with as main places Sukun, Taliwang, Dompou and Sapi, / Sang Hyang Api, Bhima, Seran, Hutan and Kadali as a group.' Prapañca, *Deśawarnana*, p. 34. The poem makes a distinction between places which are 'under the protection of the king' and include Bali and Sumbawa and large parts of the archipelago, and those which are merely 'friends', such as Champa and Cambodia.

25 The account of Antonio Pigafetta, our most important source for the Magellan expedition, relates that the expedition visited Timor in early 1522 and then proceeded to the west. Pigafetta enumerates the islands as follows: Ende, Tanabutun (Tanah Buton), Creuo (Krowe), Chile (Kilo), Bimacore (Bima and Kore), Aranaran, Mani, Zumbaua (West Sumbawa), Lomboch, Chorum (Gurun, Nusa Penida?) and Java Major. Thus several names are used for the same island, again underlining the lack of communication between western and eastern Sumbawa. Pigafetta, *Magellan's Voyage Around the World*, II, p. 167. Mount Aram, or Aramaram, is apparently an older name for Mount Tambora. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 39.

is Pekat. On the beautiful map from 1681 we read on the original a hardly legible indication for Aram, seemingly as Azom.²⁶

[*Stone artefacts*]

Various ancient objects have been found in Sumbawa, but they are poorly understood and unsatisfactory registered. Old places in Dompu where the locals say ancient objects may be found are, first of all, the Huu area and the place of origin of the Dompu kingdom. I found a pile of stones there, among other things. It was no doubt an old wall, just like people said.

Only an archaeological investigation will be able to establish what there is to find in the doubtlessly ancient cultural sphere of Sumbawa Island where, according to Kuperus, the entire geographical layout indicates human activity.²⁷ The indications given by the people are often vague and misleading. There was seemingly a time when people worked more with stone than is the case today, and many stories are told about the occurrence of processed stones. In Dompu I was shown a square stone stool that reputedly originated from the original mountain, Doro Nowa. At Ranggo there is a stone *mesan* [tombstone] with a small simple figure. Likewise at Ranggo there is a stone where one may observe a number of round, very unclear and irregularly arranged incisions. According to people, this stone was used by the *ncuhi* at their games. Such hollows can be seen in the so-called cup stones which have also been hollowed out (Dr. F.C. Bursch, *De Westerse mens ontdekt zijn wereld*, p. 83). Dr. Bursch argues that these peculiar hollows are associated with fire making. In general people are not keen to provide information since there are several people in the area searching for hidden treasure, which is spoken of in a number of stories. When digging work took place at the bridge over the river near Dompu, a pot was reportedly found

26 Some further cartographic information may be added here. Rodrigues' map from the early sixteenth century has Ssimbaua. Reinel's map from c. 1524 mentions the places Bima, Moio and Amajam, D. Homem's atlas of 1558 has Aramarã and Bima. The small volcanic island to the north of Sumbawa, Gunung Api, is mentioned as Ilha do Fogo on P. Reinel's map of c. 1517 and c. 1518, and on J. Reinel's map of 1519. A map from c. 1540 mentions Genuape, D. Homem's atlas of 1558, Guluape. The term Java Minor, known from Barbosa's account, also occurs as a name for Sumbawa in L. Homem's atlas of 1519. One of Godinho de Eredia's maps from the early seventeenth century knows the entire island as Bima. Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires*, pp. 201-202 (footnote). Meagre as they are, these scraps of information indicate that the Portuguese seafarers roughly knew the geography of these waters but had little to attend there.

27 The archaeological and antiquarian notes made by Gerrit Pieter Rouffaer in 1910 have since been published with extensive footnotes by Jacobus Noorduyn. What Rouffaer found of pre-Muslim structures and objects was nevertheless rather limited. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 69-116.

that contained a number of coins. The pot has been thrown away and the coins are hard to track down. There are also several stories of cannons that have supposedly been found in various places in the hills [mounds?] where, however, people do not readily go since these places are taboo, for example, at Donggo Sumba near Kampung Talobara, Dompu.

[*The relief of Karaku*]

More interesting is the stone with a relief and an inscription that was shown to me in Kampung Karaku. This stone rests on a height, a short distance from the mountains [?]²⁸, and one can assume that there is a good reason why the stone is located at this place. Taking the weight of this stone into consideration, it is very unlikely that it has been brought from elsewhere to this place in the midst of a *ladang* area. The relief is worn down and vaguely visible but portrays a prince on a throne. Behind him are two figures who hold the *payung* over his head and in front of him is another figure who seems to pay homage. At his feet there is a hint of an animal that might be a cat-like being. Five other objects in front of the face of the sitting figure are reminiscent of the skulls of *kerbaus* or horses. The type of letters used is, according to Professor Poerbatjaraka, Old Javanese, in any case not Makassarese.

[*Hindu images*]

Even more interesting are the antiquities that were encountered by H. Holtz in 1860 in the Bima area, among them two images which are now in the museum in Jakarta (*Archeologische Collectie*, nos. 2 and 98). Mr. E.W. Orsoy de Flines, conservator of the archaeological collection of the museum, notes in a personal letter: 'No. 2, 80 centimetres high, is a sitting three-headed Shiva (not a Trimurti as the Groenveldt catalogue indicates); No. 98, 69 centimetres high, probably depicts a Shiva in the shape of Kala; it is very worn, thus unclear. Both images are rough and almost sloppily made, and no. 2 is particularly wry. Regarding the style they would date to the "tenth to twelfth centuries", being younger rather than older.'

About his findings Holtz writes: 'The two Hindu images were found by me in a water canal near the *kampong* Tato, and in the paddy fields of that *kampong*, under a large *kanari* tree, I also encountered two stone bases, on which, according to the regent [*rijksbestuurder*] of Bima, the images were previously placed.'

²⁸ The manuscript is barely legible here.

According to the regent, these images come from an earlier age (when the Hindu religion was still practiced by the people here). Later, however, after the acceptance of the Mohammedan creed, they were taken from their place and thrown in the water canal.²⁹

[*Bronze kettledrum*]

Important are also the kettledrums that were discovered by the *controleur* Kortleven in the years before the latest world war, of which one example from the Island of Sangeang is reproduced (Keteltrom K.B.G., *Archeologisch Collectie (afd. Prehistorie)* no. 3365; 79 centimetres high).³⁰ On one these drums we find images of people with ships and elephants, and on the upper surface a sun or star with a varying number of rays, and also four frogs. Dr. A.T.T. van der Hoop connects these images of frogs to rainmaking, to which end one of the drums in Bima was used until recently. Dr. Van der Hoop places the bronze age of Indonesia in 'the last two to three centuries before the Christian era' (Stapel, I, p. 111).³¹ Bronze kettledrums are also found on nearby Selayar and on Rote. Although the land of origin of these remarkable objects is sought in Tonkin, they were also cast in Indonesia itself. Whether the Sumbawans were also capable of this art is not clear, but there is a foundry guild (*dari owa*) to which, according to Zollinger, the coppersmiths belong³² (for the kettledrums, see A. Thomassen Thuessink van der Hoop / Stapel, I, p. 65 and *infra*).

29 From West Sumbawa, Lalu Manca reports the existence of an old Hindu *candi* at Utan, which is locally known as Batu Gong. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 49.

30 Six further kettledrums of the Dong-son type were found on Sanghyang Api, one in 1983 by Henri Chambert-Loir, being about 2,000 years old. Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, p. 29; Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, p. 239.

31 More recent research argues that bronze and iron appeared simultaneously in Indonesia from about 500 BC. The early bronze objects were usually for ritual use. Dong Son-type kettledrums were imported after about 200 BC, probably from northern Vietnam, although some later items could have been cast elsewhere. The knowledge of bronze spread widely, almost as far as to Papua, by the first centuries AD, possibly related to mercantile activities. Miksic, *Ancient History*, pp. 32-33.

32 Heinrich Zollinger (1818-1859), a Swiss naturalist who visited Bali, Lombok and Sumbawa during 1846-1847 and wrote valuable accounts of his experiences. His account of Sumbawa remained unsurpassed until rather recently, which says something about the paucity of research on this island.

[*Portuguese antiquities?*]

On the boat trip through the bay to the capital, we briefly visited the ruins of an old Portuguese fortress: worn-down walls are around the place, remains of beams, and slag heaps of a former smithy, from which previously all kinds of damaged religious images had been brought out. Close to these ruins cavities with sacred Hindu objects would be situated, and not far from the capital, Bima, a badly preserved Hindu image of stone was recently dug up, that seems to depict Ganesh. This finding completes those made earlier which have already been described. (Elbert, *Sunda-Expedition*, II, 76)

The last passage alludes to the images discovered by Holtz. Seemingly these antiquities were situated north of Bima, west of Kolo.³³

[*Grave-houses of stone*]

Now about graves found to the south-west of Bima.

Among these were a couple of graves of a considerable age, both with a vault, one being covered by wholly massive limestone and the other by baked stone. No one could say how old they were. The latter was conceivably from the age of the Portuguese, since the production of baked stones is not practiced among the inhabitants. (Note by Zollinger, p. 99: 'All baked stones at the house of the sultan or the mosque have come from Java.') The graves of those who died later were partly placed in a walled building covered with tiles, which, however, had suffered much from the earthquake. These were adorned at both ends with sculptured ornaments;

33 The possible presence of Portuguese in Bima is strengthened by the fact that this kingdom was of much more concern to the Lusitanian seafarers than other regions in the neighbourhood, as seen from the geographical accounts of Tomé Pires, Manuel Godinho de Eredia etc. It is known that the Portuguese visited Bima annually in the early seventeenth century in order to buy sappanwood, which could be sold to other parts of Asia for a good profit, which might have motivated the construction of a fortification. De Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and Time Perspective in Natural Resource Management'. Rouffaer describes two ruined forts situated at the entrance of Bima Bay. The northern fort was 80 by 150 metres, the southern 60 by 95. They were constructed from volcanic stone with bastions at the corners, and were still equipped with some iron ship's cannons at the time when Rouffaer visited them. Rouffaer believed the forts were from the days of the Company, but according to Noorduyn, 'the round bastions indicate a knowledge of fortress construction from before the second half of the seventeenth century, which would then mean the Portuguese – or perhaps one should say the Makassarese – era'. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 102-104, 115.

those of the kings or male persons had round, those of the women flat ornaments. Furthermore they were covered with wood where, besides flower ornaments, inscriptions in Arabic were incised that gave the name, the place of birth, and the year of death of the deceased. These were not more than a hundred years old. (Reinwardt, *Verslag*, 323)

According to Bik, these graves are in no way reminiscent of Hindu antiquities on Java.³⁴

There is, however, no trace or sign to suggest that a temple or a particular graveyard existed in the neighbourhood, and the regent did not know anything about that.

By all probability the images are connected to the religion of the Donggo people, who worshiped a supreme being with the Hindu name of Dewa, since such images are called Dewa Dewa up to the present day; and to the mountain people of Bima's north-western coast, also still known as Donggo and still heathens, who now and then come to a place similar place to the aforementioned, near the *kampong* Tato, called Batu Paha, to make offerings.³⁵

Furthermore I have also visited the other remains of the Hindu era that are known here, first Batu Paha, situated at a small bay that is found at the western side of the entrance of Bima Bay. A cave is found there, where a small niche seems to be hewn into the wall and where, on both sides,

34 What is described in the quoted passage by Reinwardt is the graves of the sultan family. For photographs of these, see Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 74. The following passage, being a quotation from the nineteenth-century visitor Holtz, speaks about something different, namely pre-Islamic remains.

35 The Dou Donggo is a Bimanese-speaking group in the mountainous north-western part of Bima, who were only converted to Islam or in some cases Christianity in modern times. From local tradition it appears that the Donggo region was accorded a special status when the Bima federation was formed by nine *ncuhi* or chiefs in proto-historical times. The Ruma Sangaji or king was a symbolic younger brother of the Dou Donggo. The Bimanese crown prince was expected to live in Kala, the central place of Donggo, and was termed Jeneli Donggo. When Bima was converted to Islam in the seventeenth century, the special position of Donggo may have allowed the inhabitants to maintain their traditional religion. Dou Donggo religion is characterized by belief in spirits and the power of ancestors. There are distant and unpredictable gods called *dewa* who personify great natural forces and have little in common with Hindu-Balinese *dewas*. Socially, people are organized in patrilinear, exogamous and totemistic clans called *rafu*. It is possible that Dou Donggo society partly reflects conditions among the lowlanders of East Sumbawa before Islamization. Just, *Dou Donggo Social Organization*, pp. 95-99, 240; Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, p. 172.

seven small Hindu images, each a foot long, are incised, while a small spring appears at the foot of the cave.³⁶

One also finds a similar cave, Kubur Bulang, close to the *kampong* Thee, of bigger size and situated on the mountain there, Doro Thee, where previously (according to legend) the Dewa were also worshiped. However, there were no other visible signs than a large *birangi* tree just by the entrance. (Holtz, 'Oudheden van Soembawa', TITLV, 1862, p. 157-158)

Unfortunately the seven small Hindu images in the cave with the spring near Batu Paha ('hewn stone'), mentioned by Holtz, have disappeared, as Rouffaer stated in 1909. Perhaps this was the place where the Dou Donggo formerly came down once a year in order to make offerings (Zollinger, JIAEA, 1848, p. 692). The entire description is remarkably reminiscent of the myth of the seven brothers and the spring of Senambani.

[*The expedition to Dompō in 1357*]

The only information about the pre-Muslim period is to be found in Old Javanese literature, of which we have already mentioned the list of dependencies of Majapahit as given in the *Nagarakertagama* in 1365. An important piece of information is handed down in the well-known chronicle about the princes of Tumapel and Majapahit, the *Pararaton*, 29, p. 15, which mentions a successful 'expedition to Dompō, ... under the command of the *tumenggung* Lord Nala, known also from the inscriptions, who not only held the command at this occasion in 1357, but always headed the expeditions, judging from the *Nagarakertagama* text' (Krom / Stapel, I, p. 277).

Professor Berg here alludes to two other Javanese manuscript 'of quite recent date', namely the *Pamañcangah* and the *Sorandaka*, which describe the time of King Jayanagara (1309-1328).³⁷ In the *Pamañcangah* we are told

36 The inscription of Wadu Paa was later been discussed by the epigraphist J.G. de Casparis. It includes carvings of pillars and two lines of script which have been characterized as Pallava and may be very early, with parallels to Sriwijaya inscriptions. The dating, however, is very uncertain, and the inscription cannot be read in its entirety. Another rock inscription is that of Wadu Tunti. As De Casparis notes, the inscription consists of nine lines, badly worn, of which only three are still legible. It is a special form of East Javanese script dating from the later Majapahit period. A few words can be read, such as *sapalu* and *sahilang*, which possibly represent place names – the nearest modern village is Pali, which may derive from the first-mentioned. De Casparis, 'Some Notes on Ancient Bima', pp. 465-468.

37 The *Pamañcangah* or *Babad Dalem* was composed in Klungkung on Bali, probably in the eighteenth century. Its historical value is a controversial point. The *Sorandaka* (The fall of Sora) is also a Javano-Balinese text of uncertain date. The Balinese of the post-Majapahit period preserved a large number of older texts for posterity, meanwhile composing new texts in Old

that two field commanders called Damar and Gajah Mada took the Prince of Bedahulu (Bali) prisoner 'but later let him free and put him in charge over an expedition to Sumbawa where he was victorious although he was killed' (*Indonesië*, V [1952], p. 392). 'According to the *Sorandaka*, Gajah Mada ... first ... subjugated Sumbawa and subsequently made an attack on King Papolung of Bedahulu, accompanied by Damar and others' (loc. cit). In a note, Professor Berg comments: 'The fight against Sumbawa might be the *padompo* of *Pararaton* 29, p. 15'.

Although it may not be possible to make out exactly what happened from this information, scholars consider the historicity of an armed conflict between Majapahit and Dompū as established (Krom / Stapel, I, p. 271). Professor Berg puts the period when Majapahit expanded its political power by arms between 1331 and 1351, with the last grand action being that against Bali in 1343, apart from a war with Sunda in 1357 (*Indonesië*, V, p. 410).

The dating of the Sumbawa affair to the year 1357 is based on the fact that it is supposed to have coincided with the action against the Sundanese. Professor Berg has shown that this does not give us complete certainty, since the documents have a combination of names that can be read as Sunda and Sumbawa, and since, according to another text, the Dompunese would have fought side by side with the Sundanese on Java, against the people of Majapahit. That the *Pararaton* brings Dompū and Sunda in connection with each other is possibly because the writer of this chronicle already knew about such a combination of names and therefore dated the conflict with Dompū in the same year as the conflict with Sunda. That does not, however, mean that Professor Berg doubts the conflict with Dompū in itself, since also '*Nagarakertagama* 72, 3, mentions a war against Dompū in a context that gives little reason for doubt about the veracity of the account, that we moreover also find in the *Pamañcangah*. It seems to me that we can assume on one hand that there was an action against Sumbawa, and on the other hand that it did not lead to the annexation of the island.' In note 103: 'The *Sorandaka* account can be considered worthless and without consideration.'

In Berg's opinion the Majapahit Kingdom included the regions of East Java, Madura and Bali, and it did not possess any political power in the other areas in the well-known list of dependencies, previously quoted with regard to Sumbawa. 'According to the *Nagarakertagama* 70, 3, the Kingdom of Majapahit merely expanded towards Bali / Sadeng, and in 79, 3, where the administration of the state is described, there is mention of Bali as the only

nusantara. Seemingly Sumbawa did not constitute a part of the Kingdom of Majapahit' (*Indonesië*, V, p. 412).³⁸

[*East Sumbawa a Javanese Far East*]

What was the action against Dompu about if it did not aim at the conquest of the island? Perhaps – says Professor Berg – it was an expedition with the aim of bringing a princess from that area to the court of Majapahit. State power on Java, as he says in a fascinating argument, was conceived as a princely marriage contract with the outer areas, the *nusantara*. The line of thought is that the prince, through a sexual ritual, makes the outer areas like his children through intercourse with the female personifications of these areas, which have been acquired by the kingdom through his political power. The number of these *nusantara* were put at four in the ritual, in accordance with the well-known four-parts principle that we also find in Sumbawa. So, when an expedition was sent to Dompu to fetch a princess that could be held as representative of the power of that kingdom, it does not necessarily mean that Majapahit has really subjugated Dompu and brought it within the power of its realm, but only that the Javanese prince, via the exchange of such a princess, could appropriate that far eastern kingdom in a ritual way as a ceremonial child, just as he had brought a princess from Sunda, from the far west, to his court. In that way it could be explained why Dompu is mentioned in connection with Sunda, namely since the prince wished to see a princess not only from the far west (Sunda) but also from the far east (Dompu). The two expeditions were mentioned in the same breath since they were pendants in a ceremonial sense, without meaning that they actually took place in the same year (Berg, *Indonesië*, V, p. 416; IV, p. 481 sq.).

38 Berg's (and Held's) scepticism is probably justified; however, Majapahit traditions are found on many places east of Bali, such as in Ende (Flores), the Alor Islands and Savu. In fact, Lalu Manca refers a tradition from West Sumbawa to the effect that the ancient king Dewa Awan Kuning heard that the customs of Majapahit were well-ordered and therefore decided to visit Java. Together with his ministers he appeared before the Majapahit ruler and the *patih* Gajah Mada. A bond of friendship was created and the Sumbawan king was provided with four Javanese texts, namely *Pala Kera*, *Cangkul Muda*, *Raja Niti* and *Raja Kutara*, to implement good order in the society. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 48-49. It is, of course, impossible to assess the truthfulness of this account, although it seems to reinforce the image of Majapahit influences in the fourteenth century. From anthropological perspectives, Michael Hitchcock has observed traces in Bima of the socio-cosmic dualism found in eastern Indonesian societies. He argues that East Sumbawa must have begun to diverge markedly from its eastern neighbours at some point. Bima's absorption into the cultural sphere of Majapahit around 1357 was probably of critical importance here. Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 170-172.

This juxtaposition, though difficult to prove in a strict sense, is sufficiently attractive and gives a reasonable picture of the actual course of events. That Majapahit really ruled over Sumbawa is unlikely since the actual sphere of power in the east in 1343 did not extend any further than Bali, and did not expand much further to the east after that time. It is clear, however, that there was a conflict with Dompu, of which it is hard to accept that it was anything else than a foolish knightly adventure. Dompu is too far removed and the Sumbawans are too dangerous adversaries for that.

On the one hand, the idea of acquiring political power through a marriage should not be thought of as unimportant. Whether there was indeed the idea in Majapahit that the prince could gain political power in a ritual way through sexual intercourse, I dare not judge, but in my opinion it is an idea that does not seem completely foreign to this world. In the mythology of Sumbawa, too, the original prince is the man who marries the heavenly woman. On the other hand, however, marriage is a common form of the total contract, and we see more than clearly that princely marriage and territorial expansion on Sumbawa occur on the same level. For example, one may think of the marriage between the Crown Prince of Bima and the daughter of the Prince of Gowa, from whence Gowa derived its definite claim on Manggarai. One may indeed see these marriages as important episodes in the totality of tributary relationships, and should not see the exchange of tribute as an exchange of presents to express mutual goodwill. The entire political structure of Sumbawa itself is based on this conception.

[Political consequences of an inter-aristocratic marriage. Sumbawa 1704]

That a princely marriage between parties of unequal strength were more similar to a conquest than an international union of friendship can seen from the protestations that Mas Madina, the Sultan of Sumbawa, made against the marriage that he concluded in 1704 with Datu Cita, daughter of Raja Bone.

Thereupon (thus Valentijn relates) Datoe Locka [the father of Mas Madina] stated, with regard to the troubles that he saw in this marriage, that they at the very least had to give a dowry or donation to the bride consisting of 70 to 80 slaves, apart from golden rings and other required riches of that size, that could not be ignored.³⁹ Also, on the seventh or eighth day, when the newlywed couple would cleanse themselves, he would according to

39 It should be recalled that the possession of many slaves indicated status in early Southeast Asia, regardless of the practical use that an aristocrat would have from them.

the laws of the land again have to give some 40 slaves; and thirdly, as the bridegroom went to consummate the ceremony, his entourage had to consist of no less than 400 or 500 men to escort him, and yet half that number to attend the queen in the name of the Sumbawan kingdom, and that they all would have to perform heavy duties at the Bone court without salary, since they would spare their own people and be attended by those from Sumbawa outside their country. (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 202)

When they once pondered if they could somewhat loosen the ties to South Celebes, and abstain from their yearly homage because of these far from light considerations, the Makassarese nobles Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang organized raids whereby the princes of Sumbawa were 'horribly plundered'.⁴⁰

[*State ritual in Sumbawa*]

Now, in the age of Majapahit's power expansion there was possibly a quite strongly developed form of ritual that focused on tributary relationships and was centred on the prince; but precisely because this is a ritual and it is about real goods, the choice of marriage partner is not entirely unequal. If the Prince of Majapahit really wished to marry a princess from Dompou, one may assume that he did not do so in the dark. Then there must anyway have been an idea in Majapahit that Dompou, too, belonged to Majapahit, although this was not the generally accepted reality. If one stretches the concept of political power, it is possible to detach it from the concept of kingdom. The whole structure of the kingdom is always built upon mutual rights and duties connected with tributary relations. One may indeed claim that Manggarai did not belong to the Kingdom of Bima, just as one may claim that Sumbawa did not belong to the Kingdom of Gowa. Even within the kingdom there were tensions and conflicts. From the generally quite acceptable standpoint of Professor Berg one may deduce that Majapahit, as apparent from the Dompou expedition, believed to have a claim on that island. If it could be proven that Dompou or the neighbouring kingdoms acknowledged the claim by offering tribute, one could claim that Dompou indeed belonged to the Kingdom of Majapahit.⁴¹ Since we have no accounts

40 The reference is to François Valentijn, a Dutch Protestant priest in the service of the VOC who wrote an enormous work in five parts and eight volumes with the title *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën* (1724-1726).

41 In the case of the Dompou Kingdom there is a legendary but distinct cultural connection with Java. The elder son of the Pandava hero Bima, Indera Kumala or Dewa Batara Dompou, is represented as the first King of Dompou in East Sumbawan tradition. He is thus the brother of the

about that, we should accept, on the basis of what has been said, that Sumbawa indeed belonged to the cultural, rather than the political, sphere of influence of Majapahit, and that the list of 'dependencies' was not quite unreal, at least as far as Sumbawa goes, in the same way as Manggarai was 'subjected' to the Kingdom of Bima.

[*Affinity with the Hindu-Javanese cultural world*]

That there are indeed good reasons for accepting that there was a certain affinity between Iava Minor (as Sumbawa was called in earlier centuries) and Iava Maior itself, is made clear by a description of Sumbawan culture itself.⁴² It is in the first place in the religious sphere that we clearly see the cultural influence of Old Java. Perhaps the economy in these days was not very different from the present one. Cattle and rice are still prominent export products and it is characteristic that an 'overseas horse' is still known in Javanese as a *jaran kore*, a horse from Kore, the old name of the capital of the former Sanggar Kingdom which was almost wiped out through the Tambora disaster in 1815.

[*Trade contacts in olden times*]

In East Sumbawa the horse is also known by its Javanese name *jara*. Professor Hoekstra, in his study over *Paardenteelt op het eiland Soemba* (Batavia 1948), p. 38, relates that the horse has come from India through Hindu influence, and that it was only brought to the presently horse-rich Sumba in perhaps the late eighteenth century, though there is reason to believe that the horse was known on Sumba long before that. It would be strange if the horse was known many centuries earlier on Sumbawa than on Sumba,

founder of the Bima Kingdom. About six generations later Islam was introduced under Sultan Syamsuddin (c. 1620). Genealogy in Collection G.J. Held, Or. 1220: 28, KITLV Archive; see also Hasan, *Memikirkan makna Dompur*, p. 28.

42 The geographical description of Duarte Barbosa from c. 1518 asserts that 'Java Minor' was situated five leagues to the east of 'Java Major', being a well-provided island inhabited by gentiles, but with a few Muslim subjects in the seaports. It was ruled by a heathen king and had a language of its own. The indigenous called their island Sumbawa, while the 'Moors', Arabs and Persians, knew it as Java Minor. It is possible that there is some confusion with Bali in Barbosa's account. East of Sumbawa there was, according to Barbosa, another small island called Oçare (in another reading Oçape) where horses were common, men were hunters, and women took care of the herds of domestic animals. In the midst of the island a fire (presumably a volcano) was always burning. This may allude to Sape in Bima, and the fire might allude to the Tambora volcano; Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, pp. 198-199. The use of the terms Java Maior and Java Minor among early geographers is inconsistent; Marco Polo knew Sumatra as Java Minor, and Java (mixed up with Kalimantan?) as Java Maior.

since Sumbawa [Bima] made claims on Sumba until 1750 and went there more or less regularly.⁴³

Kuperus thinks that the Javanese made the *sawah* cultivation known on Sumbawa (Kuperus, p. 133). 'The island was often visited by seafarers since it was rich in victuals, primarily rice and cattle; the Company ships from Batavia to the Moluccas regularly landed at Bima' (Stapel, III, p. 464).⁴⁴ Probably this is the reason why the Portuguese, whose appearance is mentioned under 1545, came to Bima. Other important trading products, like the well-known sandalwood, were not mentioned, at least for these areas.⁴⁵ From Sumbawa the Company obtained sappanwood (*Caesalpinia sappan* in Latin), of which the inner wood was used for dyeing in red, even cotton and silk (*Encyclopaedie*, I, p. 434), but this article of trade is of limited importance although the forced deliveries of this product only ended in 1874.⁴⁶ The trade would mainly have been in rice, as appears in a letter from

43 Horses seem to have been an export product since old, as seen from the referred accounts by Tomé Pires (c. 1515) and Duarte Barbosa (c. 1518). The Malaccan geographer Manuel Godinho de Eredia, writing about 1600, likewise mentions Bima as a centre for horse breeding, adding that this 'island' had large resources of sappanwood, and some sulphur and white sandalwood. De Eredia, *Eredia's Description of Malaca*, p. 253.

44 There is also some evidence that Sumbawa, and in particular Bima, was not just a passive receiver of traders, but sent trading vessels to other part of Southeast Asia. The Catholic missionary Sebastião Manrique reported in the 1630s from Arakan in Burma: attracted by Mrauk-U's status as a duty-free port, ships came there from various parts of South and Southeast Asia, including Sumatra, Java, Aceh, Makassar and Bima. Manrique, *Travels of Fray Sebastien Manrique*, 379.

45 The valuable sandalwood grew on Timor in the first place, partly also on Sumba. From medieval Chinese texts it appears that Chinese merchants occasionally went to Timor, and one of the routes must have gone along Bali, Lombok, Sumbawa and Flores. De Roever, *De jacht op sandelhout*, p. 53.

46 The VOC tried to push the Sumbawan kingdoms to deliver sappanwood throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, often as payment for munitions that the kings needed to defend their lands. The Bima Kingdom tried to appropriate sandalwood from Sumba, over which island it claimed suzerainty. This is first documented in 1662 when traders from Batavia fetched sandalwood from Sumba via Malay skippers. The sandalwood was confiscated by Sultan Bima, who argued that Sumba was a long-time possession of Bima even though its inhabitants presently seemed to consider themselves independent. After pressure from the VOC, the sultan returned the precious wood to the traders. De Roo van Alderwerelt, 'Historische aantekeningen over Soemba', p. 189. Bima tried to compensate for the poor rice harvest in 1674-1675 by importing rice from the VOC sphere, promising sandalwood that might be extracted from Sumba in exchange. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 2. The stipulations of sappanwood deliveries were reiterated by the new colonial state after 1816. However, the value of sappanwood on the world market fell in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the stipulations were discontinued in 1874 and not renewed in the contracts with West Sumbawa (1875) and Bima (1886). De Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and Time Perspective in Natural Resource Management'.

Figure 2 A traditional storehouse in the highland village Punik



Photo: Hans Hägerdal

Governor-General Van Diemen to the Heren Bewindhebbers from 1643, where he writes: 'Via the Makassarese, Malays, and other foreign nations, we have obtained a large quantity of good white rice from Makassar and Bima, so that grain, God be praised, is quite abundant in Batavia ... Java also produces rice, but no Javanese rice is stored in order to emphasize before the headstrong Mattaram that we are not deprived of rice, and the purveyors are told to stay away' (Tiele, *Bouwstoffen*, Tweede Reeks, III, 135).⁴⁷

⁴⁷ A VOC missive from 31 December 1635 informs us that traders from Banten on Java had previously gone to East Java, Lombok, Sumbawa, Bima, Makassar and Selayar with their junks.

[*Roads and villages*]

The villages were probably not situated along the major roads then, but possibly on a hilltop close to a river, or in any case close to ground that was fit for habitation, surrounded by a wall of piled-up stones (of which one may still see remains at the original site of Dompū) or by densely growing hedges. Horse trails and footpaths would have been the foremost lines of communication, in the more distant areas being little more than an unreliable track, otherwise sizable enough for armed troops of hundreds of people to pass along them. The big road along the whole length of the Island of Sumbawa was not completed until about 1920.

[*Weaving industry*]

The weaving industry is mentioned by Speelman in his 'Notitie'.⁴⁸ Cotton was spun from which coarse cloth was woven, with, for example, the tribute to Gowa was paid. In Makassar, clothing made from this cloth was worn by ordinary people or, after intermittent processing, exported to Manila under the name *sarassa oedjon pandan*. That there was no important economic intercourse in Speelman's times is seen from what he tells about the means of payment. These were 'Spanish reals and copper *pitties*⁴⁹ from Japara that were valued at 2,000 to 2,500 to a real; however, for lack of these one may come to terms there [i.e., in the Island of Sumbawa], and on the whole island, with old iron, needles and knives.'

[*Population density*]

How large the population was in olden times is difficult to estimate, especially since the picture is complicated by the Tambora disaster in 1815. It is

People from these places likewise came to Banten in order to obtain Chinese and other wares. Another missive of 22 December 1638 says that Chinese traders went to Bima without caring to obtain trading passports from the Dutch. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, I, pp. 492, 711.

48 In fact, the production of cloth is mentioned as early as 1603 in a Dutch report. It mixes up Sumbawa with Flores, saying that there are three good ports on the island, namely Bima, Cory (Sanggar) and Endée (Ende in Central Flores). This, of course, may lend some colour to Bimanese claims of early influence in Ende. Javanese traders came there to trade and take in provisions. The locals produced much coarse cloth of different colours which the Javanese brought further to Maluku. The Ceramese preferred the East Sumbawan cloth to other alternatives. Female slaves were also purchased for a good price and sold in Banda and elsewhere, the locals being 'heathen' (neither Christian or Muslim). The Javanese traders paid the Bimanese and Korenese with silver or golden jewellery. De Jonge, *De opkomst van het Nederlandsch gezag in Oost-Indië*, III, p. 161. The passage confirms that Sumbawa was involved in the lively long-distance trade that flourished during Southeast Asia's 'age of commerce'.

49 Piti was a Chinese coin made from diluted tin. *VOC-glossarium*, p. 91.

once again Speelman who provides a (perhaps exaggerated) estimate of the military potential in his time, which he describes as follows:

During the Makassarese rule the strength of that island was usually estimated as follows in the recent time:

Sambauwa with 10,000 heads and the best soldiers.

Dompo with 8,000 heads, in reputation after them [i.e., Sumbawa].

Tambora with 2,000 heads, mostly horsemen.

Sanggar with 800.

Papeeka with 800.

Biema with 6,000, these being the first in ranking but the last in reputation of courage, being generally very cowardly people. (Speelman, 'Notitie', p. 379)⁵⁰

[*Entrepot for spice trade since the fourteenth century?*]

One may suggest that the Island of Sumbawa became increasingly important for the trade between the eastern regions, especially the Moluccas, and the western kingdoms, the rising trading emporium of Malacca, and the Javanese traders. After the beginning of the fourteenth century, one may imagine the Island of Sumbawa as a station on the way for traders, a region that was of importance, not in the first place because of its own products, but because of its geographical location on the trade routes.⁵¹ In the same way it also had some importance for whalers in later centuries, as a station on the route between Australia and the Philippines, since they passed the Sape Strait east of Sumbawa, which Sir Francis Drake also sailed through on his famous journey. The Company steadily brought this intercourse down: in 1667 for Gowa, in 1683 for Ternate and in 1705 for Java. It was only through the contracts of 1857 and 1858 that international trade was allowed once again. Thus the Island of Sumbawa became an archaic land in many respects.

The image of old Sumbawa, as it is depicted in the myths before the introduction of the *hukum* in about the middle of the seventeenth century,

⁵⁰ This may suggest something like 100,000 to 150,000 people on the island, assuming that the manpower mentioned by Speelman were free, able-bodied persons who could carry arms. This is more or less compatible with Heinrich Zollinger's estimate that there were 170,000 inhabitants on Sumbawa before the Tambora eruption of 1815. Zollinger, *Verlag van eene reis naar Bima en Soembawa*, p. 176.

⁵¹ Bernice de Jong Boers suggests that the island exported wood in pre-Muslim times. On the northern coast of West Sumbawa are two places called Utan and Alas, names that mean 'forest' in Malay and Javanese, respectively, suggesting commercial relations with Java and the Malay world. De Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and Time Perspective in Natural Resource Management'.

has many traits in common with the society that forms the background of the Javanese scene, as Rassers calls it. It is a world of thought related to that of the *Mahabharata*, where Bhima was a central figure and, according to Stutterheim, the centre of a religious movement in the last centuries of Majapahit.⁵² In the total set of ceremonies, of which the organization of the kingdom was the exponent, one discerns a doctrine of salvation where holy water is of great importance. One may read about initiation and princely consecration, about marriage and wealth, about snakes, cat-like creatures and horses. There is a royal council based on a caste-like organization in functional-ceremonial groups. There is a detailed exchange of tribute. All this is not sufficient to give a clear picture of the real social conditions but clear enough to prove the affinity with the Old Javanese world.

[Islam since the early sixteenth century]

Islam has sharpened this picture considerably, especially through the isolation of royal power which derives from the standpoint of the *hukum*, but things have not changed beyond recognition. The historical sources begin to speak in clearer terms about this world in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The sources are not verbose and they do not always elucidate the central cultural complex, but they give a more or less coherent account of events.

[Number of kingdoms]

There were, then, six kingdoms, namely Bima, Sumbawa, Dompu, Tambora, [Sanggar,] and Pekat or Papekat, but one should consider that the various centres questioned each others' independence. Thus Stapel, III, p. 464, does not mention Papekat, nor does the map of 1681 mention Sanggar. Within the Kingdom of Bima, Bolo enjoyed certain independence; in Dompu, the district of Kempo, and in olden times seemingly also Huu; in Sumbawa, various districts had so much independence that it sometimes looked like a league of states. Taliwang was in fact an independent entity for a long time. According to the *Daghregister* (1674, pp. 274-278), Dompu asserted that an area called Tibore, where the places Wouwoe, Soukou, Tompo and Kalikon were situated, had to be considered part of Dompu, a claim that

52 This is most probably reflected in the name Bima, which is likely derived from the mytho-historical hero Bhima or Sang Bima. The indigenous name for Bima is Mbojo. In a similar way, Sumbawa, a Portuguese corruption of the indigenous name Sam[b]awa, might be derived from Shambhawa ('related to Shambhu, i.e., Śiva'), or from *sambhawa* (a Sanskrit word meaning 'existence', 'ability', 'origin'). Noorduyn, 'Makasar and the Islamization of Bima', pp. 316-317.

according to Raja Tibore was founded on nothing.⁵³ On the map of 1681 one sees the names Kalonco⁵⁴ and Tombo in the south-east corner of the Kingdom of Tambora. A *jeneli* Tompo sat in the royal council of Dompū, probably deriving from this name that did not exist any more by then. East of D. Kabumbu lay the land of Corretalouga which was later on a bone of contention between Tambora and Dompū. The Company divided it by arbitration in 1748 along a borderline that went to the east of a mountain close to the place called Tompo, with an eastern portion going to Dompū and a western portion going to Tambora. From a letter from 1826, of which I found a copy in Dompū, it appears that the then sultan still considered himself slighted. Tambora and Dompū experienced further border conflicts until the Kingdom of Tambora was completely swept away in 1815.

[*Influence outside Sumbawa*]

Under these circumstances it is even more difficult to decide whether areas outside Sumbawa were parts or dependencies of these kingdoms, as when Abdul Khair writes in 1674 that the Kingdom of Bima before the conquest by Gowa extended to 'Mangay [Manggarai], Sumba, Solor, the two islands Poulo Sauwa [Savu and Rote⁵⁵]' (*Daghregister*, 1674, p. 273).⁵⁶ If one holds too strictly to the constitutional image of a modern state, the entire existence

53 The conflict between Tambora and Dompū, and between Tambora and the chief of Kalongkong, is mentioned in the VOC missives of 1679. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 337. The quarrel between the two kingdoms escalated into a full-scale war in 1695-1697.

54 Kalikon or Kalonco, in normalized spelling Kalongkong or Kalungkung. Apparently, it has nothing to do with the more famous Klungkung (Kalungkung) on Bali.

55 Savu and Rote were sometimes known as Greater and Lesser Savu. Another possibility is that the two Savus are the Savunese main island and the adjacent Raijua.

56 These claims are confirmed by a Bimanese *Bo*, which says that King Tureli Nggampo, presumably ruling in the sixteenth century, ordered his sons La Mbila and La Ara, to attack the lands to the east: Sumba, Manggarai, Savu, Ende, Larantuka and Komodo. This was carried out and lands as far east as Solor and Alor were brought under Bimanese suzerainty. Two officials called Jena Luma Mbojo and Jena Mone Nae were ordered to hold Manggarai and Sumba, respectively. The *Bo* asserts that the 'adat of Bima' was imposed on Sumba, Ende and Manggarai, while Larantuka, Savu and Solor merely paid tribute. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 164-176. The question is, to what extent later events may have been transposed back to the pre-Islamic period in the Bimanese image of the past. Moreover, while Bimanese efforts to master Manggarai and Sumba are well documented, there are no external indications of Bimanese suzerainty over Larantuka, Savu, Solor or Alor, and the claims may be mere blustering. That a Bimanese prince involved in the expansion was known to posterity as 'Makapiri Solo' nevertheless suggests that there might have been an expedition that reached Solor. As for Ende there are documents from 1851-1853 referring to Bimanese suzerainty over this area, since the enthronement of an Endenese raja was approved by the Bima court. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, pp. 3-5, 451-452.

of kingdoms becomes dubious.⁵⁷ In any case the sultans Abdul Hamid, Abdul Kadir etc. sought efforts to confirm their power over Manggarai, of which charters of appointment issued for some chiefs in 1784 give a hint. On the insistence of the Netherlands Indies Government, Sultan Bima kept a *benteng* at Bari (Manggarai) against the pirates for a period.

[*Sumba, Manggarai*]

In his memorial of 1726, Governor Gobius writes: 'Each year the King of Bima sends mission of two to three ships to Soemba and Magarai in order to collect the tribute, usually consisting of 40 to 50 slaves or one slave from every *negorij*, whereto the population is sometimes not acquiescent but is forced by weapons. This imagined or real ownership over Soemba and Mangaray seems much less apparent than the intercourse of Makassarese people from Gowa [with Sumba]; however, when the traffic of Christian burghers is once permitted, this might decrease by the time.'⁵⁸

[*Gowa and Manggarai*]

About the claims of Bima on Manggarai there are some misunderstandings, probably due to an unclear passage in Zollinger, who made a note at the year 1727: 'A prince marries a princess from Goa. Manggarai is donated as

57 Indeed one may speak of alliances with chiefs (*dalu*) in the politically fragmented Manggarai, rather than any actual 'rule'. Traditions from Todo and Pongkor, two allied chiefdoms who lorded over much of southern Manggarai, tell of conflicts with the mountain chiefdom Cibal. At first Cibal inflicted a defeat on Todo. Later on Todo and Pongkor applied for help from Sultan Bima, while Cibal allied with the Makassarese in Reo on the north coast. Eventually Cibal was defeated through a stratagem and its borders were determined by Todo and Bima. On Todo's request the sultan installed a representative in Reo to watch over Manggarai. This account telescopes a long history of contacts; comparison with other data suggests that Gowa assisted Cibal against Todo in 1666, while Todo's successful revenge in alliance with Bima occurred in the middle of the eighteenth century. Erb, *The Manggaraians*, pp. 77-86.

58 The engagement of Bima with Manggarai was a complicated affair. Parts of the last-mentioned territory were ceded to Gowa by Sultan Abdul Kahir (c. 1620-1640), while a document from 1661 speaks of the limits between the Bimanese and Makassarese spheres. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, p. 134. After an expedition to Flores to reinforce the claims of Bima in 1685, Sultan Nuruddin showed up in Makassar in the presence of his cousin, Raja Gowa, and related to the VOC governor that only one-third of Manggarai actually belonged to Bima. The other two-thirds had been ceded to Raja Gowa and Karaeng Bontowa (the sister of Sultan Nuruddin) in the time of his father, Sultan Abdul Khair. Since Gowa was defeated by the Dutch and their allies in 1667, these parts of Manggarai consequently belonged to the VOC now. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 36. However, Karaeng Bontowa gave the Tanah Reok area of Manggarai back to the sultan in 1713. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, p. 136. The VOC had some hopes of obtaining slaves in Manggarai in the late seventeenth century but were disappointed in this, and seem to have lost interest in the region.

a dowry.' This alludes to the marriage concluded in this year between the later Sultan of Bima, Alauddin, and Karaeng Tanasanga, daughter of Sultan Sirajuddin of Gowa. Probably because of Zollinger's note, the *Encyclopaedie*, I, p. 307, says: 'In 1727 a son of the Bimanese raja married a raja's daughter from Gowa and received Manggarai on Flores as dowry.' As one can read in Van der Velde, exactly the opposite was meant. However, on p. 13 in his article, Zollinger says: 'In olden times, the sultans of Bima claimed to have sovereignty, not only over the western part of Flores known by the name of Mangareij but over all the islands in the Mangareij and Sapie Straits, even over the Sandalwood Island Poeloe Soemba.' The misunderstanding about the claims of Gowa are also found in C. Nooteboom, *TBG* (1939), p. 223; J. Gonda, *BKI* 103 (1946), p. 17. W. Coolhaas is correct in his interesting article 'Bijdrage tot de kennis van het manggaraische volk (West-Flores)', *TKNAG LIX* (1942), p. 165. Van der Velde tells us that Bima said it had not ceded Manggarai in 1727 and that the claims of Gowa in later times were unfounded; at any case, Gowa could not show any written piece of evidence of this transfer.⁵⁹

Also, one should not have an exaggerated image of Bima's power on Sumba, for after having given the Company a lofty impression of the possibilities of this island, a Bimanese expedition under Jeneli Monta was ignominiously put to flight by the Sumbanese in 1677. After having been under the nominal rule of Bima for centuries, Sumba placed itself under the Company in Kupang in 1750.⁶⁰

59 Held's interpretation of the event seems to be the correct one. According to a memorandum by Josua van Arrewijne, governor of Makassar in 1728-1733, the Makassarese insisted that the land of Manggarai had been ceded to the King of Gowa by the ruler of Bima as *sunrang* (bride wealth) on the occasion of the marriage. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 54. The Manggaraian historian Dami Toda suspects that the entire issue was the result of Dutch machinations. Toda, *Manggarai mencari pencerahan historiografi*, pp. 109-117.

60 Sumba consisted of innumerable small domains and was a kind of free-for-all where Bimanese, Endenese, Portuguese and Dutchmen went as the opportunities came. There were resources of sandalwood which the locals were unwilling to cut and sell for ritual reasons (and perhaps since they wished to keep foreigners away). In time, however, Sumba was the unfortunate object of slaving raids. In 1751 the resident of Kupang, Daniel van der Burgh, landed on the island and received the submission of ten chiefs. Real Dutch influence, however, was only implemented in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Hägerdal, *Lords of the Land, Lords of the Sea*, p. 368.

[*Sumbawa and Selaparang (Lombok)*]

The Kingdom of Sumbawa, too, had to give up its claims to the neighbouring areas, namely those on Selaparang (Lombok).⁶¹ In this case, however, that did not happen without lengthy fighting, that will be described in detail below. There are fewer pieces of information available about West Sumbawa, but they give the impression that the kingdoms situated here could muster more power than those in East Sumbawa, so that the culture of the West Sumbawan kingdoms was on the whole less influenced by contacts with their dependencies.⁶²

[*Contacts with the court in Gowa*]

However, the cultural and political importance of the old Kingdom of Gowa is evident.⁶³ As we saw above, it also had more to attend to in Manggarai than the Kingdom of Bima itself. The year 1667, when the official political ties between Sumbawa and South Celebes were broken, has been chosen as the starting point of the modern age. It is self-evident that not all the relations were broken off at once in that year, for Makassarese rogues and robbers – as the Company often characterized them – had their hand in all kinds of internal conflicts, far into the eighteenth century. Marriage relations between the princely houses of South Celebes and those of Bima and Sumbawa were very frequent, and Makassar actually lost its importance

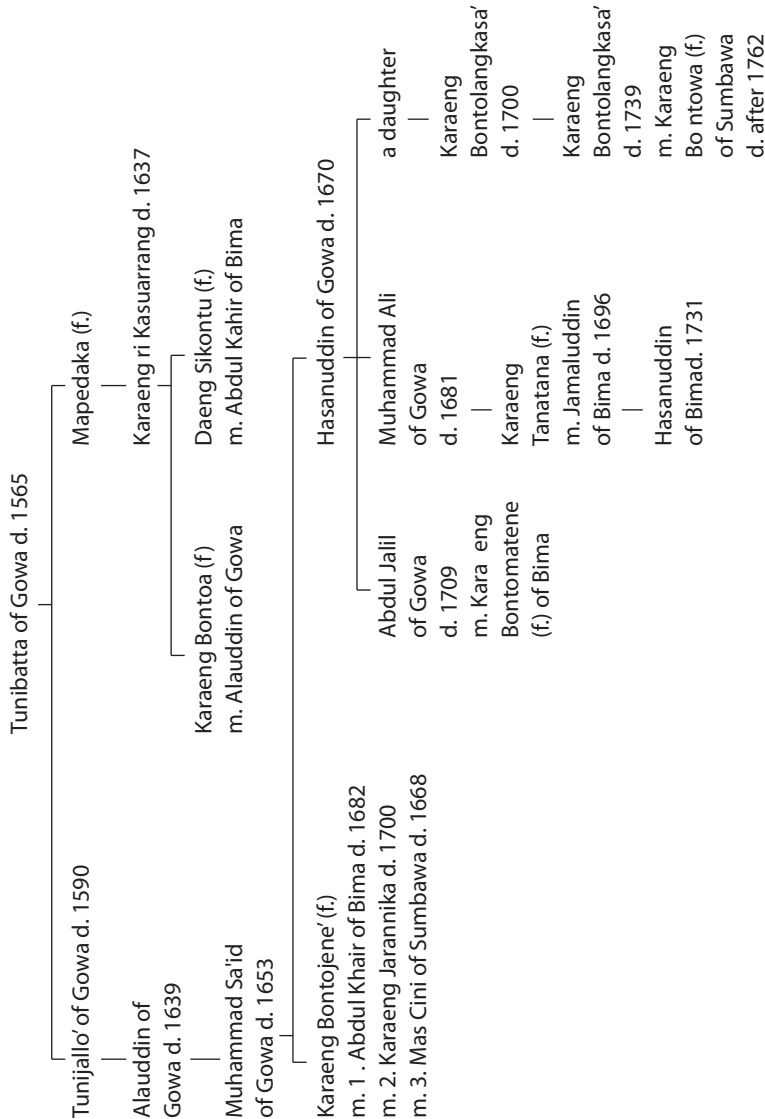
61 In fact, there were Balinese claims to overlordship, not only over Lombok but also over Sumbawa itself. These claims are set out in the Balinese chronicle *Babad Dalem* (eighteenth century?), which asserts that the sixteenth-century ruler Dalem Baturenggong lorded over Balambangan, Lombok and Sumbawa, meaning West Sumbawa. The Balinese claims are also known from references in VOC sources of the seventeenth century. Hägerdal, 'From Batuparang to Ayudhya', p. 71.

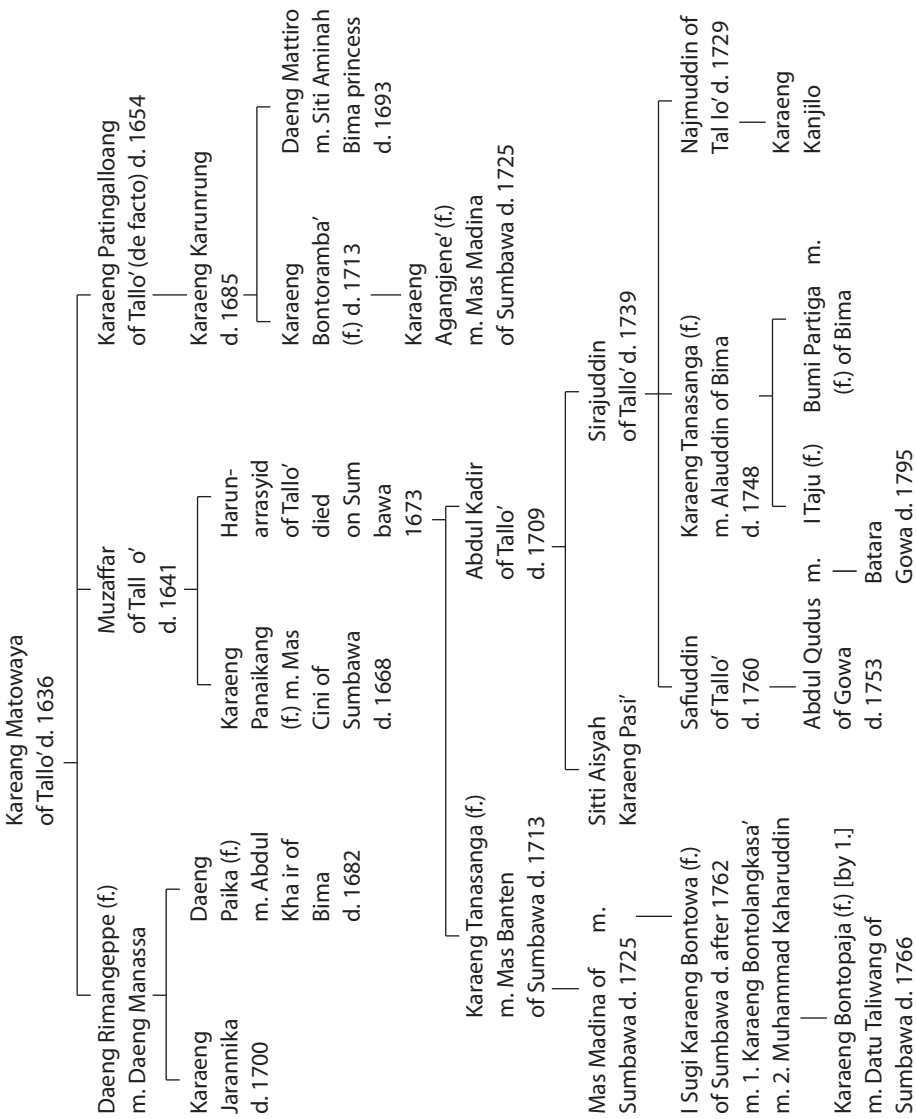
62 In Held's text, literally, 'so that the total image of the culture of the West Sumbawan kingdoms was little influenced by contacts with their dependencies'.

63 The *Bo* or chronicle of Bima places the onset of Sulawesi influence several generations before the Makassarese conquest in 1618-1626. King Mawaa Paju Longge, the great-granduncle of the first Muslim sultan, sent his two brothers, Mawaa Bilmana and Manggampo Donggo, to the Manurung Kingdom in South Sulawesi. After having acquired knowledge there for some years they returned and initiated a renovation of many aspects of Bimanese society. Mawaa Bilmana became Tureli Nggampo (senior minister) while Manggampo Donggo became king. The arrangement was sealed with an oath and their positions were inherited by their descendants. This gave a strong acting role for the senior minister which the king had to respect. The brothers planned *sawah* fields and improved dykes and irrigation systems. Part of the *sawah* was put at the disposition of the state, known as *dana sara*. Local headmen were appointed, such as Manenti Mpori, who guarded over the forest resources. Armed forces and a fleet of warships were organized. Texts began to be written with Old Bugis script and a Bimanese system derived from it. Ismail, *Peran kesultanan Bima dalam perjalanan sejarah Nusantara*, pp. 39-45.

as a cultural hub for Sumbawa when the Kingdom of Gowa itself began to crumble. From this time the grandees of the Island of Sumbawa stayed at the court of Gowa for long periods. There was also a Makassarese who functioned as commissioner for Sumbawan affairs. Speelman mentions that Dompou, Bima and Tambora each had to keep 40 men in Makassar available for Raja Gowa, and were replaced every new monsoon. According to Matthes, Sumbawa and Bima had the duty to deliver 40 capons each year to the Sultan of Gowa (Matthes, *Ethnologie*, p. 89). As for this tribute, the issue is of course not the value (since there were no doubt much larger duties in reality) but the principle whereby Sumbawa acknowledged its tributary duties towards Gowa.

Table 1 Sumbawan-Makassarese aristocratic marriages





2 Islam and Makassar

[*Alauddin conquers Sumbawa in 1626*]

From the diary of Gowa¹ it appears that the conquest of Sumbawa by Sultan Alauddin of Gowa took place between 1616 and 1626. How, exactly, this was done does not appear from the brief diary notes, but it did not happen without resistance on the part of Sumbawa.² Thus the diary notes on 13 November 1633: 'It is said that the Bimanese have rebelled.' Then follows a remark on 25 November: 'Karaeng-ri-Burane departs for Bima in order to fight the rebels', followed by a final note on 7 April 1633: 'Karaeng-ri-Burane comes back from Bima', and on 21 June 1633: 'The Bimanese themselves are coming. The king speaks; they agree.'

[*Violent action by Gowa in 1632*]

In this case we know from the *Daghregister* how we should read these lapidary notices:

The 23rd [of May 1633] the ship *Brouwershaven* returns hither from Bima, and brings [on 24 January 1633] its accompanying cargo back unused, since no trade has been possible to carry out there or in the areas around there, because on their arrival all the rice was out and all the *negrijs* of Bima were burnt, exterminated and destroyed and the whole land was ravaged by the Makassarese armada, the strength of which was about 400 ships and several thousand men who were present in Bima, hurriedly sent

1 Held refers to the extraordinary annalistic entries kept by the court of Gowa, which displays a high degree of exactness. See the translations in Ligtvoet, 'Transcriptie van het dagboek der vorsten van Gowa en Tello', and Cummings, *The Makassar Annals*.

2 A few more details about the conquest have been obtained by J. Noorduyt. The date of the first expedition should be amended to April 1618, when the chief of Mandalle' crossed over to Bima with nine ships, possibly in anticipation of Catholic proselytizing at the time, and defeated it. The land was plundered and the king fled into the forest. The Bimanese agreed to receive Muslim teachers. The old king, Salisi, refused to submit, however, and was eventually replaced by his nephew, Mantau Bata Wadu, who became Sultan Abdul Kahir. When the Makassarese ships approached the coast, the small Sanggar principality immediately submitted and joined the invaders. They were therefore declared free allies of Makassar and did not have to pay tribute. The second expedition took place in 1619, when Karaeng Maroanging invaded the island again, defeating Bima and (West) Sumbawa. According to Speelman, Dompu, Tambora and Sanggar were also brought under Makassar at this time. The third one took place in 1626. After having subjugated Buton, Sultan Alauddin crossed over to Sumbawa with his fleet. His troops advanced along the north coast, defeating Bima, (West) Sumbawa, Dompu and Tambora. Noorduyt, 'Makassar and the Islamization of Bima', pp. 320, 327-331, 335-338.

there by the King of Makassar in order to reinstate the King of Bima, his brother-in-law, in his land, as he had been expelled by his subjects (who rebelled against him) and brought to the island Gounong Apij, situated close to Bijma.

At the arrival of the said armada the rebellious inhabitants of Bima all fled to the mountains, without having ... come back when the ship *Brouwershaven* departed from there; he assured, however, that after the departing of the Makassarese who were constantly around them, he did not dare display the missive of Mr. General or permit any trade without the license of the King of Makassar (under whom he and the whole Island of Cumbawa were subjected).

The King of Makassar had generally issued an order to Combawa and other islands in the vicinity that our ships who appeared there would be provided with water and provisions but not allowed any trade, whereby the senior merchant Marten Valck, seeing no opportunity to make any trade in Bima, Rabe, in the Bay of Core Cumbawa, or Panjarockan, set sail again in order to withdraw to Batavia.³

From all this it appears that there was a Makassarese blockade of the entire northern coast of the island.

It can be seen from this that Gowa deployed a considerable force to keep Bima down. Bimanese tradition still keeps reminiscences about the flight of the king and says that he fled for his brother who was then King of Sanggar. Speelman relates in his 'Notitie' that the troubles arose since the king stood too much under the pressure of Gowa whose sultan was his brother-in-law. Influential groups within the population were dissatisfied with this. Perhaps the resistance was against the attempts of the king to grant more influence to Islam than was officially allowed by the royal council under his son.⁴

3 The well-known pioneer of Indonesian historical sociology B. Schrieke argues that the conquest of Bima was a logical consequence of the expansion policy of Makassar. The production of rice in the hinterland was not sufficient to support the rapid development of Makassar as a supply station, and the rice imported from Java was not enough to fill the gap. For that reason Makassar had to bring the rice-producing Bima under its control. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, I, p. 67.

4 In his study of the Islamization of Bima, Jacobus Noorduyn shares the view taken by Held: the rebellion in 1632-1633 is not likely to represent a struggle for the throne in the first place, but rather displeasure against the ruling style of the pro-Makassarese Sultan of Bima, Abdul Kahir. According to Speelman, writing in 1669, the dissatisfied Bimanese fled to neighbouring Dompu, which detested the perceived arrogance of Bima and was involved in a war with Abdul Kahir. The Balinese court complained in the same year that Bima had been snatched from its sphere of

[*Resistance against Gowa 1639/40*]

Speelman also relates that the rebellious elements had support from Dompu although the Sultan of Dompu did not resist the Makassarese as they came to reinstate Abdul Kahir on the throne. They had – as Raja Dompu says – conflict with Bima but not with Makassar. Probably there is a connection here with a notice in the diary [of Gowa] on 12 August 1639, where it is noted: ‘News has come that the Bimanese are about to rebel’, and another on 18 June 1640: ‘The Dompunese have been made into slaves by King Tuwammenang-ri-papambatunna [Muhammad Sa’id].’⁵ The stern action of the Makassarese could also explain why the brother of Sultan Bima, according to Bimanese tradition, found reason to escape to Sumba.

[*Marriage relations*]

The princes of Sumbawa seemingly adapted themselves to the suzerainty of Gowa, since Abdulkhair, who acceded to the throne of Bima in 1640, married Karaeng Bontojene, a daughter of Muhammad Sa’id, the Sultan of Gowa, in 1646, and again in 1658 with Karaeng Paikka, daughter of another grandee of Gowa, namely the *tumailalang* Karaeng Cinrana of Gowa. According to Bimanese tradition, Abdulkhair helped Gowa in fighting Bone in 1646, and the marriage that followed may have been an acknowledgment of his good services. According to Braam Morris, it is from this fight that the stately horse (*jara mangila*) dates, the one that the Sultan of Bima supposedly rode. It is probably not correct that a stately horse was obtained only by then – it was merely question of the one that carried the name of Kapitang. The Gowans no doubt considered the Prince of Bima as an important man. Not only since he had married prominent Gowan wives, but also since he was the sub-commander in the Gowan army under the Makassarese commander Karaeng Bontomaranno in 1666.⁶

influence, as apparent from a VOC record. It is therefore possible that some Bimanese, resisting the forced Islamization of their land, received assistance from Bali. Noorduyn, ‘Makasar and the Islamization of Bima’, pp. 330–331; Hägerdal, ‘From Batuparang to Ayudhya’, p. 71.

5 The term ‘slave’ in this context denotes complete political subordination. With the exception of Sanggar, the Sumbawan kingdoms repeatedly resisted the might of Makassar. They were therefore not considered ‘brothers’ or ‘children’ of the Makassarese rulers, but rather ‘slaves’, and were as such obliged to supply auxiliary troops and send tribute. A Makassarese manuscript describes the inhabitants of Papekat and Kengkulu (Tambora) as the ‘personal slaves’ of a ruler, being placed under the supervision of the Prince of Popo’. Noorduyn, ‘Makasar and the Islamization of Bima’, pp. 317–319.

6 VOC sources from the time of this sultan show that Bima was seen as a major producer of rice. An expedition to procure rice for Batavia in Blambangan, Bali and Bima was organized in 1656, although it did not lead to the desired results. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, pp. 75, 91.

The Sumbawa Kingdom

[*West Sumbawa more powerful*]

Less is known about West Sumbawa in this period. The Dutch seemingly had more contacts with the east than with the west, and the princes of the west therefore appear less in the oldest accounts. Also, the diary of Gowa tells less about West Sumbawa, perhaps since they found that the stronger kingdoms in the west were not so easy to govern. Already in 1616 they made an incursion in this area; it was subsequently conquered by Alauddin in 1626.⁷ Here, too, we find mention of a rising against the prince, in this case from the mountain *negorijen* (Donga) which were suppressed with assistance from Gowa. In the same year as this rising took place, in 1648, the diary [of Gowa] notes that a certain Mas Pamayan, son of the Prince of Selaparang (Lombok), accedes to the throne.⁸ Whether there was any connection between this succession and the rebellion is not apparent.⁹

7 Unlike Bima, the traditions about West Sumbawa in the late seventeenth century are vague. The colonial official W.G. van der Wolk's, 'Memorie Soembawa' from 1941 (H 1087, KITLV), gives the first king as Datu Sampar Samulan (Dewa Won Kuning). He would have been succeeded by Datu Poro, under whom Islam was introduced, by implication in about 1626. Then follows Datu Apitai, who in fact appears to be the person otherwise called Amas Madina (r. 1701-1725). There are thus some holes in the sequence. Lalu Manca, departing from a local *buk*, mentions an ancient 'dynasty of Dewa Awan Kuning', the last of which was Dewa Maja Paruwa, who was subjected to Makassarese suzerainty. Lalu Manca quotes from a *piagem* dated 1032 (1623 AD) with an agreement between Tuminang Riagama of Gowa and Maharaja Paruwa of Sumbawa. The *piagem* cannot be genuine in the present form since it uses the posthumous name of the King of Gowa. Dewa Maja Paruwa was succeeded by Mas Goa, Mas Cini, Mas Bantan etc. One may note that Dewa Maja Paruwa also figures in a genealogy of Sumbawan princes in Or. 506a, KITLV Archive, where he stands in the same genealogical position as the King of Selaparang, Adipati Topati (see the following footnote). There is no easy way out of these contradicting fragments of information, but Dewa Won Kuning is clearly the same as Dewa Awan Kuning, and Datu Poro who accepted Islam appears to be Dewa Maja Paruwa. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 55, 93.

8 The Sasak legendary account *Babad Lombok* mentions a successful King of Selaparang, Prabu Anom, who also ruled Sumbawa. Under his ill-fated successor, a prince from Seran, Selaparang was lost to the Balinese. There might be a connection between Prabu Anom and the Selaparang ruler whose sons ruled the Sumbawa Kingdom in turn. Suparman, *Babad Lombok*, p. 348.

9 The father of Mas Pamayan (alias Mas Cini) and his brother and successor, Mas Gowa, is mentioned in a VOC document as Adipati Topati. He may have survived until the late 1660s or early 1670s. Hägerdal, *Hindu rulers, Muslim subjects*, pp. 39, 51. A genealogy of Sumbawan princes in the manuscript Or. 506a, KITLV Archive, calls the father of Mas Surabaya and Mas Panghulu (sisters of Mas Cini and Mas Gowa) 'Dewa Maja Paruwa'. The name suggests the possibility of a link with Parwa on Lombok. Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, pp. 55-6.

[*Declining power*]

Selaparang is the place where the Prince of Lombok located the seat of his kingdom in the end of the sixteenth century when Islam began to penetrate, something that according to tradition took place under the violent propaganda of Sunan Parapen, the priestly Prince of Giri (south-west of Gresik on Java)¹⁰ (H.J. de Graaf, *De regeering van Panembahan Senapati*, VKI., part XIII [1954], p. 60). Seemingly the people of West Sumbawa did not take up Islam right away, since they assisted the prince of the Hindu Kingdom of Balambangan in East Java together with the Balinese in order to conquer Panarukan in 1575.¹¹ Later on Sumbawa became Muslim and Bali remained faithful to the old religion. A conflict about the hegemony over Lombok then broke loose between Sumbawa and Lombok, that, after a struggle that lasted for a century, ended with a definite defeat for the Sumbawans.¹²

[*Support for anti-Company actions?*]

For Gowa, West Sumbawa was perhaps more of an ally than a subjugated region. In any case we do not find West Sumbawa, of whose power even Speelman had a high opinion, at Buton with the other princes of East Sumbawa who were assembled there to strengthen Gowa's power that was defeated by Speelman in 1666. The King Maschijne – as Speelman says – or Mas Cini, according to the diary of Gowa – did appear before Buton with

10 A legendary chronicle, the *Babad Lombok*, relates that Pangeran Prapen of Giri went with a Muslim Javanese squadron to the islands east of Java, subjugating Lombok and visiting Sumbawa and Bima. De Graaf and Pigeaud, *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java*, p. 151. He also forced Bali to yield for a very brief time. The well-preserved graveyard of Selaparang in East Lombok has gravestones which are similar to gravestones of Aceh and Banten from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. In 1603 the Dutch believed that Lombok was still 'heathen', though this may have just applied to the western part. Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 19, 164-166.

11 The editor cannot find a complete reference to this. Raffles, *History of Java*, II, p. 156, using Javanese historiography, writes that Santa Guna, the chief of East Balambangan, enlisted auxiliaries from Bali and Sulawesi to subdue West Balambangan with Panarukan in an unspecified year, supposedly about 1575. Sumbawa is not mentioned in this context. The mytho-historical text *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa* claims that there was Sumbawan (Bimanese) involvement in Bali and Java: the first Bimanese king Indera Zamrut became the suzerain of the kings of Java, Bali, Sumbawa, Ende, Sumba, Manggarai and the lands further to the east, who offered him tribute. Chambert-Loir, *Ceritera asal bangsa jin dan segala dewa-dewa*, p. 81.

12 The tug-of-war about Lombok is obscure. The Makassarese supposedly made an agreement with Bali in 1624, after their conquest of West Sumbawa, a date that should be amended to 1626. A Makassarese chronicle mentions in passing that the King of Sumbawa, Mas Cini, was accepted by Gowa as an in-law since he was a son of the King of Selaparang on Lombok. The people of Selaparang, namely, were not 'slaves' of Makassar but only placed themselves under its protection. Noorduyn, 'Makassar and the Islamization of Bima', p. 318.

nine 'good vessels' but only when the outcome of the fight had been decided. After that, he appeared in the following year before Makassar, but then, too, he was content with scouting and finally quietly disappeared back to Sumbawa before Speelman had had any chance to speak with him. There he ceded his throne to his brother, Maas Gowa, in the way that princes in this region were humbled after having committed a political mistake.

The above-mentioned Mas Pamayan was apparently not the prince any more, since Maas Cini married Karaeng Panaikkang, a daughter of Raja Tallo', in 1655, and in 1662 again with Karaeng Bontojene, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Sa'id of Gowa, who had earlier been married to the Sultan of Bima.¹³ He had a handicap, tells Speelman, 'having only one foot' since the other had been lost due to a horse's bite.

[Unfriendly position towards the Company]

That West Sumbawa possessed more power is also seen from the way that they put up their leg against the Company. A contract was concluded under heavy pressure; they did not hold on to it too strictly after the conclusion, so that the Company repeatedly had to complain about the slowness in the deliveries of sappanwood.¹⁴ In general, the princes of Sumbawa did not hurry to Makassar at the beginning of their reign to give the oath. As late as in 1801 the resident complains that it is a 'smuggler's nest'. When Gowa had fallen, the Makassarese people who had departed because they did not want to accept the situation in their country found an initial stronghold in West Sumbawa, while the kingdoms of East Sumbawa distanced themselves from Gowa to a higher degree out of respect for the Dutch. The Makassarese people often assisted in fighting the Balinese over Lombok, probably expecting that Sumbawa would not decline to support the activities of Makassarese immigrants. Such support was indeed given by Sumbawa.

¹³ J. Noorduyn has concluded that Mas Pamayan and Mas Cini are the same person. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 31.

¹⁴ Sappanwood (Brazilwood, Indian redwood) was a main export product of Sumbawa. It was cut in the forests and mountains and probably not planted. It is a hard and durable wood that is suited for fencing or furniture. It was also the source of a red dye, which was extracted by boiling the wood in water, that was used to dye textiles as well as in baking. Sappanwood was used on European ships for dunnage. The Dutch bought sappanwood on Sumbawa since the 1620s. The rulers sent men uphill to fell the wood, cut it into manageable pieces and brought it down to the ports. With the contracts concluded between the VOC and the Sumbawan rulers in 1669 and 1674, the Company acquired a monopoly on sappanwood (together with wild cinnamon and tortoise shells). The Dutch controlled conditions, quantities and prices, paying one real per *picul* (61 kg). They paid the rulers in cash or, more commonly, in textiles. De Jong Boers, 'Sustainability and Time Perspective in Natural Resource Management'.

[*Retrospection*]

If one surveys these hazy events, the image emerges of a number of kingdoms that lay in the sphere of Hindu-Javanese cultural influence for centuries. What the relation with Java was like in sixteenth century we do not know, especially since so little is known about the history of Java in this period (see De Graaf). After a short intervening period of relations with the Moluccas, the power of Gowa arose in the beginning of the seventeenth century, being shattered but not broken in 1667. We do not see much evidence of a preponderant political line among the Sumbawan kingdoms themselves, in the east even less than in the west, although it should be borne in mind that we know very little about the history of such regions as Manggarai and Sumba.

[*Repercussions of events outside Sumbawa*]

It was also in the first place repercussions of the great events outside Sumbawa that decided the course of history on this island. We saw Dompup appear in the light of history for the first time when the Kingdom of Majapahit expanded its power, but it vanishes in the darkness just like Java vanishes, appearing again only when it is drawn into Gowa's expansion of power, and subsequently into the colonial realm of the Dutch.¹⁵

15 The genealogical tradition of Dompup mentions eight rulers with non-Muslim names or posthumous titles. At least some of these must be considered unhistorical given that the fourth one is called Dewa Mambora Belanda ('Dutch'), many generations before the Dutch arrival in Indonesia! The ninth ruler accepted Islam around 1620 and was renamed Sultan Syamsuddin. His Muslim credentials were strengthened by his marriage to Joharmani, a daughter of Syekh Nuridin from Mecca. He kept his residence in Bata, a strategically very well-chosen place; it is easy to spot enemies in all directions and the land is good for agriculture. Islam was propagated by two *syekhs* from the Maghreb, and one from Tatar (China). At his death he was succeeded by a brother (in another version, a son), Sultan Jamaluddin, since his son Sirajuddin was a minor. Sirajuddin grew up in Gowa and later on acquired help from Sulawesi (in one version, from 'the Company') to gain the throne. His inclusion in the Makassar network was confirmed when he married Karaeng Bontojene, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad Sa'id of Gowa. Sultan Sirajuddin expanded the Bata Palace where his father has resided. It is only with Sirajuddin's son Sultan Abdulhamid Ahmad Syah (late seventeenth century) that fuller information about Dompup is available. Collection G.J. Held, H1220: 28, KITLV Archive; 'Latar belakang sejarah', pp. 87, 99-100; Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, pp. 134-136. Another tradition speaks of a Sultan Ibrahim or Mawaa Adi (The Bringer of Justice) as the first Muslim ruler. He does not seem to have place in the royal genealogy, though. Hasan, *Memikirkan makna Dompup*, pp. 16, 31. Curiously, Michael Hitchcock has found a Dompunese legend with links to the Komodo 'dragons'. The legend has it that the renowned warrior and hunter La Hami, actually a prince by birth, killed a giant serpent that was terrorizing Sanggar. He presented the head to the ruler of Sanggar, who in turn brought it to the king and claimed credit for the feat. Later on La Hami managed to convince the king that he was the slayer of the beast and received a princess in

The way in which the relations between Sumbawa and Gowa were broken off in the years 1666 and 1667 – at least superficially – can be seen from the events concerning Gowa in these years, which have been more extensively described by Stapel. Of these matters, we will only give the principal outlines.

[*The fall of Gowa*]

This is in the main the history of the tug-of-war for supremacy between the Portuguese and Dutch, which was decided by Speelman, the first of the few who have given important information about Sumbawa. What might have happened if the Portuguese and not the Dutch had obtained the most influence in these regions, we can only guess, but one can presume that maybe all of Celebes and all of Sumbawa, together with the Philippines, would have formed a Catholic bloc for centuries. Catholicism has only made inroads in this century, after an eclipse of some centuries, and has now, with the Christianization of Manggarai, made its entrance into the sphere of power of the presently orthodox Muslim Sumbawa.¹⁶

According to Gervaise, an author of the seventeenth century who is anything but impartial, there was initially an interest in Christianity in South Celebes. The Prince of Soppeng supposedly accepted Christianity in person, although Xaverius never worked in South Celebes. After the conquest of the other Goa in India in 1510, the Portuguese conquest of Malacca followed in 1511. The bishopric of Malacca was installed in 1558 and embraced the entire Archipelago (De Graaf, *Geschiedenis*, p. 127). They no doubt entertained contacts with the seafaring Makassarese from the beginning. According to Gervaise's depiction of the situation, it was more or less accidentally that Christianity did not definitely gain foot in South Celebes. Islam and Christianity would have come within sight of the Gowans at about the same time, and the Prince of Gowa would have pledged to himself that he would accept the religion whose official represents came to him first – and these

marriage. He subsequently managed to drive the dragon population out of Sumbawa. Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, p. 158.

¹⁶ It can be added that Catholic missionaries were not entirely unknown in seventeenth-century Sumbawa. This is apparent from a letter authored by the missionaries in Banten in November 1670. Much of the letter is about Timorese conditions, but it also mentions a young Catholic priest who was stationed in Bima. However, the other missionaries regarded him as an ignorant man who had made an agreement with the King of Bima, with stipulations that did not suit Christians. Visser, *Onder de Compagnie*, p. 161.

were the envoys from the Queen of Aceh.¹⁷ If Islam in South Celebes was indeed brought in from Sumatra, as tradition says, is not entirely sure. There are also hints that Giri on Java could have had a part in this conversion (De Graaf, *De regeering van Senapati Ingalaga*, p. 61). However, in any case Christianity was not regarded adversely at the beginning. Even two sons of Ma-alle (with whom Gervaise seemingly means the Prince of Gowa) called Louis Daeng Rorou and Louis Dauphin Toulalo would have been raised by the Jesuits in Paris (Gervaise, *Description historique du royaume de Macassar*, 1688, p. 6). Otherwise Gervaise fails to mention that the Portuguese, in spite of their apparent missionary zeal, were no models of Christian meekness. Their behaviour in the Moluccas finally enraged the Moluccan princes so much that they delivered a heavy blow to Portuguese power in 1575 under Sultan Babullah of Ternate, so that they were never able to cope with the consequences. But there were more than enough Portuguese left in Makassar to exert influence there, especially after the Dutch had taken Malacca from the Portuguese in 1641. In 1660 there were some 2,000 of them (De Graaf, *Geschiedenis*, p. 199).

Gervaise is thus not entirely wrong when he makes a bitter remark about the Dutch: 'It is already known that it is through their intrigues and their calumnies that the Catholics and the missionaries have been expelled, and that they would rather see the reign of Mahomet, whose completely sensual morale has much in common with the maxims of Calvinism, than to see [the Makassarese] follow Jesus Christ, whose doctrine is a continuous condemnation of their behaviour' (op. cit., p. 171).

[*The Company and Gowa*]

The facts about the Dutch struggle with Gowa are, briefly, as follows. The contest over the trading monopoly already caused an eruption in 1660, after which the Portuguese had to leave the city according to the provisional peace agreement.¹⁸ A definite solution was, however, not reached in 1660,

17 This is unclear since there was no ruling Queen of Aceh at the time of conversion (1605). The sultan at the time was Ali Ri'ayat Syah (r. 1604-1607), about whose consort I have not found any information. Gervaise may have been influenced by conditions in his own time, when there was a succession of ruling Queens of Aceh (1641-1699). Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, pp. 190, 192-193.

18 Later in the same year the VOC commissioner Johan Truytman went with fifteen ships from Makassar to Bima and Timor. One of the aims was to persuade the King of Bima to break up with Gowa and another was the purchase of rice. The first aim failed, the king being actually in South Sulawesi at the time. Nevertheless, Sultan Abdulkhair's brother Ismail detested Gowa since his aristocratic Makassarese wife had repudiated him, and he would gladly see it ruined. Ismail entertained clandestine contacts with the VOC and communicated that Abdulkhair was

also because the English added wood to the fire after the naval war with the Netherlands. Moreover, the Kingdom of Gowa itself appeared as the kind of political force that usually handled such forms of organization: more a mosaic of smaller units connected by contracts than a totalitarian bloc. In this mosaic, Gowa and Bone were two large pieces for centuries, and it was Arung Palakka of Bone who found reason to join his forces with the Dutch in order to diminish Gowa's power.

[*The Bungaya treaty 1667*]

The definite contest started at Bonthain, the Makassar house of provisions, and it was continued off Buton, over which Gowa contended for hegemony with Ternate. Speelman then sailed further to the Moluccas in order to decide about the political dispositions for Buton, Selayar and the southern islands (including Sumbawa), and then appeared in 1667 before Makassar, which was taken after hard fighting. The Bungaya [Bongaai] treaty was subsequently signed in 1667, which would have such important consequences for Sumbawa.¹⁹ The fighting flared up once again, but in 1669 the Prince of Gowa definitely had to subject himself to the Company. The official contact between South Celebes and Sumbawa was herewith broken off, although dissatisfied Makassarese elements looked for support in Sumbawa and other places for many years, far into the seventeenth [*sic*, for eighteenth] century, in their attempts to rebuild their old power.²⁰

likewise fed up with the Makassarese court due to the patronizing attitude he had to endure during his stays there. Bima moreover provided the VOC ports Batavia, Ambon and Banda with considerable amounts of rice in these years, a trade that was necessary for the welfare of these places. The Company merchants sometimes handed large sums in advances to the court for future deliveries. Sappanwood was likewise exported in quantity in the 1660s. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, pp. 319, 410, 416-417.

19 The Bungaya Treaty was signed on 18 November 1667, leading to the formal dissolution of the formerly extensive Makassar Empire. Paragraph 9 stated that the government and subjects of Makassar may not sail to Bima, Solor, Timor etc. and could only go to Java, Sumatra and Borneo with proper Company passes. In paragraph 14 the king and nobles of Makassar promised to henceforth take no effort with Bima and its dependences. Paragraph 15 stipulated that the King of Bima and the Makassarese Karaeng Bontomaranno were to be delivered to the Company for punishment. However, the paragraphs were only partly effective, as seen by Held's account. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 31; Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 305-307.

20 In fact, the dramatic events on Sulawesi in the 1660s and later triggered a diaspora of dissatisfied Buginese and Makassarese, who migrated across Southeast Asia. They had important commercial roles over an enormous geographical area, from Aceh to the Papuan Islands, meddled in local politics and even founded dynasties in foreign lands. Wellen, *The Open Door*; Andaya, 'The Bugis-Makassar Diasporas'.

[*Attitude of Sumbawa*]

Sumbawa chose the side of Gowa in this contest, no doubt after careful deliberation about the power relationships, since a wrong choice was expected to bring reprisals from either one or the other victor. Also, Bone was not situated much further away than Gowa. For weak kingdoms such as those on Sumbawa it was simply an act of self-preservation when they chose the side of the probable victor. To choose a victor that finally turned out to be the defeated side was justified, to an extent; the Company had no intent to anchor a predominant position in Bone any more than in Gowa.²¹ Through this manner of oscillating between the fighting parties, the Sumbawan kingdoms in the end managed to preserve their independence within narrow limits for centuries.

In accordance with this policy of cunning neutrality Sumbawa took a reservedly friendly position towards the Dutch. Foreign ships, as we saw on page 64, had to load provisions with the approval of the Prince of Gowa. There was not much trading, however. When Commander Roos appeared off Bima in 1654 it was not so much in order to occupy Bima since it had offered help to the Gowans (as *Encyclopaedie*, I, p. 307, alleges), but rather to impede the departure of an assembly of ships. An occupation of Bima only came later. The *Encyclopaedie* mentions 1624, which is probably a printing error that has been repeated several times by other authors.

[*The princes of Sumbawa at Buton 1666*]

When Speelman defeated Gowa off Buton in 1666, he encountered Sultan Abdulkhair of Bima as sub-commander of the Gowan military forces under Karaeng Bontomaranno. There, Abdulkhair co-signed the act of capitulation on board the yacht *Muysenburgh*, whereby they gave themselves up to Speelman without conditions on 4 January 1667. Speelman gives an elaborated account of this and the adventurous story that followed (*Corpus*, II, p. 346).

[*With Speelman to Ternate*]

Not only was the Prince of Bima present here, but also those of Dompu, Tambora and Sanggar, as apparent later. The Prince of Dompu, with whom the Sultan of Bima had much intercourse during his captivity under Speelman, felt himself so inferior to Sultan Bima that he sat on the ground when

²¹ As will be clear later, Bone achieved a brief supremacy over South Sulawesi under their outstanding leader Arung Palakka in the late seventeenth century, in close alliance with the Dutch. After about 1714, however, the power of Bone receded, and the VOC made no attempt to uphold the regional prominence of its ally. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*.

Speelman sat on a bench and spoke with the Prince of Bima. The Sumbawan princes had to follow the journey to the Moluccas with Speelman's fleet on board the *Vlieland*. As noted above, Mas Cini, the Prince of Sumbawa, appeared too late at Buton to have a role in all this. In a letter to Batavia, the Prince of Bima later complained over the dishonourable treatment that he had to endure in the Moluccas where he was supposedly ridiculed by Speelman in the presence of the Moluccan princes. Furthermore, the Prince of Ternate had jestingly offered him strong drink, which he declined without comment.²² According to Speelman, it was foolish of the Prince of Bima to write to Batavia about that.

[*The attack on the sloop Doradus*]

They sailed with Speelman's fleet to Makassar from early January to early December. During that time they behaved 'very modestly'. Speelman then had the Prince of Bima write a letter to his country in order to facilitate the ability of ships that came there to obtain provisions. The ships were graciously received in Bima and Speelman now summoned the princes from Sumbawa to his ship in order to deliberate about the situation.

While the sloop with a crew of nine people and the Sumbawan princes crossed the water in the night, heading for Speelman's ship, the Sumbawan princes decided to attack the crew of the sloop. Exactly who took the initiative is not clear, but in any case the attack was completely successful: the crew was assaulted and murdered, and the Sumbawan princes escaped to the coast with the sloop, where they hastily joined the Prince of Gowa, carrying with them the rifles of the crew.

[*Article 15 in the Bungaya treaty*]

Naturally, Speelman was quite furious over this 'horrendous murder and great evil deed', the more since Karaeng Bontomaronno had already broken his pledge on 1 August 1667 and rejoined his prince. The fugitive princes were not lucky since Gowa, where they took shelter, eventually had to surrender to Speelman. In the 15th article of the Bungaya treaty, the extradition of the princes of Bima, Dompu, Tambora and Sanggar, and of Karaeng Bontomaronno, was exactly demanded. The Bimanese group of people was

²² The detail is interesting since it indicates that the Muslim prohibition against alcohol had sunk in among the Bimanese aristocracy by this time. As is well known, strong drinks have been consumed by Muslims in Indonesia until present times, and observance of the rule was in no way self-evident.

25 strong. Hasanuddin²³ was forced to accept these conditions, which the princes of Dompu and Bima, as Speelman observes in his 'Notitie', fulfilled with bitter feelings of hatred against the Prince of Gowa. The princes of the Kingdom of Sumbawa and of Papekat were not affected by these matters; the first, Mas Cini, since he, as mentioned, turned up too late on the scene of the fighting, and the latter since he had fought to his death with his *perahu* off Buton in a suicidal attack of sorts. As for Papekat (the seaport of Dompu, as Speelman names it), it stood directly under the Makassarese grand governor for Makassarese affairs.

[*The flight of the princes*]

The Makassarese – as can be said to their advantage – did not carry out the extradition too zealously, and clearly they did not scrupulously guard the 25 requested Bimanese. In any case the commission that would receive the Bimanese communicated on 17 November 1667, to the great fury of Speelman, that the prisoners had been able to escape and get away on horseback. For that reason article 28 was added to the Bungaya treaty: 'Item, for the fulfilment of the 15th article it is pledged that if the kings of Biema and Montemarano have not been found alive or dead within ten days, the son of Biema and the son of Montemarano shall be given as bail in the hands of the Company.'

This article, too, was never fulfilled. Assisted by Karaeng Karunrung the princes of Sumbawa withdrew to their homeland via Mandar, and nothing came out of the requirement to take their sons as hostages (Stapel, *Bongaa's verdrag*, pp. 146, 151, 183, 185, 190n1). Speelman was furious but he did not see the matter as important enough to send a punitive expedition after them. A punitive expedition would only involve the Company in further warfare, while it had job enough managing the people of South Celebes. Furthermore – as he observed, cautious due to experience – Sumbawa was even more unhealthy than Celebes, where they had to struggle much with sicknesses. He understood full well that the main culprit was no one but Sultan Hasanuddin himself, who was behind the attack and the murders on the *Doradus*, according to rumours which may have been true.

23 The ruler of Gowa between 1653 and 1669. He was sternly opposed to the Dutch ambitions of commercial and political dominance but was worsted in the three wars of 1660, 1667 and 1669. During the last of these wars he abdicated on 18 June 1669 and died in the next year. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 45-135, 208-209. In modern Indonesia he is an official *pahlawan nasional* (national hero) and countless streets have been named after him. Sudarmanto, *Jejak-jejak pahlawan*, pp. 5-11.

[*Period of political isolation*]

The consequence of these events was that the Sumbawan princes, once returned to their land, no longer openly supported the Sultan of Gowa, who had promised their extradition. Even in their own country they were actually not sure that any brave person would chose their party. Tureli Nggampo, the brother of Sultan Abdulkhair of Bima, had distanced himself as much as possible from his brother and even took him for dead. Abdulkhair, then, made him swear that he would never extradite him to the Netherlands.²⁴ However, he was still so scared that he spent much time with his son-in-law and comrade-in-arms Abdul Rasul, the Sultan of Dompu. There was even a rumour – according to Speelman – that they had erected a *benteng* in the mountains as a safe place to withdraw to in case of emergency.

The flight on 17 November 1667 did not spell the end of their difficulties. They had to do with Makassarese and Sumbawans who vainly asked for their support for new actions on behalf of the old Makassarese kingdom. But they kept away as far as possible from political dealings outside their own sphere of power, also in the future. The flight of the East Sumbawan princes is the symbol of a new period in the history of the island, a period of isolation whence the island has achieved its peculiar old-fashioned character.

24 A VOC missive from October 1668 relates that some Dutch ships visited Bima after the king and his son escaped. At this time warfare on South Sulawesi was brewing again. In Bima the Dutchmen met with the king's brother, the vizier or Tureli Nggampo, and were well provided with necessities. The Tureli Nggampo declined to declare Gowa as the enemy of Bima, since he first wished to negotiate with Batavia on the matter. It was apparent that Bima adopted a wait-and-see policy until the new war had been decided. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, p. 621.

3 The Sumbawan kingdoms under VOC suzerainty (1)

[*The contract of 1669*]

It speaks for itself that Speelman did not consider the matter concluded by this. In 1668 there were envoys from Sumbawa in Makassar in order to negotiate a treaty, but as new conflicts arose between the Makassarese and the Dutch, they withdrew to their land without having concluded a contract (*Daghregister*, 1668-1669, p. 445). Only when the Makassarese had to bow before the Company for good in mid-1669 did the envoys appear again to conclude the first contract on 1 October 1669, whereby they again gave up the contact with Makassar and gave the Company a monopoly on trade. The King of Bima was represented by Jeneli Monta and another *jeneli* (Zenelijwdo?), Dompou by Tureli Huu; furthermore there was another person from the *sara mbojo* (royal council) whose function is not indicated.² The envoys explained that their princes would have liked to come but that they had important reasons to excuse themselves. The princes did of course not give as reason their fear of the 'just punishment' that had been promised them in article 15 of the Bungaya treaty, but insisted that 'we [the kings] are the only ones in the lands of Biema and Dompou who take care of the people ... If we came over to you in Makassar the whole population would be scattered, since they are only forest and *thuij*³ people, unmannered, stupid and without understanding, who do not grasp the reason' (*Corpus*, II, p. 421, [paragraph] 1).

However, they did not get away from Speelman that easily, for he added to the contract that in any case the Prince of Dompou 'with the foremost ones'

1 Perhaps a mutilated spelling of Jeneli Woha, one of the twelve members of the Sara Council (the Royal Council of Bima).

2 The constitution of *sara mbojo* or *sara dana mbojo* is known from later Bimanese sources. The embryo was supposedly fourteen genealogical headmen who gathered around the first legendary ruler Indera Zamrut. In Muslim times the Sara Council (Tureli Council) consisted of six *tureli* (ministers) and six *jeneli* (chiefs), led by Tureli Nggampo, originally a brother of the ruler but later a close suitable relative. The various *tureli* and *jeneli* were chosen from noble families. At the side of this was a *sara tua* or Adat Council with ten *bumi nae* (local chiefs) and two *bumi luma* who were chair and vice-chair, respectively. The members took over the functions formerly held by the *ncuhi* in appointing new kings. Thirdly, a religious Syaria Council was led by a *qadi* or imam. It had four members who were *khatib*, and was assisted by seventeen *lebe nae*. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 177-188.

3 *Thuij*, perhaps a mutilated form of *tuin*, alluding to *kebun* (garden) or *ladang* (dry field).

would now have to appear before the general and the council in Batavia, while the Sultan of Bima, if he absolutely could not come, in any case had to send Tureli Nggampo, who had not been able to come to Makassar. He was sick and 'lay [in bed in] very bad shape' (*Corpus*, II, p. 425, 426, [paragraph] 16).

[*The first embassy in 1671*]

After a long delay the first embassy appeared in Batavia in December 1671, but again the princes did not accompany it. It consisted of Jeneli Kilo for Dompou and the *syahbandar* for Bima. Batavia was not satisfied with this grouping, since they very well understood the reasons why the princes of Bima and Dompou 'were not at all inclined' (*Daghregister*, 1670, p. 177).

[*The second embassy in 1673*]

On 17 August 1673 a second embassy showed up. This time it consisted of Jala Luodijn (Jalaluddin), a son of Raja Bima, and three state dignitaries from Dompou with an entourage consisting of 60 persons. On 12 October 1673 they appeared before the Governor-General and the council, and withdrew to their own land on 28 December 1673 after having been 'purveyed at a certain place outside the city gate etc.' on 23 December (*Daghregister*, 1673, p. 349).

[*The troubles of 1672/73*]

The accounts that this second embassy carried were such that Batavia indeed found reason to excuse the princes of Bima and Dompou for their absence, and to ignore the detailed written confession of guilt that the Prince of Bima had submitted (*Daghregister*, 1668-1669, p. 365).

In the years 1672 and 1673, namely, the princes of Bima and Dompou had encountered difficulties with Makassarese malcontents who had hoped to find support with them for their actions against the Company. There was murder and pillaging. Bima was burnt down in 1673.

This is connected with the situation in Makassar itself where various parties intrigued. There was a group of Bonese who behaved in an overbearing fashion towards the Makassarese to whose subordination they had contributed, and also towards the Dutch, since these needed their help. There was furthermore a group around Raja Gowa who had no other choice under the circumstances than to throw in his lot with the Dutch. And there was also a third group that supported the first group in the beginning since they dared to challenge the Dutch, and subsequently [supported] the second one since they hated the Bonese. All tried to attract the interest of the princes on the Island of Sumbawa in one way or another.

The Makassarese were particularly infuriated since they had to humble themselves in Batavia in 1669 'with a grand following of kings and other grandees' (about 700 men and women) as a consequence of their 'headstrong manner'. We find Harun Arrasyid, Prince of Tallo' and son-in-law of Raja Bima, among all those about whom it can be imagined 'how heavy and bitter this deep humiliation must have been felt for them' (*Corpus*, II, p. 412). This event took place in Batavia on 26 December 1669, and on 30 October 1670 Harun Arrasyid appeared in Tallo'. On 5 August 1671 Karaeng Galesong, the half-brother of Raja Gowa, went there as well.

[*Actions of Harun Arrasyid and the Sumbawans*]

The kings of Bima and Dompu could seemingly not be persuaded to take action, since Harun Arrasyid looked for help in the Kingdom of Sumbawa where the former commander of the Gowan forces, Karaeng Bontomaranno, and a certain Karaeng Tellolo, a nephew of Harun Arrasyid, had gone.⁴ The Sumbawans fetched assistance from the Banjarese; the son of their ruler was married to a daughter of the Prince of Sumbawa.⁵ The force which had gathered then announced a verdict of revenge on Dompu and Bima and thus caused the aforementioned troubles.⁶

4 The name is also rendered as Daeng Tulolo. This person was the guardian of the part-Sumbawan family of the Banjarese prince Raden Subangsa after the latter's death in about 1675 – see the following footnote. He held great authority in West Sumbawa by 1676. By this time a sizeable community of Malays had settled there, and they had great respect for Karaeng Tellolo. To the Dutch it seemed that the Sumbawans and Makassarese could not forget each other in spite of the contractual obligations that should separate them. Karaeng Tellolo later stayed in Pasir in East Kalimantan and interfered in fighting on Java before he eventually submitted to the Company in 1679. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, pp. 58, 139; Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 163, 202, 216–218, 227.

5 It appears from the *Hikayat Banjar* that Raden Subangsa, a cousin of the current King of Banjarmasin, married a daughter of the King of Selaparang who lived in Taliwang on Sumbawa. She gave birth to Raden Mataram but then passed away. The King of Selaparang gave a second daughter, who also stayed on Sumbawa, in marriage to Subangsa, and she became the mother of Mas Banten or Datu Loka, later King of Sumbawa. The people of Sumbawa and Selaparang knew Subangsa by the name Pangeran Taliwang because of his first marriage. The two wives of Subangsa were thus sisters of Mas Gowa, the ruler of Sumbawa at the time. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar*, p. 513. A Dutch report from 1702 (VOC 1663, f. 199) states that the King of Banjar(masin) was known by the title *panembahan*, 'being descended from the royal house of Sumbawa; the regent here, Pangeran Purbaya, is descended from the family of the Makassarese [Karaeng] Karungrung.'

6 A Dutch missive argues that Karaeng Karungrung (d. 1685), the senior minister in Gowa, probably lay behind the appearance of the Makassarese sea migrants on Sumbawa. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, p. 881.

[*Death of Harun Arrasyid in 1673*]

The fight was bitter and on 16 June 1673 the diary of Gowa mentions without comments the death of the Prince of Tallo'.⁷ If Harun Arrasyid fell in the fighting is not apparent, but there were rumours that Abdulkhair had the corpse of his son-in-law dug up and burnt⁸ (*Daghregister*, 1673, p. 340). These were the events immediately preceding the dispatch of the second embassy.

[*Further attempts by the Makassarese malcontents*]

The departure of the second embassy was the sign for the Makassarese malcontents to look outside the Island of Sumbawa for allies in the campaign of vengeance against Bima and Dompu. The final aim was, according to rumours circulating, to depose the princes of Bima and Dompu and proclaim Karaeng Bontomarannu as the paramount prince of the two united kingdoms (*Daghregister*, 1674, p. 252). They first turned to Banten where Karaeng Bontomaranno went in 1674 together with Mangappa, a brother of Harun Arrasyid, who tried to organize an expedition to punish the desecration of Harun Arrasyid's grave (*Daghregister*, 1674, p. 346; 1675, p. 7).

[*Their appearance in East Java in 1677*]

For Sumbawa these attempts did not have any further negative consequences. In Banten the fugitive Makassarese behaved tactlessly proceeded to meddle in the conflict between Trunajaya and Mataram in the eastern

7 To clarify, he passed away on Sumbawa, as apparent from Ligetvoet, 'Geschiedenis van de afdeeling Tallo', p. 50, and Cummings, *The Makassar Annals*, p. 118.

8 A Dutch missive from 13 November 1673 relates that the grandees of Bima picked up a fight with Harun Arrasyid, Karaeng Galesong and other Makassarese. The son of the Bimanese sultan (Mapparabung, the future Sultan Nuruddin) had appropriated a wife of Karaeng Galesong, which led to the falling-out. The Makassarese burnt Sondo, Belo and Bima itself and then proceeded to West Sumbawa. The Bimanese had taken to the hills but returned to the lowland when the adversaries left. The sultan was furious at his son, who then escaped to the Makassarese and humbly submitted to them, thus turning against his own father, who disinherited him. The Bimanese prince sought assistance from Dompu, but he was denied. The prince proceeded to attack Kempo in Dompu and burnt the sappanwood that lay ready there. During this chaotic unrest Harun Arrasyid passed away on 17 June (a one-day difference with the Makassarese diary). There is nothing to suggest that the death was unnatural. At his death the elites of Bima and Dompu gained a bit of courage and took up positions of defence. Some Dutch vessels under De Bock subsequently arrived at Sumbawa and attacked the Makassarese and their allies in Sanggar. They then sailed to West Sumbawa where the Makassarese fleet was encircled but managed to break out and probably sought refuge on Lombok. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, pp. 880-881.

salient of Java.⁹ It seems that Karaeng Galesong had less faith in the summons for Banten, since he co-signed the contract that was concluded in Makassar with the Kingdom of Sumbawa on 12 February 1676. After that, however, we find him amidst the tumult of warfare on Java, where he died from the wounds that he received in 1679. Karaeng Bontomaranno and Mangappa had already fallen in 1677 (De Graaf, *Geschiedenis*, pp. 212-222). Both of them eventually succumbed in the fight against Cornelis Speelman.

The Sumbawa Kingdom

[*Jan Francen Holsteyn, 1674*]

In Batavia it was anticipated in 1673 that the death of Harun Arrasyid would not settle things. There was no particular fear of any serious complications in Sumbawa, since it was assumed that Bima and Dompu could manage themselves against the Makassarese and their collaborators. 'We trust that the kings and their people are now aware that they could prudently defend themselves against this treacherous motley crew and completely wash their lands of them' (*Daghregister*, 1673, p. 356). However, they decided to send a fleet of eight ships to the eastern quarters. It was to pick up an embassy in Sumbawa on its way back, in order to keep the situation under surveillance. This fleet sailed under the command of Jan Francen Holsteyn.

[*Twenty-one months of floundering*]

The Holsteyn expedition was certainly not a triumphal march, and when he finally came back to Batavia on 1 October 1675 he wrote bitterly that he had been 'floundering around everywhere for about 21 months' on Sumbawa (*Daghregister*, 1675). It is nevertheless true that a report came from Makassar in the meantime, saying that the Kingdom of Sumbawa found it wisest to send envoys in mid-1674 in order to conclude a contract. During five years it had cared little about article 15, which Bima and Dompu signed in 1669, under which these kingdoms promised to treat Sumbawa 'as an enemy and harm it according to all of their capability'.

9 A prince from Madura, Trunajaya or Trunojoyo, staged a major uprising against the *susuhunan* of Mataram in 1677, which was eventually suppressed with Dutch help in 1680. This conflict strengthened the position of the VOC on Java's north coast. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 213-223. The events of the Trunajaya Rebellion may have been part of the inspiration for the mytho-historical text *Hikayat Sang Bima*, written in Bima after 1696. Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, pp. 143-218.

[*Contract with Sanggar, 1674*]

At the beginning things went easy enough. Holsteyn concluded an agreement with the petty Kingdom of Sanggar on 12 August 1674. It was accepted without any problem that it had to acknowledge the King of Dompu as its 'lawful lord and king' (*Corpus*, II, p. 500). But when he eventually called at the Kingdom of Sumbawa it was stated that 'Captain Jan Francen has unexpectedly found things quite differently on Sumbawa than what was thought.'¹⁰ It was even considered whether it might be better to 'send a good troop of the most experienced Buginese thither' (*Daghregister*, 1675, p. 29). It was feared, namely, that malcontent Makassarese might involve Sumbawa in a war with Bima and Dompu. But in May 1675 this danger had reportedly receded (*Corpus*, II, p. 542).¹¹

[*In Suckelenburg; confirmation of the contract of 1675*]

Meanwhile Holsteyn had anything but a pleasant time in Sumbawa. He even had to erect a *pagger*, or fortification, that he ironically gave the name 'Pagger Succelenburgh' [*sukkelen* = to flounder] and which he tore down

¹⁰ A Dutch missive from October 1674 relates how Holsteyn appeared off West Sumbawa and found a lot of Makassarese migrants under Daeng Mangappa, the brother of the deceased Harun Arrasyid of Tallo', and Mapparabung, the expelled son of the Sultan of Bima (the future Sultan Nuruddin). The migrants had settled in Utan. At the time a Makassarese fleet of 70 ships under Karaeng Galesong was busy subduing Ampoan, a place that had recently acknowledged Bima as its suzerain. Holsteyn tried to induce Mas Gowa of Sumbawa and his grantees to expel the migrants and accede to the Bungaya Treaty, but got the answer that they were unable to do so. The VOC fleet then withdrew to Bima Bay. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, p. 919.

¹¹ In fact, Holsteyn was deeply involved in the local affairs of the Sumbawa Sultanate, as apparent from other sources. At the heart lay the lingering involvement of the Makassarese migrants in the affairs of the sultanate. They instigated a number of Sumbawan lords to rebel against Mas Gowa, and also infiltrated Selaparang on Lombok, which by this time was a vassal of Sumbawa – it will be recalled that Mas Gowa was in fact a Selaparang prince. Holsteyn and his men were summoned in 1674 to assist Mas Gowa, which they did. After some hostilities the grantees of Selaparang submitted to the VOC and the Sultan of Sumbawa. They promised to pay 15,000 picul of sappanwood for their 'misdeeds'. However, the treaty was offset by the treason of a Sumbawan grandee called Singrawarangh who stayed on Lombok and resisted any Dutch and royal commands. An officer called Coenraat Bredenburgh was sent over to Selaparang but did not manage to reconcile the parties. Singrawarangh refused to acknowledge either the Sultan of Sumbawa or the VOC. The Dutch lost interest in the matter and in 1676 Lombok was invaded by the Balinese. Cool, *De Lombok expeditie*, pp. 215–216; VOC 1311, f. 225–239. Singrawarangh was later reconciled with the court. He was entrusted to bring the two princes Mas Banten and Mas Mataram, Mas Gowa's nephews and heirs, from Banjarmasin to Utan on Sumbawa in 1675. In 1677 he made the trip to Batavia as an envoy. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, pp. 58–59.

again at his departure (*Daghregister*, 1674, p. 257).¹² The contract that the envoys of King Mas Gowa had concluded in Makassar in the previous year was confirmed inside this fort in 1675 (*Corpus*, II, pp. 492, 542).

[*Swartius on the Sumbawans in 1668*]

Mas Gowa did not much enjoy his pro-Netherlands policy. His predecessor and brother, Mas Cini, had had to abdicate his throne in 1667 since he feared that his country would be affected by Dutch displeasure due to his choice of sides in the Gowa war. Initially Mas Gowa had courteously refused to heed the request by the Company to also make a contract. Swartius, who visited the court of Sumbawa with that purpose in 1668, gives a lively description of the reception at the court:

[F]rom the port all the way to his court there were more than a thousand people sitting in a very orderly queue, squatting, with their shields placed before them, and many having spears and assegais which were very beautiful and which were inlaid with gold and silver, and one could see many with golden crises [daggers]; right before the king, close by him, sat two rows of twelve bodyguards with spears that were decorated with gold as well as silver, and opposite him on the floor were all his grantees. (Speelman, 'Notitie', p. 374)

[*Mas Gowa, 1667-1676*]

Of Mas Gowa, Swartius says: 'The king was a young man who appeared to be about 20 or 21 years old, of very beautiful stature with long hair hanging down to the shoulders.' Judging from what later happened to Mas Gowa, we get the same impression as we do of the later kings of Sumbawa, namely that he was highly dependent on the approval of his grantees of state. When he confirmed the contract in 1675 (the one that he did not wish to conclude in 1668), he had to do so with 'many kinds of enemies', not only among the Makassarese staying in his kingdom, but also among his own grantees of state who even 'banished' him because of it, so that he 'had to live in the forest in the month of June'.¹³

12 According to Lalu Manca it was known by the Sumbawans as Seklember and was strategically situated on a hill to the north of Sumbawa Besar, at the present Kampung Irian, from which the town could be monitored. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 94.

13 A VOC missive of November 1674 casts some further light on the unpopular king. Mas Gowa had recently been deprived of his power by three grantees of the kingdom and robbed of the royal treasure, worth 50,000 *rijksdaalders*. There were three reported reasons for his lack of popularity. First, he purportedly led the life of a homosexual. Second, as a consequence of that, he was not inclined to marry. And third, his lands were not blessed with good harvests

[*Mas Banten, 1676-1701*]

His hope that he 'might be king for yet one or two years' with the Company's assistance was not fulfilled, however, since he was deposed in 1676¹⁴ and replaced by Mas Banten (1676-1701), who drew up a new contract through his envoys in Makassar in 1676.¹⁵ Sultan Mas Banten abdicated his throne in 1701.¹⁶ Until his demise in 1713 he was known as Datu Loka (old prince). In *Corpus*, III, p. 24, Stapel expresses himself somewhat unclearly, since the events mentioned there (dispatch of the embassy to Batavia, troubles under Daeng Tellolo etc.) did not occur after but before the arrival of Holsteyn in Sumbawa.

[*Little support from the allies*]

That Captain Holsteyn felt so uncomfortable in Sumbawa was partly due to the attitude of Bima and Dompu, who did not respond to Jan Francen's

– an alleged consequence of the king's refusal to have intercourse with the opposite sex. The grandees declared that they were prepared to receive Mas Gowa back if he married in Bima or elsewhere. However, things soon got even worse as the king lost his last settlements and withdrew with a hundred retainers to Utan, leaving the little Dutch force 'in their miserable Suckelenburgh'. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, III, pp. 939-940.

14 In about September 1675, according to a VOC source. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 59.

15 Lalu Manca, drawing from indigenous historiography, relates that Mas Gowa was deposed by the grandees of the kingdom Nene Ranga Nuangsasi, Nene Kanu Kanamertah and Nene Jurupalasan, since his thinking was still constrained by the old Hindu customs and concepts. In a letter to the VOC he gave another version: his ministers denounced him because of his amicable relations with the Company. The year seems to have been 1675 rather than 1676. He had two half-brothers called Mas Maling and Mas Aceh who were, however, of Balinese rather than Sumbawan stock on their mother's side. They were therefore not acceptable as successors in Sumbawa. On the other hand, his full sister, Mas Panghulu, was married to the Banjarese prince Subangsa and gave birth to Mas Banten, who succeeded to the throne. Subangsa had died by 1675 and his widow, Mas Panghulu, married the notorious Tallo' prince Karaeng Jarannika in 1678/79. Karaeng Jarannika tried to intervene in the affairs of Lombok, the ancestral land of his wife, but was beaten by the Balinese who had invaded the island. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 93; Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, p. 171; Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 273.

16 A serious incident during his reign occurred in 1688 when the notorious Makassarese sea migrant Karaeng Pamolikang burnt the royal boathouse. A fortress which the Sumbawans had recently built proved useless. Arung Palakka dispatched two warships, but the pirates disappeared before they arrived in West Sumbawa. A second calamity afflicted West Sumbawa in 1692 when the VOC allies exterminated the recalcitrant settlement Hampan (Ampang) at the eastern end of the kingdom. Dompu subsequently claimed that Hampan had originally been subject to its rule. The dispute ushered in a Dompunese invasion in West Sumbawa where 21 settlements were burnt and 900 buffaloes were captured. Further calamities followed in the next year (1693) when the king's brother, Mas Mataram Datu Taliwang, was murdered in Sulawesi, and the queen died in childbirth. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, pp. 209, 523, 621.

Figure 3 The impressive gate of the old wooden palace of Sumbawa Besar, Dalam Loka



Photo: Hans Hägerdal

repeated requests for military assistance. Finally, at the end of 1674, Batavia was so worried about his plight that a second fleet under Gerrit Coster was dispatched to check up on him. When Batavia later inquired angrily about the sluggishness of the 'allies', they explained in detail that they did not lack zeal but that the merchant Paulus de Bock had assured them that they must not pay too much attention to this matter, since the Company came to carry on trade and not to wage war. Sultan Bima had repeated conflicts with De Bock. When De Bock was a senior merchant in Makassar in 1680, Valentijn relates that 'he, while sitting with his stoup and talking to some friends, was impaled with a kris from behind, by one of his slaves with whose wife he had had an affair' (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 136).

[Contract with Papekat]

On his journey back, Jan Francen made a short contract in Bima in 1675, with the 'free King of Papekat', whose association with the Company and with Sanggar made in the preceding year was nullified in the contract with Raja Dompu, who was to be the 'lord of protection' of Papekat (*Corpus*, II, p. 544).

Bima

[*Karaeng Panaragang on Java*]

One may say that the Makassarese in Bima and Dompu no longer constituted a direct threat after the expedition of Holsteyn and the visit by Gerrit Coster, since their attempts to attract interest in Java for an expedition against these kingdoms met with little success.¹⁷ But there were, nevertheless, people in Bima who were far from content with the way things proceeded. To these belonged the son of Raja Bima himself, called Karaeng Panaragang by the Makassarese, who joined the fugitive Makassarese on Java in 1676 (*Daghregister*, 1676, p. 48). In 1678 he was back with his father in Bima, but only temporarily, for in 1679 he fought at the side of Karaeng Galesong in Java, where he was captured and brought to Batavia by Captain Jan Francen (*Daghregister*, 1678, pp. 432, 669; 1679, pp. 330, 423, 514, 541, 602).

[*Received in Batavia*]

In Batavia much attention was paid to Karaeng Panaragang and he was given a treatment suitable to an important foreign crown prince. The *Daghregister* does not give a great account of him. It says that he 'was badly debauched by opium'. When he appeared in the castle in order to humble himself before the general and the council, he was so enfeebled 'through his extraordinary perplexity and the weakness of his body' that a chair had to be provided to him.

However, he was regarded as a man whom the Company would like to win for its cause. He was allowed to go to Cirebon with his people, where he assisted in keeping guard on behalf of the Company against the town being captured by the Bantenese. He was absorbed by the social life of Batavia; we find him at a new year's reception, at the burial of Mrs. Speelman, at a parade. The Company was happy when he finally, after endless delays, returned with his 229 followers to the quiet Bima on 8 March 1682, accompanied by his sister Daeng Nesaly who had come over to assist her troubled brother. The costs for his allowance were found to be high enough, but for part of them, a bill was presented to his father, while he had to sign a letter of debt for another part (*Daghregister*, 1680).

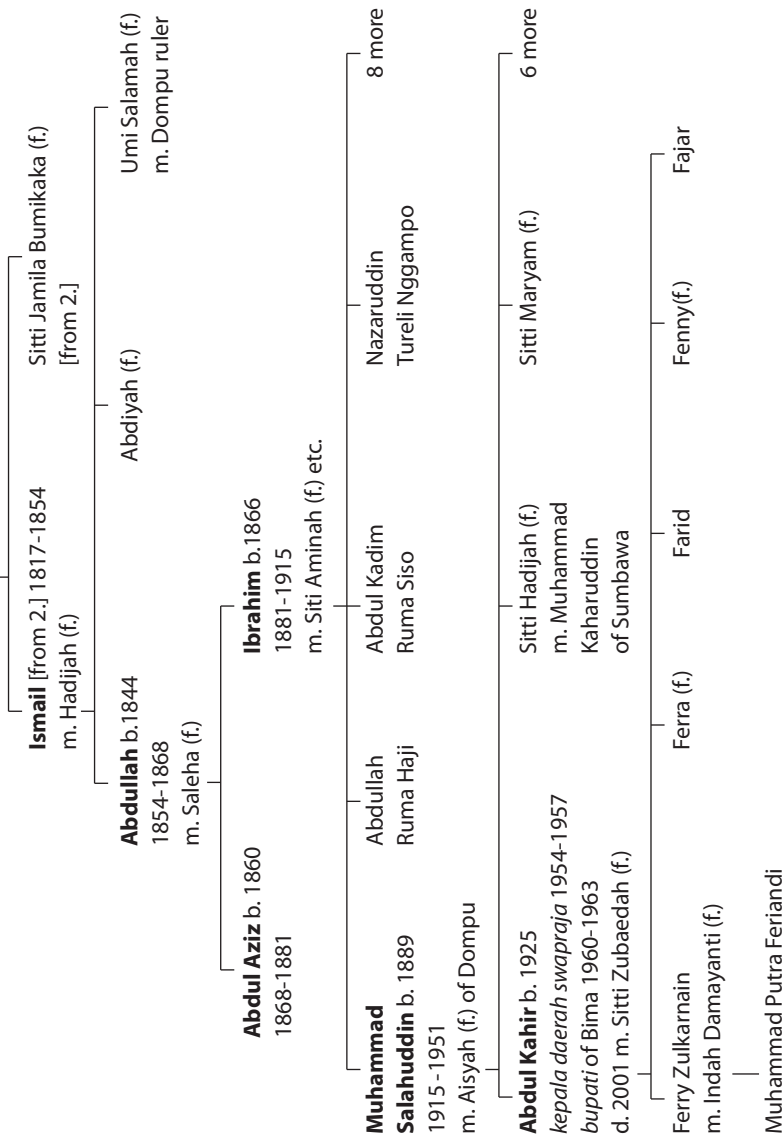
17 Some of the sea migrants hid in Manggarai, where the Bimanese apparently had little real control. One party suffered a shattering defeat off Sape in the Bima Kingdom in 1675. The aristocrat Pakkokoe, married to the daughter of the King of Soppeng, was one of the foremost migrants and arrived at Sape with four war *perahus*. There he was attacked by 4 Dutch and 400 to 500 Bimanese soldiers and was killed, while the ships were torched. The princess survived and was brought back to her father in Sulawesi. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 60.

[*Death of Abdulkhair, 1682*]

In Bima he succeeded as Sultan Nuruddin after his father Abdulkhair passed away after an unruly reign of 42 years on 22 July 1682. Abdulkhair is remembered in the traditions of Bima as the man who gave the *hukum* a place in the royal council, and as the man who continued the work of conversion begun by his father, Abdul Kahir. As a person he seems to have been a man of some prominence and was found worthy to become sub-commander of the Gowan military forces. Speelman repeatedly held conversations with him. He was the man with whom Truytman concluded the first verbal treaty of friendship in 1660. In 1646 he fought in South Celebes on the Gowan side against Bone, and in 1666 at Buton against Speelman, which led to the infamous escape. In 1672-1673 he had to cope with the troubles instigated by his son-in-law, Harun Arrasyid. In 1679 he got into trouble with the Company since he had erected a stone fortress in defiance of the directions of the contract concluded with the Company. According to Speelman, a fortress was built in Bima in 1640 which by 1669 was in a decrepit state. Perhaps this first fortress was made in the time of his father, Abdul Kahir, who was known by the cognomen Mbata Wadu, which could be taken to mean 'he who has a stone wall' – perhaps not the *kraton* wall but the fortress in question.¹⁸ We should consider Abdulkhair as one of the most important princes of Bima.¹⁹

18 Held's assumption is not correct; the posthumous name Mbata Wadu (or Mantau Wata Wadu) means 'He who has a stone grave'.

19 He also tried to reinforce the vanished Bimanese influence in Sumba where the Portuguese managed the trade, totally unencumbered by the Bimanese claims. An expedition was equipped in 1676. The sultan received munitions from the Company to the value of 350 *rijksdaalders*, to be paid with sappanwood. The VOC reserved the right to purchase sandalwood from Sumba, and also expressed interest in buying slaves, cinnamon and turtle shell. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, pp. 83-84. The enterprise was not well managed, partly because the sultan and the Tureli Nggampo could not agree on who had the right to exploit the riches of Sumba. In 1679 Bima was still not the master of Sumba. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, pp. 105, 272.



[*Sultan Nuruddin, 1682-1687*]

About the reign of his son Sultan Nuruddin, who only ruled for five years, not much is known.²⁰ He was married in 1684 to Daeng Tamemang, the daughter of Karaeng Cenrana, the *tumailalang* of Gowa.²¹ That he was not an easygoing person can be seen from the fact that he fell out with Abdul Rasul, the Sultan of Dompu, in the same year as he returned from his escapades on Java, about a daughter of the Makassarese Karaeng Ballo. How the conflict came about is not apparent, but it is possible that Nuruddin wished to marry Karaeng Bontowa, a Gowan princess who was seventeen years old in 1682 and only married her in 1687, the year Nuruddin died.²² One can imagine that Abdul Rasul would protest against such a marriage.

[*Forced ally*]

Nuruddin does not seem to have been wholeheartedly devoted to the Company, as can be read in the remarks of Valentijn:

[T]hese people of Sumbawa are not entirely to be trusted, as one could clearly see when we had difficulties on Java in the year 1686 due to the death of Mr. Tak etc.²³ In violation of the contract made in 1677 [?] (that forbade them to receive any envoys from foreign princes without our knowledge),

20 Like his father, however, he undertook an expedition to Flores and Sumba with permission of the Company in 1685. Manggarai and another part of the Florenese coast (the south coast to the east of Manggarai?) submitted to him, but the inhabitants of Sumba resisted and turned him away. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, pp. 755, 800. The rapacious behaviour of the Bimanese along the Florenese coast worried the Portuguese leader in Larantuka, António Hornay. In a letter he asked Arung Palakka of Bone to make sure that ships sent towards Timor were provided with passes, since some seafarers abused his name to commit robberies along the coast. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 36. The first Arabs in Bima are said to have arrived during Nuruddin's reign. They settled in the southern part of Kampung Melayu. Sila, *Being Muslim in Bima of Sumbawa, Indonesia*, p. 13.

21 *Tumailalang* was the title for ministers who acted as intermediaries within the Gowan kingdom. Cummings, *The Makassar Annals*, p. 350. The kings of Bima and Sumbawa married Makassarese princesses at the same time at a grand banquet in Makassar in 1684. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 715.

22 Nuruddin's date of death is given as 23 July 1687. The VOC had little regard for him: 'The Company did not loose much in the father [of the new Sultan Jamaluddin] since he frequently revealed his bad character and was not very inclined to the Noble Company. Before his death he had the pleasure of receiving those of Sumba or Zandelbosch who made homage before him, accepting his protection.' Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 116.

23 This refers to a Dutch setback in Kartasura in Central Java in 1686. The Balinese runaway slave Surapati and his companions attacked and annihilated a Dutch force under François Tack (Tak) at the *kraton* of the Susuhunan of Mataram, presumably with the covert backing of the *susuhunan*. This incident checked Dutch influence in the interior of Java for some time, and

they not only dared to receive but also give exceptional honours to a letter, a flag and some water from the King of Bliton or Raden Sacti (otherwise best known by the name of Emperor of Maningcabo) over which some prayers were read.²⁴ Bima received such a letter from him, and besides that the envoy Intsjeh Bongse, a Malay, spitefully said to Radja Tambora that if he remained faithful to the Company he would be fatally ill, and that it was urgent since he was about to give up his spirit. (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 141)

The Tambora Kingdom

[*Tambora*]

On the same page Valentijn furthermore writes:

Just like the kingdoms of Bima, Dompou, Tambora etc., on the Island of Sumbawa, stood under Makassar, we, too, have introduced a few posts or *paggers* and post-keepers. In olden times all the kingdoms on Sumbawa stood on their own; however, as the island was subsequently conquered by the King of Makassar (apart from Tambora that withstood Makassar for five months but finally had to submit), they all came under the power of that prince; however, he kept it no longer than until 1669, when they came under the Noble Company.

The old King of Tambora made a contract with us in the year 1667; this prince, however, passed away in the year 1687 and was succeeded by the father of the present king. In Tambora there are several villages, namely Cadinding, Canceeloe, Baraboen, Wawo, Lawasa, Papoenti. Laleekan, Salepe, Sakeewij, Laewong, Waro, Tanga, Soekon, Toewij, Tompo, Caomom

Surapati carved out an autonomous principality around Pasuruan in East Java. De Graaf, *De moord op kapitein François Tack, 8 februari 1686*.

24 This Raden Sakti, carrying the title of Yang Dipertuan and described as King of Belitung or Emperor of Minangkabau on Sumatra, was a religio-political adventurer who toured the Southeast Asian Archipelago in the 1680s and tried to attract a following to wage a struggle against the Dutch infidels and turn local rulers away from their alliance with the Company. Bima as well as Dompou were approached. The Bimanese court argued that there was nothing wrong with that since the Yang Dipertuan merely taught people to show more devotion according to the Islamic laws. But the Company had 'worries about such superstitious people as the easterners are'. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 34. The Supreme Government in Batavia wrote an angry letter to Nuruddin and Minister Jeneli Sapi in March 1687, where they were accused of having received 19 *perahus* and 1,127 Malay and Minangkabau retainers of the Yang Dipertuan, whom they considered a holy king. The VOC asked the king and his grandees to explain their behaviour. Noorduyin, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 48-49.

etc. The name of the King of Tambora in 1688 was Sultan Nilaaneddien, Abdul Bazet, his deceased father was Djamaleddien and his son, who will follow him, is called Abdul Djaliel.

The grandees and the royal councillors here are called *djewelis* and *toerelis* and the greatest *mantri* (or royal councillor) is called Makandiri Hohau. Here one finds a lot of sappanwood, beeswax, rice, horses etc. (Loc. cit.)

[*Peculiar character of the Tamborese*]

The sympathy that Valentijn appears to have for Tambora is also shared by others.²⁵ The Tamborese were, however, no easygoing people as can be seen from the wars of succession in this kingdom. They were known as brusque and short-tempered. Resident Tobias estimates, in 1801, that they 'are surely the best and bravest nation on this coast'. According to Van der Velde, the population migrated to Tambora from Manggarai, which their language (which is not that of Bima) would indicate²⁶ (Zollinger p. 147).

[*Communication with Dompou and contract, 1675*]

Tambora, Papekat and Dompou were quarrelling during the entire period when we have information. In 1674 the Sultan of Dompou asserted that he was the lord of a place called Tibore that is indicated on the map of 1681 as lying in Tambora (see page 54). The first thing that Jan Francen Holsteyn did in 1675, then, was to proclaim peace between the two parties, whereby the kings of Dompou and Tambora (in the contract his name is Bagoes, Bagoes Ima or Coeta) appeared in Bima together with Abdulkhair, Tureli Nggampo, Jeneli Parado, Jeneli Rasanae and the *qadi* as witnesses (instead of Paulus de Broek, read Paulus de Bock [*Corpus*, II, p. 543].)

25 One may compare the view of Tambora (and Sanggar) by Schelle and Tobias who wrote retrospectively nine years after the Tambora disaster: 'We have reason to compare them to the bravest inhabitants of this archipelago, in addition to which they are very industrious and possess sufficient wits to be able to attain and preserve wealth. They are obedient to the laws, but if their ruler fails to be just as obedient as they are in this respect, he will soon run the risk of losing his life or at the very least being exiled to a foreign country.' De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 40.

26 The language was wiped out together with the kingdom in the Tambora disaster of 1815. A limited number of Tamborese words have survived in a list from 1817 by Thomas Stamford Raffles. A recent analysis of the corpus suggests that the language was not Austronesian at all, but rather Papuan. This is surprising since Papuan languages are otherwise not found further west than Alor and Timor. If the new results are validated it would demand rewriting the ethno-linguistic history of eastern Indonesia; Donahue, 'The Papuan Language of Tambora', p. 535. In another opinion it was probably an Austro-Asiatic language, and, if so, the easternmost tongue in this family. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 43.

The kings of Tambora and Dompu promised to henceforth 'acknowledge each other as free lords and kings until eternity; the King of Tambora says that he always will honour Raja Dompo as his larger and elder prince, and show him the respect that a younger brother owes an elder brother, understanding that he now and then owes some court service, but that they will regard each other as brothers.' The troubles arisen from the requests for each others' subjects, cattle and goods were not to occur anymore, and they would henceforth not impede the travel through their lands. Then Jan Francen Holsteyn concluded a contract with Tambora as well.

[*Bumi Soro, 1677-1682*]

How stable this eternal peace was is seen in 1677 when a certain Bumi Soro created trouble for the King of Tambora. One can perceive the anger in the remarks by Batavia, when they state that the 'allies' hardly cared to support each other in the troubles. It was 'certainly no honour but a great dishonour for the kings that Bomisorra so easily performs his twists', as they say. A true opera of war now ensued where Dompu (and Bima) pretended to take steps to 'grab by the head' 'the unruly spirit'. One reads how Bumi Soro escaped from Bima, how he disappeared in the dark of the night, how he knew how to acquire the Ampang district in his hand, and finally constructed a *benteng* in Tambora.

[*Help from Dompu*]

The Prince of Dompu now proclaimed he would carry out grand expeditions with thousands of soldiers, but in the end it was a troop of a hundred men directed by the resident of Bima that captured Bumi Soro's *benteng* in the mountains. Although Raja Bima and Raja Dompu guarded the seaside, Bumi Soro could get away over the Saleh Bay to Ampang. From the sorry relation by Raja Tambora it can furthermore be read that his rescuers helped him from the seaside to a trench and finally went off with their booty. Bumi Soro and his people were exiled to Ceylon, but in 1682 he still appears to be operating in Ampang and Tambora. Raja Dompu now asked permission to chastise Ampang once for all, since the Ampangese wreaked damage on his kingdom, but the Company told him that he must let it be, and admonished him seriously about his particular perception of friendship²⁷ (*Daghregister*, 1680, pp. 255, 492; 1681, pp. 282, 296, 326, 492, 511; 1682, pp. 839, 1226; 1687, p. 357).

27 A bloody incident occurred some years later in the same area. The chief of Hampan, apparently Ampang, Deman Croy, allowed vagabonds from Tambora and Dompu to settle in his territory which belonged to the Sumbawa Kingdom. Among them was Amajaly, son of the deceased Bumi Soro. In 1692 an army consisting of twelve Dutch and thousands of allied troops

[*Murder of Ratu Dompū, 1693*]

We could better understand what happened during the next years if the following years of the *Daghregister* had been published. What is clear, however, that there was no talk of peace between Tambora and Dompū so far.²⁸ In 1693 a murder was committed in Kambu that caused great consternation, namely of the wife of Abdul Rasul [read: Ahmad] who is known to the diary of Gowa as 'the Queen of Dompū'.²⁹ Jamaluddin, the Prince of Bima, was initially suspected of this murder and arrested, but later it supposedly appeared that the murder was committed at the instigation of Abdul Basir, the King of Tambora. The murderer would actually have aimed to kill Abdul Rasul himself, but in the dark of the night he hit his wife instead.³⁰

approached Hampan which was defended by a mud wall and stone fortifications. Six hundred and fifty exiles from Kalongkong were persuaded to return to the domain of Raja Tambora, but the rest refused to yield. After a brief siege the settlement was stormed by the Tamborese troops who torched the houses. The defenders killed their own women and children by throwing them into the fire and went amuck against each other and against the enemy. All the inhabitants eventually succumbed, including 500 men, while enemy losses were 300. After the massacre the Bimanese and Tamborese troops withdrew while Raja Dompū stayed for a while, arguing that Hampan had been under Dompunese rule in olden times. The VOC authorities argued that this had to be investigated in more detail. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, pp. 455-456, 523. 28 The *Daghregister* of Batavia is published up to 1682. The later years have been scanned (but not transcribed) and can be found at the website of ANRI, the Indonesian National Archive. A letter from Batavia to Bima in March 1687 admonishes Sultan Nuruddin not to harm the ruler of Tambora, who was supposedly as good an ally to the Company as Bima. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 49. In 1688 Raja Tambora complained that Bima and Dompū misled his subjects into defecting to Dompū, which was clandestinely approved by some Makassarese princes. He argued that he was a better ally than the others, since he had turned away the envoys of the anti-Dutch Yang Dipertuan of Minangkabau. By 1693 the kings of Tambora and Dompū were throwing accusations against each other, disputing the rights over certain villages. It was at this moment that the fateful assassination occurred. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, pp. 165, 616-618.

29 This lady, Siti Aminah, was married in succession to Daeng Mattiro, Karaeng Lekobodong and the Sultan of Dompū, presumably Ahmad Syah (d. 1697) rather than his brother and successor, Abdul Rasul. VOC sources say that Raja Dompū and his wife arrived at the port of Kambu in 1693 in order to proceed to Makassar. During the night between 28 and 29 April the queen and two ladies-in-waiting were murdered in their beds by unknown assassins. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 618.

30 This issue has been much clarified by the archival research of Leonard Andaya. The sultans of Bima and Dompū accused each other of the murder and were summoned to Makassar to attend a meeting with the VOC allies in the fall of 1693. Most of the allied lords, including Arung Palakka, considered the guilt of Sultan Jamaluddin of Bima to be evident, but the Dutch representative raised objections. The issue led to a rift between the Company and Arung Palakka. In the next year new evidence surfaced which implicated the Sultan of Tambora as directing the assassination. The reason for this was that the Queen of Dompū had once insulted the ruler of Tambora by claiming that the Tamborese were actually the subjects of Dompū. Since Tambora

[*Tambora is supported by Arung Teko against Dompu and the Makassarese*]

The further course of events is unsure, but in 1695 Raja Dompu stood against Raja Tambora and was supported by two Makassarese fighting cocks, the 'rascally robbers' Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang, the last-mentioned being a sister's son of Muhammad Sa'id of Gowa.³¹ That was too much for the Company and they now sent a troop of Bone to help Tambora [read Dompu], commanded by Arung Teko, pretender to the throne of Bone. Arung Teko, a man who had previously gained a reputation through robbing expeditions in Manggarai, would soon bring Raja Dompu [read Tambora] to subjugation.³² We later find Karaeng Jarannika in Sumbawa, once again in his role as a robbing-knight, where he was killed in 1700.³³ Karaeng Pamolikang was murdered in Tambora in 1704 after having likewise wrought havoc on Sumbawa.³⁴

had been the first kingdom to submit during the troubles in 1674, the Dutch had declared its autonomy, though it was previously considered part of Dompu. Arung Palakka refused to believe that Sultan Tambora, being a good and brave man, was the culprit. In the next year (1695) the rift was solved, since Sultan Bima was at last sentenced for the murder and exiled to Batavia. By then, however, serious trouble afflicted Sumbawa since Tambora had started a war of conquest in order to make itself the master of the entire island. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, pp. 281-290.

31 In 1693 Tambora had a dispute with Bima over Kalongkong, and also quarrelled with Dompu over the settlements Kilo, Kambu, Kempo and Kore (Sanggar). Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 616. Attempting to secure a dominating regional role, the Tamborese ruler behaved aggressively towards his neighbours after 1695. As for Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang, they indeed had a shifting career in the eastern Archipelago, changing loyalties with great frequency. For the intricate details, see Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 77-81.

32 Held, based on an erroneous note by Zollinger, mixes up the situation. In fact, Tambora vainly attacked the VOC fortification in Bima, and considerable troops were sent over to Sumbawa to halt the violent Tamborese onslaught. Arung Teko and Karaeng Jarannika eventually received Raja Tambora's surrender in 1697. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, pp. 737-739, 784, 838.

33 Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang hid in Selaparang (Lombok) in 1698, but began to attack the Sumbawan coastal areas in 1700, ostensibly instigated by the King of Bone, La Patau, who wished to increase his influence on Sumbawa. The immediate reason for the attacks was reportedly the hesitancy of the Sumbawan court to receive a Bone princess due to the high costs involved. Some of the Sumbawan kingdoms eventually united to defeat the Makassarese princes at Narwa and Alas. The princes sneaked away to Lombok where they were encamped at Palaba on the south-eastern coast and befriended the Raja of Karangasem (East Bali). Karangasem dominated Lombok by this time, although its grip on the island was rather precarious. The Balinese raja finally resolved to get rid of his dangerous guests and treacherously slaughtered Karaeng Jarannika and 151 Makassarese on 14 May 1700. Karaeng Pamolikang managed to escape for the time being. VOC 1637, f. 67; VOC 1663, f. 91-92.

34 Karaeng Pamolikang was married to a princess of Setelok, one of the vassals of the Sumbawa Sultanate. She was ransomed from her Balinese captors by the Raja of Selaparang, a vassal

[*Jamaluddin dies in prison, 1696*]

In the meanwhile it was perceived in Makassar that Raja Tambora rather than Jamaluddin of Bima was behind the murder of Ratu Dompu. However, by then Jamaluddin was already sentenced to death by the president and the grandees of state in Makassar. Arung Palakka, the powerful Bone ally of the Company, was personally interested in this case, presumably since he had not forgotten that Abdulkhair, the grandfather of the unhappy King of Bima, had been his opponent in his fight against Gowa. He wanted Jamaluddin to be killed with the kris, and when the Company found this a bit too much for them he made 'such a movement in Makassar' that Batavia did not find anything to do but to replace the president and send Jamaluddin to Batavia where he 'passed away from broken heart in the prison' in 1696, before the plan of rehabilitation had been carried out (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 225). His son and successor Hassan Uddin (1696-1731) henceforth considered revenge against Dompu, which had also played a role in this affair.

[*Exile of Abdul Basir*]

In 1701 Abdul Basir, the Prince of Tambora, was deposed and exiled to the Cape.³⁵ He supposedly tried to proclaim himself as the paramount lord of the Sumbawan kingdoms. When he appeared again in Sumbawa in 1713 (strangely enough in Bima) he started to make trouble anew and was once again exiled, this time for good.³⁶

of Karangasem, an act not approved by the Karangasem ruler. The raja sent the princess to her father in Setelok and promptly murdered the envoys of Karangasem, which caused the outbreak of a war on Lombok. Karaeng Pamolikang and his men attacked three Balinese *pagers* (fortifications) in Sokong on the west coast of Lombok in c. 1702, but were defeated with losses. The court of Gowa wished to assist Selaparang but was forbidden to do so by the VOC. Karaeng Pamolikang was killed by the Tamborese in November 1704. VOC 1663, f. 88-90; Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, p. 351.

35 The year is not correct. Dutch reports show that Raja Tambora, driven by hunger and with no more than about 20 followers, surrendered to Arung Teko and Karaeng Jarannika in Kilo in February 1697. He later tried to escape but was caught at the last minute and shipped over to Makassar in fetters. The governor sent him to Batavia in the same year with the recommendation that he be exiled to the Cape or elsewhere. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, p. 838. The Tambora War led to extensive desolation over the entire island, the consequences of which could be seen years later. In 1700 large groups of people from Dompu, Kore-Sanggar, Tambora-Kalongkong and Papekat still lived in the Makassar area, having fled overseas from the extensive raiding and atrocities on their home island. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, p. 106.

36 Abdul Basir was sent back to the Cape Colony via Malabar and Sri Lanka on 20 August 1713. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 9. His descendants adopted the surname De Haan and still live in South Africa.

[*General treaty of 1701*]

The Company summoned the kings of Dompu, Tambora, Sanggar and Pekat to Makassar in 1701. They had to conclude a new general treaty whereby they once again declared that they would let their disagreements rest 'until eternity'.³⁷

[*Pardon for Raja Dompu*]

Regarding the Prince of Dompu article 16 states:

Thus declares Boemy Sorowo, alias Abdul Raksoel, now King of Domp, reporting the main points, after the surrender of his gun and his kris, that he will now and forever be thankful to the Noble Company for the mercy that it shows for the ill deeds that he has ever committed against the true interests of the Company; and now recently in the latest troubles and actions against Dain Mabany, when he, Abdul Ragsul, with the help of the rascal robbers Crain Jerenika, Pamlikan etc. caused disturbances, and due to that could not only be justifiably deposed from his crown and dignity but also subjected to punishment as an example for others; thus he declares that he shall put this crown, graciously bestowed to him by the Noble Company, on his head as a newly born king, and therewith remain pardoned to the honour of the Noble Company, under a steady and firm promise to obey this without question and in any case humbly serve the Company's requests.³⁸

[*Succession in Tambora*]

With an eye to the replacement of the exiled Abdul Basir the signers of the treaty of 1701 made a regulation that did not lead to anything but misery. It was decided, namely, to give the throne of Tambora in turns to the lineage of the exiled prince and that of Jamaluddin who was raised as prince in 1701

³⁷ This treaty was concluded on 28 April 1701. Several months later, on 13 September 1701, the Sultan of Bima, Hasanuddin Muhammad Ali Syah, and a representative of Datu Loka of Sumbawa also joined the contract. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 53.

³⁸ The misdeeds of Abdul Rasul Bumi Sorowo referred to in the paragraph took place soon after his enthronement in 1697. The unruly Makassar aristocrat Karaeng Pamolikang, after fighting for the VOC in the Tambora War, returned to the life of a pirate, robbed four villages in the Sumbawa Kingdom and tried to occupy Sanggar and Papekat. He began to cooperate with Abdul Rasul, who managed to murder his nephew, Daeng Mabani, son of Abdulhamid, and capture a lot of people who were with him. The governor of Makassar dispatched an expedition to Sumbawa in 1698, but Karaeng Pamolikang escaped and proceeded to burn Taliwang before retreating to Selaparang. The Dutch could not arrest Abdul Rasul. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, pp. 23-24.

(article 17).³⁹ The identity of this Jamaluddin, with the cognomen Daeng Mamangon, is not clear. In the diary of Gowa, however, there is mention of a certain Daeng Mamangung, born in 1762 [1672] as the son of Karaeng Popo, grandson of the renowned Karaeng Pattingalloang. Karaeng Popo stood in a relation with Sumbawa since he was the last grand governor of that region at the court of Gowa. He went to Bima in 1678, where he passed away in 1680⁴⁰ (*Corpus*, IV, p. 198).

[*Jamaluddin, 1701-1716*]

Jamaluddin held on to the throne until 1716, but by then the 'anger and discontent over his harsh rule had grown so much' that he left for Bima.⁴¹ According to the principle of so-called ambulating succession, a person representing the lineage of the exiled prince ascended the throne. The circumstance that the last-mentioned had returned to Bima from his exile in 1713, and caused troubles there, had its influence.

[*Abdul Azis, 1716-1726*]

Although the new prince Abdul Azis promised in a treaty of 1716 that he 'will sacrosanctly obey, follow and cultivate' the ambulating succession, the princes and grandees insistently tried to abrogate this regulation at

39 In his time the notorious robber, Karaeng Pamolikang, was eventually killed with the consent of the governor of Makassar. On 6 November 1704, 29 soldiers from Tambora surprised the pirate in his house on Mapin and shot him with his own musket (there was a belief that spiritually powerful persons could only be killed by objects belonging to themselves). The operation was entrusted to the kinsman of the king, Abdul Azis, who, however, failed to capture the bulk of the Makassarese force. Karaeng Pamolikang's widow was the daughter of the ruler of Setelok in West Sumbawa, who hastily brought his daughter back home after the incident. However, a Bimanese force dispatched to fight Pamolikang proceeded to burn Setelok and steal a large number of buffaloes and horses. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, p. 351.

40 A VOC missive reveals that Daeng Mamangon alias Damala alias Jamaluddin was the son of Bumisoro, the troublemaker of the 1670s. He had once been Raja of Kalongkong but left Tambora due to trouble with the king and settled in Makassar. Since he had fought valiantly in the latest war against Raja Tambora he was deemed suitable to succeed him on the throne. There was nevertheless another possible pretender, namely the exiled ruler's uncle, Tureli Barambu. He had come over to the side of the VOC in 1696 with 80 followers and could also lodge claims. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, p. 14.

41 VOC records show that he quarrelled with his kinsman Abdul Azis, the chief of Kadinding, in 1714. By late 1715 he had been abandoned by his grandees and forced to seek refuge in the VOC fortification in Bima. The Company resident and a lieutenant investigated the matter and found that the king could not be maintained. He later moved to Makassar and settled in Kampung Baru. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, pp. 138, 171, 336.

the time of his death in 1726.⁴² Since it was considered in Makassar that no advantage could be gained from 'the extraordinary state of affairs in that petty kingdom' it was decided through a treaty that the old lineage of the exiled prince would sit on the throne from now on.⁴³ None of the other allies was present in Makassar and could give advice on the point, and it was feared that the present prince of the minute Kingdom of Sanggar was mentally ill (*Corpus*, V, p. 5).

[*Abdul Rachman, 1726-1748*]

The contract that had been drawn up was confirmed with the new king, Abdul Rachman (*Corpus*, V, p. 7). In 1731 Abdul Rachman once again went to Makassar to lodge a complaint, according to Van der Velde. This time he had a border dispute with Papekat concerning a place called Kadinding. The border was definitely established through the mediation of the Company.⁴⁴

[*Abdul Rahim, 1748-1752*]

In 1726 it was hoped in Makassar that 'finally all overseas matters are to be solved here, the sooner the better' (*Corpus*, V, p. 6), but before Abdul Rahim succeeded his deceased father there was a succession dispute whereby his brother-in-law Abdul Muhammad, another pretender, was murdered.

[*Disputes with Dompou and Pekat, 1748/49*]

In the same year there was a border dispute with Dompou over a place called Corre Talouga (Koewe Tjelaka, as Van der Velde says), which was again laid down through the mediation of the Company. These disputes continued until the Kingdom of Tambora was exterminated in 1815 and were only concluded in 1861 when the Governor of Makassar made a personal intervention and threatened with violence if the borderlines were changed again. Even today there are remonstrations about the territorial losses in Dompou although it is no longer known exactly what area it is about.

42 The Dutch held Abdul Azis in rather high regard since he kept good watch against illicit traders. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 397.

43 In fact, Abdul Azis was dead by 1724 and opinions were divided about the succession; some wanted his youngest son, Onkorato, others the eldest one, Abdul Rachman. The VOC were left to decide the issue. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 717.

44 In 1734 Abdul Rachman offered the Company to exploit the stands of jati wood (teak) which had allegedly been discovered in his territory. It is not clear how much actually came out of this. VOC 2314.

In 1749 Tambora had yet another dispute with Papekat about 64 slaves whereby the last-mentioned petty kingdom was deemed by the Company to be in the right.

[*Succession disputes*]

There were also succession troubles later on. Abdul Rahim was succeeded by the former regent Abdul Said, of whom it was said that he eliminated his predecessor by poison in Bima. Abdul Said was, however, deposed in 1771, but his son appeared again in 1801, after the reigns of two intervening kings of whom nothing in particular is known, namely Tahamidullah Hidayatun Minallah (1771-1773) and Abdul Rasyid Tajul Arifin (1773-1801).⁴⁵ Trouble arose again in 1801, for Vermeulen relates about the then pretender Muhammad Tajul Masahur that 'the well-meaning Tamborese massacred him shortly after his installation'. A youngster of twelve years then came to the throne, namely Abdul Gaffar (Daeng Mataram), a son of the above-mentioned Abdul Said. For the first decade of the nineteenth century there are few data available. It was the period of Napoleon, the end of the Company, and the English interregnum.

[*Tambora 1815*]

The eruption of Tambora [in 1815] brought a dramatic end to the existence of an unruly kingdom. With reason the Resident Vermeulen said in 1801: 'As for Dompö, if it is united with Tambora it would create the right balance on that island.'

45 From the time of Abdul Rasyid we have a brief description of Tambora by the Dutchman Radermacher (1786): 'a tiny, barren, rocky district, where nothing grows in the mountains but a little paddy, hardly enough to feed its inhabitants, who therefore obtain this from traders in exchange for the products which are found in abundance in the forests and are available in their purest form here, and by which, as well as by horse breeding, the king, nobles and subjects are compensated annually for the barrenness of their country'. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 39.

Dompu

[*Arung Teko*]⁴⁶

Things did not go well with Arung Teko, the Bonese who subjugated the Prince of Dompu [Tambora] [with] his Makassarese party.⁴⁷ When he withdrew to South Celebes in 1700 he discovered a love affair between a certain Daeng Mambani, a grand lord in Soppeng, and his beloved wife, Saena, the mother-in-law of Sultan Mas Banten of Sumbawa. Faithful to the Makassarese attitude of masculine honour he concluded this affair with the kris. Valentijn informs us in detail about the murder and the unrest that came out of this cause célèbre (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 172 s.q.). Arung Teko was expelled in 1702 and his goods were confiscated.⁴⁸ The detailed list that Valentijn provides give us an idea of the kind of lives such lords led; Teko had a retinue of 499 free people and 337 slaves (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 212).

[*Abdul Rasul, before 1666 to after 1701*]⁴⁹

With the contract of 1701, Abdul Rasul, the Sultan of Dompu, disappears for good from the scene.⁵⁰ Abdul Rasul had, like his father-in-law Abdulkhair of Bima, experienced many adventures. He was the son-in-law of the Prince of Bima who was captured off Buton. He participated in the attack on the

46 Held makes a jump in time, going back from the Tambora eruption of 1815 to events around 1700.

47 As noted earlier, Zollinger and after him Held mistakenly believed that Arung Teko supported Tambora while he actually fought this kingdom on behalf of the Company in 1695-1697, side by side with Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Pamolikang.

48 Arung Teko was sentenced to exile in the Cape Colony in a general meeting of the Company allies in Makassar on 10 November 1701. He was dispatched for Batavia in the next year, but the sentence was commuted to exile in Sri Lanka. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, p. 195.

49 Here starts a new section, detailing the history of Dompu.

50 The paucity of the sources makes for some confusion about the names and years of the rulers of Dompu. In 1684 some Bimanese and Makassarese grandees wished to replace the current king and enthrone his half-brother, Bumisoro, whose maternal ancestry ranked higher. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 659. As seen above from Held's text, Abdul Rasul was also called Bumisoro(wo), which would identify him with the junior brother of the king ruling in 1684. The ruler in the late seventeenth century would therefore have been Abdul Rasul's brother and predecessor, Sultan Abdulhamid Ahmad Syah, known from the genealogies. A missive from 19 February 1697 says that a new king was to be appointed in Dompu, meaning that Abdulhamid may have passed away in 1696/97. Raja Tambora, who capitulated in 1697, confessed to have ordered the murder of the Dompu ruler, but not that of Queen Siti Aminah in 1693. Another document from 30 November 1697 says that the legitimate successor, Bumi Sorowo, was appointed ruler. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, V, pp. 828, 838. Local historiography confirms that Sultan Ahmad was assassinated in Kilo by people who did not wish to bow to the Company. 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 100.

Doradus and the subsequent escape, and the enduring conflict with Tambora finally brought him in trouble with the Company. From the relation of Speelman one gets the impression that he was a man of less significance than Abdulkhair, perhaps still a young man in 1667. In the tradition of Dompou he lives on as a warlike prince with the cognomen Manuru Laju (He who passed away in Laju). The people of Laju are supposedly prone to fighting.⁵¹

[*Siti Aminah Ratu Dompou*]

His wife Siti Aminah is known as the 'Queen of Dompou'. She was the daughter of Abdulkhair of Bima and Karaeng Bontojene, the older sister of Hasanuddin, the Sultan of Gowa. She was therefore the aunt of the Sultan of Bima, Jamaluddin, of whom it was initially suspected that he had murdered her when he was 20 years old. Thus she is also a sister of Sultan Nuruddin who was in Batavia as Karaeng Panaragang, but probably not the same person as his sister Daeng Nesaly who visited him there. By 1680 Siti Aminah had such a reputation that it would probably have been mentioned if this was the case.

[*The marital life of Ratu Dompou*]

From the peculiar name Ratu Dompou it can be seen that she was a lady with a history. Certain moments of this history are mentioned in the diary of Gowa, which gives characteristic hints about the sphere in which the higher circles moved in these days. Her date of birth is given as 23 January 1653. Her first marriage, with a certain Daeng Mattiro, was concluded in 10 February 1663. She was then, according to the diary, thirteen years old, but if her date of birth is correctly given only ten. Her first husband was fifteen years old at his marriage. On 2 December 1664, however, she was divorced, although not from Daeng Mattiro, but from Karaeng Lekobodong, whom she had married on 6 December 1663. On 18 July 1665 she gave him a son. At the age of twelve (or fifteen) she was thus already twice divorced and a mother. After she had concluded other marriages that are not mentioned, she married Abdul Rasul, and this must thus have occurred before 1667 since Abdul Rasul is then indicated as 'son-in-law' of Raja Bima. When she

51 According to Leonard Andaya, Dompou appears to have been the only kingdom on Sumbawa which genuinely welcomed the change of overlords in 1667-1669 and sought the friendship of the VOC and Arung Palakka of Bone. Dompou assisted the Company in fighting Makassarese exiles in Sumbawan waters and received a 'robe of honour' from Arung Palakka in 1685, with the approval of the Company. Andaya, *The Heritage of Arung Palakka*, p. 281.

was murdered in 1693 she was 62 years old, according to the diary, an age that does not fit with other data according to which she would have been 41 or 44 years old.

[*Of her mother, Karaeng Bontojene*]

That her married life was not exceptional can be seen from the life story of her mother Karaeng Bontojene. When she was eighteen she married Abdulkhair of Bima, with whom she had three daughters and one son. After nine years she apparently had had enough of Bima and on 8 December 1655 she returned to her birthplace, Makassar, where she gave birth to a daughter on 11 November 1656. For Abdulkhair that provided reason to divorce her, which he did on 27 March 1658. Apparently, Abdulkhair was not like Arung Teko, since she once again married Karaeng Jarannika on 20 June 1658, the man who fought with her later son-in-law Abdul Rasul against Raja Tambora after her death, and who was probably the father of her last daughter. The King of Bima remarried her (step-)mother, the widow of Sultan Muhammad Sa'id of Gowa. In 1662 she was banished from Makassar for unknown reasons but in the same year married Mas Cini, the Prince of Sumbawa, whom she divorced within four months. In 1655 [1665] she was divorced again, this time from her second husband, Karaeng Jarannika, whom she must have married anew in the meantime.⁵² She passed away in 1669 in the age 41.

[*Her sister Karaeng Bontomatene*]

Her younger sister Karaeng Bontomatene was also a lady of the world. 'A playful and quickly drunk animal' says Speelman, who had an eye for such things (De Graaf, *Geschiedenis*, p. 163). Her father was not too happy with her marriage with Harun Arrasyid, the Prince of Tallo', since he realized that he could have a better son-in-law than a Makassarese grandee. From the troubles that Harun Arrasyid caused in East Sumbawa in the years 1673/74 it appears that Abdulkhair had the right idea. She had great influence on Harun Arrasyid and she went with him when the Makassarese grandees had to humble themselves before the general and the council. Speelman, who anticipated that this couple would not do much good in Bima, wished 'to help the King of Tallo' get rid of that ill-tempered wife in one way or another'.

⁵² The right date is 30 January 1665, as seen from the court diary of Makassar. Cummings, *The Makassar Annals*, p. 97.

[*Consequences of the murder*]

The rumour-breeding murder of Siti Aminah had enduring consequences. Jamaluddin of Bima was blamed for it, seemingly falsely, and finally 'passed away in prison from a broken heart' at age 23, as Valentijn remarks (Valentijn, III, 2, p. 225). Ligtoet notes the date of the murder in the diary of Gowa: 'The kings of Bima and Dompu blamed this murder on each other; however, according to the general feeling of the princes of Celebes Bima was the guilty party.' The Prince of Tambora was eventually pointed out as the true culprit, whence troubles about the succession to the throne of that kingdom emanated.

[*Usman, after 1701-1727*]

The troubles in Dompu, which were caused by a certain Daeng Talolo, were also connected to this murder. This Daeng Talolo was, according to Dompunese information, a son of Abdul Rasul's older sister, who was married to a certain Bekasi, father's brother's son of Abdul Rasul, from the lineage of the Raja Bicara. Daeng Talolo was therefore a cousin of Usman (Mawaa Parabo), the son of Abdul Rasul, who sat on the throne of Dompu as his successor until 1727.⁵³

[*Unrest caused by Daeng Talolo, 1718-1726*]

I found a relation in Dompu about the disturbances caused by Daeng Talolo that seems to have been copied from an older source. Although it is so confused that I can only give a paraphrase and no translation, it is worth the effort to render it since it provides a view of the conditions at the time. According to Van der Velde, Daeng Talolo was supported by the Makassarese and the Bimanese people and was incited by Hasanuddin, then the Sultan of Bima. This accords with the Dompunese relation, where one can read that the Sultan of Bima was slow to offer help to its 'ally' in Dompu although the resident in Bima urged him to do so. That was because in that way 'the issue of my father, who passed away in the lap of the Company, is evoked again' (*sebab membangkitan beta punya bapa yang hilang didalam pangkuan Kompeni di Betawi itu*).

53 In the Dutch sources he is known by the Makassarese name Daeng Manambung, succeeding to the throne in 1718. Local historiography says that Abdul Rasul was a wise and warlike ruler who waged war against Makassar (meaning the raiding *karaengs*?) and kept his residence in Laju. He was eventually murdered. In this version, his son, Usman's elder brother Ahmad Syah, ruled for a very short time before he was murdered in Kambu and was succeeded by Usman. 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 100. However, there is no trace of Ahmad Syah in the VOC records, which suggest that Daeng Manambung succeeded directly after Abdul Rasul.

The relation starts in 1718 with a meeting of the Bimanese state grandees where a certain Siraddunia, sent by the prince and the Raja Bicara of Dompou, indicates that he has been hired by followers of Daeng Talolo in order to murder the Prince of Dompou and set his palace on fire. Five days later there is a second meeting, again in the palace of Tureli Donggo, where a state grandee from Dompou, Tureli Dompou, is urged to provide further explanations about conditions there. It appears that Dompou is in a state of emergency caused by Daeng Talolo, who also makes visits to Bima. As they say in Bima, however, this is innocent, since Daeng Talolo is merely treated there because he is '*gila*'. It is difficult to impede him from looking for medical help. So, there is no reason to put the blame on the Sultan of Bima, and one may thus wait until he is back after his vacation (*sekembalinya Raja Bima dari bermain*).

This discussion is relevant because of a question from the *fettor*,⁵⁴ who is worried about the accounts according to which Daeng Talolo has been enthroned as prince. This is naturally a foreign issue that Raja Bima cannot interfere in since it is not he but the Dompunese who must choose their prince.

Less than a month later there is a new meeting of the Bimanese state grandees, this time headed by Raja Bima himself, where an answer can be given to the viewpoints of the *fettor*, Abram Walbur. The Tureli Donggo and His Majesty have been ill. The affair has now reached more serious proportions since Raja Bima plans to summon Daeng Talolo himself to Bima for a conversation. Due to this the *fettor* is seemingly so scared that he has called on the allies (Tambora, Sanggar and Papekat) to defend the trade post in Bima. That is something for which the *fettor* himself has to take the consequences, since Bima naturally cannot find it acceptable that armed troops from other kingdoms gather on its territory. After all, Bima has never not been capable of protecting the trading post.

That may well be, admits the resident, but during the five years that he has spent in Bima not much of this could be seen. Three soldiers passed away and Raja Bima did not replace them. That is an enormous accusation, answers the sultan, the like of which would never have been made by the former *fettor* and was one that in any case should have been presented in a polite way. Pardon me, says the resident, I did not know that I could bring this forward in a polite way.

54 A word derived from the Portuguese word *feitor* (overseer). In some societies in eastern Indonesia it was used for the regent (main minister) of a realm, or for regional lords under the king. In this case it was another name for the Dutch resident in Bima.

Two days later: new deliberation, still about the summoning of the allies to Bima. The resident declares that he will go to Bolo in order to hold the auxiliaries back there. The Bimanese themselves have, however, taken their measures. And the *fettor* now actually has a letter from the governor in Makassar, saying that he can take violent action against Daeng Talolo if needed.

Two day later again: Things are not at their best in Dompou, says the *fettor*, since the Sultan of Dompou is at a loss. That could result in a desperate life-or-death fight between the two parties. As Bima points out, the sending of a commission of investigation there would be of little use, since the members of an earlier commission were beaten by Daeng Talolo, and those in another one bringing rice were killed.

Eight days later: Now the situation in Dompou is truly critical, and food-stuff has to be brought in. As Raja Bima does not possess this, the *fettor* himself shall make it available. The following day Tureli Woha goes with an armed party and 100 *gantang* of rice to Dompou, arriving five days later.

After views about how to bring Daeng Talolo to Makassar had been exchanged, a conference was held a week later at the *istana* where the resident was present in person, where he read a letter that he had received from the governor, demanding that Daeng Talolo be brought to justice, if necessary by violent means. In Makassar (but not in Bima) there was a general deliberation among all the overseas princes to decide the question of guilt. Raja Bima opposed this since he will not interfere in the political affairs of another kingdom. In a meeting four days later where the resident was likewise present in person, the sultan again insisted that the Dompunese have to regulate their own affairs and that it was Raja Dompou himself who first resorted to violence. The resident again answers that this is how the governor has decided. Four days later Bumi Waworada and Bumi Jara Nggampo come back from Dompou, explaining that Raja Dompou does not understand from the letter sent to him whether he has to appear in Makassar, too, but that in any case he had no desire to do so. Thus ends the relation.⁵⁵

55 A few additional details of the Daeng Talolo affair are known from VOC sources. In 1720 we hear that the King of Dompou did not appear in Makassar as planned, since one of his grandees, Daeng Talolo, had fled, while some of his subjects had voted with their feet and gone to Bima. At this time the grandees of the kingdom wished to replace Usman with Daeng Talolo. The issue was to be discussed by all the Sumbawan rulers in Bima. In a meeting in 1721, Usman defended his cause so well that the VOC found no reason to depose him, which had been requested by the vizier and Jeneli Huu. Rebels against the king were to be chastised with the arms. The vizier and Jeneli Huu were subsequently killed by Bimanese troops, who also captured 52 followers

[*Daeng Talolo sentenced to death, 1726*]

One can see how Raja Bima on the one hand encouraged Daeng Talolo and on the other hand was afraid of supporting him too openly. This led to a complicated game of political negotiation, from which it is clear that the resident himself did not have any power to undertake anything that lay outside the sphere covered by the contracts. All these discussions, moreover, went according to the protocol: the *syahbandar* and the Bumi Parisi transferred the opinions of the two parties. The resident was only present in person at two meetings, although the protocol was observed there, too, so that the sultan forbade anyone to speak to the resident other than via the *syahbandar*.

Hasanuddin has probably made further attempts to save Daeng Talolo. The *Daghregister* of Batavia mentions that an embassy came from Bima on 7 December 1724 with letters of introduction from the sultan 'since it is the first time that the envoys from Your Noble Highness's brother Raja Bima are to enter Batavia'. When the *Daghregister* has been completely edited and analyzed one may decide what this embassy had in mind.

The final scene of this drama takes us to Makassar again, where the kings of Bima, Dompou, Tambora and Pekat actually were present, at least at some of the meetings since they seem to have been absent at the first one on 5 December 1726. For Daeng Talolo this meant 'the sentence of death, expressed through the general consent of the allies'.⁵⁶

[*Samsuddin II, 1727-1732*]

It is unlikely that Usman, the King of Dompou, lived to see the sentence carried out since he passed away in Makassar four days before the last meeting and was succeeded by his son Samsuddin Abdul Yusuf (Mawaa Sampela), who governed from 1727 to 1732.

and turned them into slaves. In 1724 Daeng Talolo left Makassar for Sumbawa, having promised to report to the resident in Bima. However, he broke his promise and gathered up men to fight Usman, who was wounded by a musket bullet in the battle. The other allied troops arrived in time to save him. Daeng Talolo was defeated in battle by a Tamborese troop. The VOC ordered to send him over to Makassar together with the grandee Bumi Tarupa, who had previously besieged the royal residence but been forced to beat a retreat. *Generale missiven*, VII, pp. 488, 555, 716-717.

56 A VOC missive from January 1726 informs us that Daeng Talolo sent a letter to Makassar, signed by many grantees, with a request that he may be enthroned as King of Dompou. However, Usman passed away on 19 January 1727 and was duly succeeded by his son, Abdul Yusuf (Samsuddin II). The allied rulers sentenced Daeng Talolo to death and he was brought to his homeland to be executed. Two hundred followers of the prince refused to return to Dompou and looked for protection with the King of Gowa. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VIII, pp. 34, 133.

If relations with Bima improved after that is not known; relations with Tambora were strained until the end.

[*Jamaluddin, 1732*]

As Samsuddin passed away unmarried after a short reign he was succeeded by his brother Jamaluddin, who was dethroned in the same year because of devious behaviour and escaped to Sumbawa, whose king reacted little (or, generally speaking, not at all) at the behest of the Company to have the refugee extradited.⁵⁷

[*Abdul Kahar, 1732-1749*]

The succession was contested between a certain Ali Akbar, on one side and the regent Daeng Mamu on the other; he was a sister's son of Abdul Rasul and thus a cousin of Usman who passed away in 1727. Daeng Mamu seems to have had the support of 'all the estates of the kingdom' but not from all the people, of which a 'good number' went to Makassar.⁵⁸ Daeng Mamu was chosen as sultan by the state grandees under the name Abdul Kahar and appeared with his rival in Makassar in November 1732, but it was not until 30 April 1733 that he was confirmed in his dignity as prince of 'that confused kingdom', and then with the regulation that the princely dignity would fall on the lineage of Ali Akbar after him⁵⁹ (*Corpus*, V, p. 150).

57 VOC sources say that the king-elect Jamaluddin or Kamaloedin feared for his discontented subjects and therefore fled to West Sumbawa, while Abdul Kahar was appointed as the first minister (*rijksbestierder*). The succession resulted in great turbulence in Dompou, and some people fled to Makassar. However, the Company did not allow them to settle there with wives and children, since it had already made a contract with the new ruler, Abdul Kahar. Meanwhile the accessible sappan forests in Dompou were depleted through over-logging. Van Goor, *Generale missiven*, IX, pp. 469, 570.

58 Local historiography has it that the future sultan, Abdul Kahar, was the son of a Makassarese from Kendari (south-eastern Sulawesi) and was the leader of a Makassarese force which attacked Dompou. After he acquired power he renamed the palace at Bata and called it 'Kendari' (Kendai-I), since its inhabitants were largely from that place. South of the royal kampung some land was given to the Tondano people who founded Kampung Ndano. Other ethnic groups who were allotted land were the Bugis in Bada, people of Javanese origin in Karijawa and Balinese in Kampung Bali. 'Latar belakang sejarah', pp. 100-101.

59 This ruler tried to stand out as a good ally of the VOC, as seen from a letter to the governor in Makassar in 1740 where he warned that the anti-Dutch pirate Kare Patasa' was expected to arrive in East Sumbawa with more than 30 ships. VOC 2409, f. 636. Kare Patasa' was finally killed in Tambora in 1746. Schoonevelt-Oosterling, *Generale missiven*, XI, p. 516.

[*Achmad, 1749-1765*]

The reign of Abdul Kahar seemingly proceeded well, apart from the conflict with Tambora that was concluded through mediation of the Company. At any rate he stepped down due to his advanced age in 1749, to the benefit of his nephew Achmad (Manuru Kambu). Initially it seems to have went well with Achmad too, for in 1750 he and his brother Abdul Kadir (Tureli Huu) were, according to Van der Velde, bestowed with a banner and 22 guns by the Company because of their proven fidelity. What the proof of fidelity was like is not known to me. Perhaps they assisted the Company with auxiliaries for a military undertaking. However, in 1760 Blok mentions that various subjects left the kingdom as a consequence of ill conditions that had arisen through conflicts between the two brothers. Achmad died in Kambu when he withdrew there after a visit to Makassar and was succeeded by his brother Abdul Kadir, who judging from his cognomen Mawaa Alus (the Good) did not perform too badly.⁶⁰

[*Abdul Kadir, 1765-1774*]

Of Abdul Kadir we know that he offered much needed assistance to Resident Bakkers in 1766, when those in Bima ran into trouble through the unexpected appearance there of the Sultan of Gowa. Perhaps this has a connection with the story that Governor Boelen strengthened the position of Dompu in 1770 as a counterweight against Makassar.

[*Abdurrachman, 1774-1787*]

He was succeeded by his son Abdurrachman about whom we find the most sombre annotation (in the charter of appointment of his successor): 'who had made the governance of the kingdom unworthy through his accession'. He was deposed in 1787. The publication of political contracts and treaties in the *Corpus Diplomaticum* goes no further than the year 1752.⁶¹

60 Achmad signed the new contract with the Company on 9 February 1765, as did the other five Sumbawan kings. In paragraph 20 the King of Dompu promises to restore the calm in his kingdom through the restoration of his brother, Abdul Kadir, as the Jeneli Huu and restore all the property he had appropriated due to the trouble. He must have passed away shortly after the conclusion of the contract. The contract also stipulated a strict Company monopoly on trade and contacts with the outer world. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 130.

61 From Bimanese records it is known that a conflict flared up between Dompu and Sumbawa Proper in November 1777. Dompu was initially supported by Bima, which sent auxiliaries. However, early next year the VOC authorities concluded that Dompu was the culprit. By that time 1,077 houses had been burnt in Dompu, 195 people had been killed, and 10,970 cattle had been taken. After Sumbawa had suffered defeat on Dompu territory, peace talks were opened, mediated by the Company. The brief conflict was thereby ended. Chambert-Loir, *Iman dan*

[*Abdul Wahab, 1787-1793*]

Then followed the sultan whose name still lives on in the memory of the Dompunese as a powerful prince: Abdul Wahab with the cognomen Mawaa Cau, which apparently means that he acted according to his pleasure (*cau*)⁶². He was the man who assisted in halting the invading Balinese in West Sumbawa in 1788.⁶³ In Dompu a silver shoulder piece is still proudly shown that was bestowed upon him at the occasion as an acknowledgment of honour, which reads: 'This ring-collar is bestowed upon His Highness by Mr. Frederik Alexander Meurer on the occasion when the King of Dompoe behaved as a brave ally of the Noble Company under His Excellence's command, in the most recent Sumbawan war in 1788.' During this campaign Abdul Wahab lost his personal goods and a part of the state heirlooms through a fire, for which he later got compensation. As Amaral-Jeneral (the title of honour that was bestowed on him) he lives on in tradition.

[*Abdurrachman, 1793-1797*]

I have access only to confused accounts about subsequent events, from which I make the following reconstruction. Before his death Abdul Wahab, ignoring the Company, declared that his son Daeng I Lauw must be his successor, but that wish was not fulfilled. To the displeasure of the resident, however, Abdurrachman (Daeng Maleongi) was restored to the throne, but only under the condition that he would be succeeded by Daeng I Lauw, who settled in Bima.

[*Abdullah, 1798-1799*]

In 1797, however, Daeng I Lauw was not the king but rather the son of Abdurrachman, called Abdullah. During his short period of governance there was nevertheless a reign (interregnum?) by his brother Yakub, who also had the same mother, though she did not belong to the highest social estate (she was from *dari* Jara Ngoco).

diplomasi, p. 50; Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 13. Historiographical tradition, as rendered in the manuscript 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 101, says that Abdurrachman carried out an expedition to Kempo (in Dompu territory) during which he fell ill and died. He was buried in Pada Mara. The exact circumstances of this conflict are not known, but two years later a Bimanese court diary records Sumbawans fighting against Kempo. Chambert-Loir, *Iman dan diplomasi*, p. 91.

62 Thus, indicating that he was a strong-willed ruler, in a positive sense.

63 The details of this conflict are still to be investigated. According to local tradition, as related by the manuscript 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 101, Sultan Abdul Wahab led the fight against the Sumbawa Kingdom in 1023 (1615 AD!) and was victorious, acquiring a drum as spoil. As apparent from other sources, he fought Sumbawan rebels assisted by the Wajorese and Balinese. Chambert-Loir, *Iman dan diplomasi*, pp. 50, 90-93.

[*Yakub, 1799*]

About Sultan Yakub the story goes that he was mentally ill and demanded the craziest things from his subjects. In any case, he was taken in custody through the mediation of the Company and put in internment in Sape.

[*Zainalabidin, 1799-1805*]

Then followed in 1799 a Sultan Zainalabidin in whom we might recognize the above-mentioned Daeng I Lauw.⁶⁴ This sultan was not generally acknowledged for in 1803 we find mention of an uprising against the king that was put down by the resident. The otherwise quite reliable king-list available in Dompou does not mention either a Zainalabidin or a Daeng I Lauw. Oral information mentions very vaguely a certain Bali Bunga (*bunga*, possibly from *buang*, exiled), who would have flourished at the same time as his brother but who ruled only part of the kingdom settled at Doro Tarei. This agreement would have been concluded since he had complained in Makassar that he had not become a king, but later he was murdered at the instigation of his brother. It is very much the question whether in this case the historical memory, which is not based on concrete data, goes that far back in time.

[*Daeng I Lauw = Zainalabidin*]

Resident Vermeulen, who found it to be a matter of prestige for the Company that the treaty about the succession made with Abdul Wahab in 1792 was really fulfilled, describes Daeng I Lauw as 'a man of ordered manners, very active and not with a great mind, but courageous.' Since we know that Abdullah was followed by a Zainalabidin in 1799, who again was followed by Tajularifin in 1805, while Vermeulen wrote his relation in 1801, Daeng I Lauw should be the same as Zainalabidin, although the existing Dompunese king-list does not mention this sultan. It is possible that Zainalabidin has been excluded intentionally since he had offspring who could have claimed the princely dignity. The present princes descend in a straight line along the junior branch from Abdul Wahab. There are still people in Dompou who say

64 This supposition is confirmed by archival materials. A Dutch missive from 1798 says that an unnamed King of Dompou passed away on 4 May 1798. In the next year another relates that Daeng I Lauwt, alias Muhammad Zainalabidin, had been appointed heir to the throne back in 1792. However, a certain Daeng Pabetta made himself master of the kingdom in 1798. At the time of writing the usurper had been captured and Daeng I Lauwt was finally enthroned. In the same period Tambora took the opportunity to appropriate the Dompunese *negeri* Toelo Boero. Dompou asked the Dutch to mediate in order to get it back. Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen, 2.01.27.02, No. 27, missives 24 July 1798 and 19 July 1799.

that they could make a claim based on their descent from Abdul Wahab's older brother. There is also a possibility that Daeng I Lauw was the oldest son of Abdul Wahab but not from the first or noblest consort, and that exactly for that reason did he wish to establish that Daeng I Lauw would succeed him in 1792. Given the uprising in 1804, it can be concluded that there were objections against Daeng I Lauw, whatever they may have been based on.

[*Muhammad Tajularifin, 1806-1809*]

Then follows a sultan whose name once again appears in the king-list and of whose installation we have a detailed account that will be spoken of more below: Muhammad Tajularifin, whose reign can be determined between 1806 and 1809.⁶⁵ I have an interesting relation about him that I will render in full, like the preceding one.

[*Muslim feast days, 1809*]

In the year Ba, Anno Hegira 1224 (= 1809 AD), on Friday 12 Rabi'ul Awal, His Majesty Sultan Dompu Muhammad Tajularifin convened with his ministers and councillors of the Sultanate of Dompu. Namely, in the first place, Musa, regent of Dompu. Furthermore Jeneli Adu, La Sumba; Jeneli Huu who is also *kadi*, Daeng Manuangi; Jeneli Dea, Daeng Manai; Jeneli Kilo, Daeng Malaba with the cognomen Abdul Tifu; Bumi Luma Rasanae, Abdul Hamid Daeng Mangali; Bumi Lumi Dea, Abdul Tiful Habir; Jeneli Tompo, Wau Daeng Masisi. Furthermore, fourteen persons from the groups of Bumi and Bumi Nggeko; sixteen persons from the *hukum*. Concerning the grand Maulid feast of the kingdom it was then decided by all Jeneli, Tureli and Bumi Nae, including the person of the *hukum*, to observe the four religious feasts of the year. Namely, twice the Maulid and twice the great feast. Every Jeneli and Tureli who fails to live up to this agreement in any respect without previous knowledge of the Bumi shall be fined with five reals; and a Bumi with ten Suku. Such was the conclusion then.

One can see from this account that the last remains of the pre-Muslim feasts of state were only officially eliminated in the early nineteenth century. Enough elements of these feasts persisted for so long that much later people were able to give quite a clear image of it from memory and hearsay.

65 Interestingly, his mother, thus the wife of Abdul Wahab, was a Balinese woman known as I Puteri from Ompu Mana. 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 101.

Islam supplied the royal council, from old also a religious institution, with increasingly more religious power of general, supra-societal origins. The official beginning dates to the middle of the seventeenth century when the *hukum* of Bima was installed. In the early nineteenth century the entire ceremony, the political instrument in which the people were able to express themselves, was thus galvanized.

4 The Sumbawan kingdoms under VOC suzerainty (2)

The Sumbawa Kingdom

[*West Sumbawa*]

It is even more difficult to describe the history of the kingdoms in the west than the situation in East Sumbawa. Firstly, I have mostly devoted attention to the kingdoms in East Sumbawa, so that I cannot handle more detailed ethnographic data that could throw light over the few accounts that we possess. Secondly, the Dutch contacts with West Sumbawa were not that close. Thirdly, West Sumbawa tended to go its own way. It was more oriented towards intercourse with Banjarmasin, Lombok, Bali and so on, due to its geographical location. One should consider that the term West Sumbawa is vaguer than East Sumbawa. About the mutual relations between the various smaller geographical units nothing is known to me, although it is certain that, for example, Taliwang, itself consisting of the three units Taliwang, Jarewe and Serang (Setelok), had a certain measure of independence until the beginning of this century.¹ The accounts, in the first place those from olden times, also give the impression that the Sultan of Sumbawa, although prince of a powerful kingdom, was more dependent on his state grandees than the princes of the east.²

1 Lalu Manca mentions fifteen petty kingdoms in West Sumbawa in old times: Dewa Mas Kuning's kingdom in Selessek (Ropang), Datu Naga's kingdom in Petonang (Ropang), Airenung (Moyo Hulu), Dewa Awan Kuning's kingdom in Sampar (Moyo Hulu), Perumpak close to Pernak (Moyo Hulu), Gunung Setia (Sumbawa), Gunung Galesa (Moyo Hilir), Tangko (Empang), Kolong (Pelampang), Ngali (Lape), Dongan (Lape), Hutan (Utan), Serang (Setelok), Taliwang and Jarewe. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 23-24.

2 As a matter of fact, West Sumbawa was characterized by a strong aristocracy which maintained control over the agricultural land, a situation that persisted until after the independence of Indonesia. Compared to East Sumbawa the kingdom was more like a federation with three autonomous vassals or *kamutar*: Taliwang, Serang and Jarewe. (Selaparang on Lombok was claimed to have been a fourth *kamutar* in the early days.) Central power in Sumbawa was allegedly more supported by cultural capital, namely the royal *pusaka* hoard, than any administrative authority. On the other hand, the power of the sultan, or Datu Semawa, was supported by the religious organization of the realm. A network of ulemas evolved in the kingdom which organized the spiritual life of the population under royal auspices. Like in many premodern societies, religion and statecraft supported each other. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I, pp. 680-681; Ligtvoet, 'Aanteekeningen betreffende den economischen toestand en de ethnographie van het rijk van Sumbawa', p. 555.

[*East and West Sumbawa*]

The most important trait in the later history of Sumbawa is the falling-out with the Balinese, who subjugated all of Lombok under their power in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and could only be held back from the western coast of the Island of Sumbawa in the end with difficulty. Any particularly close cultural ties with East Sumbawa did not exist in the past during the period that we can survey. Different languages were spoken in the east and the west. There were – self-evidently, one has to say – border conflicts with Dompu, namely over the district of Ampang, where Bomi Soro found a stronghold in the last years of the seventeenth century. The relations with the Dutch were clearly characterized by Holsteyn with the meaningful name Suckelenburg that he gave to the *pagger* inside which he sheltered during his brief stay there.

[*Stronghold for Makassarese emigrants*]

Naturally, West Sumbawa was an obvious stronghold for the malcontent Makassarese. Under Daeng Tellolo they joined forces here together with Sumbawans and Banjarese in the years 1672/73, in order to support Harun Arrasyid in the conflict with his father-in-law. The Makassarese played a role in the struggle against the Balinese: in the fighting on Lombok in 1700 Karaeng Jarannika (known to us as a brother-in-arms of Raja Dompu), his son Karaeng Bontokeke and Karaeng Bontolangkasa' were slain. In 1718 the reputed son and namesake of Karaeng Bontolangkasa' fled to Sumbawa, having to leave Makassar after the murder of a daughter of the sultan there. In Sumbawa he was married to Karaeng Bontowa, daughter of the Sultan Mas Madina. In 1723 he was wounded again in the struggle on Lombok. Finally, he assembled such a large force that he forced, weapon in hand, the Sultan of Gowa himself, Sirajuddin, to step down in 1735, though he passed away in 1739 from wounds received when fighting the Dutch. The Makassarese were not always gentle guests, as apparent from the behaviour of the above-mentioned Karaeng Pamolikang, who demonstrated his dissatisfaction with the Sumbawans by raiding them. Sumbawa was not just watching the conflicts between the Makassarese and the Dutch. Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin, who was married to Karaeng Bontowa, the former wife of Karaeng Bontolangkasa', supported the Makassarese malcontents in 1735 at the instigation of his wife, who could apparently not forget her first husband. Kaharuddin was pardoned by the Company in 1748 for his support. It seems that the decrease of Gowa's glory in the second half of the eighteenth century lessened the contacts with Sumbawa, as regards both

marriage relationships and political interest, but the relation was never actually broken.

[Islam and Hinduism on Lombok, sixteenth century]

On Lombok the Balinese had pressed on so far that they ravaged Selaparang in 1692. This is the place where the Prince of Lombok migrated one century previously in order to escape the encroaching power of Islam, which had been brought from Java.³ With his flight to Selaparang the prince did not come out much better, since Islam now penetrated from the east, so that he was pressed from both sides. Even concessions did not help Selaparang since the Hindu Balinese proceeded to conquer the by now islamized East Lombok.⁴ They thereby clashed with the Muslim Sumbawans who watched the struggle on Lombok as either allies or suzerains. Since so many different interests were in conflict with each other it is difficult to establish the correct course of events. The persons that played a role in these conflicts were not always mentioned by their names but rather by their titles.

[Mas Madina, 1701-1723]

Mas Madina reigned in 1701-1723 as the successor of Mas Banten, the replacement of the youthful Mas Gowa. He was known as Datu Taliwang, though it is not known if Mas Madina was indeed Prince of Taliwang or if was just called that.⁵ His father Mas Banten abdicated in 1701 for unknown reasons;

3 In fact, the early history of the Sasak Kingdom of Selaparang is shrouded in mystery. Some local genealogies derive the royal lines of Selaparang, Langko and Praya from the Hindu-Javanese figure Tunggul Ametung – but there are several variants. Islam supposedly arrived with the priestly lord of Giri on Java, presumably in the sixteenth century. The same lord of Giri visited Sumbawa and Bima on one of his missionary expeditions. Pangarsa, 'Les mosquées de Lombok', pp. 75-76, 90.

4 According to scattered European data Lombok, or parts thereof, was counted under the Balinese King of Gelgel in 1603 and 1656. Selaparang sought the protection of Makassar at some point before 1636. At the time when the Banjarese prince Subangsa married two daughters of the Raja of Selaparang in c. 1660/65, there were apparently close ties between Selaparang and Sumbawa. A Balinese invasion of Lombok is recorded in 1676, and in 1678 Selaparang was ravaged by the invaders. This may merely have been a foray, for the conquest was repeated in 1692. The Raja of Selaparang at this time, Raden Munda, was an uncle of the Sumbawan ruler Mas Banten. The Sumbawan vassal ruler Raja Taliwang led a relief force, but it was defeated by the Balinese troops and had to withdraw. The matter was reported to the Dutch in Makassar who, however, decided not to interfere; Lombok was outside its sphere of interest and was not mentioned in the Bungaya Treaty of 1667. In 1697 the raja fled to Java after having tried to stave off the Balinese for six long years. Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 37-38, 53-54, 64.

5 Another Raja Taliwang strove to grab power from Mas Madina in 1713, right after the demise of his abdicated father, Mas Gowa. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 9.

he is often mentioned as Datu Loka (The Old Prince) in the diary of Gowa, for example, in connection with marriage contracts.⁶

[*Struggle with Bali, until 1723*]

Mas Madina fell in the struggle with the Balinese on Lombok, together with his brother,⁷ in the year 1723, in the same battle where his son-in-law Karaeng Bontolangkasa' was wounded.⁸

[*Muhammad Harunarrasyid, 1723-1725*]

Afterwards a certain Muhammad Harunarrasyid reigned, who passed away two years later according to the diary of Gowa, and was succeeded by Jalaluddin, who was called Datu Taliwang.⁹

6 Indigenous historical tradition knows him as Sultan Harunarrasyid. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 93. In December 1701 Mas Banten spoke with the governor of Makassar about the reasons for his abdication. When he married the Tallo' princess Karaeng ri Tanisanga (1684), Arung Palakka requested that he would turn his kingdom over to the child if it was a son; and also that the son would marry a daughter of his heir, La Patau. Datu Loka eventually backed out from the marriage deal due to the costs involved, which gave the princely pirates Karaeng Jarannika and Karaeng Bontolangkasa' a pretext to ravage Sumbawa around 1700. Mas Banten then became more careful and abdicated his throne to his son. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 16.

7 According to Sumbawan historiography, this brother was Dewa Maja Jereweh. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 114.

8 Sumbawan historical tradition knows Mas Madina by the name Sultan Jalaluddin Muhammad Syah. He stays for a few years in South Sulawesi. When he returns he meets with a *syekh* who inspires him to wage the holy war against the heathen Balinese who exercise suzerainty over Selaparang. In this moment the people of Selaparang have revolted and wish to throw off the yoke of Karangasem. The sultan gathers a large army, filling seven *sawah* fields and, augmented by a Bugis attachment, crosses over to Lombok. The Raja of Selaparang, however, fights on the Balinese side. After two years of fighting a decisive battle takes place where the sultan is hit in the chest by a javelin and is killed. His named successor is a nephew, Datu Dollah, son of Sultan Bima. He leads an expedition of relief to Selaparang and presses on with the enterprise. Selaparang is on the verge of surrender when the nobles Datu Taliwang and Dea Ran Kali Kuasa grow tired of the war, take Datu Dollah prisoner and drown him. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 109-115. Dutch sources merely say that Mas Madina, in spite of a famine that ravages his kingdom, sets out on an expedition to win back Selaparang, egged by the Makassarese adventurer Karaeng Bontolangkasa', who arrives at Sumbawa in 1723. However, he is killed by the Balinese together with a thousand men. The rest, some 7,000 to 8,000 troops, flee helter-skelter. VOC 2029, f. 11-2.

9 From the VOC records it appears that Mas Madina fell in the early days of 1725, since a report of the event reached the court of Gowa on 12 February in that year, and is referred to in a report by the governor in Makassar on 15 May 1725. Muhammad Harunarrasyid is considered the same person as Mas Madina. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 18. In fact, a brother of the slain sultan, Raja Tua Datu Balo Sawo, was briefly made ruler or regent after the calamitous

[*Muhammad Kaharuddin, 1731-1758*]

Jalaluddin was killed by a gunpowder explosion in his palace in 1731, an accident that aroused much consternation in these days.¹⁰ Then followed Muhammad Kaharuddin, also called Mappa Susu, who was pardoned by the Company in 1748 for the support that he gave, at the instigation of his wife, to Karaeng Bontolangkasa' in his rash quest for power in Gowa in 1735.¹¹

[*Her [Karaeng Bontowa's] marriage in 1733*]

That Makassar made such efforts to stop the marriage between Karaeng Bontowa [the daughter of Mas Madina] and Muhammad Kaharuddin would not just have been due to the undesirable family alliance. Such marriages were often concluded in Bima as well as Sumbawa without the Company being able to do anything about it. The Governor of Makassar finally had to ... write to Batavia 'that they had used all means to advise against the referred marriage, and most seriously pleaded the case, that petty potentate was still not to be dissuaded from his enterprise, and due to that the marriage was consented to.' It was concluded in 1733 and Karaeng Bontowa was then 29 years old.

Lombok adventure. He passed away on 25 August 1725. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 115, 119; Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 18, 38;

10 Sumbawan historical tradition has it that Datu Dollah, when about to be drowned by Datu Taliwang, utters a prophecy: As I shall die in water, Datu Taliwang shall succumb in a sea of fire. Datu Taliwang returns to Sumbawa where Raja Tua is already dead. He is appointed as ruler without any further ado, but is constantly troubled by the prophecy about his own death. One night a Bonese palace artisan called Kabar falls asleep without putting out an oil lamp, and a conflagration consumes the palace and spreads to the houses outside the compound. Datu Taliwang thus finds his death in a 'sea of fire', an event recorded as taking place on 5 April 1731 in a Dutch source. Kabar is executed for his fatal negligence. The Sumbawan account does not literally speak of a gunpowder explosion. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 119-120. According to a VOC report (VOC 2192), 25 persons in his household were killed with him in the explosion.

11 According to an indigenous account Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin was the son of Dewa Maja Jereweh (Jarewe), the brother of Mas Madina. Not much is said about his long reign, but Taliwang tried to break loose from the kingdom and refused to send tribute. Taliwang was therefore attacked by Minister Ranga Mele Senap and defeated. A new vassal, Gusti Amin from the royal stock of Banjarmasin, was appointed Datu Taliwang. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 121. A similar event is mentioned in a VOC source from 1739 (VOC 2501, f. 411-412): Taliwang rebelled against Sumbawa, whose king sent troops to bring it to obedience. In 1740 the ruler of Taliwang, Raden Dipati, was defeated by the Sumbawan king and sought assistance among the Balinese. VOC 8214, f. 621. The Dutch were told that Raden Dipati had no royal blood in his veins and was not acceptable as sultan, but nevertheless maintained ambitions to take over the Sumbawa Kingdom. VOC 8213, f. 369-370.

[*Consolidation of Balinese power over Lombok, 1738-1740*]

During his reign we once again hear about the rise of Balinese power that had been increasingly strengthened in East Lombok since 1692. According to Zollinger this power was established for good between 1738 and 1740. How this happened is not clear. Perhaps Bali made use of Kaharuddin's strategic error to give assistance to Karaeng Bontolangkasa' in his quest for power in Gowa. That Sumbawans were fighting on Lombok in these years is not known to me.¹²

It is also not always clear on which side the Princes of Selaparang stood themselves, on that of the Balinese or the Sumbawans. The contract concluded with Sumbawa in 1674 was arranged with a certain Nene Djoura Saparang, in which one might recognize Selaparang (*Corpus*, II, p. 493n2). In 1675 the regents of Selaparang promised to bring a certain deliverance 'as a pledge for many faults committed by them against their king'. If the King of Sumbawa is alluded to it is strange that the agreement mentions that a bail was given before the dispatch of this deliverance. In 1648, according to the diary [of Gowa], the son of the Prince of Selaparang, a certain Mas Pamayan, was made Prince of Sumbawa. Later, too, it is often difficult to determine on which side local power-holders in Sumbawa actually stood.

12 The full course of this incredibly convoluted story is not known, but a few details have survived in the Dutch archives. The *arungmatoa* or ruler of Wajo', Arung Singkang, cooperated with the Makassarese prince Karaeng Bontolangkasa' to conquer Gowa and Makassar and expel the Dutch in 1736-1739. The Wajorese people who resided in Sumbawa brought over munitions to their brethren in South Sulawesi. The enterprise failed in the end and Karaeng Bontolangkasa' died of his wounds. In the meantime the ruler of Karangasem threatened to drag the vassal ruler of Selaparang to Bali by force (1737). The King of Sumbawa therefore sent three grandees with their troops to assist the Sasak ruler. Shortly afterward another Makassarese adventurer, Kare Patasa', operating from Sumbawan harbours, began to attack Dutch interests and also made an incursion into Balinese-dominated Selaparang in 1739. The Karangasem ruler Gusti Kadek (Made) Karang purchased munitions from Batavia in order to beat back the marauder. In the next year a Sumbawan grandee visiting Makassar reported that Lord Raden Dipati of Taliwang had clashed with the King of Sumbawa and, when defeated, had taken refuge with the Balinese. A party of Bonese who stayed in Selaparang colluded with the Balinese, confiscated trading vessels from Sulawesi and prepared an expedition to Sumbawa to reinstate the Taliwang lord. The Sumbawan grandee asked the governor of Makassar to provide military assistance, which the governor angrily declined to give, since the Sumbawans had failed to live up to their commitments as allies. How things ended for Raja Selaparang is not known, but it is clear that the Balinese regained the initiative and that the Sumbawan and Makassarese incursions failed or were without lasting results. Selaparang as an entity survived for a few more years, though. Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 101-109; VOC 2409, f. 629, 771; VOC 2466, f. 1-2; VOC 8214, f. 621.

[*Karaeng Bontowa, 1758-1762*]

The closing scene of the troubles with Bali began in 1762. Here, too, was a lady with great influence on the course of events, namely Karaeng Bontowa who was herself closely related to the grandees of South Celebes in the female line. She egged her spouse to provide assistance to her rash first husband, Karaeng Bontolangkasa', and thereby perhaps indirectly the power of the Balinese. Her husband, Kaharuddin, wrote a letter to Makassar in 1755 where he bitterly remarked that it was made known to him from Bone's side that he powerlessly watched the incursion by the Balinese.¹³ At his demise he was succeeded by Karaeng Bontowa herself, who was henceforth known, quite simply, as the 'Queen Dowager'. In order to get herself chosen to be the ruling princess she must have been quite a remarkable lady. One may assume that that she and her relations in South Celebes provided guidance about the resistance against the Balinese, against whom her father and uncle had fallen.

[*Datu Jarewe*]

She knew to fend for herself until 1762, but was then ousted by a certain Datu Jarewe,¹⁴ whose uncle was Santombong, Prince of Selaparang.¹⁵ It is not clear what was behind this, but perhaps there is a connection with the

13 The VOC documents provide fragmentary information of the rising threat from Karangasem. After the failed Sumbawan and Makassarese attempts against Selaparang in about 1737-1740, new unrest on Lombok surfaced in 1748. The lords of Selaparang and Tiruwas rebelled against Gusti Made of Karangasem. When they were defeated they withdrew to Sumbawa with their loyal troops. Gusti Made sent an arrogant letter to Batavia and asked for permission to invade Sumbawa, which was apparently declined. The strengthened position of Karangasem on Lombok enabled the Balinese to carry out regular incursions in the Sumbawa Kingdom in 1755-1759. Hägerdal, *Hindu Rulers, Muslim Subjects*, pp. 115-116, 155.

14 Also known as Hasanuddin or possibly Alauddin. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, 123.

15 Sang Tombong alias Datu Gunung, although Sasak by birth, was a trusted war chief under the King of Karangasem, Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem. He played an interesting double role in the troubles of the 1760s, sometimes supporting Karangasem, sometimes striving for their expulsion from Lombok. The genealogy of these persons is insufficiently known, so we do not know if 'uncle' should be literally understood. Datu Jarewe's mother was the daughter of a certain Dewa Maspakil, a name known to Selaparang royal tradition. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 131. A Sasak text, *Pamañcangah Silo* (dated 1782; LOr 11.075:3, Leiden UB) mentions a Raden Jarewe as the grandson of a ruler of Pejanggik on Lombok, seemingly in the eighteenth century. Another vassal of Karangasem, Gusti Wayahan Tegeh (d. 1775), is also known as 'King of Selaparang' in the 1760s, being reportedly the son of a Balinese mother and a Sasak father. He kept his main residence in Tanjung Karang on the west coast of Lombok while Selaparang was properly in the east. In the same way as Sang Tombong, he oscillated between Balinese and anti-Balinese sentiments, as seen in his correspondence with the VOC. Bijvanck, 'Onze betrekkingen tot Lombok', pp. 149-151.

abortive attempt by the Makassarese to once again achieve influence in the southern islands by contesting the possession of Manggarai with Bima.

[*The first Balinese incursion, 1763*]

At any case the rival of Datu Jarewe, known as Datu Taliwang, accidentally provoked an armed conflict with the Balinese.¹⁶ Datu Taliwang went to Banjarmasin in 1762, accompanied by a certain Mille Ropia, a son-in-law of the Nene Ranga (the regent), 'where they – according to Van der Velde – performed great mischief and among other things abducted a wife of Goesti Moeda, the King of Bali'.¹⁷ The Sumbawans entertained contacts with Banjar since old.¹⁸ The Nene Ranga vainly tried to avert the danger by forcing his daughter to divorce Mille Ropia and marry Datu Jarewe.¹⁹

16 This Datu Taliwang, later known as Muhammad Jalal Uddin, was accompanied by a number of exiled aristocrats of Sulawesi stock, such as Arung Tibojong from Bone and Karaeng Segeri from Tallo'. Noorduyt, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 20.

17 This alludes to Gusti Ngurah, which is merely the title of a Balinese ruler. The full name of the ruler of Karangasem at this time was Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem (d. 1775).

18 One is reminded that the royal house of Sumbawa had Banjarese ancestry, since the father of Mas Banten was a prince from Banjarmasin. Mas Banten's brother was Datu Taliwang, although he may not have been closely related to the Datu Taliwang of the 1760s. Ras, *Hikajat Bandjar*, p. 513. Sumbawan historiography says that the Datu Taliwang appointed in the time of Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin was in fact a Banjarese prince called Gusti Amin. A particular Kampung Banjar in Taliwang is mentioned in this context. Later in the same reign Gusti Mesir, a brother of the King of Banjarmasin, settled in Taliwang; he is actually the person called Datu Taliwang in the Dutch sources of the 1760s, although the traditional account is historically confused. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 121, 126-127.

19 This event is the subject of a long historical romance preserved in Sumbawan tradition. Mille Ropia is here called Lalu Anggawasita and is married to Dea (Nene) Ranga's daughter, Lala Kaca Uni. After an incident he leaves Sumbawa and his family and ends up in Makassar where he becomes a widely respected person, known for being *sakti*. On a sea trip he encounters the exiled brother of the King of Banjarmasin, Gusti Mesir Abdurrahman, and assists in reconciling him with his brother. Gusti Mesir is invited to visit Sumbawa. He settles in Taliwang whose lord is also of Banjarese stock, and wins the confidence of Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin, whose daughter he marries in 1755. Lalu Anggawasita subsequently assists the Company to defeat Japara on Java, against a promise that the Dutch do not interfere or settle in the Sumbawa Kingdom. In 1761 the Queen of Sumbawa is deposed after trouble with her nobles. The ministers choose Datu Bajing of Alas to be their king; he is a son of Datu Sepe and the grandson of Datu Budi and Dewa Ya, the sister of Mas Madina. However, he declines the honour and the throne goes to his brother, Datu Ungkap Sermin (Datu Jarewe of the Dutch accounts). Dea Ranga gives him his daughter in marriage, not realizing that Lalu Anggawasita is still alive in Makassar. When the last-mentioned arrives at Sumbawa shortly afterwards, he is given the news. He then approaches the royal palace and frightens the king into abdicating on 19 January 1763. Datu Ungkap Sermin leaves for Java and eventually dies in Bima. Gusti Mesir from Taliwang, the friend of Lalu Anggawasita, becomes the new king. Lalu Anggawasita now kills his ex-father-in-law, Dea Ranga, but is soon assassinated himself at the instigation of Datu Bajing, through the application of magic. Thus

Most of the Sumbawans stood against Datu Jarewe, and in the next year Gusti Ngurah of Bali appeared in Sumbawa with a force reputedly consisting of 12,000 men, and lay siege to Taliwang.²⁰ The numbers of this Balinese army seems exceptionally large when we consider that the total number of Balinese nowadays living on Lombok is between 20,000 and 30,000, who, however, possess a – relatively speaking – very large part of the land, at least in West Lombok. Perhaps the Selaparangese flocked to the side of the Balinese.²¹

[*Trickery and corruption*]

Now one of these tragicomic incidents occurred that often seem to happen in complicated situations. It was not Datu Jarewe who called in the assistance of the Dutch allies since his kingdom was threatened by an invading enemy, but rather Datu Taliwang. Both Datus indeed sat uncomfortably; Datu Jarewe, the Prince of Sumbawa, would not happily have seen either the Balinese or the Dutch in his lands. Datu Taliwang, too, would not have known how to first get rid of the Balinese and then of the Dutch, but he was one step ahead of his rival.

[*Bakkers in Sumbawa, 1763*]

Datu Taliwang had hatched the wily plan of pretending to be the Prince of Sumbawa before the Company, and for that purpose he bribed the resident of Bima to hide from Makassar the fact that he was not the true ‘ally’ of the Company.²² In any case Commissioner Bakkers appeared with three sloops and 21 European soldiers in 1763 and made the Balinese withdraw. It seems he reached this goal through persuasion, since the Balinese were not harmless adversaries.²³ The plan of Datu Taliwang and the corrupt resident

the Balinese and Dutch interventions of the years 1762-1766 have been entirely left out of the traditional account. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 122-137.

20 In other words, Karangasem and Sang Tombong claimed to support the latter's nephew, Datu Jarewe, and invaded Sumbawa under the pretext that they tried to restore him to power. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 11-12.

21 One should note, however, that such numbers are often vastly exaggerated in chronicles and reports. It is at any rate clear from more detailed information that there were Balinese as well as Sasaks in the ranks of the Karangasem army. Bijvanck, ‘Onze betrekkingen tot Lombok’.

22 He offered the resident, Johann Tinne, a hundred slaves if he supported his cause. The possession of many slaves was an important status symbol among whites as well as people of colour in this period.

23 On the other hand, Bakkers was assisted by troops from the other Sumbawan kingdoms. Mille Ropia, the Lalu Anggawasita of legend, fell in the fighting in Taliwang when the VOC troops defended the place against the Balinese-Sasak troops. The historical romance mentioned by

succeeded well in the beginning; Bakkers brought Datu Jarewe and his son with him to Makassar as prisoners and the Nene Ranga fled.

The description that Zollinger gives of the whole affair is confused and imprecise. On page 174 in his text he writes that the sultan was deposed in 1762, but correctly indicates in his tables that it was the ruling princess. However, this was not Karaeng Agangjene, since she was the mother of the royal widow. In fact, she had passed away in 1735.

[*The second incursion, 1764*]

Let's turn to Van der Velde himself, who notes under the year 1764:

The King of Bali again declares war on Sumbawa; his troops disembark around the *negorijen* of Alas and Taliwang. Taliwang asks for forceful assistance from the Company. In Makassar, meanwhile, the prisoner Datu Jarewe asserts that the Prince of Taliwang had previously made a deal with Datu Jarewe and the King of Selaparang to wage war together against Gusti Muda [Ngurah], and once again bring the Island of Selaparang under Sumbawa.²⁴ However, Gusti Muda, informed of all this, forced Santombong to support him against the Prince of Taliwang. Furthermore, the resident of Bima, J. Tinne, was bribed by this prince and misled Commissioner Bakker and the Governor of Makassar to exclude Datu Jarewe from the throne.

His demise, and Mr. Bakker's accession as resident of Bima, disclosed the treacherous acts of this Company servant, to the advantage of the unlawful pretender the Prince of Taliwang.

In a council with the overseas kings of Bima, Dompoo, Tambora, Sangar and Pekat the governor thereupon once again appointed Datu Jarewe as King of Sumbawa, whereby he had to swear to a new contract.

[*Second expedition of the Company, 1765*]

The order of events is clear: the Balinese [lord] who had previously been forced to withdraw, came back in 1764 when he apprehended that his ally

Lalu Manca attributes his fall to the machinations of Datu Bajing and the trickery of Dea Rango' Batang, a person who had eloped with the sister of Datu Ungkap Sermin (Datu Jarewe), and had a debt of honour to pay. He pilfered an object belonging to Lalu Anggawasita and used it to kill him in his home in Taliwang – the only way to overcome the *kesaktian* of the redoubtable grandee. In this account there is no mention of a battle. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 136-137; Noorduyin, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 39

²⁴ Selaparang was, of course, a historical kingdom rather than an island. In this case it is seemingly used as an alternative denomination of Lombok.

rather than his adversary had been arrested. There was hardly anything else for the Company to do than to dare a second attempt, and in 1765 a second expedition therefore appeared, this time in order to arrest Datu Taliwang and once again place Datu Jarewe on the throne. Alas and Setelok were then conquered by the Balinese. But Datu Taliwang now obtained help from the Wajorese. By excessively bad luck Datu Jarewe passed away before he had been restored on the throne, and the Company troops were furthermore beaten by Datu Taliwang at Utan. The end of the whole story was that the Balinese disappeared again, and that Datu Jarewe was succeeded by a candidate of the adolescent Queen Dowager, namely the son of Jalaluddin called Mustafa (Mappa Cinga) with whom the contract was confirmed.²⁵

[*Mustafa, 1775-1780*]

The rival candidate was Datu Badeh, the son of Datu Jarewe! No wonder that Batavia screened the leadership of Governor Sinkelaar in this matter. The Company had made a fool of itself, and its prestige was shaken through the defeat that it suffered. Mustafa was also known as Datu Taliwang.

[*Harun Arrasyid, 1780-1790*]

His successor was another Datu Jarewe, who was called Harun Arrasyid. Perhaps he is the just mentioned Datu Badeh.²⁶ In any case things turned for the worse again in 1786. Van der Velde notes under the year 1788: 'Sumbawa is in uproar against its lawful prince since 1786. The Company supports the king in quelling the uprising.' According to Zollinger, there was an uprising against Mustafa whereby the Balinese supported the rebels. However that may be, it would not have been Mustafa since he passed away in 1780,

25 That is, he was the son of Muhammad Jalaluddin alias Datu Taliwang. The year of accession given by Held is not quite correct, and some parts of the intricate story are left out. The formally restored Datu Jarewe passed away on 28 April 1765, before he had returned to Sumbawa with the VOC fleet. When the VOC troops arrived, Sang Tombong and Gusti Wayahan Tegeh contacted them and made an agreement to join forces, since they hoped to use the Company to expel Karangasem from Lombok in the near future. The military cooperation went poorly, however, and Sang Tombong soon passed away. Now Gusti Wayahan Tegeh saw no alternative than to stick to his overlord Gusti Ngurah Made Karangasem. The Balinese-Sasak troops began to evacuate Sumbawa. Meanwhile the Makassar governor, Sinkelaar, received a letter from Batavia, where the Supreme Government dismissed his way of acting and ordered him to leave Datu Taliwang on the throne in order to regain peace and a semblance of order. Nevertheless, Datu Taliwang passed away on 6 May 1766. His son, Mustafa, was elevated to the throne through a contract signed on 18 May 1766, although he was a minor at the time. During his minority the affairs were taken care of by Dea Ranga, Kalibela and Nene Depati. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 12, 20.

26 Indeed this ruler was the son of Datu Jarewe alias Hasanuddin, who died in 1765. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 13.

according to a note in the *Secreet Daghregister* of Makassar. The assistance by the Company seems to have consisted in large part in the summoning of the Dompunese under Sultan Abdul Wahab. He conquered the fortified Balo-Balo. It is not quite clear if Abdul Wahab now fought for or against the Balinese; probably against, since they did not appear again in Sumbawa after this time. However, from this point on their overlordship over Lombok was not seriously contested by the Sumbawans.²⁷

[*The drama of Datu Museng*]

There is a tragedy connected to this affair which is still sung about in the Makassarese *Sinrili' Datu Museng* (Matthes, *Makassaarse Chresthomatie*). The course of this affair, as it was presented in notes that Professor Chabot kindly put at my disposal, was as follows: At the time when Datu Jarawe was confirmed as the prince again in 1764, when it finally appeared that he was the real one, Datu Taliwang sent an envoy called Datu Museng to protest against it. For Datu Museng this embassy was particularly problematic since he had married the daughter of Datu Jarewe, called I Maipa Deya Pati, through abduction. Such marriages by abduction are highly regarded in Makassar. Another version says that she ranked too high for Datu Museng, being the daughter of the Prince of Sumbawa. In the poem they are known as a pair of twins who were separated after their birth and later united in

²⁷ Some further details of this affair are known from Dutch letters from 1787. A certain Buginese went to the house of his compatriot, Mele Bedullah or Abdullah, who stayed at Kampung Wajo' in Sumbawa Besar. With Bedullah's help he successfully pretended to be the King of Gowa, allied with the numerous local Wajorese, and gave the sultan and the ministers an ultimatum to submit or take the consequences. When the ministers naturally refused, the Wajorese, more than a thousand strong and armed with muskets, attacked Sumbawa Besar, whose inhabitants fled. The so-called Raja Gowa entered the empty palace where the frail ruler had been left alone. He arrogantly grabbed the knee of the sultan, asking him if he wanted to live or die. The sultan defiantly replied that he was an old blind man, but if Raja Gowa was a brave man he should wait for the Sumbawan soldiers and fight them, if he dared. He was relegated to a simple house behind the palace which was now taken over by the usurper. The ministers Nene Ranga and Nene Adipati held out in a nearby *benteng* (fortification) and were supported by the vassals Alas, Utan, Taliwang and Ampang. The insurgents were eventually expelled by the sultan's troops, who besieged Kampung Wajo' and were assisted by the other VOC allies. The sultan sought additional assistance and munitions from Makassar. The matter was complicated by the fact that some grandees were related to the Wajorese and declined to act against them. Moreover, Mustafa's son Lalu Muhammad, who resided in Taliwang, made use of the chaos to establish a number of fortified places. He kept good relations with the Bugis (the Wajorese) in the hope of succeeding Harun Arrasyid as ruler if he was toppled. The governor of Makassar decreed that Lalu Muhammad should be apprehended on occasion. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 22-23; VOC 3817, f. 61-64. It seems that the Balinese of Karangasem re-enacted their tactics from the 1760s and supported the rebels, although the sultan survived the ordeal with VOC and Dompunese support.

marriage without being aware of the circumstances. And since the heroic poem is indeed concerned with the situation in Sumbawa – we might add – it was with the greatest difficulty that Datu Museng was dispatched in order to confirm the strategies of his employers in conflict with the truth.

However that may be, as a true nobleman Datu Museng decided to place his fidelity to his employer higher than fear for his own safety. Meanwhile, however, the Governor of Makassar had decided to arrest Datu Museng on his arrival at Makassar, and to separate him from his wife. Through the intervention of the Juru Bahasa he was asked in the name of the governor to hand over his kris and to appear with his wife at the fort. Datu Museng rejected both requests as unfitting for a nobleman. Thereupon a fight ensued, which turned disadvantageous for Datu Museng. I Maipa Deya Pati considered what must be done with his wife. She let herself be killed by him, since she preferred that to captivity and divorce. Datu Museng then fought to the death. The grave is still located by a street that is called Jalan Datu Museng after him. It is considered a sacred place by the people.²⁸

[*Safiyatuddin, 1790-1795*]

Harun Arrasyid was succeeded by his daughter, Safiyatuddin, who was married to Abdul Hamid, the Sultan of Bima.²⁹ This is the first time that the most prominent kingdoms of Sumbawa were united under one hand. However, she passed away already in 1795 without having any children.³⁰ In 1792 a personal contract was voluntarily signed with the Company through a certain Lalu Samba (or Sambali). With what purpose is not known; perhaps since the Company wished to prevent Sumbawa and Bima from becoming a single large kingdom.³¹

28 This person is actually well known from Dutch sources, which call him Datu Busing. He arrived at Makassar in the company of two other grandees, one of whom was Dea Ranga. According to the opinion of Governor Sinkelaar they were not as prominent persons in the kingdom as they pretended. When Sinkelaar decided in favour of Datu Jarewe the three of them plainly refused to submit to the last-mentioned, stubbornly sticking to Datu Taliwang. Sinkelaar wished to prevent them from returning to Sumbawa and ordered the present Sultan Bima to arrest them. Two envoys were quickly apprehended, but Datu Busing escaped to his house and took a defensive position with his retainers, eventually being killed. This incident took place around 4 March 1765. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 12, 35.

29 Harun Arrasyid actually died on 9 July 1791, not in 1790.

30 She passed away on 26 October 1795. Although her husband, Abdul Hamid of Bima, soon married her sister, Datu Giri, the Sumbawan throne went to another lineage. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 23.

31 Lalu Samba was a son of the well-known adventurer Mille Ropia (Lalu Anggawasita) and a uterine brother of the queen. His brother, Mille Ringi, was appointed Nene Ranga in 1791. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 23. The editor has not found any further information about the contract.

[*Muhammad Kaharuddin, 1795-1816*]

Her successor was Muhammad Kaharuddin.³² Under his reign, too, there was no heartily relationship with the Company. It was not until 1807 that that the king confirmed the contract through his envoys; and the Indian government then decided, briefly and explicitly, that the prince had to appear in person in Makassar. The resident of Bima stated in 1801 that Sumbawa was a 'nest of intrigues' where 'open trade in contraband' was carried on.³³

Bima

[*Jamaluddin [of Bima], 1687-1696*]

After Nuruddin, Jamaluddin came to the throne in Bima; his tragic end, regretted and innocently sentenced for the murder of Ratu Dompou, has already been related. He was married to Karaeng Tanatana, a daughter of the Sultan of Gowa, Karaeng Bissei, who was also finally expelled to Batavia through his political machinations and died in 1681.

[*Hasanuddin, 1696-1631*]

No wonder that his son and successor, Hasanuddin, who was himself married to a Makassarese lady, namely Karaeng Bissang Pole, was a peculiar 'ally' who did not do much to assist Raja Tambora.³⁴ As for himself, he was once captured

32 Originally called Lalu Muhammad, he was the son of Mappa Cinga alias Mustafa.

33 In 1789 a missive states that the Mandarese, Wajorese and Sumbawans made annual trips to places as far east as the Aru and Tanimbar Islands; Aru was known for high-value products such as edible bird's nests, *tripang* (sea slugs), pearls and birds of paradise. VOC 3864, missive, 22 September 1789. A missive from the waning days of the VOC, July 1799, relates that traders went from Sumbawa to Ceram and returned with shiploads of spices, apparently beyond Dutch control. Raad der Aziatische Bezittingen, 2.01.27.02, No. 127, § 91.

34 He was in fact an enemy of Raja Tambora until the latter surrendered in 1697. VOC sources provide a few details about Hasanuddin's extended reign. The cutting of sappanwood took off again after the troubles caused by the Makassarese pirates in c. 1700, but it was reported in 1703 that the stands were almost depleted in the lowlands. The sultan married a sister of the ruler of Sumbawa but divorced her in 1708, 'ridding his subjects of an enduring pest'. In 1709 he undertook a successful expedition against his recalcitrant 'subjects' on Sumba, which is also mentioned in Bimanese historiography. By 1725, however, only the domains of Palamedo and Mamboro actually obeyed Bima, according to a report. There was a brief dispute with Dompou in 1712, and with West Sumbawa in the following year. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, pp. 239, 537, 603, 850; VOC 2029. The sultan was deeply attached to his housekeeper and mistress, the ex-slave Tinting, to the great irritation of the Company and his council, who found her a violent and covetous woman; on orders of the grandees she was eventually expelled to West Sumbawa. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 53-54. In 1714 lively trade with Buton is mentioned; the Butonese merchants sold

by Arung Teko, seemingly without any possibility to accuse him [Arung Teko] of dangerous activities as was the case with Abdul Rasul of Dompu. He also played a role in the troubles that Daeng Talolo caused in Dompu, but, again, apparently so cunningly that nothing could be done against him.

That he was a man with qualities is also apparent since the changing of the legal prescriptions was ascribed to him, which is rendered below in full. This was a change of the prescriptions that stemmed from Abdul Kahir, the first Muslim prince, who died in 1640. He appears to have emphasized religious affairs, for, according to Valentijn, a son of the well-known Syekh Yusuf arrived in 1702.³⁵ This Syekh Yusuf was a half-brother of Karaeng Bissei; he was a famous religious figure who was banished to the Cape in 1694. His earthly remains were brought back to Makassar in 1705 amid great attention and buried there.³⁶

[*Manggarai*, 1727]

An action that was later the cause of much trouble was the discussion about the cession of Manggarai to Gowa brought about by the marriage between his son and heir and Karaeng Tanasanga, daughter of Sirajuddin of Gowa. Written evidence of this cession cannot be found, however, and Bima has always subsequently disputed the claims of Gowa. In recent literature one encounters the mistake that Bima would have obtained legally justified claims on Manggarai in 1727. In 1732 there were complaints from Bima about unfounded Gowan claims on Manggarai.³⁷

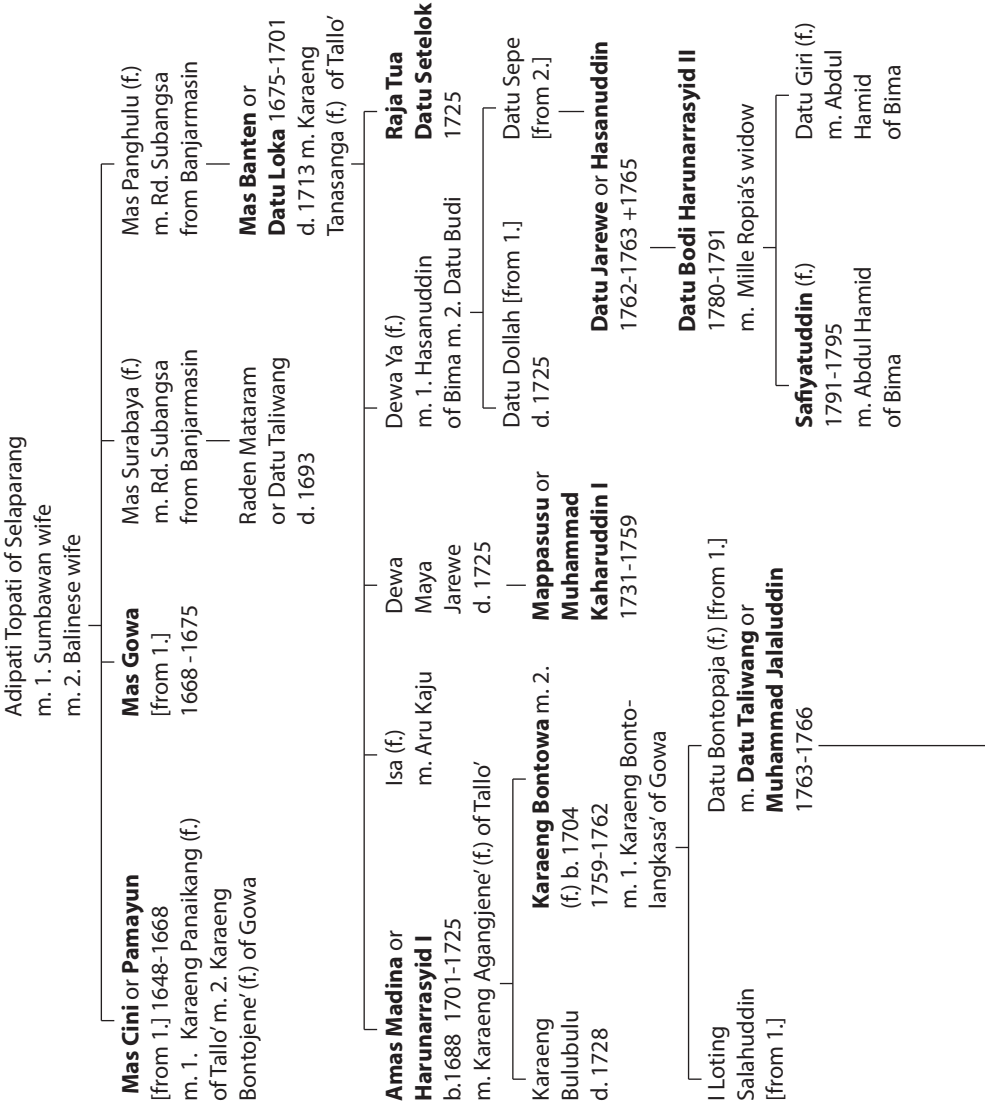
cloth for foodstuff. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 86. In a missive from 1727 the Company complained about Hasanuddin, whom they regarded as an unwise person who must be guided by his grandees. In that year he refused to approve of an Ince Jaber as headman of the Malays in Bima, and ordered the Malays to leave the kingdom, which caused great consternation. The Company eventually realized that they must deliberate with the sultan about such appointments. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VIII, p. 133, 155. In 1730 the sultan was troubled by the Makassarese adventurers Daeng Mangalika and Karaeng Bontolangkasa', who stayed in Manggarai, the first-mentioned claiming possession over the Reo district on account of his sister, Karaeng Bontowa, who had received it from the King of Bima in the late seventeenth century. They were driven away by Bimanese forces by 1731. Van Goor, *Generale missiven*, IX, pp. 148-149, 235.

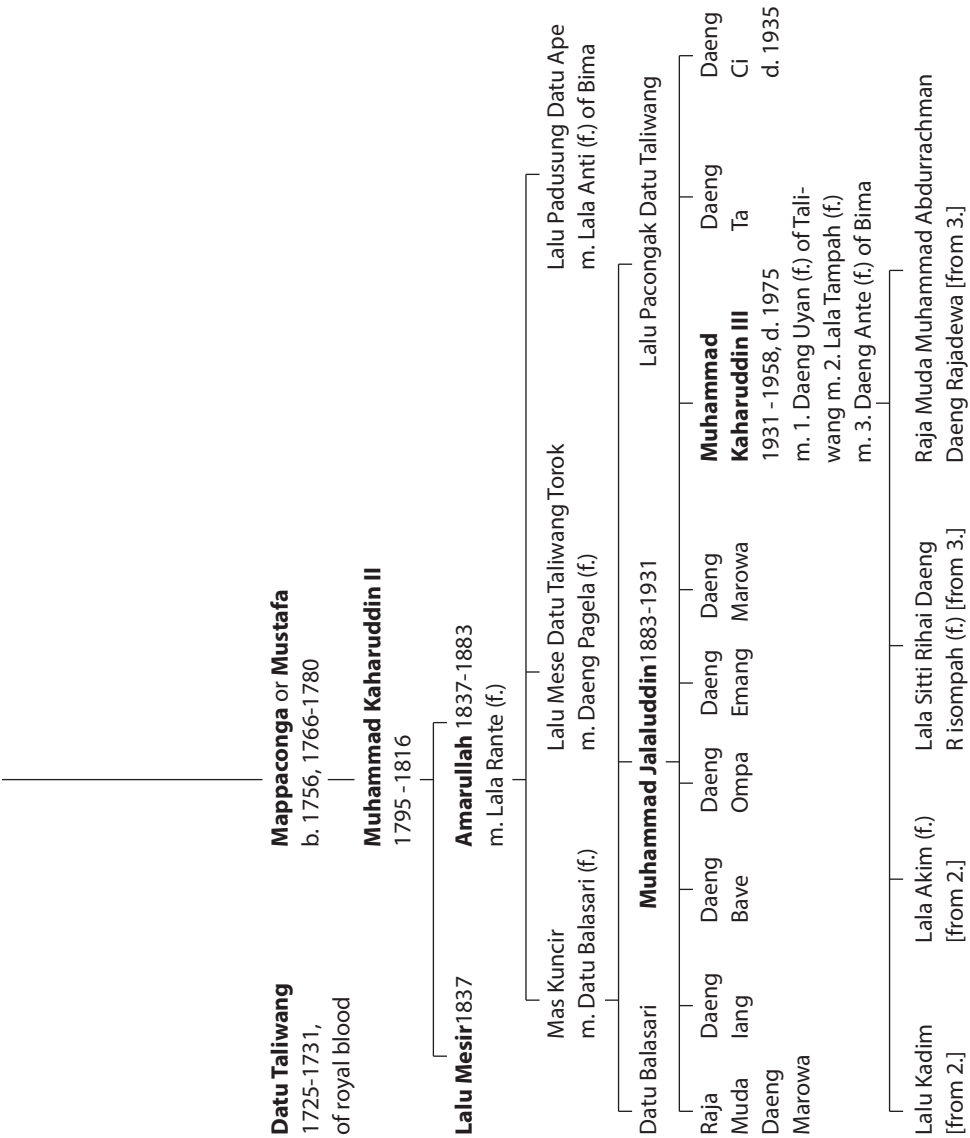
35 Bimanese chronicles confirm Hasanuddin's religious devotion. He enjoined preachers (*da'i*) to perform the *dakwah* in the Donggo highlands and applied mixed marriages as a way to conversion. Some Dou Donggo were converted to Islam although the bulk of them refused. When a stranger approached they would quite simply leave their kampung and hide in the forest. They only showed up to barter things at the lowland market. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 216-217.

36 Syekh Yusuf is actually an official *pahlawan nasional* (national hero) in present-day Indonesia. He was reportedly born in 1626 as the son of King Alauddin of Gowa, and died in a village in the Cape Colony in 1699. Sudarmanto, *Jejak-jejak pahlawan*, pp. 314-318.

37 The Gowan claim was turned down by the Company in 1733. Van Goor, *Generale missiven*, IX, p. 530.

Table 3 Genealogy of the sultans of Sumbawa





[*Alauddin, 1731-1748*]

About this successor Alauddin – in the act of installation he is strangely called Abdul Moesalamie Alisa (*Corpus*, V, 124) – nothing is known to me but the knife-sharp judgement by Governor Smout, who writes in 1744: 'One could just as well delete Bima's king from the list of human society, since he is so feckless and enslaved by effeminate pleasures that he has not seen a wife for more than six years; [his company] was the abominable excrement of this earth, namely the monsters who are cut [castrated] when reaching manly years, and thus hide themselves in female cloths, disgracing nature in the most repugnant way.' The account is interesting to the extent that it is the only time that we come across an influential group of persons similar to the Makassarese *bissu*.³⁸ That foreign elements could be encountered in the *kraton* is already seen from paragraphs concerning this, which were decreed by the former king (Law-book, article 9).³⁹

[*Threefold marriage relations with Gowa*]

After Alauddin the Kingdom of Bima became closely tied to Gowa through various marriages. He had three daughters with his *permaisuri* who all married Makassarese noblemen. The first was Rante Patola, better known as Bumi Partiga. She was the heiress to the throne and married Karaeng Kanjilo, son of Najmuddin, Prince of Tallo', and grandson of Sirajuddin of Gowa. Her younger sister married Abdulkhair, Sultan of Gowa in 1737-1742, and the youngest sister, Karaeng Balassari, married the successor of Abdulkhair, Sultan Mapababasa. From the last marriage Sultan Batara Gowa was born, whose appearance in Bima in 1766 caused so much agitation.

38 The *bissu* are the pre-Islamic clergy of South Sulawesi, acting as priests, shamans and specialists in trance rituals. They are generally known as transvestites and homosexuals, and are thought of having two supernatural spouses, one of each sex. Pelras, *The Bugis*, pp. 82-84.

39 A few more details about Sultan Alauddin have since surfaced. Born in 1707, he was married to the Gowan princess Karaeng Tanasanga. In 1732 he nevertheless disputed the Gowan claims to Mangarai as insufficiently documented. At the same time he moved his residence to the village of Daha and later on let his daughter, Bumi Partiga, handle day-to-day affairs. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 218-219. The Dutch interest in Sumbawa was often centred on sappanwood during this period. Sultan Alauddin asked the Company to be excused from the deliveries due to a pilgrimage that he was to undertake to the graves of his ancestors. Van Goor, *Generale missiven*, IX, p. 570. A report from Makassar to Batavia in 1734 complained about the sultan: in spite of serious admonitions the court had hitherto been unwilling to order its subjects to cut sappanwood. Eventually the sultan promised to deliver 2,000 piculs. VOC 2314, f. 27.

[*Bumi Partiga, 1748-1751*]

Bumi Partiga, also known as Siti Rabiya, was living in Makassar since 1742 and her marriage, which was slighted (at least by the Company), aroused so much resistance that she had to step down in 1752.⁴⁰ Bumi Partiga did not wish to leave her husband but followed him to Makassar, where she expired from poison in 1753. We find Karaeng Kanjilo back in South Celebes in 1766 at the side of the insurgents, in the unruly conditions that occurred after the departure of Batara Gowa. According to Van der Velde, Bumi Partiga was practically speaking forced into marriage by Karaeng Kanjilo, whom he describes as a disreputable person.

[*Karaeng Sapanang*]

From this marriage Karaeng Sapanang was born. Gowa enticed him in 1759 regarding the claims on Manggarai, and he subsequently disturbed the peace for Sultan Abdul Hamid of Bima for many years. He appeared again and again in Bima, where he pretended to be the governor for Sultan Abdul Hadi of Bone. His powers were so great by then that he quite simply put the protests of Makassar aside. Also, the 'fort' in Bima, with its garrison of 20 men under a sergeant, was not a force with which the Company could make an impression among the overseas allies.

[*Abdul Kadim Srinawa, 1751-1765*]⁴¹

Sultan Abdul Kadim Srinawa, the successor of Bumi Partiga, was her half-brother and therefore not so well positioned.⁴² It was time to act with more steadiness with regard to the Bimanese state affairs.

40 The correct date when Bumi Partiga, also known as Kamalat Syah, was deposed was 28 June 1751; 1752 was the date when her half-brother and successor, Abdul Kadim, renewed the contract in Makassar. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 55. The dethronement was supported by the resident (Banelius) and the allies of Sumbawa and Domp. Schooneveld-Oosterling, *Generale missiven*, XII, 104. Bimanese historiography says that the *sara dana mbojo* council resented her enthronement since a woman was supposedly not allowed to rule, according to Muslim legal practice. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 220.

41 Held relies on the chronology of Braam Morris, 'Nota van toelichting behoorende bij het contract gesloten met het landschap Bima', p. 226, which is not entirely reliable. Abdul Kadim's correct dates are 1751-1773. Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 55.

42 Abdul Kadim's mother Jamila was a commoner from Domp, while his predecessors had been born from Makassarese princesses for several generations. His position was not quite stable; in 1759 the governor of Makassar, Roelof Blok, was told that the grandees of the kingdom wished to dethrone Abdul Kadim. His acts were contrary to the laws of the land, he refused to listen to the advice of his grandees and he troubled his people with unreasonable impositions. The main reason why Abdul Kadim had not already been expelled was that there was no good candidate to put in his stead. The governor ordered the resident in Bima to admonish the sultan

[*Sumba breaks loose from Bima, 1750*]

Sumba, which at least nominally stood under Bimanese influence, turned to the Company *opperhoofd* in Kupang in 1749, and declared that it wished to accept the sovereignty of the Company. In 1750 Batavia found this suggestion to be acceptable.⁴³

[*Manggarai conflicts, 1759-1762*]

In 1759 Gowa decided to act on its claim on Manggarai by means of arms.⁴⁴ A fight ensued in Manggarai, which was conquered by Gowa. However, it was reconquered by Abdul Kadim through an expedition with the support of the Company. Nevertheless, when he later took reprisals against the people of Manggarai, they once again sought support from Gowa, which had not abandoned the issue after the failed attempt.⁴⁵

and make him expel the obnoxious chiefs Bumi Rasanae and Tureli Nggampo. In fact, Abdul Kadim remained in power until his death. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 55-56.

43 As seen throughout this book, the Bimanese claims on Sumba are mentioned in the sources from time to time from the mid-seventeenth century. Like many such territorial claims by Indonesian powers, they should nevertheless be taken with a considerable grain of salt. Sumba was in fact visited by several ethnic groups and was even claimed by the Portuguese for a while. There was a degree of Bimanese influence in the north-west, but the island was split in innumerable genealogical groups (*kabizu*). Being a non-Muslim area it was the unfortunate object of slave raids from foreign seafarers, and also had stands of the valuable sandalwood. Some of the chiefs submitted to the VOC in 1751, when the *opperhoofd* in Kupang, Daniel van der Burgh, visited Sumba. This was confirmed in 1756 when the rajas of the Timor area signed a major contract arranged by the diplomat Johannes Andreas Paravicini. Hägerdal, *Lords of the Land, Lords of the Sea*, pp. 368, 377. Nevertheless, Sumba had little contact with the Dutch after 1775, until new contracts were concluded with some of the chiefs in 1845. De Roo van Alderwerelt, 'Historische aantekeningen over Soemba', p. 249.

44 In 1753 a Dutch missive relates that Manggarai, which supposedly consisted of the larger part of the Island of Ende or Flores, was under Makassar while another part of the island stood under Bima, and Rokka stood by itself. Schooneveld-Oosterling, *Generale missiven*, XII, pp. 308-309. Manggaraian traditions tell of a Makassarese queen, Daeng Tamema, who ruled at Reo five to six generations before 1900. However, the Dalu of Bajo, Ama Keka, allied with Bima, inviting them to expel the Makassarese. Bima likewise allied with the important *dalu*-ship Todo. Reo was taken after a bloody battle, and Daeng Tamema fled to Potta in the north-east with her remaining followers. All this seems to allude to events in the 1760s; see further details in the following footnote. Stapel, 'Het Manggeraische volk', pp. 150-153.

45 The course of this expedition has been analyzed in circumstantial detail by Dami Toda, using Bimanese and Manggaraian historiography. The initial campaign in 1761 was carried out to assist the allied *dalu*-ship Todo, the leading power in South Manggarai. Campaigning continued during the 1760s, the details of which cannot be given here. As Held says, the Bimanese grip on Manggarai was considerably tightened. Toda, *Manggarai mencari pencerahan historiografi*, pp. 117-151. The Bimanese domination led to instability and hardship for the Manggaraian society due to the demand for slaves. Each of the thirteen *dalus* who stood under Todo had to pay two slaves per year, while each minor chief (*gellarang*) in the Todo area had to pay one. The *dalus* also had to give

[*Abdul Kadim Muhammad Syah, 1765-1773*]

[Actually this is the same person as Abdul Kadim Srinawa.]⁴⁶ His government was again troubled in 1768 by disturbances in Manggarai, where he had to take action against a rebellion by Cibal.

[*The Batara Gowa affair, 1766*]

A dangerous situation arose in 1766. At this time, Batara Gowa II, Sultan of Gowa, showed up in person. He was discontented with the state of things in his kingdom, especially the behaviour of the regent, the Prince of Tallo', and quite simply left his kingdom in the lurch and went to his mother, Karaeng Balassari.⁴⁷ She was the sister of Abdul Kadir Muhammad and had returned to Bima after the demise of her husband, the Sultan of Gowa. Abdul Kadim was perplexed over the arrival of his uninvited guest, and did not know exactly how to act. He also had to reckon with Karaeng Sapanang, the son of his other sister, Bumi Partiga, who was directly descended from the princes of Tallo' via his father, Karaeng Kanjilo.

Batara Gowa himself did not make the situation any simpler. He did not declare the aim of his visit. He only said that he was ill and that he wished to visit his mother. Luckily, at this time there was a resident of some stature, namely the same Bakker (or Bakkers) who one year previously had taken over the affairs from his unreliable predecessor in order to regulate the confused

a tribute consisting of mats, chickens, dogs and horses. The need for slaves to deliver to Sultan Bima inevitably led to internal wars between the various *dalu*-ships, while some were bought from Bajawa further to the east. Van Bakkum, 'Geschiedenis van Manggarai (West-Flores)', p. 69.

46 Abdul Kadim signed a new contract with the VOC on 9 February 1765. The other co-signers were Datu Jarewe of Sumbawa, Ahmad of Dompu, Abdul Said of Tambora, Muhammad of Sanggar and Abdul Rachman of Papekat. The paragraphs stipulated the exclusion of other European nations, abrogation of contacts between the Sumbawan kings and the Makassarrese, prohibition against Arab, Javanese, Malay, Acehnese, Siamese or other traders without VOC passes, obligation to extradite Christians who wished to convert to Islam, assistance to the Dutch in case of shipwrecks, prohibition for the kings to harvest customs fees, construction of fortresses only with knowledge of the Company, building up of auxiliaries in case of need, and an obligation to let the Company mediate in internal conflicts on the island. Noordyun, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 125-130.

47 A few more words about his itinerary might fill the picture. After leaving his kingdom, Batara Gowa landed at Sumbawa in August 1766, where he met the half-Bugis seafarer Calla Bangkahulu, a British subject from Bencoolen. The last-mentioned persuaded him to visit Gusti Wayahan Tegeh, the Balinese viceroy on Lombok who was flirting with the British at the moment. It seems that Gusti Wayahan Tegeh intended to use his prominent guest as a political asset. After staying for a while in Tanjung Karang on the west coast of Lombok, Batara Gowa began to fear the intentions of the Balinese and proceeded to Sumbawa and Bima in January 1767. Bijvanck, 'Onze betrekkingen tot Lombok', pp. 302-304.

state of things in the Kingdom of Sumbawa. Bakker regarded the situation seriously, especially since the arrival of this dangerous visitor, shortly after the Manggarai conflicts, aroused great excitement among the Makassarese inhabitants in Bima. He intended to take Batara Gowa prisoner and send him back to his kingdom, by force if necessary. Batara Gowa answered peevishly that he would not let himself be instructed, and that he would run amuck if he was hindered. Abdul Kadim did not dare to undertake anything.

[*Abdul Kadir with armed forces in Bima, 1766*]

Bakker decided to turn to tougher measures and asked Abdul Kadir of Dompou for assistance. The last-mentioned promptly appeared with a troop of 600 men, among whom 100 were armed (with firearms?). Abdul Kadim then realized that further hesitation would only make things worse. He managed to persuade Batara Gowa to board a government vessel that would bring him to Makassar. The circumstances were therefore different from the time of Hasanuddin, who had warned the then resident about serious consequences when he wanted to summon armed allies inside the borders of Bima in connection with the Daeng Talolo affair. One may imagine that Abdul Kadir of Dompou obeyed the summons with a certain feeling of satisfaction. In this way he appears to have achieved [his wish] that Governor Boelen strengthen the position of Dompou as a counterweight to Bima in 1770.

[*Batara Gowa movement in South Celebes, 1769-1819*]

The Batara Gowa affair did not have any further noticeable consequences on Sumbawa, but in South Celebes itself it had much more impact. The Sultan of Gowa, namely, was not brought to Makassar but to Batavia, from whence he was exiled to Ceylon because of piracy that he supposedly committed in Selaparang in 1765.⁴⁸ In South Celebes a certain Sangkilang pretended to be the returning Batara Gowa in 1776.⁴⁹ This disturbance, combined with a messianic movement, lasted for years and sucked the vitality out of the Kingdom of Gowa.

48 A factor in his arrest was involvement with the British subject Calla Bangkahulu. The British were perceived by the Dutch as a threat and plied the waters of eastern Indonesia in defiance of the VOC. Gusti Wayahan Tegeh accused Abdul Kadim of shameful and unjust behaviour against the Gowan king. Batara Gowa eventually passed away in exile on Ceylon in 1795. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 965; Bijvanck, 'Onze betrekkingen tot Lombok', pp. 304-305.

49 In fact, auxiliaries from Sumbawa Island including Bima troops assisted the Company in fighting the supporters of Sangkilang in 1776-1779. Van Braam Morris, 'Nota van toelichting behoorende bij het contract gesloten met het landschap Bima', p. 230.

It was finally more or less extinguished only in 1819. Strangely enough, almost no evidence of the messianic movement can now be found on Sumbawa.

[*Abdul Hamid, 1773-1819*]

Then follows the reign of Abdul Hamid, who was quite an intelligent and pleasant person, according to all the testimonies.⁵⁰ In the latter years of his reign, however, he became increasingly enslaved by the use of opium. He also had a peculiar manner of living, preferring to be active at night. One does not need to question whether he had a good relationship with his entourage. Apart from that, he was the son of a *bone balla* (palace servant) on his maternal side, so he was always dealing with pretenders to the crown. These included the already mentioned Karaeng Sapanang, who repeatedly showed up in Bima between 1790 and 1810, as well as his half-brother, the Tureli Bolo Karaeng Pabette, until the demise of the last-mentioned in 1805.

[*Marriage with the princess of Sumbawa*]

He tried to build up the political power of the kingdom again. In Manggarai he wanted to put things in order. Some chiefs there still possess documents of appointment issued by Abdul Hamid in 1784.⁵¹ He even knew how to unite Sumbawa and Bima through his marriage with Safiyatuddin of Sumbawa. However, she passed away without children in 1795, so that the anxiousness that the Company felt for this union proved unfounded. He married her sister and sired a son by her, the later Sultan Ismail who, however, did not have

50 A major source of his reign is the daily annotations of the official Bumi Luma Rasanae, which run from 1775 to 1790. These notes reflect the rather sophisticated structure of the Bima state administration, from palace to village. The sultans, having limited authority, frequently deliberated with the *turelis*, *jenelis* and other grandees. Commoners had the right to lodge complaints or demands with the sultan; on one occasion a case was brought up where Abdul Hamid's own brother, Jeneli Sape, had robbed the property of some locals. On another occasion the sultan himself beat a religious leader who had mistreated a slave. Islamic rituals and acts of piety framed the court life, but piety was rather unevenly practiced. The sultan gambled with his ministers at boat-racing and cockfighting events, but still punished slaves for gambling. The notes also tell us about the relations of the Bima court with the outer world. Apart from the locally stationed Dutch, there were diplomatic relations with Dompur, Sumbawa Proper, Tambora, Kore-Sanggar, Papekat, Bali-Karangasem, Surabaya, Lamongan, Makassar and Bone. Chambert-Loir, *Iman dan diplomasi*, pp. 34-51.

51 The sultan travelled to Manggarai in person in 1783, handing out crises, lances, banners and so on, to consolidate his position among the *dalus*. Work on a fortification in Reo started in 1776. In the system that took shape, the northern regions of Manggarai paid tribute to the viceroy or Raja Naib in Reo, the western domains paid tribute directly to Bima, and the areas under Todo delivered the tribute to Todo, which in turn forwarded it to Bima. Dietrich, *Kolonialismus und Mission auf Flores* (ca. 1900-1942), p. 44.

Figure 4 Ministerial buildings in the palace compound of Bima

Photo: Hans Hägerdal

the stature of his father. Abdul Hamid did not forget his dream, and in 1797 he had to be forced to return the Sumbawan regalia, which he did not want to yield since Sumbawa, according to him, owed him a large sum of money. These riches turned out to be a trap for the resident, for he did not behave honestly in connection with the transfer of them, and so he was dismissed.

[Pirates, fire and abdication]

Towards the end of his reign, pirates appeared off the coast who saw their chance between 1810 and 1814 in various *negories*.⁵² In 1794 Bima was burnt for unknown reason, whereby the archive was lost. About 1810 the first Chinese traders supposedly established themselves in Bima. In 1819 he

⁵² It should be recalled that this was the time of the French Revolution and Napoleon. The VOC was declared bankrupt and abolished in 1799 during the French-guided Batavian Republic, and in 1811 the Dutch possessions in the East Indies were taken over by the British (until 1816). Sumbawa was not directly involved in the struggle between the European colonial powers. However, the disturbances and weakening of European control made for opportunities for seaborne criminality.

abdicated due to his advanced age.⁵³ He was then 57 years old! That was four years after the Tambora disaster.

[*Sanggar and Pekat*]

About the miniature kingdoms Sanggar and Pekat there is little to tell. The names of their kings, as far as they can be found from acts and contracts, have been noted down in the chronological list. The little that is known is the occurrence of neighbour conflicts (1749) and a fight for the succession (1704).⁵⁴

53 This information is partly from Van Braam Morris, 'Nota van toelichting behoorende bij het contract gesloten met het landschap Bima', p. 226, who gives 1819 as the first year of Abdul Hamid's successor. This is presumably derived from Abdul Hamid's gravestone, which states that the sultan died on 1 Ramadan 1234 = 24 June 1819. Nevertheless, this is incorrect. More detailed information has surfaced since and indicates that Abdul Hamid died in 1817, while still in power. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 238; Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 87.

54 According to a Company source (VOC 8174), a ruler of Pekat in the late seventeenth century was married to a daughter of the King of Dompou, and the son of this marriage was the ruler in 1703. According to VOC 2285, Pekat was detached from the rule of Tambora in connection with disturbances in 1704. It quarrelled with Tambora about the possession of Kadinding, a conflict that was resolved by VOC mediation. Nevertheless, it had a history as an entity of its own before that date. Later on there were disputes between Pekat and Tambora in 1712. In 1719 the subjects of King Daeng Mangali complained about the behaviour of the ruler, and he was deposed. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VII, p. 396. A later raja of Pekat, Abdul Said, fell out with his subjects in 1735-1736 and was deposed, being replaced by a certain Abdul Brahim. The latter was soon succeeded by his widow, Daeng Sado, a Tambora princess. The succession of Pekat tended to be irregular with princes from different branches being enthroned. Since Pekat was exterminated in the Tambora eruption, no indigenous historical traditions have survived. The editor of this book visited Sanggar in 1999 and received a copy of the family history of the raja line (Aziz, 'Rangkaian peristiwa di kerajaan Sanggar'); however, it only starts after the Tambora eruption. Hasanuddin, ruler of Sanggar, was murdered in Dompou in 1704. Four years later Tambora lodged claims on parts of the Sanggar territory, Pun and Wilo, which was decided in Sanggar's favour by the VOC in 1709. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, VI, pp. 296, 537, 603, 850; Van Goor, *Generale missiven*, IX, pp. 756, 787. Thanks to scattered VOC data the succession of rajas of Pekat and Sanggar after 1700 is known for the most part; see the appendix for the details. A panoramic image of the *negeri* Sanggar was drawn by Captain Johannes Gallo during a Dutch expedition in 1788 (in connection with the troubles in West Sumbawa); for a reproduction, see De Roever and Brommer, *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, p. 221. It is one of the earliest European pictures of things Sumbawan.

5 In the wake of the Tambora disaster

[*Tambora*]

In the *Encyclopaedie* [*van Nederlandsch Oost-indië*] one may read under the word Tambora: 'The main crater is almost round and 6 to 6 1/2 kilometres in diameter; the loftiest point of the crater edge (the west side) is plus or minus 2,800 metres; the bottom of the crater, which has steep walls, is situated 500 to 600 metres deeper, and has got a small lake at the eastern side ... Tambora is well-known due to the violent eruption from 5 April to 15 June 1815, whereby 12,000 people succumbed directly and an estimated 44,000 people died of hunger as a result ... The elliptic area where the ashes fell down was (taking Tambora as the point of departure) about 555 kilometres from north to south, 400 kilometres to the east (to the middle of Flores), 1,100 kilometres to the west (to Cirebon) ... It is asserted that the mountain became about one-third lower by the eruption, and it was probably then that the present caldera was formed. Van Rheden estimates the part of the summit that vanished to 30 cubic kilometres' (*Encyclopaedie*, IV, p. 254).¹

[*End of Tambora and Pekat, 1866*]

Kuperus, who has made a detailed study of the cultural-geographical situation of Pulau Sumbawa, mentions the year 1815 as the starting point of a new period of development, and we follow him in his view. The empty land of Tambora was, after discussions begun in 1861, annexed to Sanggar in 1866 and continued to exist as a separate petty kingdom until 1928.²

1 The global repercussions of the Tambora disaster were severe because of the atmospheric changes caused by the enormous eruption of ashes – 150 cubic kilometres, as compared with 18 for the more famous Krakatoa eruption of 1883. A dust and sulphur veil spread around the world, causing considerably chillier weather than usual. Harvests all over the world were destroyed by frost, drought or floods. A worldwide cholera epidemic can also be attributed to the weakened resistance among people; starting in India in 1816 it eventually reached Europe in 1830-1831. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', pp. 51-54. The year 1816 was known in New England as 'the year without summer' while the year 1817 was remembered as 'the year of beggars' in Germany. 'For three years following Tambora's explosion, to be alive, almost anywhere in the world, meant to be hungry.' D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora*, p. 9. In a regional context Bali, Lombok and Flores were badly affected by famine in the few years after the eruption, although the ashes in the end increased the fertility of the fields and made for bumper harvests on Bali and Lombok. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 50.

2 Of Sanggar the British Lieutenant Philipps gave a gripping account in the immediate wake of the Tambora disaster. Most of the central settlement was destroyed with its inhabitants, and the crops were ruined. As he relates: 'The Rajah of Sang'ir came to wait on me at Dampo, on the 3d instant. The suffering of the people there appears, from his account, to be still greater than

[*End of Sanggar, 1928*]

It was then annexed to the Kingdom of Bima. In 1928 it had a population of 1,800 people, who lived in five small villages.³ Pekat was annexed to Dompu in 1866. In 1862 the Taloko region was also annexed to Dompu, even though it had been occupied by the Sanggarese for a few years. It was deemed that this area had belonged to Dompu and to Bima in turns, but never to Sanggar. This is supposedly the Corre Talouga of 1748.

Bima

[*Half a century of decline. Bima*]

Historical information about the first decades of the nineteenth century is scarce. The English interregnum falls here, and we must wait until 1821 to learn anything more. At that time Professor Reinwardt and his travelling companion Bik undertook a journey including a visit to Bima. When they arrived, new earthquakes had just been felt again. About the eruption of 1815, Reinwardt says: 'In Bima the consequences were felt no less at the time. The great quantity of ashes that fell down annihilated and destroyed the harvest so badly that a general famine occurred, whereby many inhabitants died from hunger, while others voluntarily offered themselves as slaves to ships that arrived here.'⁴ At that time, too, many horses were eaten.' The whole place – as he says further – 'is strangely dilapidated, which no doubt

in Domp. The famine has been so severe that even one of his own daughters died from hunger. I presented him with three *coyangs* of rice in your name, for which he appeared most truly thankful.' Oppenheimer, 'Climatic, Environmental and Human Consequences of the Largest Known Historic Eruption', p. 248.

3 A 'Memorie van overgave' from 1927 speaks about the immediate consequences of the lapse of autonomy, which was not entirely pleasing to the local population. After the voluntary abdication of the last raja, Abdullah, in 1926, Raja Sakuru from Bima governed Sanggar on behalf of the sultan. However, the Katonga, a grandee of the old ruler, tried to proclaim the eldest son of Abdullah (probably Abdul Aziz, d. 1983). The other grandees, however, made sure that the attempt failed. The Katonga was summoned by the assistant resident and reprimanded. It was nevertheless clear that the frail Raja Sakuru was not the man for the post. Schumacher, 'Afdeeling Soembawa, Memorie van overgave', 23 Juni 1927, MMK 351, Nationaal Archief. Shortly after this, Sanggar was formally merged with Bima (1928). Members of the raja's family later served as *jeneli* or *camat* of Sanggar in the postcolonial period, notably Abdullah's son, Muhammad Yacub Abdullah (1954-1960), and grandson, Abdul Razak Aziz (1966-1969, 1972-1974). Aziz, 'Rangkaian peristiwa di kerajaan Sanggar'.

4 It is also clear that many Bimanese and other Sumbawans fled to other islands. As far away as in the non-Muslim Tana Ai region in East Flores there are descendants of refugees from the Tambora eruption. Lewis, *The Stranger-Kings of Sikka*, p. 394.

mainly must be attributed to the havoc caused by the earthquakes and the volcanic eruptions' (*Reinwardt's reis* etc., pp. 316, 317).

Bik adds here, that the palace, as the consequence of some recent quakes, was still uninhabited. 'Some chambers with golden skins hanging all over, gave proof of the former glory; however, in general the princely residence was quite dilapidated. The sultan now lived in a bamboo structure, high above the ground, where the furniture had been fastened just like on board a ship' (Th. Bik, 'Aanteekeningen nopens eene reis' etc., p. 125). In 1834, the villages in Bima appeared to be wholly uninhabited, according to Commander C.H. Steijns in a memorandum from that year. In 1847 Zollinger describes Sumbawa as a disconsolate, vast area covered with thick ashes.

[*Pirates*]

In general the first half of the former century was seemingly a period of standstill or even decline. Pirates showed up around 1810 in some coastal *negorijen*. In 1818 even the king of the unfortunate Sanggar fled from the pirates to Bima, while the population went to the Dompu area, only returning to their old settlements in 1844.⁵ Gowa reiterated its claim to Manggarai in 1822.⁶

[*Ismail, 1819-1854*]

No important prince appears to have ruled in these days. The downhearted Abdul Hamid abdicated in 1819⁷ in Bima and was followed by

5 The threat posed by the pirates is extensively described in the *Syair Kerajaan Bima*, a work of 487 verses composed some years after the Tambora eruption. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1235; Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, pp. 295-305. An aspect of the rampant piratical activities was the demand for slaves. Hundreds of thousands of people passed through the East Indian slave markets between the 1770s and the 1840s. The region supposedly contained the most comprehensive slave system outside the Atlantic world. D'Arcy Wood, *Tambora*, p. 15.

6 Manggarai, while suffering badly from the effects of the Tambora eruption, also gained from it by severing its ties with Bima, which was severely weakened by the disaster. The inhabitants were obliged to send tribute to the Bima court, consisting of slaves, cinnamon, mats, horses, chickens and dogs, but stopped doing so without the Bimanese being able to force them. It was only in 1851 that Bima could retake its old position in West Flores. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', pp. 50-51.

7 The date of Abdul Hamid's death is otherwise given as 14 July 1817, but the date on his grave is erroneously given as 24 June 1819. The editor has not been able to confirm that he abdicated in favour of his son. He nevertheless sent envoys to the British in Makassar in 1816 to ask that his son be confirmed as his successor. Bimanese historiography states that Abdul Hamid was followed by his son, Sultan Ismail Muhammad Syah, born in 1797, after his demise. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 238; Noorduyin, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 56, 87, 110.

his son, Ismail, about whom Reinwardt notes: 'According to the resident, the raja himself is an insignificant and very ignorant person, who spends his time smoking opium and sleeping.' On the other hand, the regent 'appears to be a prudent man', but he was 72 years old (Reinwardt, op. cit., p. 320). It is not likely that this was the same regent (if not, Reinwardt estimated his age wrongly) as the one about whom the commander Steyns writes: 'One finds almost no evildoers who escape the watchful eye of the regent.'⁸ Not only did the regent secure the general order, but he also carried out governmental projects, such as the construction of water conduits. In 1837 there is mention of the deposing of the regent. Is it the same one?

Vermeulen, who testifies about Abdul Hamid that he was 'a very polite man, very curious and attentive about everything', finds that the son, still a youngster of 14 or so, 'looks like a real blockhead'. Zollinger paid his respect to him in 1847, and describes him as follows: 'The sultan is a stately person of 54 years. He speaks good Malay, but during the conversation he had a preoccupied appearance. His hair and beard is grey. His face is unpleasant, yellow and dry, and displays the saddest traces of the devastating consequences of an excessive use of opium.'

[*Decline in Bima*]

The sultans of Bima, incidentally, were not poor people. Van Schelle and Tobias estimate the incomes of Ismail as no less than 25,000 dollars, mainly obtained from the tribute brought from Manggarai.⁹ The property

8 From Bimanese historiography it appears that the Raja Bicara in the era of the Tambora eruption was Abdul Nabi, father-in-law of Sultan Ismail. He passed away in 1839 at age 97, and he was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Yakub, who held the post of Raja Bicara (Ruma Bicara) until 1864. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, p. 241; Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 57, 89; Ismail, *Peran kesultanan Bima dalam perjalanan sejarah Nusantara*, pp. 130, 138; Chambert-Loir & Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, p. 609.

9 The economic status of Bima in this era has been investigated by I Gde Parimarttha, who has identified five trading zones in eastern Indonesia: Bima-Sumbawa (exporting horses, sappanwood, grams etc.), Ampenan on Lombok (rice, horses), Ende-Waingapu (horses, slaves), Solor-Alor-Larantuka (cotton, corn, tran), and Timor and surroundings (sandalwood, horses, beeswax). Evidence from the early 1830s suggests that Bima was once again able to produce sufficient rice, cotton and teak. From 1832 to 1847, 186 larger ships and 726 *perahus* visited the harbour of Bima, while 175 larger ships and 974 *perahus* departed. The arriving ships came from Java, Madura, Sumatra, Bali, Lombok, Kalimantan, Lingga, Sumbawa Proper, Singapore, Melaka, Timor, Sumba and so on. From the destination of the departing ships it appears that Makassar and surroundings were by far the most important trading partners (66 per cent), while Java with Batavia accounted for 15.5 per cent, Nusa Tenggara 8 per cent, Singapore and Melaka 7 per cent, and Maluku no more than 2.2 per cent. Thus Bima was a not inconsequential crossroads

left by Sultan Ismail in 1854 was estimated as about 600,000 guilders. The one to whom we owe this information, however, describes a dilapidated state of things in 1854. About the palace he says: 'Imagine a large bamboo stall with a 20-degree inclination before and above you, almost without a roof and with holes here and there ... Furthermore, everything that belonged to the palace and was situated there was of the same quality as the building. The artillery equipment consisted of four rusty old ship's cannons without gun carriages, and three long and slim copper cannons from the age of the East Indies Company; the last-mentioned have the luck to still have their gun carriages, though mouldered and without wheels ... [A] dirty and torn collection' (Just, 'Een paar uren te Bima etc.', p. 238). However, Ismail had a bodyguard consisting of 200 men according to *Vervolg geschiedenis*.

We should not merely note the cultural decline of Sumbawa that is apparent in the reports from this period, but also a malaise in the reporting itself. This is a time of colonial lack of money and a policy of restraint. We may also note a somewhat denigrating attitude in the reports about Sumbawa in this period which is not found in the early writings, for example that of Speelman.¹⁰

between different parts of maritime Southeast Asia. Parimarta, *Perdagangan dan politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915*, pp. 193-195. This is reinforced by the findings of Christiaan Heersink: Makassar's role in South Sulawesi trade declined after the end of the eighteenth century, and Bugis traders increasingly used Bima and West Sumbawa as outlets. Traders from Selayar had indirect access to Singapore and other places in the Archipelago via Bima, bringing maritime products, textiles, nuts, coconuts, oil etc. Heersink, *Dependence on Green Gold*, pp. 96-97, 103-104. As for Manggarai, the merchant Freijss writes that the Bimanese concentrated at Reo and Potta on the north coast by 1848 while the sultan strictly forbade outsiders to visit the interior. The greater *dalus* had to deliver ten slaves per year, the minor *dalus* five slaves, apart from beeswax, livestock etc. Those delivered as slaves were not only wrongdoers but also ordinary villagers. They were brought to Reo and Potta and shipped over to Sape; most ended up in the mountainous settlement Wera as the sultan's property. Freijss, 'Reizen naar Mangarai en Lombok in 1854-1856', pp. 443-444, 452.

10 This is a well-known phenomenon in European images of the non-Western world. Ideas of racial differences and European exceptionalism took off in the course of the nineteenth century, although elements of this had been present in the early modern period. While the indigenous elites were seen as dependent but autonomous allies in the VOC era and were accorded an amount of respect, the Indonesian rulers were increasingly seen as obstacles to development and good governance in the post-1816 period.

The Sumbawa Kingdom

[*Sumbawa in the first decades of the nineteenth century*]

The Tambora eruption, which in the words of Junghuhn, 'belongs to the most horrible that have taken place across the earth in human memory' (Junghuhn, *Java*, III, p. 1389), caused time to stand still in Sumbawa, too. About the Kingdom of Sumbawa, Radermacher rightly says in 1824: 'Of all the overseas kingdoms it would have been the most fearful, had not its internal divisions been so great. Every grandee has some *negorij*s under his absolute rule, not to speak of the princedoms of which each one is so powerful that it may wage a veritable war. If they all follow the sultan, then he becomes majestic, but if some are discontented, then everything falls apart and the king is no longer safe. Furthermore, the largest *negorij*, Sumbauwa, is very strong and is surrounded by a sizeable wall, six feet thick' (Radermacher, *Korte beschrijving*, p. 184).

Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin, who held power until 1816, was certainly not 'majestic'. He was – says the Resident Vermeulen in 1801 – 'a handsome man, though very shy in front of people, especially Europeans, and he had little or nothing to contribute'.

[*Interregnum, 1816-1837*]

After him there was an interregnum in Sumbawa that according to Ligtvoet lasted until 1837.¹¹ Certainly there was mention in 1816 of a certain king, Manjarola, but because of his youth and unfitness he stood under the governance of the Dea Ranga, whose name was Lo Along.¹² Furthermore, this period was supposedly more turbulent than calm, since the troubled situation in nearby Lombok certainly influenced the situation in Sumbawa (C. Lekkerkerker, 'Het voorspel der vestiging van de Nederlandsche macht op Bali en Lombok', *BKI* 79 [1923], p. 288).¹³

¹¹ One source mentions an adventurer from Banjarmasin who established his authority in the desolate kingdom in 1820 and temporarily expelled the royal family with the help of Datu Taliwang. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I, p. 681.

¹² Other sources mention two regents during the interregnum: Nene Ranga Mele Manyurang (Manjarola or Lo Along of Held's text?) in 1816-1820 or 1825, and Nene Ranga Mele Abdullah in 1825-1836. Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, p. 41.

¹³ Conditions in the Sumbawa Sultanate are briefly mentioned by the Dutch commissioner Emanuel Francis, who made a stopover on the island on his way to Timor in 1831. As he says, the kingdom produced enough rice by this time to feed its tiny population, and was able to export 30 to 40 *koyan* of rice (up to 100 tonnes) and some sappanwood each year. This trade was entirely

[*Sumbawa a 'nest of intrigues'*]

There is no doubt that Sumbawa, that 'nest of intrigues', was a haven of refuge for other nations. The whalers came thither, as did the English, who kept an eye on this region after Raffles. With the emergence of Australia there was more shipping through the straits of these islands. In the secret daily records of the governor of Makassar, there is a careful notation on 20 December 1781 (during the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War) that mentions English ships in the Sape Strait. The resident, Vermeulen, mentions the presence of English ships, which stopped at Gili Banta Island in order to take on provisions. However, English shipping in the Sape Strait was not exceedingly troublesome, since Vermeulen's successor only mentions one case in a period of five years. It was much easier to go along West Sumbawa or Lombok, where the Company did not have much to say. Piracy and slave hunting were not rare occurrences in these lands in that era.

[*Lalu Mesir, 1837-1843*]

In 1837 the influence of Sumbawa over the other petty states in the surroundings area was once again so strong that there is mention of a king: Lalu Mesir, son of Manjarola.¹⁴

[*Amarullah, 1843-1883*]

He was succeeded by Amarullah, the first prince who was again able to make an impression and who was confirmed in his authority in Makassar in 1846. He was the prince with whom Zollinger had dealings with in his trip in 1847 and about whose lack of cooperation and minor influence in the other parts of West Sumbawa he complains. Zollinger describes him

with the government. There were also plenty of horses. Francis alleges that Muslim conservatism was so strong that the sick would not take medicine, which would have been sacrilegious against God's supreme knowledge! Francis, 'Van Batavia naar Timor Koepang', p. 10. The two decades following the Tambora disaster saw a shift in the settlement pattern, since many inhabitants of West Sumbawa moved uphill, to forested areas less affected by the ash rain. There they cultivated dry rice on swidden fields, forming new, semi-autonomous communities. De Jong Boers, 'Mount Tambora in 1815', p. 45.

14 As apparent from a letter by the postholder of Bima in 1837, Lalu Marso or Lalu Mesir was appointed ruler in early 1837. He was, however, the son of the long-deceased Muhammad Kaharuddin (not 'Manjarola', the mysterious person said to have ruled in 1816). He was eighteen years old when his father and three brothers died from an epidemic. For unclear reasons, Lalu Mesir was not formally enthroned for the next 21 years. The new sultan, however, died later in the same year (thus not 1843 as Held believed) and was succeeded by his younger brother, Amarullah, born in c. 1813. Noorduyin, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 14, 25. Held's mistake is caused by the failure of the Sumbawan grandees to report the demise of Lalu Mesir until the year 1843. Kartodirdjo, *Ikhtisar keadaan politik Hindia-Belanda tahun 1839-1848*, pp. 324-325.

as 'someone of circa 30 years and of small stature, who does not dare to do much without his grandees. The greatest influence is exercised by the Dea or regent. Like the sultan, he is accused of avarice, which induces him to fleece his people in various ways' (Zollinger, loc. cit., pp. [24-25]).¹⁵

[*Resistance by Alas and Setelok, 1853*]

In 1853, Amarullah subjugated Setelok and Alas by force. Zollinger remarked that Dea Damon Alas was not very attached to Sumbawa. He encountered many slaves there; many Javanese women and also Papuans. The *demung* of Alas, according to Zollinger an old, sturdily built man, was accused of sympathizing with the pirates. In Lopeh and Taliwang the orders of the sultan were not really very effectual either. Finally, Amarullah undertook an armed expedition. The Sultan of Bima and his Raja Bicara now called for government intervention, since they were kinsmen of the *demungs* of Alas and Setelok, the latter being a man of about 76, according to Zollinger in 1847. The governmental intervention came too late, however. Alas and Setelok were subjugated. The *demung* of Setelok passed away during these actions, and the *demung* of Alas was, to the great sorrow of Bima, brought back to Bima.¹⁶

15 A few further particularities from the time of Amarullah are given by Lalu Manca. Inter-island trade made great advances with schooners going between Sumbawa and Singapore. The sultan had some experience of the world outside Sumbawa and guided his people in a progressive direction. Coffee was grown in the hills of Batu Lanteh and Ropang, and cattle was raised on Moyo Island. In 1862 a defensive wall was built around the old palace by Nene Ranga Mele Unru; it fell into disrepair and disappeared in the twentieth century. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, p. 154.

16 The conflict is related somewhat differently in Sumbawan historiography. The immediate reason for the encounter was that Naria Dea Maswidi Setelok (alias Jempe) of Seran ignored paying the customary fees of honour for three years. When every means of reconciliation had failed the Dea Ranga Berang Mele Banggae departed with a number of grandees and troops on 15 October 1853. The *sakti*-ness of the Dea Ranga became apparent on the march, as the chili fruits along the way became tasteless. Jempe subsequently showed up without kris and capitulated, and 20 chiefs were brought to Sumbawa Besar as prisoners. Three ringleaders including Jempe received death sentences, while the others were sent back to Seran. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 153-154. For further details about the rebellion drawn from official Dutch reports, see Noorduyin, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 25-28.

Dompu

[*Abdul Rasul 1808-1857*]

In Dompu, too, there is little to tell about the first half of the century. During that time Abdul Rasul reigned for an extended period, if the year of his accession is not faulty.¹⁷ Zollinger, who had pleasant contacts with Dompu, describes him thus: 'He is a tall, somewhat stout, pock-marked, middle-aged person. He only speaks a little Malay, but otherwise seems intelligent and enterprising, and surely has good intentions for his land. He does not use any strong drinks and very little opium, others say – generally speaking, none' (Zollinger, op. cit., p. [20]).

[*Daeng Uma Li*]

Whether Dompu was really that peaceful during these long years is not quite clear, however. Seemingly, Abdul Rasul had reason to make a treaty in 1832, implying that he would be followed by his eldest son, called Muhammad Safar, a Bumi Daka Tau. Later, however, there was clearly trouble about the succession, for there is a vague tradition about a certain Achmad Nawawi, better known as Daeng Uma Li, who was a younger brother of the sultan Muhammad Salahuddin. This Daeng Uma Li was also known as *pamusu ro pabelo*, the pirate, since he withdrew from Dompu in 1857 filled with indignation, and wished to see it [Dompu] ravaged rather than governed by his brother, Salahuddin. He went to Silipara (= Selaparang, Lombok), and came back after some time. He landed at the well-known place of origins, Tonda, from where people fled to Doro rire in the vicinity. He was, namely, a man with *sakti* and moreover appeared masked. After landing, he went further to Senen Ntoi in the mountains, about which the following anecdote is told. On the way he met a certain Ama Tambaha, who was so afraid of the masked man that he jumped up on his horse without realizing that the animal was tied. To the great amusement of Daeng Uma Li, he rode around in a circle, and that saved the poor man's life. Out of gratefulness he became a follower of Daeng Uma Li. After some time, however, the latter returned to Lombok, where he married a certain Sena. He eventually came back again to Dompu together with his wife, and spent his last years in peace in Kampung Soro by Kempo, where his miraculous kris is still preserved.

17 This sultan moved his residence from Bata Palace to Bata Baharu (Bata Bou) Palace, presently the site of Mesjid Baiturrahman Dompu. The move was apparently related to the Tambora disaster. 'Latar belakang sejarah', p. 101; *Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, p. 121.

[*Oral tradition*]

I have rendered this story in full since it demonstrates how little history was in fact transmitted via the oral tradition. Surely this was not because the Sumbawans were uninterested in history; in fact, the opposite is the case. But they do not possess the information through which it is possible to place historical facts in a context. Thus, it may occur that they cannot even place written information that they possess, which is often quite reliable. I have the story about Daeng Uma Li from old H. Ali, who heard it from his father.

[*The mythical representations of the Tambora disaster*]

Even for the Tambora disaster, the actual events have been incorporated in the old struggle for prestige between the two kingdoms. In its mythical reworking – which was found in almost the same form by Junghuhn a hundred years ago (*Java*, III, p. 1263) – the description of the Tambora disaster runs thus: ‘There was once in Tambora a pious *sayyid* who preached Islam for the still not particularly faithful Tamborese Muslims, initially with the consent of the raja. When the *sayyid* one day came into the *mesjid* in order to perform the *salat*, he encountered a dog that he chased away with stones. It was, however, the dog of the raja himself, who was then so enraged that he had the dog slaughtered and gave to the *sayyid* to eat, without him knowing what it was. And on the question of the raja, the *sayyid* declared that he found the food given to him quite tasty, *‘Alhamdu li’llahi.*’ Scornful, the raja explained what the poor man had really eaten. As the prize for this outrage, he now wanted to burn the poor *sayyid*, and build a large pyre at the field of execution. However, as the pyre was lit, the whole land with the evil king and the people were burnt through the power of God.”¹⁸ That Dompou too suffered badly from this disaster was not even known, nor was the answer to the question what happened to the *sayyid*. People in Dompou who supposedly escaped the fire were still pointed out. They were found to be stouter and hairier than the ordinary Dompunese, and formidable in their behaviour, just like their exterminated ancestors. If we did not know the true state of things, we would not easily recognize this account as the

18 In some versions, reported by Henri Chambert-Loir, the main protagonist of the story is an Arab called either Haji Mustafa or Said Idrus. He is actually killed by the Tambora ruler, Abdul Gafar, an act that triggers the eruption. Comparable tales are known from West Java, Ternate, Sangihe and so on: a natural disaster is directly caused by the serious transgressions of individuals, being collective divine sanctions against the group which has accepted or protected persons violating collective norms. Chambert-Loir, ‘Mythes et archives’, pp. 236-237. Supernatural stories are told in modern times about the ghosts of the last Tambora king and his daughter, who may bring misfortune on people who approach the volcano. D’Arcy Wood, *Tambora*, pp. 25-26.

description of a terrible volcanic eruption. When the temporary union between Dompu and Bima was again dissolved in 1947, a white bird was noticed at the time of deliberation about the issue which flew through the convention hall and out through a window. The informants paid so much attention to this incident in their description of the deliberations, that the issue of dissolution, which should have been foremost in their minds, faded into the background. How important it is to read mythology against historical events is shown by Professor Berg in his investigation of Javanese mythography.

[Daeng Manrangka, the last of Tambora]

Even after the Tambora disaster, that kingdom, in a last convulsion, did not leave its old enemy Dompu in peace. About 1850, namely, a certain Daeng Manrangka appeared, who claimed to be a nephew [*volle neef*] of the last King of Tambora, and who applied to the government to reside with his people in the area of Kadinding, east of Pulau Moyo and south-east of Satonda, in the empty land of the former kingdom. In 1855, however, he resided in the Kampung Tompong, the same territory that Tambora and Dompu had quarrelled about for centuries. In spite of protests from Dompu, which now again asserted its rights to Tompong and claimed to harvest incomes from that quarter, Daeng Manrangka was acknowledged as lord of Tompong. Those in Makassar were probably not aware that Daeng Manrangka referred to historical recollections, since the governor of Makassar inquired how Dompu could draw income from an uninhabited territory.

[Daeng Manrangka is removed, 1856]

Daeng Manrangka was clearly not a cautious man, since he began to exert pressure on kampungs in the area of Dompu in the same year. As a result of his oppressive behaviour, his mandate was withdrawn, but Dompu was not yet content and demanded that Daeng Manrangka be removed. In 1861 there was a fight resulting in victims on both sides. The government then realized that they had let things go too far, and arrested Daeng Manrangka and sent him to Makassar. It was agreed that he would vacate his rule over Tompong within three months and take up residence somewhere else on Sumbawa, but just as an ordinary subject without any special authority. From an investigation it appeared that Dompu and Tambora indeed had quarrelled over this territory for years, and the claims of Dompu were rejected.

[*Assignment of Taloko, 1862*]

The claims of Dompou on the area near Taloko were confirmed in 1862, despite having been settled by people from Sanggar in the meantime. There were continuing conflicting opinions about the territory to the south and east of the division of flowing water formed by the Pekat and Labumbu Mountains.

[*Lasting complaints by Dompou, 1892*]

In 1892 the conflict flared up again (Sanggar was then united with Tambora), as the Sultan of Dompou highhandedly moved the border signs, again probably in the Tompong quarters. The Sultan of Dompou even refused to contribute further to the upkeep of the fort in Bima. The governor of Makassar dealt with this in person, and only when he threatened military action did Dompou acquiesce.

[*Religious movement*]

We have less information about the nineteenth century than one would expect.¹⁹ This is partly because this period, especially the first half of the century, was not a time of great prosperity and also because Sumbawa was severely affected by the Tambora eruption. However, significant alterations did take place, which we, however, can reconstruct, albeit with reservations due to the scarcity of the reports. This is, namely, changes in the area of religion.

When Zollinger made his famous journey to Sumbawa in 1847 it occurred to him [that the Sumbawans generally paid a great deal of attention to religion].²⁰ We find in these people a certain puritan spiritual character which is adverse to vain amusements, the wearing of ornaments, and so on. A certain Haji Ali had great influence in Sumbawa. Moral preachers cross the land and incite people to awareness and repentance. Playing, singing and dancing are considered vain pastimes. Precious things are handed in to serve pious ends.

¹⁹ This is true for much of Outer Indonesia in the first half of the nineteenth century. The circumstantial detail and regularity of the old VOC reports is not matched by the (preserved) output of the early post-VOC period, and it is difficult to find materials that highlight day-to-day affairs in the minor Dutch posts.

²⁰ The preceding passage is crossed out in Held's manuscript. The rest of the paragraph seems to be a *précis* of the contents of Zollinger's text.

[*Influences from Mecca?*]

Zollinger mentions all this in connection with the consequences of the Tambora disaster, which would have pulled people away from the vanity of the human existence.²¹ One may certainly assume that this disaster had a certain influence on the entire spiritual state [of the people], but there are undoubtedly other factors as well, and certainly the influence of Mecca itself.²² Up to today the Sumbawans produce a large per cent of the [Indonesian] performers of the *haji*. According to Snouck Hurgronje, it was in particular learned persons from Banten, Batavia and Sumbawa who kept the Jawa colony in Mecca in high esteem. From the time of Snouck Hurgronje we know of the religious scholars Zainuddin and Omar Sumbawa, who came from Sumbawa. To an older generation belongs a certain Abdulghani of Bima (C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, p. 385).

[*Abdulghani*]

A certain Abdulghani bin al-Marhum Syubuh bin Ismail was the guru of Sultan Salahuddin of Dompu. In 1862 the latter transferred the *sawah* fields Jado, Tolo Kore and Mpangga into a *wakap*,²³ that is, inalienable and hereditary possessions. The descendants of this famous man still stand in high honour, in particular a certain Syekh Modali, who is said to be a grandson of Abdulghani. A number of offspring of his other grandson, Muhammad, still live in Dompu and are referred by the title of *syekh*. The Dompu descendants do not have much to say about their famous ancestor, apart from the fact that his descendants still administer the *wakap* that was created by him. They assert that the *wakap* was founded by Raja Turki,²⁴ but it is much more likely that it was paid for by the ornaments and gold that Abdulghani as well as the aforementioned Haji Ali had collected. It is clear that during their time a number of ornaments of the kingdom were turned into money to support pious aims, and that remnants of the old Hinduism here and there were removed. Various wonder tales are related about Abdulghani, but people also recall that he promoted a stricter view of life. For example, he forbade the smoking of cigarettes, but not the drinking of coffee. In Dompu he supposedly let the *suba* determine whether the

21 It is probably a correct sociological observation that humans tend towards religious purity in times of severe societal stress.

22 It might be added that Hadhrami Arabs gained increasing commercial influence in Sumbawa and Sumba by the 1840s, not less due to the horse trade. Clarence-Smith, 'Cape to Siberia', p. 62. Religio-cultural influences likely accompanied these contacts.

23 *Waqf*, religious endowment.

24 In other words, the sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

people performed the *salat*²⁵ in good order. A *modin*²⁶ who did not take care to announce the right times [for prayer] ran the risk of being beaten up. The *juba*,²⁷ which the women of Dompu still wear, would also have been introduced as an honourable female garment under the influence of Abdulghani.

[*Abdulghani on Lombok, 1850*]

In the *Vervolg geschiedenis van Celebes* [Continuation of the history of Sulawesi], one may read that Abdulghani enjoyed influence on Lombok in about 1850, where he preached the new teachings to the Lombok Muslims. What the new teachings consisted of is not explained, but judging from what was told of Abdulghani in Dompu, one may conclude that he aimed at a revival of the old orthodoxy. If he is the same scholar whom Professor Snouck Hurgronje mentioned, we thus have a direct tie with the reinforced Meccan influence which also aroused so much reaction in West Sumatra in these decades, and led to the Padri Wars there. Also, Abdulghani was not a lone figure; there were more faithful who strove for related ideals, such as the above-mentioned Haji Ali in Sumbawa. One may ask if the appearance of Abdulghani on Lombok may have been related to the currently known contradiction between the *waktu telu* and *waktu lima*.²⁸

[*Sasak Muslims to Sumbawa*]

In any case, Abdulghani preached the freedom of religion for the Muslims, against the authority of the Balinese princes.²⁹ When the Balinese took

25 *Salah*, prayer.

26 Otherwise known as *muezzin*, the person calling for prayer.

27 An ankle-length garment of Middle East origin, also known as *jubba*.

28 *Waktu telu*, '(those who pray) three times', is the syncretist Muslim group on Lombok, which mixes Muslim practices with ancestor veneration and worship of *dewas*. *Waktu lima*, '(those who pray) five times', are the more orthodox Muslims of the island, increasingly dominant in modern time. Parimartha, *Perdagangan dan politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915*, p. 38.

29 Lombok was politically split between several Hindu-Balinese kingdoms, and some Sasak vassal states in the early nineteenth century. After a bloody series of wars the island was united under the Mataram branch of the Karangasem Dynasty in 1839. The new regime made considerable efforts to control the movements of its subjects. Parimartha, *Perdagangan dan politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915*, pp. 228-232. It is debatable if there were religious restrictions directed against Muslims during the Balinese rule on Lombok, although individual clerics may have been persecuted for political reasons. The old Sasak elite in central and eastern Lombok was defeated in the Praya War of 1843 and the Kalijaga War of 1855-1856. The last-mentioned conflict was preceded by the murder of three *hajis* on the orders of the King of Lombok, triggering events that led to the exodus of more than 400 Muslims to Sumbawa in 1856. *Sejarah daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, pp. 90-97; Freijss, 'Reizen naar Mangarai en Lombok in 1854-1856', p. 491.

steps against this, a number of Sasak Muslims went over to Alas and Setelok where they were granted asylum – exactly the places against which Amarullah had undertaken an expedition in 1853. Now the Balinese demanded the extradition of the Sasak refugees from the ruler of Sumbawa, which the latter refused on the instigation of Abdulghani. He announced this refusal in a writing to Makassar.

[*Bakkers in Sumbawa*]

Upon this, the Balinese asked Makassar for permission to start a war with Sumbawa, leading Dompu to choose the side of Sumbawa. Now the governor of Makassar wrote letters to Sumbawa and Dompu where he explained that they let themselves be entirely led by the religious scholar who was considered a 'prophet'. Later on, the government in Batavia described this meddling in religious affairs as careless. Meanwhile the *gezaghebber* of Bulekomba, Bakkers, went to Sumbawa as the commissioner of the governor in order to hand over the letters of the governor. Amarullah defended himself by assuring that he did not, generally speaking, maintain any Sasaks in Sumbawa; that he was also willing to extradite slaves who had escaped from their masters; but that he refused to contribute to the extradition of the leaders of the Sasak refugees on Sumbawa, Radin Maraja and Radin Wira. Bakkers insisted that Amarullah must send the two persons to Makassar and put them under the protection of the government.

[*Radin Maraja and Radin Wira*]

Bakkers almost managed to arrange for the two princes to give themselves up to him. They were already on their way to Sumbawa with that aim, but when they approached the *kota* they had second thoughts and fled, first to Dompu and then to Bima. They remained there with the approval of the government and enjoyed an allowance of 1 guilder per day. When Radin Maraja improperly appeared in Makassar and asked for permission to wage war against Lombok, the government decided to apprehend him, with force if necessary. Now Radin Maraja was quick to declare that what he had in mind was less a war than an attempt to liberate his wife and children on Lombok. The Balinese princes assured that they would pardon the two princes if they appeared on Lombok and subjugated themselves before them; however, they replied, perhaps not unwisely, that they would rather lose their monthly allowance of 30 guilders than go back to Lombok. How the matter ended, I have not been able to find out. The *Vervolg* only goes up to 1865.

[*Koloniaal verslag*, 1856]

In the *Koloniaal verslag* of 1856, one may read about this affair on p. 22:

A certain Abdulghani, who originated from Dompu on Sumbawa, but who had, as one person asserted, resided in Mecca and later Malacca for long periods, made attempts on Lombok to convert the Buddhists to Islam.³⁰ However, he was expelled by the princes of Selaparang and took refuge on Sumbawa with some followers, where he was shown great honour as a religious teacher. The princes of Selaparang complained about him to the government, and asserted that the Sultan of Sumbawa was incited by Abdulghani to wage a war against them. The veracity of this assertion was, however, not confirmed. However, an investigation on location was implemented on orders of the Governor-General, by the civil *gezaghebber* of Bonthain and Bulekombu, to which end he was sent there by the governor of Sulawesi with His Majesty's schooner brig *Sylph*. Abdulghani later arrived at the Kingdom of Bima (also on Sumbawa) and enjoyed great honour there, too.

[*Stronger state powers*]

Contemporary with the 'preaching of this new creed', a clear alteration can be seen in the constitutional conditions. One sees, namely, that a number of princes all over the island act more resolutely, introduce religious reforms and reduce the sphere of influence of the old adat functions.

The Sumbawa Kingdom

[*Imam Mahadi 1881*]

Regarding Sumbawa we already spoke of Amarullah's actions against the chiefs of Setelok and Alas, and the arrival of Muslims from Lombok at the same time. In 1881 there was trouble in Sumbawa which was caused

by a Bimanese who had settled there, by the name of Imam Mahadi, who preached a new religious creed and thereby pretended to be a prince from old times who had risen from the dead. When the Sultan of Sumbawa summoned him he refused to appear, and even turned to armed

³⁰ The remark indicates confusion between Hinduism and Buddhism in the Dutch perception. There is in fact a marginal group on Lombok called Bodas, but they are not Buddhists in any meaningful sense of the word, keeping a blend of ancestral religion and Hindu principles.

resistance against the messengers who had been sent to him. When the sultan wanted to force him to submit a clash occurred, whereby the followers of the troublemaker were put to flight and he himself was so badly wounded that he died as a consequence. According to the reports of the government officials there, who were sent to Sumbawa to investigate what had happened, the support that Mahadi enjoyed must be credited the discontent that many people felt about the governance of the sultan, who waited for years to fill the office of *dea ranga* [first minister]. The sultan wished (in accordance with most of the members of the *hadat*) that his grandson should fill this role, while the people did not want any other first minister than one of the sons of the deceased title holder, who was the legal successor according to the regulations of the land. As a consequence of this the governor demanded the indigenous rule on Sumbawa to fill this office according to the wishes of the people without delay. (*Koloniaal verslag*, 1881)

[*Deeper background?*]

One would like to know more about this event, for example about the 'prince from old times who had risen from the dead'. The Batara Gowa movement in South Sulawesi, namely, was reported to have repercussions on Sumbawa, and it was therefore quite possibly a return of the movement from South Sulawesi, which expected a messiah. From the name of the leader of the movement one may also conclude that it involved a much wider movement in the Muslim world, namely that of the Mahdi (about this, one may read Snouck Hurgronje, V.G. 1).

[*Alteration of power relations*]

The information about the 'people', who could always be made protagonists with their 'wishes', was also unsatisfactory. The wrestling over power between the prince and the Raja Bicara dates far back in time, and the Raja Bicara naturally had his followers (just like all the other grandees of the kingdom who wished to acquire more central power).

This suggests that we might see the revival of the old orthodoxy in these movements, where the princes on Sumbawa steadily chose the side of Islam. In the course of events one could then see a further development of the process that started two centuries before, when the prince began to break loose from the total state ritual in which he was only an exponent at first. In the nineteenth century the prince had the power and money to allow himself more freedom in relation to the contractual ties with many grandees who filled their traditional functions based on gifts and duties.

By allying with the orthodox faction against the old adat, which was not exactly directed towards a purification of public life, the prince aroused resistance from some groups, but he gained hold of others and was able to withstand the pressure of the state council. He also did so by strengthening the position of the *hukum*, whose members did not just owe their position to estate and property, but also had to possess personal qualities. In a certain sense, it was a process of democratization which also brought dangerous consequences with it.

[*Defensor fidei*]

As *defensor fidei*, namely, the prince was not only committed to defend the purity of the true religion, but also oppose the Netherlands Indies government itself, which was at any rate non-Muslim. Precisely at this time, however, the strengthened influence from that government was being felt. It only remained for the prince to adapt to this, with all the disadvantageous consequences that followed from it. It then became all the more easy for the grandees of the kingdom to act as defenders of religion in turn.

It is in the light of this that I will regard the subsequent events. Amarullah, who paid a fine at the beginning of his reign because of piracy committed in his kingdom, received gifts in 1860 for the relief that he brought in refloating the stranded ship *Phoenix*.

[*Muhammad Jalaluddin, 1883-1931*]

Of his grandson and successor (the same who was also launched as candidate for the office of first minister), it was testified at [Muhammad Jalaluddin's] demise after a very long government, that he 'wielded an unusually extensive power over his people. His demise must be considered a great loss.' He was determined to go further on the road that his grandfather had hesitatingly entered, and was increasingly inclined to cooperate with the Netherlands Indies government, for the introduction of increasingly purposeful and modern-minded governance.³¹

31 In his 'Memorie van overgave' from 1931, Resident Karthaus held a very high opinion of Muhammad Jalaluddin and his son and successor, Muhammad Kaharuddin ('a young man with good gifts and an honest character'). He held Sumbawa Proper higher than Bima in several respects. The ruler stood in close contact with the various *demungs* (regional heads). He toured his kingdom frequently, had a good knowledge of the administration of the territorial treasure and the recently introduced land rent. A certain rivalry with Bima was visible in Sumbawa Proper; neither of the two kingdoms would ask for support from, nor provide any support to, the other. Karthaus, 'Memorie van overgave', pp. 78-79.

Figure 5 A frontal view of the Dalam Loka, the old palace of Sumbawa Besar, which was built in 1885



Photo: Hans Hägerdal

[*Intervention from Gowa: 1883?*]

This is probably the background of a certain boom in Gowanese enterprises, which we again find mentioned in this period.

Rumours about inheritance issues among the family members of the Prince of Sumbawa who died in 1883 appeared to be unfounded when investigated. Meanwhile, a few Gowanese princes and their armed retainers had already sailed over to Sumbawa in secret, in order to assist their brother, a son-in-law of the deceased, with force if necessary. The Prince of Gowa immediately called the two princes back and fined them for their self-willed act. When the Arab quarter by the town of Sumbawa burned down a few weeks later suspicions were raised, that clandestinely remaining Gowanese had started the conflagration in order to rob and plunder during the confusion. Indeed, a group from Gowa must have stayed there for a while, but it withdrew shortly after the conflagration. (*Koloniaal verslag* 1885)

[*Dr. and Mrs. Elbert in Sumbawa: 1910*]

The Elberts experienced that there was still a reserved attitude to strangers when they approached this place during their travels in early 1910. They did not manage to persuade the sultan to cooperate fully, and Dr. Elbert grimly declared that Jamaluddin was 'a weak and inert ruler, who would hopefully soon be deprived of his personal rule by the Netherlands Indies government' (Elbert, *Die Sunda-Expedition*, p. 116). I have already mentioned that the government judged Jalaluddin quite differently. Elbert took some interesting photos at the Sumbawan court. On one hand the sultan acted as the protector of the believers (thus Muslim Sasaks once again fled from the turbulent Lombok in 1894³²); on the other hand, he had to struggle with resistance from the population, which did not approve of the position he took vis-à-vis the Netherlands Indies government, when the latter began to exert a more authority in the beginning of this century. One should mention armed resistance among the population in 1908, again in Taliwang, which was suppressed with force by the Marechaussee; 41 persons were killed. The uprising was directed against the registration that the prince had to carry out on behalf of the government.³³ In 1911 there was a new uprising in Baturotok (Batu Lanteh) where more people were killed, and a final revolt took place in 1923, once again in the Batu Lanteh area.

[*Muhammad Kaharuddin, 1931-today*]

The successor of Sultan Jalaluddin, whose achievements were recognized by royal awards (as were those of his first minister), was his son Muhammad Kaharuddin who is still on the throne. He was also generally praised as a prince with modern views, one who paid attention to the governance of his realm. It is ironic that his enthusiasm for incorporating his land in accordance with the general leadership of the Netherlands Indies government has

32 A Sasak uprising against the Balinese masters eventually led to a Dutch invasion of Lombok in 1894. After an initial setback the colonial troops overcome the Balinese resistance, abolished the kingdom and subjected Lombok to direct rule. Parimartha, *Perdagangan dan politik di Nusa Tenggara 1815-1915*, pp. 342-346.

33 The rebellion was a consequence of the great administrative changes that took place after the new political contract in 1905. The Dutch did not support the status of the local leaders and the aristocracy lost its old roles and lands after 1907, while the traditional council, the *dewan hadat*, was abolished. The new Dutch-controlled administration started registration of the population in order to introduce taxes. A village leader in Taliwang, La Unru, gathered the dissatisfied and rose against the Dutch and the sultan. After the defeat of the insurgents, La Unru was captured and exiled to Cirebon. Since further resistance seemed useless, people handed over their weapons, including old bronze cannons, muzzle-loaded muskets, lances, crises and so on. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 111-112.

become an area of weakness for the prince in recent times.³⁴ Muhammad Kaharuddin played a leading role in the federal government which was so resolutely rejected by the present Republic of Indonesia after it was recognized in 1949. Once again the Prince of Sumbawa thus sits entangled in the old contradictions, and one cannot tell how things will presently evolve.

Bima

[*Abdullah, 1854-1868*]

In Bima a hundred years ago, we discern a development similar to Sumbawa. The youthful Abdullah, successor of Ismail, of lower descent on his mother's side and apparently not a man of great significance, did the same thing as the Prince of Sumbawa. The prince appropriated a number of adat functions and further strengthened his position by fixing trade monopolies in concert with the first minister. That the princely family was well off in these days has already been noted above.

The historian of the *Vervolg* writes about Abdullah that he was the only choice for successor that was at hand. 'The prince ties trading privileges to himself, lets functions remain unfilled or fill them to his own advantage. The Raja Bicara, who does not lack intelligence, is more of a merchant than a ruler. A certain Pone (*jurutulis*) has great influence.'

In Bima, too, this was paired with the increasing influence of the old orthodoxy. Abdulghani was honoured here as well, and it was possibly under his influence that the interesting Hindu image that Holtz encountered

34 Muhammad Kaharuddin was nevertheless involved in decidedly anti-Dutch activities during World War II when Japan invaded the Dutch East Indies. Allegedly, the sultan wished to take revenge on the whites since his grandfather had once been forced to kiss the feet of the Governor-General of Batavia when he visited Sumbawa. An official Japanese account of the arrival of its troops in May 1942 says: 'When our troops finally arrived, the Sultan of Sumbawa addressed the commander of our landing unit as follows: "Our ancestors have lived in accordance with the Law of Buddha and we, as people of the East, have inherited and respected the tradition. For a long time we have held the opinion that Japan is indeed the leader of East Asia." Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, pp. 277-279. The sultan was allegedly well-regarded by the population in his early days. His complicity in the brutal Japanese rule seems to have put an end to his popularity, however, as noted by a report in October 1945: 'It is considered that the Sultan is a cruel and ruthless ruler; this is revealed from inquiries among the local population, and by personal inspection of the jail, which was generally very primitive and contained several persons who had been brutally and inhumanely treated.' Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, p. 280. The sultan lost his dynastic powers in 1950-1958, and passed away on 8 August 1975.

in 1860 had seemingly disappeared by 1910, to the great annoyance of Rouffaer.³⁵

Likewise, we see an initially reserved but increasingly strong convergence between the governing of the kingdom and central rule in Bima. In 1836 the frigate *Borneo* showed its flag due to an insult of the Dutch flag, and in 1844 there was a display of power by a squadron in Potta, Manggarai, where ships had been plundered. In 1860 the sultan received gifts for the assistance that he provided by fighting the pirates on Sailoos. Pirates were a source of trouble in East Sumbawa for decades, but when they made the waters of Bima unsafe again in 1856 the government finally resolved to do something about them.

[*Abdul Azis, 1868-1881*]

After a brief rule, Abdullah was succeeded by his son, Abdul Azis, who, however, passed away at the age of eighteen.³⁶ He first stood under the guardianship of the first minister, probably the forceful Muhammad Yakub and, later, Bumi Luma Rasanae. The reasons for this are not known.³⁷

35 According to Rouffaer, the 'fanatical' first minister, Ahmad Daeng Manasa, ordered the images to be thrown into the sea about 50 years prior to his visit. In Bimanese historiography he is given the nickname *Membuang Berhala* (He Who Threw out the Idols). Noorduy, *Bima en Sumbawa*, pp. 73, 83, 91-93.

36 According to D.F. van Braam Morris, a case of human sacrifice occurred during his reign, in the early 1870s, when the new tower at the entrance of the *kraton* was built. A small child was reportedly butchered and buried under each pillar of the tower in accordance with age-old custom. The meat of the sacrificed children was mixed with horse meat and served to the *kalila*, the person responsible for obtaining the victims. Van Braam Morris adds that a pregnant wife was crushed under the flagpole, each time a new such was erected in the *kraton*. Similar accounts are known from other parts of Southeast Asia, such as Burma and Flores. The Muslim prohibition against human sacrifices suggests some caution about the veracity of the rumour. Van Braam Morris, 'Nota van toelichting behoorende bij het contract gesloten met het landschap Bima', p. 224.

37 It was in fact not the Ruma Bicara Muhammad Yakub since he passed away in 1864, four years before Sultan Abdullah. Muhammad Saleh, the Bumi Luma Rasanae, signed a contract with the Dutch on behalf of the six-year-old sultan on 28 July 1869. The headmen of the Bugis and Malay kampungs signed as well, highlighting the great importance of the foreign communities. In the same year, incidentally, the Briton Perkin invented a new synthetic way of producing paint. This led to a decline in the use of dyeing stuff made from sappanwood. Bima and Sumbawa Proper had hitherto been forced by the contracts to deliver 100,000 kilos of sappanwood each year against a fixed price of 50 gulden per *koyan*. This was brought to Java and Batavia as government commodity and later exported to China and Europe. The falling prices made an end to the forced deliveries in 1874. Tajib, *Sejarah Bima Dana Mbojo*, pp. 245-248.

[*Ibrahim, 1881-1915*]

Then followed his younger brother, Sultan Ibrahim, the contemporary of Sultan Jalaluddin of Sumbawa, during whose 34-year-long reign it appears that there was no great political unrest in Bima. Couvreur wrote about him in 1916: 'He was a forceful, progressive ruler who kept a careful eye on the development of his land. He saw the advantages that our politics of intervention brought in the outer possessions, and knew how to make use of it for himself, his house, and his land.' Couvreur compares the relationship between the prince and the Raja Bicara with that of the Mikado [emperor] and the Shogun [military dictator] in Japan, and furthermore says: 'like a second Mikado he wrestled with the misty situation in which he found himself; our government and officials brought liberation for him' (A. Couvreur, *Adatrechtbundel*, XVI, pp. 199, 202). The latter remark by Couvreur is in my opinion a bit too strong, since the strengthening of the power of the kingdom began much earlier, but it clearly shows that the contact with the Netherlands Indies government sped up and reinforced the process.

[*Uprisings in Ngali and Kala, 1907 and 1908*]

The parallels with Sumbawa go even further. In Bima, too, the population rose against the sultan, and for the same reasons.

It was necessary to strengthen the powers of the sultan so that the Netherlands government could make a more forceful impression. That the latter was not very influential was evident in 1907, when part of the population refused to heed the orders that had been given in the sultan's name. The closest kinsmen of the sultan appeared to be involved in the rising, and had an interest to keep the last-mentioned locked into his 'adat prison'. A column of Marechaussee defeated the uprising in early 1908. By the end of the year the registration of the population was resumed in some parts of the sultanate. After these events, the sultan appeared increasingly in the open, and it is mentioned on p. 35 of the *Koloniaal verslag* of 1913, about the great activity and particular devotion that he displayed in the promotion of the interests of the land and its population. The 'revolution of 1908' as H. Boeff ... names the political changes that took place in this year. (G. Kuperus, TKNAG, 1938, p. 217)³⁸

38 There was a strong religious element in some of these uprisings. Resentment against the taxes and corvée service demanded by the colonial authorities was coupled with resentment against the Dutch as *kafir* rulers. The first uprisings were triggered by the registration of the population, since it was feared that people would be forcibly recruited as coolies and brought

The core of this uprising was in the first place the areas to the south and west of Bima, where the fortified Kampung Ngali in particular offered violent resistance, and later in Kala. The actions resulted in about 300 casualties in total. In 1915 there were still trouble in Talabiu, and also in the area to the south of the Bima Bay, whereby Raja Sakuru Majid, father of the later Raja Bicara Hamid, was killed; however, serious resistance did not occur again after this.

[*Muhammad Salahuddin, 1915-1951*]

Ibrahim, who was also awarded for his resolute acting, was succeeded by his son, Muhammad Salahuddin, who was described as a civilized and loyal man, but possessing less allure than his father.³⁹ A dominating figure during his reign was the first minister, Abdul Hamid, a man with great influence and a particular nerve. The influence of Dutch government officials increasingly made an imprint in these years. Here we must note that different authorities had their own opinions about the limits of their prerogatives and administrative management. Corruption and vexations were punished; there were complaints about indecisiveness or insufficient zeal in the cooperation with the European government. It appears that there were also long-lasting tensions in Bima.

[*'Bima Mutiny', 1942*]

This was apparent in 1942 when, after the surrender of the Netherlands Indies to Japan, a group of mixed composition made attempts to take power

to Java. A son of the famous Abdulghani, Syekh Mansyur, was involved in the Dena rebellion of 1907 as were several *hajis*. A similar pattern could be seen in the Ngali rebellion of 1908, where two religious figures from Aceh had leading roles in the resistance. The protests did not find any support with the sultan, who on the contrary fought the rebels side by side with the Dutch troops and killed a few ringleaders in person during the Donggo rebellion of 1909. I Ketut Ardhana has argued that this lowered his status in the eyes of the people, with consequences after the fall of the Dutch East Indies. Sjamsuddin, *Memori Pulau Sumbawa*, p. 45; Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 112-121; *Sejarah daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, pp. 166-170.

³⁹ The *controleur*, S. Kortleven, held a not entirely positive view of this person in his 'Bestuursmemorie over de onderafdeeling Bima' (n.y., H 1087, KITLV Archive). The sultan was passive and did not care much about government if his own finances were not at stake, or there was a religious issue. He was a taciturn character and it was difficult to understand his mindset. His replies to the official's questions had to be treated with some reservation since he sometimes provided different answers to the same questions. He was attached to the old customs and not inclined to novelties. In the mind of Kortleven, it was necessary to have direct contacts with the various *jenelis* since the sultan had his own ideas which deviated from the principles of European governance.

Figure 6 The sultan's palace in Bima, completed in 1930 after the old palace had burned down in 1924



Photo: Hans Hägerdal

from the Dutch. The present Dutchmen then fled to [West] Sumbawa and marched back from there with reinforcements, whereby it came to a skirmish at Sori Uta. One person was killed on the Bimanese side, and then the Dutchmen withdrew. Three months later the Japanese landed at Bima and took over. The sultan was charged for this 'Bima Mutiny' when the Dutch came back [in 1945].⁴⁰ Just like in Sumbawa, the sultan was not free from

⁴⁰ Not much is said about the Japanese occupation in Held's text. A mutiny by a small troop of Indonesians on 5 April 1942 was joined by the field police and approached Sultan Bima on the next day. Europeans and pro-Dutch persons were apprehended in Bima and Raba. A few days later the sultans of Bima and Sumbawa held a secret telephone conversation. A Dutch expedition was dispatched from Sumbawa Besar; however, when it reached Kempo on 11 April it was assaulted by the mutineers and fled. Sultan Sumbawa, reading the signs of the time, quickly changed sides and clamped down on the Dutch in the next few days. The two sultans sent envoys to the Japanese, now established in Central Indonesia, formally inviting them. The Japanese forces arrived at Bima on 11 April and were enthusiastically greeted by the locals. On the next day they arrived at Sumbawa Besar. Sumbawan affairs were managed by the Japanese navy rather than the army, which allegedly made for slightly more human conditions than in many other occupied areas. Although local administration was closely monitored by the Japanese, the sultans were left with considerable powers, which they sometimes abused. Religious

trouble in the ever-changing situation, and when he passed away in Jakarta in 1951, there still seemed to be a faction that regarded the entire princely authority as a thing of the past.

Dompu

[*Salahuddin, 1857-1870*]

Dompu initially went through the same development as Sumbawa and Bima. Here, too, there was a revival of orthodox Islam, paired with diminished powers for the state council. It was also under the influence of Abdulghani that Dompu resolutely resisted the last descendant of the old enemy of Tambora, Daeng Manrangka. The person who acted most forcefully here was Muhammad Salahuddin, who was given the honorary name Ruma Mawaa Adil (Bringer of Justice). Exactly what steps he took is difficult to say since the Dompunese have an inclination to simply ascribe any regulation to this sultan, but it is certain that he did not just take lofty measures to ensure the exact obedience to the regulations of the Muslim religion, but also provided a number of members of the state council with a fixed office field as a reward for their activity.⁴¹

[*Governing and juridical work*]

For an outside observer this may look like a strengthening of their position, but in fact it was the first step on the road to salaried positions and

sentiment led to oppressive measures against Christians and Chinese. When a church in Bima was turned into police premises in 1943, the local Christians met in order to discuss what to do. The meeting was raided by the police with the obvious consent of the sultan, and eight persons were executed on charges of a pro-Dutch conspiracy. Sultan Bima also forbade his subjects to assist the Swedish coffee plantation on Tambora and tried to lay hands on its manager, Gösta Björklund, who had helped the Dutch cut the telephone lines in April 1942, although he escaped, thanks to his friendship with Sultan Sumbawa. As elsewhere in Indonesia, the occupation led to food shortage, harassment of women, and forced production. The spinning of cotton yarn was in particular enforced. The Japanese demand for 'comfort women' resulted in many marriages between underage partners, in an attempt to avoid the problem caused by such recruitment. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, II, pp. 164-182; Blomberg, *Sydvart*, p. 157; Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 35-36; Sila, *Being Muslim in Bima of Sumbawa, Indonesia*, p. 43.

⁴¹ More specifically the sultan was assisted by a *hadat* council and a *hukum* council. His ministers carried the titles Raja Bicara, Rato Rasanae, Rato Parenta and Rato Renda. They convened in the *hadat* council and formed the governing body with power to enthrone and depose sultans. In issues with religious ramifications the meetings were headed by either the sultan or a *qadi*, depending on the circumstances. *Sejarah daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, p. 122.

officialdom. The aim was that the administrators could no longer demand gifts as it pleased them, but be content with the produce from the fields provided to them. It is self-evident that this did not immediately put an end to all abuses and arbitrariness with one stroke. Salahuddin is credited with the creation of a list of offenses with corresponding punishments. The list shows a strong Muslim influence, for example, demanding stoning for *zinah* (fornication) and cutting off a hand for theft, but it is still the beginning of written legislation, although it is much less substantial than the Bimanese book of law that dates from the time of Hasanuddin. Among the lesser transgression, people who had deprived the sultan of income by collecting beeswax and honey without his approval were severely punished, which demonstrates the still old-fashioned situation.

[*Abdullah, 1870-1882*]

Salahuddin was followed by his son, Abdullah, about whom not much is known, probably since his brief reign falls between two well-known princes.

[*Muhammad Sirajuddin, 1882-1934*]

The successor of Abdullah was his son, Muhammad Sirajuddin, who holds a record in Sumbawa for the length of his reign, which lasted longer than half a century. Muhammad Sirajuddin was apparently a self-willed and conservative man. He asserted himself and was not easy to intimidate. According to the Dompunese, he remarked angrily in 1905, when he was presented with a contract where his kingdom became a 'fief', that he should pack some earth in a *kampu* (small box) and send it to the government since they wanted to possess land so dearly. In 1892 he was forced to comply only after pointed threats, since he arbitrarily altered the borders of his kingdom. Mr. and Mrs. Elbert, who were received in a more friendly manner than Zollinger, describes Sirajuddin as a 'somewhat scary man due to his quicksilver movements and uneasy way of speaking'. He was also, according to the *gezaghebber* of Bima, 'a quite peculiar patron'. Dr. Elbert was evidently also impressed by the handiness with which the sultan seemed to handle a shotgun.

[*Exile, 1934*]

It was probably not just because of his wilful outbursts that things eventually went bad for Sirajuddin. In 1934 he was exiled for being useless as ruler,

together with his two sons, and he passed away in exile in Kupang in 1937.⁴² One cannot escape the impression that the tragic end of this lengthy reign had still other reasons, of which we shall presently speak.

[*Governing Commission, 1934-1942*]

After 1934 the government could apparently not decide what should happen to Dompū. A kind of interim government was installed, known as the Governing Commission [Bestuurscommissie], which took charge of governance under the supervision of the Netherlands Indies government. Included in this commission was the grandson of Muhammad Sirajuddin, the present sultan, Muhammad Tajularifin, who chose the same policy as the one which proved successful for Jalaluddin of Sumbawa and Ibrahim of Bima. Before his efforts had led to success, the Japanese appeared on Sumbawa. Dompū seemed to end the same way as Sanggar, which was united with the former Tambora in 1866 but was merged into the Bima kingdom in 1928. Dompū, namely, which was united with the former Pekat, was absorbed by Bima in 1942, so that the last-mentioned encompassed the entirety of East Sumbawa. The young sultan candidate aroused the displeasure of the Japanese, who had set up a major encampment in Dompū, ruining the palace there.

[*Re-installation of the Dompū Sultanate. Muhammad Tajularifin, 1947-today*]

However, in 1947 there was such eagerness to reinstall the old Dompū Sultanate that the returning Netherlands Indies government had to comply, and installed the sultanate under the same Muhammad Tajularifin, who is still reigning.⁴³ But in Dompū, too, the prince may have defended his

42 Resident Karthaus wrote in 1931 that the sultan was a senile figure who left his little kingdom to be preyed on by a number of sons and relatives. Governance was in the hands of hismorganatic son Abdullah 'who unfortunately paired good qualities with traits that would normally have landed him in jail' and was eventually deprived of his position by the colonial government. The sultan subsequently ruled with the help of a few fairly ignorant grandees. There were accusations of abuses against a few proprietors, and the removal of the sultan family was in the air, as indeed happened three years later. Resident Karthaus, 'Memorie van overgave', pp. 82-84.

43 Although his father, Abdul Wahab, the eldest son of the late sultan, was still alive, Muhammad Tajularifin was considered the best alternative. His aunt, Siti Aisyah, was married to Sultan Muhammad Salahuddin of Bima, which also made him the cousin of the queen of the last Sultan of Sumbawa, Muhammad Kaharuddin. The last-mentioned had a role in the deliberations that led to the restoration. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1241. Muhammad Tajularifin was appointed *waarnemend zelfbestuurder* (acting self-ruler) on 17 September 1947, and Bima had to return the *pusaka* objects of Dompū which it had kept for some years. A poem by I.M. Saleh paints the last Sultan of Dompū in the brightest possible colours. He was a dashing man with noble customs and a forceful way of acting. His character

landmark against the tide, but not taken into account the very far-reaching developments which mainly occurred outside of Sumbawa. After 1949 there were a number of rapid changes, the results of which cannot yet be prophesied; but it is clear that the Dompu Kingdom has now entered unknown and maybe dire straits.

[*Rising in Kampung Bada, 1917*]

In Dompu there was merely a little rebelling. In 1917 there was some resistance against the hated corvée service, but especially since the *jeneli* Dompu did not act in a tactful way. He bound and mistreated a man who had dodged the corvée service on a false pretext, which made the others revolt. In the ensuing petty riot even the sultan, who came as a mediator, was threatened, but it did not come to acts of violence. Soldiers were sent in but the sultan knew how to soothe the matter, so that it ended with prison terms for a few troublemakers. It is quite likely that action was taken in such a resolute way in order to make an example of the issue. The rising took place in Kampung Bada, one of the kampungs that together constitute the *kota* Dompu.

was commendable, his handling of state affairs highly appreciated and he was fair to friends as well as opponents. Although being of royal stock, the sultan had a democratic mind and rejected the old autocratic style. Saleh, 'Alih aksara Bo Dana Dompu', p. 9. Other information emphasizes his progressive qualities: he admonished people to observe cleanliness, boil their drinking water and take care with food; he furthermore encouraged parents to send their children to school. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1241. Muhammad Tajularifin remained in place as sultan until 1958, then serving as *bupati* until 1960. He passed away on 12 September 1964, leaving numerous offspring. His nephew Burhan Magenda was a well-known historian.

6 From colonial rule to independence

[*Conserving Dutch influences*]

There is still a group of actors which we have still not brought to the scene, namely the Dutch. It is self-evident that the influence of this group is mainly determined by circumstances outside of the Island of Sumbawa, which was only of subordinate importance as a trade centre. For the history I refer to existing history books where the course that history has taken outside of Sumbawa is described. One can generally posit that the Dutch did not have any significant direct influence on Pulau Sumbawa during almost their entire period as a power in Indonesia. After 1667, one may say, the Company was locked in a wrestling contest with Gowa, from which both parties were unable to break loose for centuries. The cultural life of Sumbawa was no longer moved by the waves of the cultural life in outside centres, such as Java, Ternate and South Celebes. Even the active policy of the Netherlands Indies government after 1910 could not bring about any far-reaching changes in Sumbawa. There were more urgent matters to regulate in other regions than on this island, where centuries-old forms of organization had determined the regulation of internal concerns. And before the Netherlands Indies government found time to intervene forcefully in the affairs of Sumbawa, the Second World War stood at the door, which also lead to far-reaching consequences in Sumbawa.¹ In regards to my remarks below on the changes and constitutional circumstances between the territory [*landschap*] and the central government, we must realize that a deeper knowledge of law is necessary for such an investigation, which I do not possess.

The most significant remark that I make in this connection is a reference to Professor G.J. Resink, who asserted in 1939 that the relations with the kingdoms, until recently, can be regarded as belonging to the sphere of international law.² It was only in 1905 that the territory became an administrative part of the Netherlands Indies, and it is only then that one may speak of a relation between the central government and the territory, as a whole and a part.

1 This remark, made ten years after the end of the war, is, of course, a grave understatement.

2 This presumably alludes to Resink's article 'De rechtshistorische ontwikkeling van het zelfbestuur op Madoera'.

[*Trade monopoly and not upper rule*]

The position and function of the earlier residents (or *fettors*, as they were called on Sumbawa) is thus entirely different than with the later residents and assistant residents. They were indeed 'postholders',³ as Valentijn termed them, people who held the factory, fort or '*pagger*' and whose first task was to make sure that the kingdoms were sticking to the contracts that had been concluded with them. They possessed neither the power nor the prerogatives to meddle in the internal affairs of the kingdoms. What the Company originally aimed at with its contracts on Sumbawa was merely to exclude other trading peoples and bring awareness of the international relations of the kingdoms, especially in cases where power expansion could be the consequence, thus the possession of artillery, and the construction of fortifications.⁴

[*Residents since 1701*]

The long succession of postholders, who sometimes sat for a lengthy period in their lonesome posts, does not include the names of many remarkable figures. There is mention of corruption and lack of authority; occasionally of a man with somewhat more power, such as Commissioner Bakker in the years around 1765. In particular one may [not] pass judgement since there are only few clear reports about their personalities and activities.⁵ But these few reports do not ever provide the impression of comprehensive prerogatives or grand status. When Zollinger arrived at Bima in 1847, the entire military force consisted of three persons: one sergeant, one corporal and one soldier (Zollinger, p. 223). When there were conflicts between the allies, the resident could seldom commit anything, as was obvious in the trouble with Daeng Talolo in 1718 and with Batara Gowa in 1766.

3 In the original Dutch, *posthouder*.

4 Held, relatively uninterested in economic affairs, does not expand on the commercial reasons for keeping the post. Apart from the sappanwood deliveries there were a few other 'commodities' that interested the Company. Slaves were high on the list. In the sparsely populated premodern Southeast Asia, they were in high demand for domestic work and hard labour. However, the perceived character of the Sumbawan slaves may have limited the Dutch demand for slave labour from these quarters. A missive from 1680 states that slaves from Sulawesi and Sumbawa were unusable in the Company goldmines in West Sumatra: 'although they are diligent and industrious enough in doing and learning, there is no other nation which is as rapacious and thievish'. Coolhaas, *Generale missiven*, IV, p. 378.

5 From the context it seems that the word 'not' must be inserted: if there are few detailed texts on the matter it is obviously hazardous to make judgements on the character of the postholders.

[*Their status*]

A traveller who visited Bima in 1851 said scornfully: 'The palace of the civil *gezaghebber*, the highest authority employed by the Netherlands government, is a bamboo house that swayed up and down when a few people entered. His Excellency belongs to the unhappy, humiliated and ignored descendants of Europeans and indigenous wives, who are called "*signo*" or "*orang serani*" in the Indies, from whom all the scribes and office clerks are recruited' (Just, 'Een paar uren te Bima', p. 238).

[*And prerogatives*]

They were not able to take any trouble with the internal governance of the kingdoms. When he wrote about the rule that Bima alleged to exercise over Manggarai, Resident Vermeulen advised his successor in his memorandum from 1801: 'Your Honour has, however, nothing to endure here, and it is ever outside the effort of Your Honour.' In the beginning of the nineteenth century the government was opposed to the expansion of power and territory. When the governor of Makassar expressed his disapproval of the meddling of the princes of Sumbawa and Dompu in the affairs of the Sasak Muslims, the writer of the *Vervolg geschiedenis* wrote: 'With an eye to the governor's missives to the princes of Sumbawa and Dompu from 29 March, nos. 159 and 160, the government declines any meddling in the religious concerns of the kingdoms in any form, either necessary or political, as long as the kingdoms honour the concluded contracts, and thus as long as the acquired rights of the government are not assaulted. The government thus doubts if the writing of the aforementioned letters have not already gone further than a careful policy permits.'

[*Statements from the first half of the nineteenth century*]

The *gezaghebber* C.H. Steijns writes in his memorandum from 1834: 'The *gezaghebber* and other officials placed here by the government do not in general take any efforts with the domestic issues of this kingdom [Bima].' An anonymous writer says in 1850:

The Island of Sumbawa formerly included the kingdoms Bima, Sumbawa, Dompou, Tambora, Sangai and Papekat. The three last-mentioned kingdoms were entirely ruined by the eruption of Mount Tambora in 1814 [1815]. The still remaining governments of Bima, Sumbawa and Dompou herald the contract concluded with Governor C. Sinkelaar in the name of the Company on 9 February 1765. Although the contract is almost completely meaningless due to changed circumstances, the princes have

chosen to maintain it, rather than submitting to the aforementioned contract (the contact with Makassar of 7 August 1824). Because of the little concern that the government until now has had for Sumbawa, this is allowed. Without any important advantages nor sacrifices, things are kept going there through a *gezaghebber* in Bima who actually does not have any power, while the government does not possess any land on Sumbawa. No auxiliaries were requested from here in the last war (referring to the war with Bone in 1825) because of the small population, a consequence of the aforementioned eruption and the ensuing famine. In 1776 all the petty princes provided the Company with auxiliaries against the Makassarese.⁶ (TNI, 1850, p. 425)

Reinwardt, too, writes in 1820: 'The Dutch governance does not presently have any advantage in this place (Bima), and the only product that can still be obtained is sappanwood' (Professor Reinwardt's *Reis* etc., p. 320).

[*Relatively more attention to Larantuka and Timor*]

Sumbawa gave the Company much less reason to worry than the areas further to the east, Larantuka on East Flores and Timor; and this was not so much since a particularly fierce population lived there, but mainly since the Portuguese had to be monitored. And also, naturally, since these areas were of more importance to the Company due to the sandalwood trade, compared to Sumbawa, which delivered few important trading products, and furthermore had kingdoms, especially in the west, that should not be unnecessarily bothered. The Portuguese, who appeared in Bima in 1545 according to Bimanese tradition, had begun to expand their missionary efforts towards Flores and Timor in 1556. The Dutch conquered the Portuguese fort on Solor Island in 1613 and founded a stronghold in Kupang, while the Portuguese from Solor founded a centre in Larantuka on East Flores.⁷ In

6 See 'De rijken en vorsten van het gouvernement van Makassar'. The author refers to historical events on Sulawesi. The adventurer Sangkilang impersonated the exiled Batara Gowa, formerly the King of Gowa, heading a war against the Company in 1776. Dutch relations with Bone, usually the principal ally of the Dutch in South Sulawesi, broke down in 1825 and led to a war that could not be decisively won by the colonial troops because of the drain of the Java War; peace was only concluded in 1838 when the reigning King of Bone signed a revised version of the Bungaya Treaty. Kartodirdjo, *Ikhtisar keadaan politik Hindia-Belanda tahun 1839-1848*, pp. 306-307; Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, pp. 914-915, 967-969.

7 The VOC made contact with the Kingdom of Kupang, inhabited by the Helong tribe, after their conquest of the Portuguese fort on Solor in 1613. However, they did not establish a settlement in Kupang at this stage. A permanent fortification, Fort Concordia, was only constructed in 1653. De Roever, *Het jacht op sandelhout*, p. 253; VOC 1200, f. 83v.

1660, and especially in 1667, there were many Portuguese who withdrew after the Dutch conquest of Malacca in 1641,⁸ and went further towards the east and founded a new centre in Larantuka, where they endured until 1704.⁹ The authority of the Company in these quarters was so weak that they could only buy sandalwood from Timor, where the Dutch had a fortress, through the mediation of the 'upper priest' of Larantuka in the mid-seventeenth century. And in 1749 [*sic* for 1761], when the *opperhoofd* H.A. von Pluskow was killed by the 'Topasses' or 'Black Portuguese', the Company forbade any act of revenge, 'in the first place', according to the plain explanation of the Company itself, 'since infirmity impedes doing it in a glorious way'¹⁰ (Haga, quoted by C.R. Boxer, *The Topasses of Timor*, Mededeelingen Kon. Ver. Ind. Inst, LXXIII [1947], p. 17).

[*The Portuguese: 1704 in Lifau, 1769 in Dili*]

The Portuguese, too, were not able to hold out in Larantuka. In 1704 they were pushed away to Lifau in the land of Oecussi on Timor Island, which is still Portuguese. From there, however, the Portuguese once again had to withdraw towards the east in 1769, going to Dili, where they still reside.¹¹

8 One should add that many Portuguese resided in Makassar after the fall of Malacca in 1641. This year was also the date of a successful Portuguese foray into Timor which strengthened their position in parts of the island. When Gowa was beaten by the Company in the war of 1660, the king had to agree to expel the Portuguese residents, although this was not zealously followed. The shattering defeat of Gowa in 1667 reinforced the Portuguese attempts to seek a new base in eastern Indonesia. Boxer, *Francisco Vieira de Figueiredo*, pp. 87-90.

9 In fact, the Portuguese never left Larantuka until 1859, when it was ceded to the Netherlands. They also had suzerainty over the partly Catholicized Sikka in eastern Flores. According to Sikkane tradition the early rajas of Sikka held authority over the south coast until Eko Leka Lambo that bordered to 'Bima', i.e. Manggarai which belonged to the sphere of Bima. Lewis, *The Stranger-Kings of Sikka*, p. 288.

10 It seems that Held mixes up two events: 1749 was the date of the cataclysmic Battle of Penfui, when the Topasses and their clients were defeated by the VOC troops under the *opperhoofd* Daniel van der Burgh and their leader Gaspar da Costa was killed. This event led to large parts of West Timor coming under Company suzerainty. A later *opperhoofd*, Hans Albrecht von Plüskow, made an attempt, not authorized by Batavia, to take over Lifau, the seat of the Portuguese government. The larger strategic aim was to secure entire Timor for the Company. This attempt failed as the Topasses, whom he had approached as allies, treacherously attacked him and his entourage in 1761 and murdered him. Hägerdal, *Lords of the Land, Lords of the Sea*, pp. 361-367, 388-391.

11 Held's brief account of conditions in the Timor area is partly incorrect. The Black Portuguese, or Topasses, were in Larantuka since 1613, caring little for the official Goa-based Estado da Índia. Lifau was their main stronghold on Timor since the 1650s, but they also exerted influence over eastern Flores and parts of the Solor Islands. The VOC troops on Timor were soundly defeated in a series of clashes in 1653-1657, which left the Topasses as the main political force on Timor. In the 1670s they expanded their power in East Timor. Since Portugal and the Netherlands were

This, however, was not done under the pressure of the Dutch, since the latter could only maintain themselves better than the Portuguese in these quarters because they possessed more power outside Timor.

[*Non-interference*]

For a long time there was no question of meddling in governance issues. 'Our policy naturally suffered very badly under this policy of forced non-interference; to this was added that the officials placed on Timor were for a long time not among the best. About the postholder who "governed" Savu in 1864, one reads that he was a German sailor left behind by a whaling ship. Timor was and remained an area of loss, especially because of the high costs of local necessities and religious services' (*Encyclopaedie*, IV, p. 351).

[*Contracts with Portugal, 1859, 1909*]

It was only due to the circumstances that the government was forced to engage more with this region since they were not sure what the Portuguese would do, and also since the local princes and princelings acted according to their own inclinations. The Raja of Oecussi made an armed intervention in between the two in 1848 in a conflict on the Netherlands-Indies territory Alor.¹² Negotiations then started with Portugal about a contract that was concluded in 1859. Not all the differences were definitely eliminated with

at peace since 1663, the Dutch were able to purchase quantities of sandalwood in the Topass sphere. The Topass group was alternately governed by members of the Hornay and Da Costa families, who resided for much of the time in Larantuka. An official governor of Timor was appointed by Goa in 1701, and he tried to establish his authority in Larantuka in the next year. The Topasses bluntly refused to accept him, and he had to proceed to Lifau, which he managed to secure. The recalcitrant Topasses withdrew to Animata and Tulang Ikan, also in the Oecussi area. Four years after the great Topass defeat at Penfui in 1749, Sultan Abdul Kadim of Bima prepared to expand his authority on Flores and push back the Portuguese influence there. The VOC endorsed his ambitions, although actual Bimanese expansion seems to have been limited to Manggarai. For long periods in 1702-1785 there was a state of warfare between the 'Black' and 'White' Portuguese. Lifau was the seat of the white governor until 1769, when he had to flee before Topass attacks and changed the seat of the government to Dili. On this, see Hägerdal, *Lords of the Land, Lords of the Sea*; Schoonevelt-Oosterling, *Generale missiven*, XII, p. 309.

12 The Alor Islands (mainly Alor and Pantar) were loosely connected to the VOC sphere after 1613, but actual contacts were sporadic at best. The coastal peoples of Kui, Beno and Belagar feared incursions from the highland groups and invited the King of Oecussi to intervene in 1846. This intervention caused some Dutch consternation and egged the colonial government to settle the territorial borders between the Dutch and Portuguese spheres. The Portuguese governor in Dili agreed in 1851 to cede East Flores and the Portuguese parts of the Solor Islands, however, without the authorization of Lisbon. A new agreement in 1859 confirmed the borders. Hägerdal, 'Cannibals and Pedlars', pp. 240-242; ANRI Timor: 57, 1847.

this, however, not even after 1909 when relations were regulated in more detail.¹³ Thus a quite large military garrison was permanently placed on Timor.

[Administrative division]

Timor was administratively merged into the Moluccan Islands in 1816; in 1819 it was directly placed under Java; in 1824 under Makassar; in 1909 the Timor Residency was installed, of which Sumbawa became a part in that year; in 1936 the entire residency became a part of the Moluccan government, which was installed then and had its seat in Makassar; in 1949 a government of Nusa Tenggara (the Southeast Islands) was again installed, this time with the capital in Singaraja (Bali). Although the direct headman of Sumbawa has resided in Kupang and later in Singaraja in the last decades, none of these places can be considered a cultural centre from Sumbawa's point of view, Kupang even less than Singaraja.

[Indirect influence of Christianization]

Although direct cultural relations between the Kupang area and Sumbawa are insignificant, the indirect influence on the proceedings there has been quite big. Catholicism, which began to be active in these quarters around the mid-sixteenth century, decreased in significance in the time of the Company and eventually came to a standstill. Larantuka did not have a priest of its own after 1800, and the visits by priests from the Portuguese area on Timor became ever scarcer. After the conclusion of the contract with Portugal in 1859, the first Jesuit missionary arrived again to Larantuka in 1860. After this Catholic activity was disseminated more and more, and was yet stimulated by the likewise increasing activity of Protestant groups, which started to work in, for instance, Sumba. Both sides lay great emphasis on supplying education, and this meant that the government had to give Kupang greater administrative and financial importance than Sumbawa, which did not require particular attention. The relatively more developed education in the quarters further to the east, had the consequence that Sumbawa until the present day is largely dependent on professionals from the Christianized eastern areas to fill posts where a school education is necessary (policemen, officials, educators, and so on). In 1934 the relation

13 To be more exact, the Dutch-Portuguese border on Timor was regulated through treaties in 1897 and 1904, and the remaining questions were eventually settled through Swiss arbitration in August 1916. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I, p. 99.

of the number of souls per popular school in East Flores was 1:2258, for Manggarai 1:2979, but for the entire sub-division Sumbawa 1:3145, and for the sub-division Bima 1:6206. In the development of schools, Pulau Sumbawa thus lags behind the Christianized areas which do not stand on a higher cultural level.¹⁴

[*Manggarai is detached, 1920*]

A strong opinion was expressed several times, in official pieces as well, that this development also had a direct influence on the government itself, and in particular the administrative division. In the beginning of this century the Netherlands Indies government regarded the old territories as little but troublesome obstacles on the way to regularization and uniformity. Geographically speaking, the kingdoms very often stretched over the straits, from one island to another. That [West] Sumbawa had more links with Lombok, and Bima more with Flores, than Sumbawa had with Bima, is not an uncommon feature in the construction of the territories. One may assume that such administrative-technical considerations were also influenced by the separation of Manggarai, which in the meantime turned Catholic, from Muslim Bima. In these days there were indeed confused relations between the various greater and smaller kingdoms which were numerous in these quarters and were ruled with a forceful and often rough hand. In 1909 Sumbawa was separated from Makassar, since Manggarai was a part of the Catholic island Flores which stood under Kupang, and would not be separated from Bima. However, Manggarai was nevertheless detached from Bima in 1920 since it was situated on the increasingly Catholic Flores.¹⁵

14 This is heavily underlined by available statistics. In 1913 there were 5 governmental schools in Bima and 11 in Sumbawa Proper (and apparently none in Dompu and Sanggar). At the same time there were 29 in Dutch Timor, 17 on Sumba, 17 on Flores and 14 on the smaller islands in the regency. European education was available in Kupang at the Europeesche School, and the same town had a particular school for Chinese students. The local elites on Sumbawa were positive about a modernized school system, but this was a slow process and the sons of the sultans and nobles were usually sent to other islands for schooling, at any rate before 1920. After this date, however, the education system saw a modest expansion. It is nevertheless clear that Sumbawa lagged behind the rest of the regency: in 1947 there were 94 popular schools (*volkscholen*) on the island, as compared with 186 on Timor and 242 on Flores. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 241-243, 260-263.

15 In fact, this detachment took place in stages. Manggaraian rebellions against the Bimanese rule occurred in the 1890s, headed by the ruler of Todo. When the Dutch abandoned their old *onthoudingspolitiek* around 1900 they also began to interfere on Flores. The well-known Captain H. Christoffel undertook a campaign of pacification in Manggarai in 1907 and set up a post in Todo, which was later moved to Ruteng. The Dutch colonial state acknowledged the ascendancy of Todo in the Manggarai area. It detached Manggarai from Bima in 1909 but let

[*Sanggar is merged, 1928*]

Unconfirmed reports say that an agreement was made with the Sultan of Bima in 1920, according to which he would be compensated for the loss of Manggarai on Sumbawa itself. The first portion that was handed him was the Kingdom of Sanggar, which had been incorporated out of the uninhabited land on Tambora in 1866 and was now merged with Bima in 1928.¹⁶ The addition of territory with 1,600 inhabitants was such a poor prize for Bima that one can assume that the addition of the Dompu Kingdom had also been offered.¹⁷

Dompu

[*And Dompu?*]¹⁸

However that may be, in the decades before World War II there was an initially strong but later more hesitating inclination to abolish Dompu. In 1934 the old Sultan Muhammad Sirajuddin was exiled to Kupang, and

the region be ruled by members of the family of the Sultan of Bima. In 1919 the position of the family was seriously questioned by the Manggaraian elite, and a *wakil raja* of the Todo-Pongkor *dalu* family was set up in 1924, still formally under Bima. In 1928, finally, the Dutch authorities agreed to enthrone a real king over the increasingly Catholicized Manggarai, and the tie with Bima was officially abrogated on 21 April 1929. The young Todo aristocrat Alexander Baroek was accordingly appointed on 3 February 1931. Erb, *The Manggaraians*, 91-92; De Nijs Bik, 'Memorie van overgave', p. 189. With Manggarai went the islands Komodo and Rinca, home of the famed 'dragons' (*Varanus komodoenses*) which had been known to Europeans since 1910 and were protected from hunting by the decree of the sultan. Hitchcock, *Islam and Identity in Eastern Indonesia*, pp. 157-158.

¹⁶ The empty land at the foot of Mount Tambora was actually the subject of an ambitious attempt of economic exploitation in 1932. The Swedish Kooperativa förbundet (Cooperative League) obtained a concession of 30,000 hectares for a coffee plantation, simply named 'Tambora'. The plantation fell on hard times with the coming of World War II. The manager, Gösta Björklund, was arrested on Java by the Japanese *kempei-tai* (military police corps) and tortured on suspicion of espionage, although he was eventually released. The plantation vanished after the war. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, p. 206; Blomberg, *Sydvart*, pp. 79-80, 157-158; see also 'Tambora', a documentary film from 1938 about the plantation, at http://oldportal.euscreen.eu/play.jsp?id=EUS_BE9D0154E7404DC6B825E8D-C942D3AE4 (accessed 5-12-2016).

¹⁷ The editor of this book visited Sanggar in 1999 and met with members of the family of the raja. There was nothing more than a wooden frame left of the small raja residence, while a few *pusaka* objects were still kept by the family, notably a kris and two drums.

¹⁸ In the following section the modern history of Dompu is treated in some detail, largely repeating the information given in the former chapter. We should remember that the manuscript was still far from finalized at the author's demise.

governance was given to a kind of interim commission, which functioned until the arrival of the Japanese in 1942. Then Dompū was in fact merged to Bima, which, as the Sultan of Bima declared later, took place on the insistence of the Japanese, who would not allow any territory to remain without a directly responsible government, but also in accordance with the promises given at the separation of Manggarai in 1920, due to which the family of the Sultan of Bima had strengthened its marital ties with the royal family of Dompū.

[*Exile of Sirajuddin: 1934*]

'There were repeated, rough interventions in the indigenous self-rule organization in order to achieve a style that suited our views.' Regarding Bima, according to Couvreur, the Netherlands Indies government handled matters 'most amusingly, i.e. most erroneously' (A. Couvreur, *Adatrechtbundel*, XVI, p. 204). I dare not judge whether the law allowed the merging of Bima and Dompū, but one cannot avoid the impression that an unfavourable decision was made concerning the kingdom of the 'loyal ally'. That Sultan Sirajuddin was a remarkable man does not seem improbable from the small amount of information at hand, but when we read in a residency review from 1931 that Dompū – a deeply unhappy land of minor significance and not larger than a district of Bima – was left to its fate in the hands of a sultan who was too old and that in 1934 the same old sultan ruled as an absolute despot – then one may ask if Dompū was not simply an administrative area of loss that had to be done away with.

Whatever the case, Sirajuddin was exiled after a reign of 52 years, together with one of his sons who had already been sentenced for vexation, but also with the other one, of whom hardly more is mentioned in the available papers than that he exerted much influence on his old father. Perhaps the desire for a uniform exercise of power, coupled with the obligation resulting from the promises made in Bima in 1920, became apparent. Things were not brought any further in 1934 than the exile of the old sultan and the pretender to the throne. For what reason? Perhaps another evaluation of the territories in general, which also brought the reinstallation of the land of Gowa, abolished in 1905.¹⁹

19 Bone and Gowa had been defeated through a Dutch expedition in 1905 and brought under direct colonial rule. They were restored under members of the old dynasties in 1931 and 1936, respectively. Similarly, the Balinese dynasties which had partly been abolished in 1906 and 1908, were restored in 1929. There was therefore a tendency to respect traditional (but modernized)

[*Merger with Bima, 1942*]

In any case, Dompu was indeed merged with Bima when the Japanese arrived. Dompu was – perhaps for the same reasons – less inclined to cooperate with the Japanese, who ruined the palace of Dompu. The Dompunese were not content with this merger, and when the NICA [Netherlands Indies Civil Administration] appeared on Sumbawa in 1946, they began to complain about their lost independence in word and writing. Some government officials, who were convinced that the merger was after all better than the old state of things, tried to make the new arrangement permanent. In 1947 there was another attempt at an unhappy compromise, namely a political divorce but a financial union between Bima and Dompu. Even a '*petitionnement*' before the merger was displayed, but meanwhile the tide was so high that the beacons must be protected. In 1947 the Sultan of Bima made an abrupt end of it by declaring that the Japanese had insisted on the merger.²⁰

[*Once again independent under Muhammad Tajularifin, 1947-today*]

One can assume that he did not favour the merger with too many words, but still saw it as a historical compensation for the loss of Manggarai without expecting much good from a forced merger. Judging from the words of Minister Anak Agung Gde Agung, of Balinese descent,²¹ and the parliamentary chair of this state, Sultan Muhammad Kaharuddin of Bima, the state of Negara Indonesia Timur, which was installed in 1946, seemed more inclined to heed the Dompunese wishes. The resident of Timor could therefore do little but declare Dompu independent, as it still is under the government of Muhammad Tajularifin.²²

rulers as a practical means of running East Indian territories outside the central colonial sphere. Bongenaar, *De ontwikkeling van het zelfbesturend landschap in Nederlandsch-Indië*, I, pp. 525-549.

20 According to other data this was not quite truthful, since the Bima Sultanate supposedly asked the Japanese for permission to incorporate Dompu after their arrival in 1942. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1240.

21 Ide Anak Agung Gde Agung, originally Raja of Gianyar on Bali, Prime Minister of Negara Indonesia Timur between 1947 and 1949.

22 As noted above, Sultan Muhammad Tajularifin left a good reputation to posterity. Part of this has to do with his religious credentials. The sultan supported the Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama branches in his kingdom, which had been founded as sub-divisions of the Kepanduan Muslimin Indonesia (KMI) in Bima during the war. KMI in turn worked as a propaganda organ for the Islamic organization Masyumi (Majlis Syuro Muslimin Indonesia) after the war. The Muslim groups in Dompu tried to realize the ideals of the Negara Dar ul-Islam, which was proclaimed in West Java in August 1949 and opposed the new Indonesian government after independence. There were also other Muslim organizations active in Dompu, such as Jamiyah Arabiyah, which had close relations with Arab organizations abroad. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, p. 397. According to a (possibly

[*Declining independence*]

The fate of the kingdoms of Bima and Dompu in the last decades before World War II must of course be seen in the wider context of the entire political development in the Netherlands Indies. This is a subject which must be left to those knowledgeable about it. It would take us far beyond the scope of this book. The self-ruling lands of Sumbawa were independent state structures until the mid-nineteenth century, with which there was little or no direct concern. Then they slowly became legal complications, and in the beginning of this century they increasingly became administrative areas of loss. Towards the beginning of World War II there was perhaps an increasing appreciation of the self-ruling lands on Sumbawa; however, it seems we can confirm here, too, 'an undeniable, steady disapproval of the independence of the self-ruling lands', as Professor Van Vollenhoven (?) states in his exposition of this matter (*Encyclopaedie*, IV, p. 826 s.q.).

[*Contracts until 1857/58*]

The contracts, which were concluded with the princes of Sumbawa over the years, generally left them free to handle their own matters.²³ They only encompassed some limited stipulations concerning relations with other peoples, whereby the Company secured an only-favoured clause. It was also hoped that they would strictly maintain the status quo, whereby they also had to swear that would be brothers and allies of each other and the Company. This wish was endangered for the Company when one of the kingdoms made claims to allied subjects. In the contracts concluded in 1857 and 1858 they were still nominally treated as allies, but all were admonished that they must govern their lands well. As long as they kept to simple rules concerning mining, the slave trade, their legal authority over people not subjects of the land, land rent, torture or maiming punishments etc., they were left to themselves. International trade was then allowed.²⁴

exaggerated) story, the resident went to Dompu in order to oversee the confirmation of the political contract with the new sultan. Muhammad Tajularifin received the resident in the presence of 400 Dompunese but refused to actually sign the paper, referring to the Indonesian proclamation of independence back in 1945 and arguing that he could not make a contract with a foreign power. The visibly annoyed resident left without saying a word. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1241.

²³ Contracts and treaties from 1765, 1857, 1858, 1869 and 1875 have been published in Noorduyn, *Bima en Sumbawa*, 125-163.

²⁴ Held refers here to the economic liberalization of the Dutch East Indies in the late nineteenth century, with the opening up of foreign trade, but does not have a lot to say about commerce or economic networks. From other sources it appears that the horse trade gained increasing prominence in the nineteenth century. While the amount of exported horses was rather modest

[*Obedience, 1875*]

In the contracts of 1875 (with Sumbawa) and 1886 (with Bima), the idea of alliance increasingly disappears. The princes now promise 'loyalty, obedience and subjugation' to the government, whose representative they no longer address as 'postholder', but also to 'obey and deliberate only with him about all matters of mutual concern'. The princes also promise to allow and promote vaccination (of which a not very successful attempt was done in Bima in 1837), as well as education, although there is no further intervention in their prerogatives. Furthermore, the princes must give concessions for farming and mining 'for the greatest advantage' for themselves, but only with the consent of the government, which secures the same right for itself to receive 'reasonable compensation, when there is a reason for it'. Also, the borders of the territory were more precisely determined.

[*Fief, 1905*]

In 1905 a further step was taken. The contract established the borders and stipulated that the princes would henceforth be known as 'rulers' [*bestuurder*], and their kingdoms regarded as 'fiefs' [*leen*]. Also, the ruler could now be deposed by the government. The *grande*s were merely those who were employed as such by the governor. This ended the arbitrary composition of the old state council. Furthermore, the territories [*landschappen*] lost the freedom to maintain their own households, insofar that the government reserved the right to appoint officials for the territory. The locally governing officials had to attend important meetings of the territorial government. Furthermore, the establishment of territorial treasuries, the handling of which was regulated by the governor, marked the beginning of the separation between the monetary resources of the territory and the prince. In any case, the kinds of taxes that could be harvested by the prince were settled. Import and export rights were quickly transferred by the princes, and the penal law was subjected to delimiting regulations. In 1917 the ruler of Sumbawa, and in 1920 that of Bima, received a salary instead of their previous incomes, apart from incomes from '*sawah adat*' worked by the population.²⁵ In the contract concluded with Bima in 1920,

up to 1840, it took off after that date: in the 1840s about 1,000 horses were exported per year, in the 1850s 4,000, in the 1890s 6,000. The numbers were much higher than those for Sumba, Bali-Lombok, or Timor and adjacent islands. Clarence-Smith, 'Cape to Siberia', p. 61. Arab traders had a major role in this commercial expansion.

²⁵ The changes that Muhammad Jalaluddin of Sumbawa was forced to accept ended the old system of the three *kamutar* (Jarewe, Taliwang, Seran) loosely attached to the royal centre. He kingdom was divided in the districts Punu-Kika, Sumbawa Tengah-Orong Telu, Alas, and

further rules were laid down for dismissing the ruler. In this contract even the territory was changed: Manggarai, namely, was merged with Flores. As compensation, Sanggar (merged with the empty land of Tambora since 1866) was transferred to Bima. The last contracts were those with Bima and Sumbawa in 1939 (*Indisch Staatsblad*, 1939, p. 613). 'These regulations turned many things over to the individual territorial law, and served primarily to incorporate the territory in the Netherlands Indies constitutional law, generally speaking' (J.H.A. Logemann, *Het staatsrecht van Indonesië, het formele systeem*, 1954, p. 193n1).

[NICA, 1946]

The Second World War made an end to this partial incorporation of territory [*landschap*] within a well-ordered colony. The territories were plunged into a dangerous administrative-political traffic jam, and had use of all their swiftness to come out of it unscathed. The Sultan of Bima rallied behind the Yogya Republic in 1945, but this was a tactical miscalculation insofar as the Netherlands Indies Civil Administration (NICA) officers arrived in early 1946 in order to once again take care of the government.²⁶ Far from taking reprisals, however, they began to transfer the prerogatives to the local authorities after a short while, during which Sumbawa stood under militarized rule. Gradually, the colonial governance withdrew entirely in the course of a few years, a process that went peacefully, in contrast with

Taliwang. Under these were sub-districts. Taliwang District encompassed the three old *kamutar*. Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, pp. 158-159.

²⁶ The rather complicated situation between the Japanese capitulation (formalized on 2 September 1945) and the return of the Dutch, demands a few more words. Both sultans were positive about independence, but were not in the position to join the physical struggle since the Japanese troops held their positions until the arrival of the NICA. Sultan Sumbawa submitted to the republic in early October and encouraged republican propaganda. The new ideas spread rapidly among the population, and the enthusiasm was clearly underestimated by the Dutch authorities in Batavia. Some young republicans attempted a coup in Bima on 1 November but it was thwarted by the Japanese without bloodshed. There were more acts of violence in Bima than in West Sumbawa, while Sultan Bima seems to have backed out from his initial republican sympathies and tried to limit the revolutionary movement. Like in the rest of Indonesia, a *pemuda* organization was formed. A *pemuda* force attacked the Japanese arms store on 25 November but failed, and the Japanese retook full control over Bima four days later. Rebellions broke out again on 1 January 1946, and Raba was temporarily conquered. The Japanese responded swiftly, confiscated the arms of the *pemudas*, and arrested their foremost leaders, M. Tayib Abdullah and Ishaka Abdullah. The Muhammadiyah figure Mohammad Iljas and the religious teacher Mohammad Tajib were likewise arrested as troublemakers in January. Such was the state of things at the Dutch return to the island. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 337-342, 353-354.

some other quarters of the Great East²⁷, where disturbances broke out which are occasionally still not resolved.

[*Advisory council 1946*]

After the war the Netherlands Indies officials could do little more than begin to set up a new order. However, time was too short and their power too weak to take any other measures. As far as I can make out of the available data, they began to install a *dewan kerajaan* in 1946, a council to whose advice the prince (with his *sara ro hukum*) must listen. The members of this council were appointed by the prince himself. A problem was of course the position of Dompu, which a number of Netherlands Indies officials would have liked to see merged with Bima. In fact, Bima and Dompu had a common *dewan kerajaan* in January 1947, but this situation only lasted for some months, since Dompu was restored as an autonomous territory in September in the same year.

[*Administrative division*]

Sumbawa was one of the constituent *daerah* of Negara Indonesia Timur, installed in Den Pasar in December 1946.²⁸ When the active governmental concerns started in 1906 there were four territories (Sumbawa, Sanggar, Dompu, Bima) and three sub-divisions: Sumbawa, Taliwang and Bima, with Sumbawa as the capital of the division, being the post of an assistant resident. In 1937 Pulau Sumbawa was merged with Sumba in a sub-division with Raba near Bima as the capital. Meanwhile, Taliwang was abolished as a sub-division. In 1909 Pulau Sumbawa was detached from Makassar and merged with the Timor Residency (with Kupang as capital), and this residency (including Pulau Sumbawa) was subordinated to the Great East government (with Makassar as the capital) in 1938. Since 1950 Pulau

27 The Great East was a term for the eastern parts of the Netherlands East Indies.

28 The Dutch authorities convened a conference in Malino in Gowa in July 1946 where representatives of the various regions of East Indonesia were present, including Sultan Bima and Sultan Sumbawa. The conference prepared for a future Negara Indonesia Timur (State of East Indonesia), a quasi-state under Dutch auspices that would counter the revolutionary movement. The conference was an unpleasant surprise for the Dutch insofar that the delegates seemed keen on genuine independence. However, the state was proclaimed in December with the Balinese aristocrat Tjokorda Gde Raka Soekawati as the president and Nadjamoedin Daeng Malewa as the prime minister. It was a federal solution with a parliament and 13 autonomous regions, one of which was Sumbawa Island. The arrangement enabled the Dutch to exert indirect control to a large degree. The quasi-state joined the Indonesian republic in the fall of 1949, and was dissolved in the next year. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 360-373.

Sumbawa is a part of the administrative province Nusa Tenggara (previously Propinsi Pulau Sunda Kecil) with Singaraja (Bali) as its capital.

[*Daerah Sumbawa*]

I would gladly leave the recounting of the present, complicated, and in many respects still unclear situation, to the authorized experts. The remarks that I make here should be read with care, but perhaps there is some information that could help the experts to reach a better understanding. The central issue is, in my opinion, the relation of the territory [*landschap*] to the larger units, in particular, the *daerah* itself, which encompasses the entire Island of Sumbawa. As can be seen from the historical survey, Pulau Sumbawa was never a functional unity in the past. Contact along the roads of this oblong island was difficult, even after the construction of the big road around 1920. Contact between East and West Sumbawa over sea is impossible at the south coast and infrequent along the north coast. Also, East and West Sumbawa do not have much exchange or trade with each other. One may therefore see the merging of the two sub-divisions into one sub-division, imposed in 1906, more as a signification of a comfortably conceived geographical entity in the larger context of the Timor Residency and Dependencies, than as the effect of any cultural unity of Sumbawa Island itself. One can also see from the history that the kingdoms of Sumbawa (and certainly not only this island) maintain inter-island relations over sea roads more comfortably than intra-island ones. Mountain ridges and dividing waters close off more than waterways.²⁹ Thus Bima reached over the sea towards Manggarai; Sumbawa towards Lombok; and Gowa to Sumbawa. Different languages are actually spoken in East and West Sumbawa, and Professor Van Vollenhoven rightly divides them into two different legal areas.

[*Preliminary organization. 1947-1949*]

The socio-geographical situation of Pulau Sumbawa is not unanimously favourable for the shaping of a political-cultural unity. Moreover, the territories eagerly guard their own autonomy, as one can see from the abortive merger of Bima and Dompu. By 1947, however, the territories had come to realize that they should reach a closer state of cooperation. Departing from the *dewan*

29 That historical regions are often more important than islands as geographical entities is a well-known phenomenon in the historical geography of Indonesia. For example, the term Bali could denote both the main island and West Lombok in the early modern period, and Solor (Solot) originally denoted all the Lamaholot-speaking areas north of Timor. Similarly, Galiyao was often identified by outsiders as Pantar, but in fact included western Alor as well. Hägerdal, 'Cannibals and Pedlars', p. 221.

kerajaan (the advisory college that the prince in every territory had at his side), the Dewan Pulau Sumbawa then emerged, being an advisory college for the entire island at the side of the assembled self-rulers, who formed the Dewan Raja-Raja as a ruling college. After the restoration of the Dompu Kingdom, this territory was also accepted in the Sumbawa Island Federation, which was installed in February 1947. In this council, the members of which were selected by the *dewan kerajaan* (in turn employed by the headman of the territory), Bima and Sumbawa had five seats each, and Dompu two.

[*Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, January 1949*]

In August 1948, Negara Indonesia Timur proceeded to install this *daerah*, which became effective in the beginning of 1949 (*Republik Indonesia, Propinsi Sunda Ketjil* [n.y.], p. 138). The foremost difference with the hitherto valid organization was, apparently, that the Dewan Kerajaan (the territorial advisory college) and the Dewan Pulau Sumbawa (the advisory college for the entire *daerah*) were transformed into the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat Swapraja and the Daerah Perwakilan Rakyat Daerah, the members of which were chosen and not appointed. The Dewan Raja-Raja henceforth kept only the executive and administrative power. Shortly before the dissolution of the federal constitution of the Republik Indonesia Serikat into the present unitary state Republik Indonesia, the sub-state Negara Indonesia Timur established a *daerah* law (*Staatsblad Indonesia Timur*, 1950, p. 44), which has been treated in detail by Professor Logemann in his above-mentioned study (Logemann, op. cit., p. 158 s.q.).

[*Daerah and territory*]

The great problem was of course to pinpoint the place of the territory [*landschap*] vis-à-vis the *daerah*. Professor Logemann, speaking about the position of the territories as affected by the basic law of Republik Indonesia in 1950, says: 'The statute shall be regulated by the law (Basic Law, article 132, paragraph 1), but awaiting that, the old law is valid for them (article 133). That is to say that their statute still depends on a political contract ... This is important for the demarcation of their tasks and assignments, and for the authority relations of the functionaries to the land (Basic Law, article 133). However, the contractual character has been removed from the stipulations of the political contract, since it is can be unilaterally set aside by the legislation, mentioned in article 132. Moreover, territories are not installed; they are acknowledged, at least to the extent that they still existed on 27 December 1949 (Basic Law, article 132, paragraph 2). Henceforth, they cannot be abolished nor be reduced in area unless with their assent, or

by the government in the name of a law that states that general concerns demand abolition or reduction. The guarantee concerns the survival of the territory as a public body, in no way their statute, and thus also not the position of their traditional rulers' (Logemann, op. cit., p. 159). Concerning the impact of the *daerah* law of 1950 with regard to the territories in the former Negara Indonesia Timur, Professor Logemann further says: 'One has to conclude that that they were not ruled by the East Indonesian *daerah* law, and thus not Netherlands Indies law (*Zelfbestuursregelen, Indisch Staatsblad*, 1938, p. 529). This, however, raises the question to what extent their organization is modernized and to what extent the traditional territorial chiefs still function as *kepala daerah*. Still less is clear about what tasks are left to the territories. These tasks were very extensive under the Netherlands Indies system, at least formally. On the one hand, they must have been abrogated by the legal allocation of tasks to higher *daerah*, and, on the other hand, through the transfer to the *daerah* which emerged as territorial federations' (Logemann, *ibid.*, p. 193). A summing up of the tasks which have been entrusted the *daerah* is given in the *daerah* statute of 23 August 1948, reproduced in *Republik Indonesia, Propinsi Sunda Ketjil*, p. 140.

[*Administration of justice since 1954*]

Regarding the jurisdiction in the territories, where formerly general regulations were only valid if they were expressly declared to be fitting, the law of the territory thus applied within the territorial border and for the subjects of the territory, if it did not concern issues which were the prerogatives of the governmental judge. The governmental judge was the legally installed judge. The pluralism of the jurisdiction largely came to an end though the laws of 1950 and 1951, when the territorial jurisdiction was exchanged for the governmental jurisdiction, so that only the religious jurisdiction was still maintained. In July 1954 this regulation became effective for Sumbawa. The religious jurisdiction primarily applies to marital and inheritance issues among Muslims (see W.L.G. Lemaire, *Het recht in Indonesië*, 1952, p. 229).

[*Local feelings*]

Although, as far as I can find, the *daerah* is generally accepted in Sumbawa as a necessary development of the modern age, the territories are still not always animated by a spirit that favours its internal unity and welfare.³⁰

³⁰ At another place Held wrote that 'the entire situation is like a school during vacation'. The old was abolished, but there was as yet nothing new and viable coming in its stead. De Josselin de Jong, 'Herdenking van Gerrit Jan Held', p. 352.

The cultural relations between the parts of the *daerah* are not sufficiently sincere. In Dompu one can hear the hope being expressed that Dompu in the future will come forth as the seat of the *daerah* since it is in the middle – due to the difficult choice between Sumbawa and Bima, both with justified claims. The self-rulers in the former Negara Indonesia Timur have sensed the danger that threatens them through a revision of their position vis-à-vis the *negara*, and also through the installation of the *daerah* as umbrella units, of which the territory in one way or another forms a part (*bagian daerah*). In the government of Negara Indonesia Timur, where the self-rulers had influence as members of the senate, they continuously opposed the designed constitution of this state (A.A. Schiller, *The Formation of Federal Indonesia*, 1955, p. 96). In April 1950, the Prince of Gowa issued a proclamation that Negara Indonesia Timur should join the unitary state, a proclamation that also the Dewan Raja-Raja of Sumbawa joined in May 1950 as well. Perhaps they considered that this hint of being inclined to cooperate would create more understanding for their position in a larger context. This anticipation was not verified, since resistance against the sultans arose in the three territories, in particular after Negara Indonesia Timur had been abolished.³¹

[*Position of the princes*]

In spite of all these changes the position of the princes did not in itself become insignificant. In 1947 the princes received the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the sub-division heads, and in March 1949 the [prerogatives] of the former sub-division head (assistant resident) went to the chair of the Dewan Raja-Raja (Kepala Daerah). In 1949, thus, the former European governance, which in general held a managerial function, was definitely terminated. After the installation of *daerah* Sumbawa according to the *daerah* law promulgated in June 1950, the Dewan Raja-Raja was exchanged for a Dewan Pemerintah, which is not headed by the prince. In the same year the old *hadat* and *hukum* were abolished and substituted by the Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat for the general policy, while the Dewan Pemerintah, chaired by the prince, was charged with the day-to-day governance. Since 1950 the prince has been the chairman of a collegial council, which he had

31 This ties in with I Ketut Ardhana's conclusion that the status of the sultan families shrank in the decades after 1905 because of their collaboration with the Dutch colonial state. Ardhana, *Nusa Tenggara nach Einrichtung der Kolonialherrschaft 1915 bis 1950*, pp. 111, 116–120. Their anti-colonial stance in 1942 and 1945 was seemingly not sufficient to wash away this stigma.

hitherto never been, as Couvreur asserts in opposition to Van Vollenhoven (*Adatrechtbundel*, XVI, p. 207).

[*Prince in a collegial governance*]

Apparently this change brought a significant alteration for the princes with regard to their position. The Dewan Pemerintah Rakyat obviously sees itself as a kind of local parliament which can bring their own Dewan Pemerintah down through political manoeuvres, or deprive it of its power. After the death of Sultan Ibrahim in Jakarta in July 1951, the Dewan Pemerintah of Bima, under the chairmanship of the *wakil kepala swapraja*, quite simply resolved to abolish the *swapraja* and revoke the former official posts from those who had held the role.³² What was aimed at was probably to end the official acceptance of the sultan as the chairman of the Dewan Pemerintah. One may ask however, if regulated governance can function properly if the lower bodies change their statutes arbitrarily. Whatever the case, these measures resulted in a protest from the population itself, which launched a demonstration. Allegedly, it brought 15,000 people on their feet in August 1951, to protest against the alteration. This action was continued by a Panitia Rakyat, which alleged that it had 88,000 sympathizers. This movement scored success insofar in that the heir to the throne of Bima returned to the governance of the territory, albeit at first in a subordinate position.³³ In Bima it is moreover asserted that the entire action against the sultan did not aim at the abolition of the royal institution as such, but was rather an attempt to establish a related group in the role. This movement was not limited to Bima, but also led to a motion of disapproval in Dompu in 1951, lodged by the Dewan Pemerintah Rakyat against the sultan. And in 1953 the same process repeated itself in the *daerah* government. The governor of

32 Muhammad Salahuddin left Bima to seek medical assistance in Jakarta but passed away on 11 July 1951. Being recognized as a freedom fighter, he was interred at Pemakaman Tanah Abang in Jakarta, while his heart was buried at the place of proclamation of independence at the request of the government. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1234.

33 This was Abdul Kahir who was destined to become the last dynastic head in Bima, ironically bearing the same name as the first sultan. He served as *kepala daerah swapraja* between 1954 and 1957 and later on as *bupati* in 1960-1963. Abdul Kahir passed away in 2001. In accordance with the vogue of 'sultanism' after the fall of the over-centralized Suharto regime, his eldest son, Ferry Zulkarnain, was later enthroned as titular 'sultan' with ceremonial and cultural functions. He passed away in 2013, leaving a son called Muhammad Putra Feriandi. The driving force in the raja family, however, has been Abdul Kahir's sister, Siti Maryam Salahuddin, who has carried out a range of cultural activities, compiled manuscript catalogues, edited historical texts etc. Taniputera, *Kerajaan-kerajaan Nusantara pascakeruntuhan Majapahit*, p. 1234.

the province then declared implementation of the motion to be impossible. What the future will bring, in particular for the development of the statute of the territory, cannot be predicted. As we will expand on below, the old territorial government was nothing but a political institutionalization of gift exchange [*geschenkenruil*]. That institution did not exist anymore in this form in 1950, but with this there was yet no end of gift exchanges as such, and in this the prince still has an important position.³⁴

34 The manuscript ends here, and Held was never able to expand on the phases of territorial government, as was evidently his ambition. A few years after his death Sumbawa was included in a major administrative reform. A legal decision in 1958 divided Nusa Tenggara (formerly Sunda Kecil) into three so-called Daerah Swatantra Tingkat I, namely Bali, Nusa Tenggara Barat (Sumbawa and Lombok) and Nusa Tenggara Timur (Sumba, Flores, Timor and surrounding islands). Nusa Tenggara Barat consisted of the three Sumbawan *swaprajas* and three *wilayah* on Lombok, and was headed by the Madurese aristocrat R.A. Muhammad Ruslan Cakraningrat. With this, the old *daerah* government was liquidated and the *swaprajas* were technically abolished. Junaidi Amir Hamzah became *kepala* of Bima while the old sultans of Sumbawa and Dompu continued as appointed *kepala* for some time. *Sejarah Daerah Nusa Tenggara Barat*, pp. 191-195.

Appendix: Lists of Sumbawan rulers

Compiled by Hans Hägerdal

It may be noted that some of the dates are not exactly the same as in Held's text translated above. Much new information has come to light since Held wrote his history, which has been taken into account here. See, in particular, J. Noorduyn (ed.), *Bima en Sumbawa* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1987), and W.Ph. Coolhaas, J. van Goor, J.E. Schooneveld-Oosterling and Hugo s'Jacob (eds), *Generale missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*, 11 vols (The Hague: M. Nijhoff, 1960-2007).

Bima

Indera Zamrut, son of Sang Bima¹
Batara Bima, son
Dewa dalam Bata Parapanti, son
Dewa dalam Bata Ncandi, son
Nggampo Jawa, son
Dewa yang Nyata di Saruhu
Dewa dalam Bata Lambu, son
Dewa dalam Bata Bou, son
Mawaa Paju Longge, son
Mawaa Indera Mbojo, brother
Mawaa Bilmana, brother
Manggampo Donggo, brother
Mambora ba Pili Tuta, son
Mawaa Ndapa, brother
Mawaa La Laba, nephew
Mantau La Sadina, grand-nephew of Manggampo Donggo
Mambora Aka Sapaga, son of Mambora ba Pili Tuta
Mambora dalam Asi Bata Lambu, son
Samara, son of Mawaa Ndapa
Salisi, brother

¹ The historicity of the early rulers before c. 1620 is uncertain. There exist several lists which differ from each other in many details. The editor follows the pedigree in the *Bo* as summarized by Henri Chambert-Loir and Siti Maryam R. Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, pp. 36-37.

Mantau La Limandaru, son
 Mantau Asi Sawo, uncle
 Manuru Salisi, brother
 Abdul Kahir c. 1620-1640, son of Mantau Asi Sawo
 Ambela Abdul Khair Sirajuddin, son 1640-1682
 Nuruddin Abubakar Ali Syah, son 1682-1687
 Jamaluddin Ali Syah, son 1687-1696
 Hasanuddin Muhammad Ali Syah, son 1696-1731
 Alauddin Muhammad Syah, son 1731-1748
 Kamalat Syah, daughter 1748-1751
 Abdul Kadim Muhammad Syah, brother 1751-1773
 Abdul Hamid Muhammad Syah, son 1773-1817
 Ismail Muhammad Syah, son 1817-1854
 Abdullah, son 1854-1868
 Abdul Aziz, son 1868-1881
 Ibrahim, brother 1881-1915
 Muhammad Salahuddin, son 1915-1951
 Abdul Kahir, son, *kepala daerah swapraja* 1954-1957

*Raja or Ruma Bicara (first ministers)*²

Mawaa Bilmana, Tureli Nggampo, King of Bima, then Ruma Bicara
 Makapiri Solo, La Mbila, son
 Ma Ana Lima Dai, son
 Bumi Renda Manuru Sunto, La Mbila, son
 Mantau Dana Ntori, son
 Bumi Luma Kae Mambora Ese Buton, Abdullah, son -1667
 Abdul Rahim -1687
 Abdul Samad Ompu La Muni c. 1700
 Jeneli Bolo Wau Mantau Dana Timu, son of Abdullah
 Jeneli Rasanae, Abdul Ali, son 1733-
 Manggemaci, Ismail bin Muhammad Hidir, nephew c. 1775-1786
 Nagalere, Muhyuddin, brother 1788-1805
 Mambora Ese Reo, Abdullah, brother -1803
 Tureli Donggo Mawaa Kadi, Abdul Nabi, brother 1805-1839
 Kapenta Wadu, Muhammad Yakub, son 1839-1864
 Makalosa Weki, Ahmad Daeng Manasa bin Muhammad Jafar, nephew 1864-

2 The list follows Chambert-Loir and Salahuddin, *Bo' Sangaji Kai*, p. 609, for the most part. Some information differs slightly from other consulted works, such as Ismail, *Peran kesultanan Bima dalam perjalanan sejarah Nusantara*.

Bicara Saleko, Abdul Azis bin Yunus -1886
 Muhammad Quraish bin Muhammad Hidir, grandson of Muhammad Yakub
 1886-1915
 Abdul Hamid bin Abdul Majid, nephew 1915-

Dompu

Indera Kumala or Dewa Batara Dampo, son of Batara Bima³
 Dewa Indera Dampo, grandson
 Dewa Mambora Bisyu, brother
 Dewa Mambora Belanda, brother
 Dewa Yang Punya Kuda, son of Dewa Mambora Bisyu
 Dewa Yang Mati di Bima, son
 Dewa Mawaa Lapatu
 Dewa Mawaa Taho, nephew
 Syamsuddin c. 1620, son
 Jamaluddin, brother (or son)
 Sirajuddin, son of Syamsuddin
 Abdulhamid Ahmad Syah, son before 1667-1697
 Bumisorowo Abdul Rasul, brother 1697-1718
 Daeng Manambung, son 1718-1727
 Abdul Yusuf, son 1727-1732
 Kamaluddin, brother 1732
 Abdul Kahar, nephew of Bumisorowo 1732-1749
 Ahmad Alauddin Johan Syah, brother of Daeng Manambung 1749-1765
 Abdul Kadir, brother 1765-1774
 Abdul Rahman, son 1774-1787
 Abdul Wahab, brother 1787-1793
 Abdul Rahman, second time 1787-1798
 Daeng Pabela, son 1798
 Abdullah I, brother 1798-1799
 Muhammad Zainal Abidin, son of Abdul Wahab 1799-1805
 Muhammad Tajularifin I, brother 1805-1809
 Abdul Rasul, brother 1809-1857
 Muhammad Salahuddin, son 1857-1870

3 There is not much authority for the rulers before 1667. The list follows Coll. G.J. Held, Or. 1220:28, KITLV Archive, and Coll. V.E. Korn, Or. 435:84, KITLV Archive. For later and slightly variant pedigrees dated 1961 and 1976, see Chambert-Loir, *Kerajaan Bima dalam sastra dan sejarah*, pp. 134-137.

Abdullah II, son 1870-1882
 Muhammad Sirajuddin, son 1882-1937
 Muhammad Tajularifin II, grandson 1947-1958

Pekat

Ince c. 1675⁴
 Daeng Manessi Lalu late seventeenth century
 Abdul Cili Mandarsyah before 1701-1707
 Daeng Mangalla Abdul Jalil, nephew 1707-1719
 Si Tangoli, cousin 1719-?
 Abdul Said ?-1735
 Abdul Brahim 1735-1739
 Daeng Sado, widow 1739-?
 Abdul Gafur, son ?-1755
 Si Impa Abdul Rahman, son of Abdul Said 1755-after 1768
 Abdul Muhammad 1794-1815

Sanggar

Hasanuddin before 1701-1704
 Daeng Ngaseng, brother 1704-1708
 N.N., son of Hasanuddin 1708-?
 Abdul Saleh, son of Daeng Ngaseng before 1724-1740
 Abdul Muhammad Daeng Manaba, brother 1740-after 1747
 Muhammad Syah Jahan before 1765-1781
 Datu Daeng Madenjung, son 1781-1783
 Adam Safiullah, son 1783-1790
 Muhammad Sulaiman, uncle 1790-1805
 Ismail Halilud Dayan, brother 1805-?
 La Lira Daeng Jai before 1827-1836
 Daeng Malaba, brother 1836-1845
 Manga Daeng Manasse, son of La Lira 1845-1869
 La Kamea Daeng Nganjo Syamsuddin, brother 1869-1900
 Abdullah Daeng Manggalai, son 1900-1926

4 For the succession of rulers of the petty kingdoms Pekat, Sanggar and Tambora, much of the information was found in unpublished notes by A. Ligtvoet, 'Geschied- en tijdrekenkundig overzicht van de landen, thans uitmakende het gouvernement van Celebes en onderhoorigheden'; and 'Historisch woordenboek van Zuidwest Celebes'.

Sumbawa

Datu Poro or Maharaja Paruwa c. 1623
 Mas Cini, son of Adipati Topati 1648-1668
 Mas Gowa, brother 1668-1675
 Mas Banten Datu Loka, nephew 1675-1701
 Amas Madina Harunarrasyid I, son 1701-1725
 Raja Tua Datu Setelok, brother 1725
 Datu Taliwang Jalaluddin, of royal blood 1725-1731
 Mappasusu Muhammad Kaharuddin I, nephew of Amas Madina 1731-1759
 Karaeng Bontoa, widow, daughter of Amas Madina 1759-1762
 Datu Jarewe Hasanuddin, great-grandson of Mas Banten 1762-1763
 Datu Taliwang Muhammad Jalaluddin, son-in-law of Karaeng Bontoa 1763-1766
 Mappaconga Mustafa, son 1766-1780
 Datu Bodi Harunarrasyid II, son of Datu Jerewe 1780-1791
 Daeng Massiki Safiatuddin, daughter 1791-1795
 Muhammad Kaharuddin II, son of Mappaconga Mustafa 1795-1816
 Lalu Mesir, son 1837
 Amarullah, brother 1837-1883
 Muhammad Jalaluddin, grandson 1883-1931
 Muhammad Kaharuddin III, son 1931-1958

*Dea or Nene Ranga (first ministers)*⁵

Mele Bangkal between 1675/1701
 Mele Umar between 1701/1725
 Mele Senap after 1731
 Mele Manca before 1759
 Lalu Banggae between 1759/1762
 Mekal Samede 1763-1766
 Mele Senjata between 1766/1791
 Mele Ringgi 1791-
 Mele Manyurang before 1816-1825
 Mele Abdullah 1825-1836
 Mele Huzainah after 1837
 Rango Berang Lalu Makasau Mele Banggae fl. 1853
 Muhammad Jamaluddin fl. 1858

⁵ List mainly drawn from Manca, *Sumbawa pada masa lalu*, which dates the senior ministers after the sultan in whose time they governed. Their exact dates are usually not available.

Mele Unru before 1883
Lalu Masmira after 1883
Lalu Malarangang Mele Sagiri
Muhammad Yakub Lalu Mesir
Abdullah Lalu Intan Dewa
Muhammad Saleh Daeng Manessa -1937

Tambora

Bagus Ima c. 1675
Jamaluddin ?-1687
Nizamuddin Abdul Basyir, son 1687-1697
Damala Daeng Mamangon 1697-1716
Abdul Aziz, brother of Nizamuddin 1716-1724
Abdul Rahman, son 1726-1748
Jeneli Kadinding, son 1748
Abdul Said Juhan Kamalasa, cousin 1748
Tureli Tambora, son-in-law of Abdul Aziz 1748-1749
Abdul Said Juhan Kamalasa, second time 1749-1771
Tahmidullah Hidayatun Minalla 1771-1773
Abdul Rakhid Tajul Arifin 1773-1800
Muhammad Tajul Masahor 1800-1801
Abdul Jafar Mataram, son of Abdul Said 1801-1815

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³ The editor is grateful to Henk Schulte Nordholt, KITLV, for lending him this valuable manuscript, which was in a state of near-completion at the demise of Karel Bongenaar.

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