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In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 140 (1984), no: 2/3, Leiden, 317-326

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A NOTE ON GALIYAO AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOLOR-ALOR ISLANDS

In two recent articles in *Bijdragen* (van Fraassen 1976, Barnes 1982) there was again some discussion about Majapahit dependencies. Van Fraassen picked out three places whose identification he felt to be hitherto unsatisfactory. His passing equation of Galiyao with the island of Kalao, between Flores and Saleier, obviously based on the phonetic similarity of the names, was taken up by Barnes, who convincingly argued, on the basis of early Portuguese and Dutch reports, in favour of an identification of Galiyao with the island of Pantar. In different contexts, both articles referred to certain local traditions. I should like to elaborate along this line here, first focusing on some "Java related" local traditions, and then discussing the connection of the Solor Islands with the Moluccas, a perhaps crucial factor in the early political development in this area.

When trying to find out something about the traditional political organization of Terong (South Adonara),¹ the position of the clan Waimahing was explained to me as follows:

Waimahing originates from Majapahit, but arrived in Terong from Munaséli on the island of Barnusa: once a certain Raja Majapahit had come to Barnusa together with his younger brother, Tuan(g) Aka Ai (or Akai). Whereas the latter returned to Java, the former stayed behind and had five sons, who founded the Galéau Watan Léma. One of the five sons, after a (unspecified) disaster, left Barnusa and came to Terong. From him is descended the clan Waimahing which became one (of the four) governing clans, holding the office of bilal.²

This was the only explicit reference to a "Galéau" which I came across, except that in Lamakéra (East Solor) the mention of the name "Galéau" prompted the response that once there had been a "Galéau Watan Léma" between Lembata and Kalabahi (Alor).

On the one hand, this could be regarded as a definitive statement about Galiyao. Another possibility would be to assume that this is a case of historical writing modifying local historical tradition, of the type I came across in a few other explicit cases. Here the book by Vatter (1932:23-27) is concerned, which sets out the facts of Pigafetta's account and which was consulted in connection with a request in 1961 to change the name of the Dati II "Flores Timur dan Pulau² Solor" to "Lamaholot". While naturally the focus was on Pigafetta's "Zolot", the name "Galiau" was noted, too, but was somewhat arbitrarily equated with Pulau Batan between Lembata and Pantar. This move, which was known about in Lamakéra, too, seems to have been initiated

in East Adonara, but I do not know any more about it. In any case it was never mentioned in other places — it should only serve as a *caveat*, while by itself it cannot invalidate the above information. Further research into the oral traditions of Pantar and West Alor might provide more clarification.

Meanwhile, I should like to place this story in a wider context, which is also referred to by Barnes (1982:410), i.e. the myth about Majapahit descent, which — besides at certain other places in the Timor archipelago (Savu, Sumba, Bima, Ende/South Flores) — is found in the islands east of Flores only on Pantar. So far, the fullest account is given by two stories published by Lemoine (1969). The first of these (on the origin of the kings of Pandai) relates the arrival from Java of “Aki Ai” and his younger brother “Mojopahit”, the latter of whom was left behind and had five sons, who were sent to “cinq rivages différents, et ils furent tous fondateurs de nobles lignages” (Lemoine 1969:15). They became the first rajas of Pandai, Barnusa, Alor (Alor-besar) and “Lomblem”, whereas the place of the fifth is not mentioned. The second story is only loosely connected with the first and tells of the destruction of Munaséli by an alliance of three rajas (Pandai, Wileleng and Waidana) with the help of “Javanese”. It stresses again the link between Pandai and “Java”, as the Raja of Pandai gains “Javanese” support with the argument of their common origin.³

Whatever the variations, the story from Terong does fit into this pattern, especially the figures of Aka Ai and Raja Majapahit with his five sons, whereas the disaster might be related to the destruction of Munaséli.

The Majapahit myth, the possibility of Larantuka being a conquest of Majapahit, which Barnes also referred to, and later Javanese trade may relate to a usage in Sikka (west of Larantuka): there, Larantuka/East Flores is called “Jawa/Jawa Muhang”.⁴ This seems to be a striking parallel to what van Fraassen (1976:303) has said about the use of the term “Jaba” in the Moluccas — so why not apply the same interpretation here?

It is certain that Timor was included in the trade of the Malays, Javanese and Chinese (see LeRoux 1929:38-46), perhaps even at a very early stage (cf. Wolters 1967:65). But if there is no precise information on Timor, the role of the Solor Islands is even more obscure. Pires reports (Vol. I:115, 203) that the most famous product of “Solor” was sulphur, which can indeed be obtained at various places where there is volcanic activity in East Flores, Adonara, Lembata and Pantar. The VOC, moreover, was seriously considering engaging in sulphur trading at Ende (DRB 1636:219, GM I:629, GM II:560). Again, from Pires’ description (Vol. I:203f.) it would seem that the traders from Malacca used the Sapi Strait between Flores and Sumbawa on their way to Timor; but if Cortesão’s interpretation of Galvão’s account is correct (Introduction to Pires, Vol. I:xxxx ff.), the Javanese may well have used the route along the north coasts of the islands as well. The straits between the Solor Islands are much safer,

which is one reason why the Portuguese used Solor as an entrepôt for their Timor trade. LeRoux (1929:47) infers the same for the early Javanese traders, which seems not too far fetched, especially if it is true that the Portuguese were only following a known trade route (Friedberg 1977:163). This could also explain the appearance in 1563 of a hostile "Javanese fleet" at the recently established Portuguese settlement on Solor (Rouffaer 1923/24:205 f., cf. *GM* I:54).⁵

Thus, the mention of Galiyao in the *Nâgara-Kertâgama*, the Javanese trade, the Majapahit myth and Galvão's and Pigafetta's information taken together do make Pantar the most probable candidate for Galiyao, as Barnes has argued.

Also, as Barnes has said, this location allows for the easiest explanation of why it was mentioned among the places that broke with the Portuguese and allied themselves with the VOC in 1613 (*Bouwstoffen* I:19). We also hear that Solor, before Dutch intervention, used to be engaged in a lively trade with "Galiou", importing provisions thence (*Bouwstoffen* I:88f).⁶

"Trade" and "alliance" would suggest a contract partner, and although there are no early reports — Dutch vessels do not seem to have visited Alor or Pantar —, a letter of 1682 by the Raja of Buton might give a clue. In it he informed the Governor-General that the "Solorese" had asked for Buton's assistance against Portuguese harassment. The "Solorese" were from: Adonara, Lamahala, Lamakéra, "Louliang" (?), Terong, "Bermoussa" (Barnusa), "Blecker" (Belagar), "Pandaija" (Pandai), Alor and Malua (*DRB* 1682/I:1207). That the places on Alor and Pantar were accorded a similar status to those on Solor and Adonara, at least in 1702, is suggested by a Sengaji of Lohayong, who spoke at that time of a "Sengaji Bakolaha of Alor" (*GM* IV:196).

While it would be tempting, if one generously allows for "Louliang" being a mistake, to interpret this listing of 10 places as representing what was later called the Solor Watan Léma and what in the Waimahing story was called the Galéau Watan Léma, it shows at least that the political situation as reported for the mid-19th century (see van Lynden 1851: 329, 335 f.) was of much longer standing. And as Pires (Vol. I:200) places "Malua" next to "Soloro", one may assume the continuity of that trading place to have gone right back to around 1500, especially since it was mentioned by Pigafetta, too (Barnes 1982:408). And lastly, it may give the Majapahit myth from Pantar a rather old and concrete backing.

A continuous relationship between Solor and Pantar/Alor, which is reflected in the present linguistic pattern,⁷ can likewise be traced back to the 17th century: not only did Lohayong once claim an old supremacy over all the places between Alor and Ende (*DRB* 1675:160), but other occasional reports show that it was the Solorese *sengajis* who kept the VOC informed of what was going on in Alor, and even visited it.⁸ It may even be significant in this context that in a territorial quarrel over Kédang in 1874, Lamahala called on two rajas from Alor as witnesses, since they were regarded as specialists on the history of

that region (Alg. Rijksarchief, The Hague, Mailrapport 1877/256).

It is true, however, that the concrete effects of a Javanese presence are as yet absolutely unclear. The fragmentary survey of the situation as outlined above points rather to another Indonesian factor in the Solor-Alor Islands, which certainly stimulated the political development in this area, i.e. the connection with the Moluccas (and Buton).

This is already suggested by the oral traditions of a number of clans locating their origin in the Moluccas, roughly confirming van Fraassen's (1976:296) identification of "Muar" (Mua): there are clans named "Ata Mua" (orang Mua), whose origin is "Maluku", "Wadan" (Banda), "Wanira",⁹ and even "Ambon Wadan", as well as a group of clans which trace their origin to "Sérang-Gorang" (Séram-Gorom). How old this connection is, is difficult to say (Pigafetta's "Maloku" on Pantar would suggest the time to which it dates back to be around 1500; cf. van Fraassen 1976:301). At least, already in the 16th century there seem to have been Solorese appeals to the Sultan of Ternate to send one of his relatives in order to be made "king" of Solor (de Sá, Vol. IV:321f.),¹⁰ just as later, in 1630, the Solorese asked for Ternate's help against the Portuguese (Coolhaas 1943:116). Furthermore in 1613 all the areas allying themselves with the VOC declared themselves to be subjects of Ternate (*Bouwstoffen* I:17, 19).¹¹ For the 17th century it is clear that the Solorese and Endenese themselves traded at Ambon, or rather wished to trade here, were they permitted to do so (*Bouwstoffen* III:317f, *DRB* 1664:293, 1665:13, 1666-67:368).

Not surprisingly, Islam was an essential element in this connection. Islam gained an early foothold in Adonara, at the latest by the mid-16th century, and here developed a hostile relation with Portuguese monks (see Geldrop 1953, Rouffaer 1923/24:270 f.).¹² In oral traditions, which recognize religious ties with Buton and Ternate (for Ende see Heurnius 1855(1638):253), two persons stand out in this connection: Ratu Loli, who is variously identified as being from "Maluku" in general or from Mua, is depicted as the major hero in the anti-Portuguese fights, who had studied Islam in Buton and who later went to Ternate to ask for help against the Portuguese. As a historical person he appears as Schotte's ally "Ratololij" in 1613 (*Bouwstoffen* I:17, 94). The other prominent person is the "Sultan Sili Pertawi", the "Kaitjil Protavi" of the Dutch documents, who became the leader of the Muslim states. It seems hardly accidental that one of the "Moluccan" clans of Lohayong (Central Solor) should count among the first seven newcomers a "Sili Pertawi", a "Umar Sili Betawi" and an "Iman Pati Duri" (Suban Leyn 1979:29f).¹³ In 1613 Schotte wrote about the "Kitchyl" as a man with a great reputation, who hated the Portuguese because they had killed his father and had forced him to become a Christian. Furthermore, he was said to be engaged in a lively correspondence with Buton, Macassar, Bantam and several rajas of Timor (*Bouwstoffen* I:19). Since he was also addressed as "Don Diego offte Kitchil Protavi" (Colenbrander, Vol. III:105, Vol. V:196, in Vol. II:434 as "Chili Protavi"), one might suggest that it was he who played a leading role in the abortive revolt against the Portuguese

in 1598 (as “Dom Diogo”, see Biermann 1924:22). His correspondence with the Raja of Buton then had the “logical” consequence that “op propositie van den Koning van Boeton besloten (werd) met zyne zeemagt gesterkt een aanslag op Solor te doen en de Portugeezen aldaar te vernestelen”,¹⁴ and that the Solorese chose Ternate as their overlord. On 9 January 1613 Schotte left Buton with Ternateans on board — the vessels of the Raja of Buton arrived only when the fort had already been taken (*Bouwstoffen* I:12ff).

Thus, the Moluccan connection not only allowed the Solor Islands to play a more active part in regional politics, but it also marked the beginning of a political consolidation under the authority of Kaicil Protavi, which seems to have lasted until the death of his wife and successor, the “Nyai Chili” of the VOC documents. Local tradition refers to this period as that of a “kesultanan” centred on Menanga (Central Solor) and loosely encompassing the “usual” Lima Pantai (Adonara, Terong, Lamahala, Lohayong and Lamakéra). Various documents do mention that the Kaicil, and later his wife, resided not at Lohayong, but in a place nearby, i.e. presumably Menanga. It continued to exist as a separate regency until it was placed under Lohayong at the beginning of the 20th century.

The tradition of the “original” Lima Pantai, in which Menanga is not included, goes far back in time, however, when they were located at different places from those known around 1600, like the Girék Lewo Jawa mentioned in note 4. This might bring us back to the discussion in the first part of this paper, as the older tradition inserts, as an important event, the arrival of migrants from “Keroko Puken” (see note 3), who frequently assumed a leading position in their new place of residence (e.g. as Raja Kedua in Larantuka). At present, however, it is not yet possible to provide a coherent picture of these early traditions. A hypothetical calculation of the time depth of these traditions, guided by the genealogy of the Rajas of Larantuka (assuming 30 years for each successive generation), and taking the baptism of Ola (Don Francisco) in 1646 as a base-line,¹⁵ would place the arrival of the Keroko Puken group at the time of Sira Napan (the 4th raja) in the early 16th century; the first recognized raja, Sira Demon, could then be located in the first third of the 15th century, and Patigolo Arkian (two generations earlier, see note 4) in the third quarter of the 14th century.

These dates are only speculative, but what seems certain may be summarized as follows:

- There was an early Javanese presence in the 14th century, testified by the “Solot” of the Nâgara-Kertâgama.
- Pantar is the region in the Solor-Alor Islands where a Majapahit myth occurs.
- Galiyao (also mentioned in the Nâgara-Kertâgama) was located by Portuguese sources, insofar as they may have received their information from Indonesian sources, in the chain of islands east of Java

and next to Solor, in 1522 the name being applied to Pantar (Barnes 1982).

- Whatever the impact of the early trade contacts (perhaps a certain impetus for a number of emerging polities?), the development was at least strongly stimulated by Moluccan (Butonese) influence, together with the advent of Islam and the specific political history of the late 16th and the 17th centuries.
- At present the term “Galéau” is applied only to the area of Pantar. But it is clear that only further research into the oral tradition, and perhaps the archaeology, of Pantar and Alor may provide a more definitive picture of that period.

Tübingen, August 1983

NOTES

- 1 The collection of oral traditions was not the main purpose of my research, but rather resulted from curiosity after having read VOC documents, and was aimed at testing the possibility of further such research. Thus, I visited Terong only twice and Lamahala three times in December 1981, as well as paying one short visit to Lamakéra and Lohayong each in January 1982. A drawback was the necessity of using Bahasa Indonesia instead of Lamaholot. To Bapak Adia Kapitan, Hamza Abdullah, Haji Muhammad Saleh Haji Ibrahim Tuan Dasi and Gabriel Suban Leyn I owe many thanks for their help. Research in Indonesia was carried out under the auspices of Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia (LIPI). I am also grateful to Dr. R. H. Barnes for his helpful comments, and to Dr. Gordon Whittaker for reviewing the manuscript.
- 2 “Barnusa” here refers to the island of Pantar (cf. Barnes 1973:72 n. 3). “Watan Léma” means “five shores” (“Lima Pantai”), as in Solor Watan Léma (or Paji Watan Léma/Paji Wuring Watan Léma), which is the “Lima Pantai” of Dutch literature. They are said to include Lohayong, Lamakéra, Lamahala, Terong and Labala (South Lembata); written sources always mention Adonara instead of Labala. It may be noted that the term “watan” was generally explained as being not just a topographical term, but as more specifically denoting Muslims.
- 3 Earlier accounts of this tradition are Anonymous (1914:77, 89; coastal population of Pandai as of “Javanese” origin, Akiyai as the ancestor of the rajas) and Vatter (1932:24; Majapai and his five sons establishing the kingdoms of Alor, Labala and, presumably, Pandai, Barnusa and Belagar, cf. p. 260). When Beckering visited Labala in 1910, the raja claimed descent from “Keroko Puken” and membership in the Solor Watan Léma (Beckering 1911: 187). “Keroko Puken” is unanimously located in the area of the two little islands of Lapan and Batan, between Lembata and Pantar (see Barnes 1982:410 f.).
- 4 See Sareng Orinbao (1969:12 n. 2). The meaning of “Muhang” is unclear (from Sikkinese “nuhang”, “island”? Cf. “ata nuhan”, “fishermen”, in Lamaholot, Suban Leyn 1979:28). There is, e.g., the following adat verse: “Jawa Larentuka, suding apa mora Solor, Sika nora Solor, ganu wue nora wari”, “Larentuka, why are you jealous of Solor? Sikka and Solor are like brothers”. (Sareng Orinbao 1969:40). In other verses we find “Lewonama(ng)

Jawa" for the town of Larantuka and "Raja Jawa" for the Raja of Larantuka (Sareng Orinbao 1969:40 and 47). "Lewonama" traditionally is the old centre of the kingdom of Larantuka. It may also be noted that at the end of the 19th century a Jesuit priest incidentally remarked that the Lamaholot speaking people of the hinterland of Larantuka were calling the Nagi (a Malay dialect) speaking people of Larantuka, Konga and Wuré "orang Jawa" (Laan 1966:989; cf. "ata Djawa = Maleier", Leemker 1893:425). These usages are reminiscent of one version of the tradition about Patigolo Arkian: coming from Waihalu (Timor), his travels led him to "Tanah Jawa". When the "Javanese" noticed a piece of sandalwood which he had brought from Timor, they equipped him with a fleet to lead them to the place of origin of the wood. He then met Watuwélé from the Ilé Maindiri, behind Larantuka. They married and became the ancestors of the rajas of Larantuka (cf. Arndt 1940:73 f., where Pulau Perca/South Sumatra is substituted for Jawa). Also, a Menanga (Central Solor) tradition refers to the predecessor of Lamahala as "Lewo Jawa/Girék Lewo Jawa" (Suban Leyn 1979:37, "lewo" = "village", for "Girék"/"pre-Lamahala" see also Beckering 1911: 170 n. 1). However, one should be careful not to draw too many conclusions from these terms. After all, the double expression "Sina Jawa" appears frequently in the migration histories of clans as well as in the mythology of East Flores (see Arndt 1940, 1951, *passim*). It denotes "overseas (to the west)" in general and seems to be associated with wealth and power. Other traditions about "Sina Malaka" may be related to the movements of the Portuguese after the conquests of Malacca and Macassar (cf. Forman 1977: 101).

- 5 Nothing is known definitely about the age and provenance of the Alorese "moko" (see Huyser 1931/32). Equally remarkable are the tusks from Lio, Sikka and East Flores and the Solor Islands. Sikkane tradition describes them as an import from Malacca; in the *DRB* they occur in the shipping lists from 1665 onwards, while for earlier years there is no information. As for the "patola" (Gujarati textiles) and patola-like designs, Bühler (1959) cautiously concludes that they may have reached East Indonesia with the beginning of European trade, although the Gujarati trade with West Indonesia was much older. The identification all these objects, to which one might add the "mutisalah" beads (see Rouffaer 1899, Friedberg 1977:161), remains an unresolved problem.
- 6 Much later Alor was still described as the pantry of Buton-Binongko and Timor, providing these with rice and corn (van Lynden 1851:331).
- 7 See Stokhof (1975:8 ff.) and Barnes (1973:82-84).
- 8 See *GM* III:681, IV:407, VI:196, VII:297, *DRB* 1665:160. In two cases the place reference is "Pontare on Alor" and "Pandaija or Alor".
- 9 Nowadays "Wanira" is explained as Bandaneira; but cf. also "Banira" as a name for Halmahera (LeRoux 1935:714).
- 10 I am indebted to Dr. Barnes for pointing out this passage to me, and to Dr. Kornelia Giesing for translating the Portuguese text.
- 11 On an earlier Macassarese expedition to this area see Rouffaer (1923/24: 209 f.). For convenience's sake I shall not discuss the Macassarese influence.
- 12 It was the Muslims of Terong who first clashed with the Portuguese in the 1580s; so it does not seem surprising that the tradition of two Muslim "Moluccan" clans of Lohayong should relate that at first they had resided in Terong and only later were invited to live in Lohayong (Suban Leyn 1979:29-31). Islam in Labala and on Alor (Pantar) may well have been introduced at the same time as in the Solor Islands (cf. de Sá, Vol. IV:486-88). "En de islam volgt vrijwel altijd het spoor van de handel" (van Fraassen 1976:300), so that it is very likely that the Solor-Alor Islands had already

- been included in older trade routes.
- 13 However, the Menanga tradition of "Sultan Sili Pertawi" and his wife "Nyai Pertawi" establishes no connection with Moluccan clans. There, he is of miraculous local origin, and his six brothers establish their own sultanates outside Solor, i.e. Solo, Malaka, Goa, Buton, Ambon and Bima (Suban Leyn 1979:36 f.). I would regard this as an "indigenization" of Islam.
 - 14 Resolutie, 24/10/1612, quoted in a compilation of documents relating to the Timor archipelago, dated 23/9/1846, and entitled 'Tijdrekenkundig overzicht van Timor en onderhoorigheden' (Arsip Nasional, Jakarta).
 - 15 See Biermann (1924:34) and Rouffaer (1923/24:257). There is one problem here: the Portuguese documents give his name as Don Constantino. The Larantuka tradition, however, is consistent in mentioning a Don Francisco (with Ola or Ola Adobala as local name) as the first Christian raja. No Don Constantino appears in the genealogy (but cf. also Vatter 1932:35). This question cannot be discussed here.

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SIX MALAY MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ALGEMEEN RIJSARCHIEF AT THE HAGUE

The name of the Algemeen Rijksarchief (General State Archives) in The Hague will be familiar to anyone occupying themselves with the history of the Dutch East Indies or of the V.O.C. Many publications in this field testify how historians have put the materials kept in these archives to use. These materials seem to have figured far less prominently, however, for scholars addressing themselves to the literary study of (older) texts in Indonesian languages. Rightly or not, documents such as contracts, reports, and official and personal letters have so far hardly played a role in the study of Indonesian literatures. On the other hand, these Archives also contain copies of texts which do interest students of literature among their other documents. Unfortunately, the way in which the collections of the Algemeen Rijksarchief are catalogued makes it difficult to trace these, as such texts are not listed under their own names but under the names of the person to whom or the organization to which they once belonged. Usually they are described in vague general terms such as '*tekst in een inlandsche taal*' (text in a native language), without any further indications as to their contents. Two guides that have recently been compiled, by Roessingh and Jaquet, are of great help to us when looking for such manuscripts (see Roessingh 1982; Jaquet 1983). But no catalogue of all these texts exists to date, and, in view of the enormity of the task involved, is not likely to be made in the near future. Therefore, if one happens to come across any such texts in Indonesian languages, whatever the nature of one's research, it is advisable to immediately make public one's discovery.

Accordingly, in this article six Malay manuscripts will be discussed which came to light in the course of research recently carried out at the Algemeen Rijksarchief. They are from the collection of L. P. G. du Bus de Gisignies, *Commissaris-Generaal* (Deputy-General) of the Dutch East Indies from 1825 to 1830. The manuscripts concerned were discovered in the file of this collection numbered 27. In the inventory they are listed partly under the name of the text which they contain, partly as '*katernen in een Oosterse taal*' ('quires in an Oriental language').