waters of Kuala Pontianak to carry out piracy raids with two small vessels. Further, in our view, it is now quite clear that the Raja of Sambas is conspiring with all evil men, robbers, and pirates, for in the country of Sambas there is already a gathering of all the pirates, evil men and robbers. You may, however, check with Captain Smith, who has just arrived from the country of Sambas. According to him, he went to Sambas on his own.

There is nothing for a token of life except our humble respects and profuse salutations to our friend Thomas Raffles Esquire. We also send our salute and respect to your wife and children. We beseech for all of you peace and a long life.

Letter is written on the twenty-sixth of Safar after the Friday prayers, 1226 Hegira [= 22 March 1811].

And further, we have sent two orang utans to our friend Mr. Thomas Raffles Esquire, through Captain Smith. Please accept them.

Pontianak 3

Warkah Sultan Syarif Kasim kepada Raffles, satu lembar, 32.2 x 40.3 sm


Maka suutupun tiada alamat al-hayat, hanyalah kita punya khormat [sic] beserta kita punya tabek diperbanyak-banyak kepada sahabat kita Tuan Thomas Raffles Sekoyar [sic]; dan lagi kita kirim tabek beserta khormat [sic] kepada sahabat kita punya bini dan anak-anak semua. Mintak beroleh selamat, umur panjang jua adanya.

Diperbuat surat ini kepada dua puluh enam haribulan Safar, Yaum al-Juma’at 1226 Sanah, tarikh.

Dan lagi kita ada kirim dua ekor orang utan di dalam tangan Kapitan Smid ini kepada sahabat kita Tuan Thomas Raffles Sekoyar [sic]; boleh terima jua adanya.

13 The mouth of the Pontianak River.

14 Captain of The Tay.
XIII. THE SAMBAS LETTER

SAMBAS

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio, 31.8 x 40.2 cm
Letter of Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin ibn al-marhum Sultan Umar Akamuddin of Sambas with black seal bearing inscription: ‘Al Waqtaqabillah/Paduka Sri Sultan / Abu Bakar Tajuddin ibn Al marhum Sultan Umar / Akamuddin Dzilu’llahi fi al ‘Amam’, addressed to Raffles at Malacca
Top centre of letter in Arabic: ‘Qawluk u’il-Haqqa’
Endorsement verso Malay letter in Raffles’ hand [?]: ‘February 1811 / Sultan Sambas / Done’

And so this is a letter of sincerity and straightforwardness, along with varied gifts, that emerges from the heart that is transparent and of limpid purity, from His Highness Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin2 son of the deceased Sultan ‘Umar Akamuddin who reigns in the country of Sambas together with the Pangeran Bendahara. May it by the grace of God Almighty be delivered to my friend Mr. Thomas Raffles who is presently invested with greatness and holds the reign of government

1 The state of Sambas came into being following the collapse of the Majapahit empire circa 1527. The first formal contact the state had with the Dutch East India Company was in 1609 when it supposedly signed a treaty. The Sambas kerajaan was about 40 miles from the sea, situated on one of the narrow branches of the Landak River. In the early 19th century, Sambas was rich in gold dust although the country was noted for piracy.

2 Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin, born in 1756, was Raden Mantri before he ascended the throne in 1790. He was also known as Abu Bakar Tajuddin, nicknamed al-Marhum Janggut (the bearded deceased). During his reign Sambas was forced into treaty relations in 1813 after naval guns of the English East India Company bombarded and destroyed his capital in 1812 to admonish Muhammad Tajuddin for harbouring pirates. He was succeeded upon his death on 14 September 1814 by Tuanku Muhammad ‘Ali Shafiuuddin I (al-Marhum Anom), formerly the notorious pirate Pangeran Anom. See ‘Sambas’ (brief history), and ‘Sambas’ (genealogy) in http://www.4dw.net/royal.htm/Indonesia/sambas4htm. See also D. Macdonald, Captain Macdonald’s Narrative of his Early Life and Services, 3rd edn, Thomas Willey, Cheltenham, 1840, p. 193.

the settlement of Malacca. He is one with a gentle character, and is wise as well as disposed to love, affection and friendship for all friends and acquaintances near and far to the extent of being famous in all the Malay countries.

Following that, be it known to my friend that the letter conveyed by Syeikh Ali, who is Arab-born, has reached me safely at an opportune moment.

My friend did mention about the intention to promote relations between every raja of the Malay countries and I am profoundly grateful for that. My friend also mentioned about the vessel3 of Mr. Hare of Malacca and its captain, Captain Ros [sic, Rozario], that had gone to trade in Muntok but was captured by Incek Abang Abdul Rashib [sic, Rashid] in Mentok itself. That is very correct as stated by my friend. However, what we heard from Abdul Rashid [sic, Rashid] was that he committed the act together with the Temenggung in Mentok and the loot had been equally shared with the Temenggung in Mentok.

Further to that, my friend has accused me of assembling robbers and wicked men. What you say is true because I am a poor man and desirous of many things. But I did not induce Abdul Rashib [sic, Rashid], and I never looked for him. Nevertheless, I leave it to you to ponder.

Following that, my friend requested that I apprehend Abdul Rashib [sic, Rashid] and retain his booty. This, too, we all are not willing to do due to the fact that he is a Muntok resident and an accomplice of the Temenggung at Mentok. He now wants to return to Muntok and, furthermore, he is family to the Chief at Mentok. Still, it is for my friend to think it over.

There is nothing I can send as a gift of life except to extend my salutations in profusion.

Letter is written on the eighth of Muharram, after the Friday prayers, Hegira of the Prophet Year of 1226 [2 February 1811 CE].
Sambas

Warkah Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin ibni al-Marhum Sultan Umar Akamuddin kepada Raffles, satu lembar; 31.8 x 40.2 sm

Fa hazihi⁴ warkat al ikhlas wa tuhaft al-ajnas yang terbit daripada fu’ad yang hening lagi jernih iaitu daripada Paduka Sultan Muhammad Tajuddin ibni al-marhum Sultan ‘Umar Akamuddin yang istiqam di atas tahta kerajaan di dalam negeri Sambas beserta Pangeran Bendahara. Barang disampaikan Allah subhanahu wa ta‘ala jua kiranya ke hadapan sahabat kita Tuan Raffles [r-w-f-l-y-s] yang pada masa ini mempunyai kebesaran serta memegang perintah di dalam negeri Melaka. Jalalah yang melakukan perangai yang lemah lembut; dan lagi arif bijaksananya serta suka kasih-berkasihan dan sahabat-bersahabat daripada handai taulannya antara jagh dan dekat, hingga masyhurlah daripada sekalian negeri Melaya [sic, m-l-a-y-w-a].


⁴ Malay: Maka dengan ini. And so with this.

⁵ After the Friday congregational prayers.
XIV. THE BANJARMASIN LETTER

BANJARMASIN

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 19.3 x 22.8 cm

Letter of Kiyai Tanu Kersa and Ara Sandung, vakeels of Sultan Sulaiman of Banjarmasin, without seal, addressed to Raffles

Endorsement verso in Raffles’ hand: ‘Letter from – Tanu Kersa & / Arsa Andung [sic]. Vakeels / to the Sultan of Banjar Massin - / Recd. 9th Decem. 1810. / Informed the Vakeels that I should refer the subject / to the Governor General / & in the mean time / would forward by them a letter to the / Sultan. / N.1’


Without heading of letter

Verily this letter is presented to the audience of His Excellency who is the representative of the Tuan Raja of Bengal. And so Kiyai Tanu Kersa [Garasa?], 2 together with Ara [a-r] Sandung, 3 has been commanded by Sultan Sulaiman who is presently the raja in the country of Banjarmasin 4 to take passage on the perahu of a Bugis man that sailed to Malacca and Pulau Pinang.

1 An exact copy of this letter was made probably by the scribe Ibrahim, on Raffles’ instruction. Endorsement verso in Raffles’ hand: ‘Copy letter from the / vakeels of the / Sultan of Banjar / massin –’

Also in Raffles’ hand: ‘Ibrahim the Son of Candu is stupid [?] & to be throttled [sic] that his mistake must / account for this / without after [?] / TR.’

2 K-r-s-a. Rendered by John Leyden as Gerasa.

3 A-r-a-s-a-a-n-d-ng.

4 In the early period the kingdom of Banjarmasin, located on the southeastern coast of Borneo, is said to have extended over the whole southeastern portion of Borneo. Tradition assigns the foundation of the kingdom to a personage called Amputamika, the son of a merchant of the coast of Coromandel called Mangkubumi. The people embraced Islam in the late 15th century, after having been converted by the Islamic state of Demak in Java. The Dutch had visited Borneo and traded with Banjarmasin as early as 1606, but their first political relations with the kingdom only took place in 1664 by a contract for the monopoly of pepper. The English first came into closer contact with the state in 1698 when a fort was built and a factory established in the territory of Banjarmasin, but without any particular success. Their factory was plundered and the garrison of the fort massacred in 1707. The Dutch made various treaties with the princes of Banjarmasin. In 1756, they aided a prince in quelling a revolt and as a reward they were given complete monopoly of the pepper trade. In 1785, the country was invaded by 300 natives of Celebes. These were expelled by the Dutch, who deposed the Sultan and put his younger brother on the throne; in return, he ceded his entire dominions and consented to hold them as vassals in 1787. In 1809, the Dutch finally abandoned their connection with Banjarmasin in when Governor-General Daendels withdrew the factory because, at that time, he wanted to give his full attention to the defence of Java. This left room for Alexander Hare to insinuate himself in Banjarmasin affairs, and it was because of his close trading connections with the sultanate, long before the invasion of Java, that led to his appointment by Raffles as British official Resident there.

5 A red resin found on certain rattan and used as a dye.

6 Rotan sega is the fine smooth-surfaced rattan of commerce.
PART V

LETTERS FROM JAVA

XV. THE BANTEN LETTERS

As a region, Banten was already recognized in the 14th century as a sovereign state and a well-known port city when it was conquered by Majapahit. Around 1524–1525 the armies of Sunan Gunung Jati from the Cirebon Sultanate together with the Sultanate of Demak invaded the Sunda kingdom of Banten and established the Sultanate of Banten. The period also saw merchants from the Islamic regions, especially Demak, going to Banten to spread the teachings of Islam while conducting trade. The first Sultan of Banten was Maulana Hasanuddin, who ruled Banten between 1552 and 1570. From that time Banten was to become strategically important as a trading harbour. As a powerful Islamic sultanate it commanded control of the western end of Java. Because of this, both the Portuguese and Dutch fought for control of the sultanate. The English, who established a permanent trading post in 1603, also felt that Banten was strategically important, but they failed in competing for trade with the Dutch. They were ousted when Banten was forced to sign a treaty in 1684 that gave secure footing to the Vereenigde Oost Indische Compagnie (VOC) following Dutch military intervention in a power struggle between Sultan Abdul Fatah of Banten and his son, Sultan Haji, whom the Dutch helped. In the 17th–19th centuries the Sultanate of Banten became more exposed to foreign traders, from Denmark, England and Holland. Despite competition from other foreign powers, the VOC succeeded in imposing its monopoly over Banten’s lucrative pepper trade in the 17th and 18th centuries.

The beginning of the 19th century saw the Netherlands being occupied by Napoleonic France. But French hegemony of the Dutch East Indies did not gain the approval of all the Dutch until the arrival of Herman Willem Daendels in Batavia in January 1808 to take up his post
as Governor-General of the Indies. Marshal Daendels undertook to continue the forced labour policy that had already been put into practice by the VOC in the 18th century. In 1808, Daendels undertook the building of a naval station at Marak Bay, resulting in the death of 1,000 or more Bantenese workers from malarial fever and other maladies. The impending failure of the project angered Daendels, who accused the prime minister of the sultanate of sabotaging it. When Daendels ordered that a second batch of corvees be sent to Marak Bay the Sultan of Banten refused to do so and, to make matters worse, the commander, Philip Pieter du Puy, whom the Marshal sent to the Banten court to forward his demands, was murdered by Bantenese courtiers. Furious at the intransigence of the Sultan, who had ignored his demands, Daendels personally led an army to launch a punitive attack on Banten on 27 November 1808 which led to the sultanate being annexed by the government under Marshal Daendels.

Consequent to that, the Bantenese raja, Sultan Muhammad Ishak Zainal Mutakin (r. 1804/1805–1808) was apprehended and exiled to Amboon. His prime minister, the mangkuhumi, was also executed. The Dutch then appointed Pangeran Ratu Aliuddin, with the title of Sultan Abdul Mufakir III Muhammad Aliuddin II (1808–1809), to succeed as the new Sultan of Banten. Powerless as he was, his short rule witnessed the culmination of anger and hatred of the Bantenese towards the Dutch government. His rule was short-lived because Daendels, who suspected that Aliuddin was the root cause of unrest, decided to topple him in 1809 and exiled him to Batavia. Banten was further weakened when it was then divided into three divisions: Upper Banten, Lower Banten and Anyer.

During this restless period of the sultanate the two Banten princes, Panembahan Anom and Pangeran Ahmad, might have been approached in early 1811 by Raffles' agents, and their help sought in the English undertaking to invade Java. In the following Banten letters it is clear that Pangeran Ahmad had also wanted to procure the help of the English in pursuing his own interests to fight the Dutch at Marak Bay and against the puppet ruler, Sultan Ratu Muhammad Saiuddin (1810–1813) at Anyer, the new capital set up by Daendels. Raffles himself appears to have encouraged Pangeran Ahmad to revolt against Dutch authority in the highlands of Upper Banten. His agents had also supported Ahmad to rise against the puppet Sultan Muhammad Saiuddin.

Pangeran Ahmad [a-h-m-d, not Achmat], according to a recent book, was in effect a commoner by birth. He had emerged as an influential ‘bandit leader’ during the unstable conditions in Banten at the time of Marshal Daendels’ administration. He joined a “bandit by the name of Mas Moreman, alias Pangeran Raja Kanoman” around 1802 and took up issues that disaffected the peasantry to create a popular rebellion. Nevertheless, Pangeran Ahmad fell into disfavour after Raffles had become Lieutenant-Governor of Java because the Lieutenant-Governor was made to believe that Pangeran Ahmad the rebel was not worthy of any support; instead, he gave his recognition to Sultan Muhammad Saiuddin, against whom Pangeran Ahmad had led the revolt. Pangeran Ahmad was subsequently arrested in 1812 and banished to Banda. But Muhammad Saiuddin, on realizing that many of his Banten subjects regarded him as illegal and a failure in quelling the unrest in his kerajaan, decided to surrender his powers to Batavia in exchange for an annuity of 10,000 rix dollars and the right to keep his title of Sultan.

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2 Raffles seemed to think that both Panembahan Anom and Pangeran Ahmad were relations of the deceased Sultan of Banten. See Lady Sophia Raffles, Memoir of the Life and Public Services of Sir Thomas Stamford, Oxford University Press, Singapore, 1991, p. 33.
3 Pangeran Ahmad also promised Raffles about 1,000 men to execute the onslaught on the Dutch. See the note made on the folio of Banten 1.
4 It is difficult to imagine that the Pangeran was just a ‘commoner’. Even Pangeran Anom, his partner in rebellion, was also titled penembuhan (ruler or sovereign). Atsushi Ota’s contention that Ahmad was a mere bandit certainly needs to be queried. See Atsushi Ota, Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State and the Outer World of Banten, 1750–1830, Brill, Leiden, 2006, pp. 143–145.
5 Ibid., p. 145.
7 Hall, A History of Southeast Asia, p. 481; see also Klerck, History of the Netherlands East Indies, Vol. 2, p. 44.
BANTEN I

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio, 32.5 x 20 cm
Letter of Pangeran Anom and Pangeran Ahmad of Banten with red-wax seal, addressed to the English chiefs (commanders)
Endorsement on the top left-hand corner of cover of letter: ‘No. 1 - From Pangeran / Achmet of Bantam - / Recd. 21 April 1811’
Centre of cover, in Jawi: Alamat surat datang kapada [k-a-p-d-a] Raja Raja Ingeris [sic]
Note in English: No.1 / From Pangeran Achmet / of Saper comes [?]
three days journey upon Bantam River / promises one thousand men / on demand / Received 21 April 1811 off / Po [pulo] Panjang-
Top right-hand corner of folio: ‘Qawlul 'u-l-Haqq’

Peace and blessings of God and His benediction be unto you. With great respect and reverential obeisance to you, your wife and members of your house [family], that is from me, Penembahan9 [sic] Anom and Pangeran Ahmad,10 comes to the English chiefs. May God grant them peace in the two abodes and blessings of the Prophet, Chief of all Messengers. Amen; then, Amen.

Well, and then O English chiefs, I request assistance from the English chiefs to batter Pulau Merak11 and to bombard Anyer.12 I request help from the English chiefs to shoot Pulau Merak and Anyer because I cannot go to Pulau Merak and Anyer on account of the war and they are skilful in thwarting us and also I do not possess big guns, being a poor man.

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8 The letter was written in the month of Rabi’ul-awal, 1226, not very long before Daendels was succeeded by Jan Willem Jansens as Governor-General.
9 P-n-m-b-h-h; it can also be pronounced Panembahan.
10 In this letter it appears that he was an ally of Raffles.
11 A small island on the northwest coast of Banten that lies between Banten and the Anyer Point. Raffles referred to it as ‘Marak Bay’. Daendels had a fortress built on Pulau Merak, but as can be noticed from Pangeran Ahmad’s letter it was later destroyed by the British fleet before it was even completed. D. M. Campbell, Java: Past and Present, William Heinemann, London, 1915, Vol. 1, p. 274. See also Raffles, Memoir, p. 36.
12 Anyer was one of the three divisions of Banten created by Daendels, the two others being Banten Hulu [Upper Banten] and Banten Hilir [Lower Banten]. See Nina H. Lubis, Banten dalam Pergulatan Sejarah, LP3ES, Jakarta, 2004, pp. 92–94.
wished to assist the religion of God, the religion of the Prophet, and the
religion of Islam we would at all times pray for mercy and compassion
to help us in the bombardment within a day or two.

We have already given permission to attack, be it during the day or
night; we shall beleaguer from above. Upon hearing the sound of the
cannon we will definitely advance with speed and if there is any village
that refuses to follow our steps then they follow the [English] company.
God knoweth all.

[Date: only the Jim year of 1215 [sic, 1226] is given]

Banten 2

Warkah Panembahan Anom dan Pangeran Ahmad kepada Orang
Besar-Besar Ingeris, satu lembor; 20.2 x 16.1 cm

Assalamu’alaikum warahmatullahi wabarakaatu. Ma’aman hadhir
’alaikum ma’ ta’dib, wata’azim watakrim, watahmid, watakbirah, wa
nasrat din.

Amma ba’du. Ini alamat surat dari Penembahan [sic] Anom dan
Pangeran Ahmad datang kapada [sic] raja-raja Ingeris [sic].
Penembahan [sic] Anom dan Pangeran Ahmad itu sekarang ini minta
tolong kapada raja-raja Ingeris [sic] semuanya; minta tolong menen-
bak Pulau Merak dan Cari’n [sic, Caringin] dan Anyer. Mulanya kita
minta tolong, sekarang ini kita tera20 [tidak] boleh dudak. Sekarang itu
kalau boleh dan boleh, jangan tida menembak. Kalau betul-betul tolong
dalam agama Allah dan agama masal dan agama Islam, sepanjang-panjangnya
datah kita rehadat tolong menemahkan sehari dua hari ini. Kita sudah izin
menembak kapan harinya, kapan malamnya; kita mengepung di atas.
Kalau menengar [sic] senapan besar pasti dapat kita mengikut; lekas-
lekas bejalanlah [sic]. Dan lagi kalau ada kampung yang tera [tidak]
mengikut cepelok21 kami ini, itu yang menurut Kompeni. Wallahualam.

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18 Below the heading, Qawlahu u’l-Haqq, the hegera year of the prophet—1215—is
given. The Arabic letter Sud represents the salutation to the Prophet, “prayers and
peace be upon him”.

19 Caringin (pronounced y-a-tingin) was both a district and an afdeeling in the
residency of Banten during the later Dutch period.

20 From ‘tera’ meaning tiada, which is ‘not’ or ‘no’. See Kamus Belanda.
Belanda-Indonesia dan Indonesia-Belanda, arranged by A. L. N. Kramer Sr., 5th
edn., improved by Ir: Sjijto Danusaputo, G.B. van Goor Zonen’s

21 Follow example or take warning from.
This is a letter of sincerity that emanates from a whiteness of heart, from me Kangieng⁵ Sultan Kesepuan⁶ and from Kangieng Sultan Anom⁷ who reign in the country of Cirebon,⁸ coming in the presence of Mister Raffles Esquire who is agent to the Governor-General of Bengal, vested with power to rule the windward and leeward⁹ countries and who resides in the settlement of Malacca, granted by God with a long life [and who is] the source of dependence in this world.

Following that, Tuan Mister Raffles Esquire has deputed a vokeel named Tengku Pangeran Sakam Dilaga, bearing an official document and an order for my uncle Pangeran Aria Kidul, my elder brother Pangeran Raja Kerta Ningrat, my younger brother Pangeran Aria Sumpat Raja as well as for Raden Sudira Brata, Temenggung Mangku Negara and the imam and kadi.

That is what I have received. I have understood everything that has been mentioned in the letter as well as the order of the English Company’s dignitary. So I am waiting anxiously for assistance from the English Company and also the rest of what is mentioned in the letter. I also ask for speedy help for I have no more strength to withstand the discomfort of Dutch rule in the land of Java.

And concerning the six men, I turned them over to Tengku Pangeran because I do not wish to keep them in custody for fear of the Dutch.

When I met Tengku Pangeran I was unable to bring my seal because it is kept in the country hamlet of Singa Raja where an order has been issued to guard against the enemies because the Dutch have already come to know that the English will be arriving. That is why both of us

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1 The sultanate of Cirebon rose to prominence in the 15th century after Islam was established during the reign of Pangeran Cakrabuana and especially after the famous Sunan Gunung Jati became its ruler (1489-1568). In 1677, the sultanate of Cirebon was partitioned into three when the three princes of Panembahan Giriaya were installed: Sultan Sepuh, Sultan Anom and Panembahan Cirebon. Both Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Anom (but not Panembahan Wangsakerta) inherited power of the sultanate. Their descendants were to inherit the Sultanate of Kesepuhan and the Sultanate of Kanoman respectively. However, by 1807 the kerajaan of Cirebon was split further into four following the action of Sultan Anom IV’s son, Pangeran Raja Kanoman, to secede from the kerajaan and establish his own sultanate called Kacirebonan. The move by Pangeran Raja Kanoman received the support of the Dutch.

2 Sultan Sepuh.

3 This letter and the following letter (Cirebon 2) were wrongly identified by Abdullah as from the Susuhunan of Mataram. Abdullah, in describing the conduct of Tengku Panglima Besar [i.e. Tunku Pangeran], alleged that Tunku Pangeran of Siak did not really go to Java to meet the ruler of Mataram [sic, Cirebon] and that the letter from Java was forged. See also the letter in Javanese. See Munsyi Abdullah bin Abdul Kadir, The Hikayat Abdullah, Oxford University Press, Kuala Lumpur, 1970, pp. 95–101.

4 In 1811, Cirebon was ruled jointly by Sultan Sepuh and Sultan Anom. By the time the English occupied Cirebon in September 1811 the state was exporting rice, sugar, coffee, pepper, cotton yarn, and edible birds’ nests. In 1813, when Raffles drew up an agreement with the Sultan of Cirebon whereby the Sultan was to hand over the internal administration of the country to the British government; there were two names attached: Sultan Sepuh by the name of Muhammad Syamsuddin, and Sultan Anom by the name of Muhammad Kamuruddin. According to Campbell “when the English arrived there were four Arab-Javanese who called themselves ‘sultan’”. See D. M. Campbell, Java: Past and Present, William Heinemann, London, 1915, Vol. 1, p. 482.

5 A princely title meaning “he who is honoured”.

6 Or ‘kesepuhan’, referring to the elders who are also included in the royal family. The Sultan Sepuh in this period was Muhammad Syamsuddin. See Campbell, Java, Vol. 1, p. 483.

7 Sultan Anom was Muhammad Kamuruddin. Ibid.

8 Cirebon was the first place of importance of the East of Batavia. A small fort built of brick was erected by the Dutch at Cirebon, but it was said to have one company of a garrison regiment placed in it. MSS. EUR. F 148/4, p. 25.

9 Lands “above the wind” and “below the wind” — terms that came into use among traders who used the southwest monsoon for travel; leading these old navigators to divide southern Asia into lands above the wind (those that lay to the windward) and lands below the wind (i.e. those that lay to the leeward). The latter refer to lands in the Malay Archipelago. See R. J. Wilkinson, A Malay-English Dictionary, Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London, 1959, Part 1, p. 33.
are asking the English Company to attack quickly so as to save me from my destruction and the country’s ruin, and to capture all the Hollanders who are in the country of Java. My request is to let Tengku Pangeran and the six men come together in the warship heading for Cirebon.

As for the gifts from Tuan Master Raffles Esquire, they have been received.

This is my signature, Sultan Sepuan.
This is my signature, Sultan Anom.

Letter is written on the seventh day in the month of Rabi’ul-akhir, Thursday night, at twelve o’clock in the year 1226 Hegira [1 May 1811 CE]

Cirebon

Warkah Sultan Cirebon kepada Raffles, satu lembar; 30 x 24 sm

Ini surat yang tulis serta ikhlas yang keluar dari hati yang puah daripada saya Kanjeng Sultan Kasepuan dan daripada Kanjeng Sultan Anom yang ada kerajaan di dalam negeri Cirebon, datang ke hadapan Mistar [m-s-t-r] Raffles Askoyar [sic] yang jadi ganti Tuan Jeneral Benggala yang atas kuasa memerintah negeri daripada atas angin dan bawah angin; yang diduk di dalam negeri Melaka yang diberi Allah panjang umurnya yang jadi pergantian dalam dunia ini.

Wab’adah komodian dari itu maka adalah Tuan Mistar Raffles Askoyar berwakilan kepada Tunku [t-n-k-w] Pangeran Sakam [s-q-m] Dilaga serta membawak surat cap dan perintah sama dengan saya punya bapak muda, Pangeran Aria Kidul, dan saya punya kakak Pangeran Raja Karta Ningrat, dan saya punya adik Pangeran Aria Sumantra 10 Raja dan Raden Sudirabrata,11 dan Tumamgung [t-m-ng-g-ng] Mangku Nagara, dan imam kadhi.

Syahadah, itulah yang sudah saya terima dan sekalian yang tersebut di dalam surat itu sudah hartilah [sic] saya serta perintah orang besar Kompeni Inggeris. Saya pun menanti-nanti tolongan dari Kompeni Inggeris. Dan bagaimana lagi yang tersebut di dalam surat serta mintak tolong dengan segeranya, daripada tiada kuasa lagi menunggu siksa kepada hukum orang Holanda yang ada di Tanah Jawa. Dan lagi daripada hal orang [yang] enam itu saya balikan lagi bersama Tunku Pangeran karena tiada kuasa menyimpan dia; tukah kepada Holanda.


Dan hadiah daripada Tuan Mistar Raffles Askoyar sudah diterima.

Ini saya punya tanda tangan Sultan Sepuan [sic].
Ini tandatangan saya Sultan Anom.

Diperbuat surat pada dua hariburuan Rabi’ul-akhir, malam Jumaat, kepada jam pukul dua belas 1226 Sanah tahun.

CIREBON II

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio, 15.3 x 21.1 cm
Letter of Ngabehi Bala Luder of Dramayu,12 without seal, addressed to Raffles at Malacca

This is the letter that is presented from Ngabehi Bala Luder who resides in the country of Dramayu to my lord superior [tuan besar] Mister Raffles Esquire, agent to the Governor-General of Bengal who is given power to rule over the lands above and below the wind. May the Lord God extend the age in this world of he who resides in the settlement of the Malacca fort.

Following that, I am forwarding this letter to my lord superior Mister Raffles Esquire in order to make known that while on the watch

10 'Arya Sumantra' in the Javanese version of the letter.
11 Sudira Dibrata in the Javanese version.
12 D-r-m-a-y-w. The district on the northern coast of Java, properly called Indramayu. Situated in the northwest of Cirebon, Indramayu in the early 19th century was scantily peopled by the Sundanese.
in the district of Dungkal, I met Tengku [t-ng-k-w] Pangeran Kusuma Dilaga and he showed me a letter of authority from my lord superior of the English Company. After reading it I was able to understand everything that has been said. I earnestly hope that the assistance will come in good haste.

Following that, since Tengku Pangeran wanted to see the Tuan Sultan, it was I who escorted Tengku Pangeran to see him because the Sultan at that moment had been assigned to guard against the enemies in the village of Singa Raja.

My request from my lord superior of the English Company is that please send the warships speedily to expel the Dutch who are in the land of Java because I can no longer tolerate their rule.

Written on the second day of Rabi’ul-akhir, Thursday evening at six o’clock, in the year of latter Jim, Hegira 1226 [25 April 1811]. This is my signature, Ngabehi Wira Lader of Dramayu.

cirebon 2

warkah ngabehi bala ludra [luder?] dari dramayu kepada raffles, surat lembar, 15.3 x 21.1 sm

iniolah surat yang disembahkan dari ngabayik [sic, ngabehi] bala ludra [luder?] yang duduk di negeri dramayu [indramayu], datang kepada tuan besar mistar [sic] raffles askorar, gantjendal [sic] benggala yang atas kuasa serta memerintah dari negeri atas angin dan lagi di bawah angin. Barang dipanjangkan Allah umurnya di dalam dunia serta yang sudah boleh [sic, beroleh] pangkat martabat yang lebih besar, yang tempat bergantung sahaya di dalam dunia; yang duduk di dalam negeri kota melaka.

XVII. HAJI MOHALI'S LETTER

Haji Mohali's Letter of Undertaking

Malay letter of undertaking; Jawi script; 1 folio, 20.5 x 15.5 cm; without seal
Endorsement verso Malay letter in Raffles' hand: 'December 1810 / Hadgee Mohalee'
Endorsement in Jawi script: 'This is the letter of Haji Mohali'
In Jawi on the top left-hand side of letter: the name of Haji Muhammad Mohali

Dated one thousand two hundred and twenty-two, the year of Waw, equal to twenty-second of Dzulkaedah, on Tuesday [Haji [Muhammad Mohali] enters employment under the flag of the Governor of the English Company. The occupation being to despatch missives of the chief raja Thomas Raffles Esquire, representing the Governor-General of Bengal, to reach the Susuhunan of Solo and the Sultan of Yogia. The reason being truthfully clear, this is thus the statement of Tuan Haji Muhammad Mohali.

Surat Haji Mohali

Surat perakuan bertulisah Jawi, 1 folio, 20.5 x 15.5 cm, tanpa cap
Tulisah Jawi [tanda tetinggal nama] tertulis di sebelah kiri atas folio: "Muhammad Mohali"

1 There must have been an error by the writer. It should instead be 1225, for Raffles only received this letter of undertaking in December 1810.
2 The Arabic letter Waw is the seventh year of the 8-year cycle of the daur kecil. It has the numerical value of six in the alphabet (abjad).
3 19 December 1810.
4 This refers to the 'Hajee' that Raffles mentioned in his communication with the Chief Secretary of Lord Minto. Haji Mohali was "from Mataram who had formerly been employed by the Susuhunan [sic, Susuhunan]." See Raffles to N. B. Edmonstone, 31-1-1811, MSS EUR F.148/4, p. 79. Haji Mohali was entrusted by Raffles to deliver his letters to the Susuhunan and Sultan of Mataram.
PART VI
LETTERS FROM BALI

XVIII. THE BALI LETTERS

Bali is the next island east of Java. It is separated by a strait about
a mile and a half wide. Its area is estimated at 1,685 square miles.
Although Bali is only a small island, in the 19th century it was
divided into no fewer than eight independent states. Bali was colonized
by the Hindu Majapahit Empire (1293–c. 1520) during the ascendency
of the powerful Gajah Mada as mapapah (chief minister) (1330–1364) who
in 1331 began to undertake the conquest of Bali and completed it in
1343. From that time the old Javanese culture began to make its greatest
impact in the island as, following its conquest, there was an exodus of
intellectuals, artists, priests and musicians to Bali. The island was,
nevertheless, never wholly Javanized but instead continued to develop
its own individual type of Hinduized culture which, unlike Java, was
able to withstand the thrust of Islamic expansion following the decline of
Majapahit, which began by the end of the 15th century. The state of Buleleng or Baliing [also Baleleng], established in
1660, was situated on the north side of the island, stretching from Sangsit in the east to Peteman in the west. Buleleng was bordered in the rear by
a chain of mountains which ran east to west across the island. This chain
of mountains formed a rich fertile plain. While Jembrana, which lies on
the western side of the island and on the shores of the Strait of Bali,
formed an important part of the kingdom, the eastern state of Karang-
Asem was of no less significance. Karang-Asem included the northeast
corner of the island and ran along the southern shore as far as Batangor,
the principal port on the Lombok Strait. Karang-Asem, Buleleng and
Jembrana were populous principalties.

Adjoining Karang-Asem was the state of Kalongkong, the oldest
and most important state of Bali. The king of Kalongkong was said to be
holding precedence and superiority over all the states. The state of
Gyanjar lay next to Kalongkong on the south and extended nearly to
the southeast corner of the island. Also situated at the southeast corner
was the state of Badong. The inland state of Bangli, also known as Tanah
Bali, lay between the two ranges of hills on the north and south. Another
inland state on the island was Mangiri, a large state that adjoined Badong
and Bali to the westward. Tabanan, another large inland state, was
bounded by Jembrana and Buleleng on the north and west and by
Mangiri on the east; its share of the sea coast was, however, very small,
thus the reason for its failure to build a sea-port.

During the early 19th century the island of Bali had a population of
about seven million. The states of Buleleng, Jembrana and Karang-
Asem were reportedly populous. The most powerful raja of Bali was the
raja of Karang-Asem, who also possessed the island of Lombok. Although
the great majority of the population practised Hinduism, the raja of Buleleng employed both Muslim and Balinese scribes to
conduct his correspondence with the outside world. While almost all the
letters in the Raffles collection were written in Jawi Malay, there is one
written in Balinese.

Raffles considered Bali to be of utmost importance as a source for
fresh provisions required for the English armies in Java. For the invasion
he also envisaged the possibility of procuring no fewer than 15,000 men
from Bali. In his letter to the office of Lord Minto, Raffles wrote,

I have availed myself of such opportunities as have offered for
conveying to the Bali Rajahs the friendly intentions of the English,
and the Rajah of Bali Baliling I have forwarded part of the presents
from the Honble. Court of Directors delivered over to me by the
Governor of Prince of Wales Island ...

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derived in describing the island of Bali is mostly based on the work of J.H. Moor,
Notices of the Indian Archipelago, and Adjacent Countries, being a Collection of
Papers Relating to Borneo, Celebes, Bali, Java, Sumatra, Nias, the Philippine
Islands, Sulus, Siam, Cochin China, Malayan Peninsula &c, Singapore, 1837. Cf.

2 See D. G. E. Hall, A History of South-East Asia, 3rd edn, Macmillan, London,
1968, pp. 79–93.

3 Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago, p. 86.
4 See letter below, following Bali 9.
5 Raffles to Edmonstone, 31-1-1811, MSS. Eur. F 148/4, p. 81 (b) 47.
Raffles’ intention of cultivating good relations with the Rajas of Bali was to secure the latter’s help in conveying his letters and intelligence to the rulers of Surakarta, Mataram, Madura and Sunan Kediri with whom Raffles found it not easy to establish communication. Among all the rajas of Bali, Raffles found the Raja of Karang-Asem to be the most friendly; for his projected invasion of Java Raffles expected the raja to contribute 30,000 armed men.

In the following Bali letters one cannot help noticing that the raja of Bali Buleleng was also quick to exploit the opportunity to persuade Raffles to accede to his almost puerile requests to procure things he fancied, such as the boat for his amusement and the camera obscura as well as a magnifying glass which appears to have fascinated him.

BALI I

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio, 45.5 x 31.6 cm
Addressed to Raffles, with endorsement verso in English: ‘From the Raja of / Bali Billing [sic] Singha Raja / to Mr. Raffles / 1st Safar 1226’
Endorsement recto, top left of seal, in English: ‘Letter from the Raja of / Bali Buleleng Singha Raja / to Thos. Raffles Esq / 1st Safar 1226’
Top centre of folio: ‘Qawlulh u’l-Haqq’

This letter that emanates from the light of the heart of refulgent splendour that shall illuminate and shine on all creatures of brotherly love and friendship comes from His Highness the great Ratu Gusti Wayahan Karang-Asem who owns the throne and power to rule the country of Bali Buleleng Singaraja; who is perpetually desirous of brotherly affection, that is, may it perchance be conveyed by God to his excellency our brother Thomas Raffles Esquire who possesses the seat of power to rule over the English Company’s country of Bengal [sic]; who conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition and pleasant manners towards every friend; and may his duration of life be lengthened like the circling of the moon and the sun, and the replacement of the night by daylight, ever eternal. Amen, O God of all the Worlds.

Following that, we are informing our brother that if Captain Greig comes to the land of Bali we would like to give passage to our envoy and our letter. And so we request our brother [to inform us] that if there is anything that our brother would like to have from the land of Bali we shall try to our very best to look for it. Captain Greig may deliver our envoy to our brother.

Next, there is nothing that we could send as a token of sincerity except a black horse and a little five-year-old boy slave named Ketut Jubelela.

Written in the court of the country of Bali Buleleng Singaraja on the first of the month of Safar, on Saturday, in the year 1226 Hegira [25 February 1811].

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7 Ibid., p. 33.
8 A Sufi expression. The Sufis distinguish three organs of spiritual communication: the heart (qalb) which knows God; the spirit (ruh) which loves God, and the innermost ground of the soul (sirr), which contemplates God. To the Sufis the qalb, although connected in some mysterious way to the physical heart, is not a thing of flesh and blood. It is the qalb that is capable of knowing the essence of things, and when illuminated by faith and knowledge reflects the whole content of the divine mind. See Reynold A. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam: An Introduction to Sufism*, Schocken Books, New York, 1975, pp. 68–70.
9 William Greig, whose name was inadvertently spelt ‘Greigh’ by Lady Raffles, was, in the words of Dr. John Leyden, "a fine fellow in every sense of the word, active and alert, and brother-in-law of Lord Robert Rollo ...". Minto had placed him under Raffles’ command to be commander of the brig Minto. His voyage to Bali provided useful information to Raffles since he was also the purveyor of the letters of the Bali rajas. See Raffles, *Memoir*, pp. 26, 27, 31, 40. I am grateful to Dr. John Bastin for pointing out the error committed by Lady Sophia Raffles which has led many others to have used the name incorrectly. Incidentally, the name ‘William Greig’ was mentioned in the Raja of Bali’s letter that was addressed to Minto using the Balinese script. See Appendix IX.
10 Slavery was sanctioned by Balinese law. According to Raffles, there were two kinds of slavery, paniak and rowang. Paniak was synonymous with the Malay system of *hamba*, whereby the master had complete possession of his person. Rowang, on the other hand, resembled the debt-slavery practised in the Malay Peninsula. For further discussion of the slavery system in Bali see Raffles, *Memoir*, pp. 172–173.
Bali I

Warkah Ratu Gusti Wayahan Karang-Asem kepada Raffles, satu lembar (berlipat), 45.5 x 31.6 cm


Walaupun kemudian daripada itu adalah kita memberi maklum kepada saudara jikalau datang itu Kapitan Greg [g-r-y-y-q] ke tanah Buleleng kita mahu menumpangkan kita punya utsusan serta dengan kita punya surat. Maka kita pintak kepada saudara apa-apa saudara punya suka yang di tanah Bali itu melainkan saudara kirim surat kepada kita seboleh-bolehnya kita carikan; melainkan itu Kapitan Greg [sic] yang boleh sampai kita utsusan kita kepada saudara.


Tersurat dalam peseban negeri Bali Buleleng Singaraja kepada sehari bulan bulan Safar, hari Sabtu tahun 1226.

BALI II

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 40 x 32.8 cm
Letter of Ratu Gusti Ang lurah Gede Karang of Bali, with red wax-seal, addressed to Lord Minto, Governor-General of Bengal
Endorsement recto Malay letter [top page]: ‘From the Raja of Bali / Baliling / to Lord Minto Governor-General / 9 Safar 1226’

Endorsement verso Malay letter [second fold] in pencil [?]: ‘From the Raja of Bali / Bilin [sic.] to Lord Minto / D/9 Safar 1226’

Heading: ‘Qawwul ul‘-Haqq’

Whereas this white letter of distinction that emanates from the light of the heart, with scintillating splendour, illuminating and shining over all creatures of brotherly love and mutual relatives that is from His Highness Ratu Gusti Ang lurah Gede Karang\(^{12}\) who owns the throne of government and majesty in the realm of Bali Buleleng, in particular the land of Bali Petemuan and Jembrana [sic], who ceaselessly cherishes friendship, may the lord God deliver it to our brother His Excellency Lord Gilbert Minto, Governor-General, Paramount Ruler, most illustrious raja of all the districts of Bengal and every country that is subject to the flag of the English king; and who conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition and pleasant manners towards every friend; may his duration of life be lengthened like the circling of the moon and the sun, and the replacement of the night by daylight, ever eternal. Amen, O God of all the Worlds.

Following that, with all sincerity and affection, [we inform our friend that regarding] what our friend has made known through a letter, which is the beautifully written white epistle, it has reached us safely with tranquillity and we welcomed it with honour. Everything that is mentioned in our brother’s letter has made us extremely happy, for we do desire to be a true and everlasting friend to the English Company as has been the custom since the olden days. And then with regard to every Englishman who comes to the country of Bali Buleleng, we shall to the best of our endeavours give full assistance in all matters. And as for our brother’s letter that was conveyed by Captain Graves,\(^{13}\) we have already sent a reply. It was also Captain Graves who conveyed it to our brother.

\(^{11}\) N-w-r-a-l-q-l-w-b.

\(^{12}\) Correctly it should be Karang-Asem. But Karang is also the name of the cape in Lombok. See Ch. F. H. Dumont, Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek van Nederlandsch Oost-Indie, Nijgh & van Ditmar’s Uitgevers-Maatschappij, Rotterdam, 1917, p. 206.

\(^{13}\) The name is spelt g-r-y-w-y-sy [sic, g-r-y-w-y-s] in Jawi. The name of a certain Captain Graves was mentioned by J. Hunt in his communication with Raffles. Apparently the captain was cut off by pirates from Pasir (a district on the southeastern coast of Borneo) in 1811. If it was the same Captain Graves who was in Bali in early 1811, then he must have been the English captain who had gone to Bali as Lord Minto’s vakeel, apart from Smith and Greig who were sent by Raffles. See J. Hunt, ‘Sketch of Borneo or Pulo Kalimantan’, in J. H. Moor, Notices of the Indian Archipelago, Appendix, p. 24.
Finally, there isn’t any token of sincerity except only a bird called the cassowary.\footnote{14}

Written in the court of the country of Bali Buleleng, on the sixth of the month of Safar, on Friday, in the year 1226 Hegira [2 March 1811].

**Bali 2**

_Warkah Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang kepada Lord Minto, satu lembar (berlipat), 40.4 x 32.8 sm_

Bahawa ini sahjat al-abyadz yang aziz terbit daripada nur al-qalub \[sic\] yang amat gilang gemilang akan memberi terang benderang pada antara segala makhluk yang saudara bersaudara, sahahat bersahabat iaitu daripada Seri Paduka Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang yang empunya tahta \[sic\] kuasa kerajaan dan kebesaran dalam alam Tanah Bali Buleleng istimewah \[sic\] Tanah Bali Petemuan dan Jem\[be\]jrama yang senantiasa berнапример pada berkash-kasihan iaitu barang disampaikan kiranya pada saudara kita Seri Paduka Tuan Lord Gilbert Minto \[sic\], Gurnur \[sic\] Jeneral, yang di pertuan besyar \[sic\], yang maha mulia raja segala daerah negeri Benggala, dan segala negeri yang takluk di bawah bendera raja Inggersiy \[sic\]; yang melakukan hukum yang adil besyerta \[sic\] dengan bersetia budi perangai keelokannya dan kemanisannya pada antara pada \[sic\] segala sahahat bersahabat serta barang dianjakan usia umur zamannya seperti peredaran bulan dan matahari. Amin ya laihi al-alam.

Waba’adah, adapun kemudian daripada itu tulus dan ikhlas kasih dan mesra \[sic\]; maka adalah saudara bermakabrun kesepuk surat perihal sahjat al abiadz yang amat indah-indah telah sudahlah sampai kepada kita dengan sejahteranya serta disambut dengan kemuliaannya. Maka sekalian yang tersebut di dalam saudara punya surat itu maka kita terlalu amat suka kerana \[k-r-n\] kita mahu bersahabat yang betul selama-lamanya dengan Kompeni Inggersiy \[sic\] seperti adat dahulu kalanya. Dan lagi kepada sekalian orang Inggersiy \[sic\] yang datang ke negeri Bali Buleleng itu seboleh-bolehnya kita tolong dengan segala baik sekalian perkaranya. Dan lagi itu saudara punya surat yang

\[sic\] oleh Kapitan Greewes \[g-r-y-w-y-sy, sic\] telah sudah kita balas. Kapitan Greewes \[sic\] juga yang membawa' \[sic\] kita punya surat balasan kepada saudara adanya.

Syahadan suatu pun tiada pertanda ikhlas, hanyalah satu burung Suari \[sic\]\footnote{15} adanya.

Tersurat dalam peseban negeri Bali Buleleng, kepada enam haribulan Safar, hari Jumaat, tahun 1226.

**Bali III**

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 39.8 x 32.3 cm

Letter of Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang-Asem of Bali Buleleng, with red wax seal, addressed to Raffles

Endorsement verso Malay letter [second page] in Jawi script: ‘This letter is from the Raja of Bali Balliling / on the seventh of Rab’ul-awal’

Malay letter marked in pencil: No.1

Heading: ‘Qawluh u’l-Haqq’

This white sheet of distinction that emanates from the light of the heart with scintillating splendor, illuminating and shining over all creatures of brotherly love and friendship, is from His Highness Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang who owns the throne of government and majesty in the realm of the land of Bali Buleleng, particularly so the land of Bali Petemuan and Jembrana\footnote{16} and whose intent is always to cultivate brotherly love; may it be conveyed [by the grace of God] to His Excellency, my brother Thomas Raffles Esquire, who possesses the seat of power to rule over the English Company’s settlement and who is agent to the Paduka Seri Maharaja Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General, Supreme Chief, most honourable raja of every district in the country of Bengal and every land that is under the subjection of the English king’s flag; who conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition and pleasant manners towards every friend; may his duration of life be lengthened like the circling of the moon and the sun, and the

\footnote{14}{A very large flightless bird that is related to the emu and is commonly found in New Guinea and the eastern part of Indonesia. R. J. Wilkinson, A Malay-English Dictionary, Macmillan & Co. Ltd, London, 1959, Part 1, p. 584.}

\footnote{15}{Kesuari, or Cassowary in English.}

\footnote{16}{Balliling, Buleleng, Baleleng, or Boleleng had eleven districts, while Jembrana had three.}
replacement of the night by daylight, ever eternal. Amen, O God of all the Worlds.

And then following that, in all sincerity and with embedded affection everything that our brother has made known [in] the letter—which is made plain on the very beautiful and fine white sheet of paper—has reached us in tranquility and was received with much honour. As it was opened and every line and side read, the words of goodness mentioned that our friend wished to inform us about the ship that our friend had previously instructed to convey a letter to us.

As mentioned in the letter, our friend informed us that you are now in Malacca, as agent to the Governor-General of Bengal. That letter reached us safely together with our friend's token of affection which consists of a bundle of scarlet broadcloth and a bundle of green broadcloth, brought by the ship's captain named Captain Graves. That letter of yours has been replied to, along with our token of sincerity, viz a slave girl named Budal Siap who is about eight years of age and delivered by Captain Graves. And further, our friend had also sent a copy of the previous letter which was conveyed by the Bugis man, and this letter has also reached us.

Following that, our brother again sent an English ship whose captain named Smith delivered a letter informing us that the English Company is mulling over coming to Java to expel once and for all every Dutchman who remains in Java. Further, our brother had sent us four letters addressed to the Susuhunan of Solo, the Sultan of Mataram, and the Sultan of Mandura [sic] as well as to the Panembahan of Sumenep. Your letter requested us to deliver the letters to all the rajas mentioned.

With regard to all your wishes, we are most pleased that the English Company will soon come to the land of Java to evict once and for all every Dutchman in Java, for we are most gratified to become friends with the English Company.

Regarding our friend's four letters to the Javanese rajas, we have sent them to the land of Java in order that they will be conveyed with haste to the four rajas stated in the letter. As soon as we receive the replies from them we shall immediately send them to our friend. But in case we do not receive the replies to those letters soon enough, please do not begrudge us.

Following that, with regard to Captain Smith, we shall assist to the best of our ability to protect and to take good care of him, and we assure you that every English ship that has sailed into Bali Buleleng has been well looked after.

Next, there is the token of affection from our brother, namely one roll of gold-thread satin, one roll of gold-embroidered muslin and two pairs of Bengal shoes. Every one of these has arrived in our hands in perfect condition and [for that] we thank you profusely.

One other thing, we implore upon our brother to help us since only our brother could fulfil our gratification. Could our brother please help to get us a small boat for our amusement of about six arms' length which should be of the best type and have two masts with finishing of English style. We also need twenty kegs of gunpowder, two kegs of fine priming powder, and a set of camera obscura together with its glass; there should be two hundred sheets of paper, all new and of the best quality; besides that also a burning glass which when exposed to the heat of the sun will produce flame; it should be at a reasonable cost. Please send to us with speed the small boat that costs 400 Spanish dollars.

Further to that, there isn't any token of friendship from us except a slave boy who is eight years of age and a slave girl who is seven years old. Even that is not as it should be. It is but a token of the whiteness of the heart.

Written in the gallery of the country of Bali Buleleng, on the seventh of Rabi‘ul-awal in the year 1226 Hegira. [1 April 1811 C.E.]

[Postscript on second page of folio]

Following that, it has been mentioned in the letter of the Raja [Governor] of Pulau Pinang, the behrama of the Company in Europe, has sent the
Company’s ship bearing gifts for us. The gifts include a gunny bag containing an assortment of broadcloths and a long chest of weapons. But of these only one bundle of scarlet broadcloth and another of green broadcloth which were brought by Captain Graves have reached us. The long chest of weapons has not yet arrived. This is what we wish to inform you.

And further, we entreat our brother to buy for us two bundles of black broadcloth; the short portion should be very fine. Whatever the cost may be, please state it in your letter.

And another thing, we are asking this man of ours, named Nyoman Bagus, to convey our letter and to seek an audience with our brother. Our request is that, on account of his tender youth, could you please take good care of him. When our brother’s business is done please send him back to Bali Buleleng. Finitis.

Bali 3

Warkah Ratu Gusti Ang lurah Gede Karang kepada Raffles, satu lembar (ditipat dua), 39.8 x 32.3 cm


Syahadan daripada itu saudara kirim lagi kepada kita satu kapal Ingerissy [sic], kapitannya bernama Asmit [Smith] datang membawak surat akan memberitaui kepada kita yang Kompeni Ingerissy [sic] ada fikir mahu datang ke tanah Java dengan segeranya; mahu buang sekali-kali segala Hollandes, mana yang ada di dalam tanah Java. Syahadan lagi saudara [sic] sudah kasi kepada kita empat surat daripada saudara sendiri kepada Suse[hu]nan Solo; dan kepada Sultan Mataram; dan kepada Sultan Mandara [sic]; dan kepada Panembahan Sumenep. Maka fasal-fasal surat itu suruh mintak [sic] yang kita boleh iolong kirim sampaiakan kepada segala raja-raja yang tersebut itu. Maka daripada sekalian maksud saudarah [sic] itu kira terlibat amat suka yang Kompeni Ingerissy [sic] segera datang ke tanah Java membuangkan sekali-kali segala Hollandes yang di tanah Java itu sekalian, kerana kita tertelu suka bersahabat dengan Kompeni Ingerissy [sic].

Syahadat daripada itu itu Kapitan Asmit [Smith] seboleh-bolehnya melainkan kita tolong pelihara dengan segala baik; dan sekalian kapal Inggeris yang datang ke negeri Bali Buleleng telah sudah kita pelihara dengan segala baik adanya.

Syahadat ada pertandah [sic] cinta kehidupan saudara kain antel as menaik masu satu kau, dan kain mejemad masu satu gulung dan kain mejemad perak satu gulung dan kasut Benggala dua pasang telah sudah sempurna datang kepada kita; melainkan erti kasih kita banyak-banyak.


Tersurat di dalam pesebesar negeri Bali Buleleng kepada tujuh hari bulan Rabi ul-awwal pada 1226 Sanah.

(Catatan tambahan pada halaman kedua folio)


BALI IV

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded] 40.8 x 32.2 cm
Letter of Ratu Ngarah Gede Wayahan Karang-Asem of Bali. Red-wax seal
Addressed to Raffles at Malacca
Endorsement verso Malay letter in Jawi script: ‘This letter is from Raja Karang-Asem / of the land of Bali on the fourteenth of Rabî’ul-awlâ’

Heading: ‘Qawluh u’l-Haqq’
Malay letter marked in pencil: No. 2

An epistle. Whereas this is a letter of sincerity and varied gifts accompanied by purity and whiteness of heart to which there is no limit, nor bounded by time, so long as the moon and the sun exist eternally in revolution, that is from His Highness Ratu Ngarah Wayahan Karang-Asem the great, who reigns all over the land of Bali Singaraja and Sangsit, as far as Jembrana and extending from Jembrana to every territory that is subject to the country of Singaraja which is the most extensive, who was the son-in-law of the Raja of Sasa 21 during the intervening wars [and] who rules over every raja under him.

The facts are, we present this letter to our friend, Thomas Raffles Esquire who is wise and knowledgeable in the conduct of mutual friendship. Amen, and then Amen!

21 The Sasa were the people living in Lombok. Sasak or Gumi-Sasak is one of the names of the island of Lombok. Silaparang is the other. Sasak rajas were subject to the rajas of Karang-Asem dating from the mid-18th century. From that period until 1894, Lombok remained under the sole possession of the kings of Bali. See Behnspieie Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indie (bewerkt door T. J. Bezem), N.V. v/h E. J. Brill, Leiden, 1921, pp. 480-481.
Following that, we wish to inform our friend Thomas Raffles Esquire who resides with power of authority in the Malacca station administering the English Company that has been entrusted [upon him] by the most illustrious King of England and also Raja Gilbert Lord [Minto] who sits with power of authority over the English Company in the country of Bengal.

And we make known to our friend that we have heard that the English Company wants to seize Java. We are much pleased with that, because there is the country of Blambangan which is now called Banyuwangi that stretches from Besuki [and] which used to belong to us in the past, but has been appropriated by the Dutch Company. And, according to the tale of the elders, the land of Java [stretching] from Jakarta, called Betawi, right up to the eastern country of the lands of Sumbawa, Bima, and Bugis was the dependency of our ancestors in the olden days. But now those countries cannot be ruled because we are not in concord with our relatives. There have been quarrels, disputes and wars every year with our own relatives in the land of Bali. That is the reason why they cannot be retrieved.

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Further, we make known to our friend that if any warship of the English Company comes to Bali, we shall to the best of our resources assist in matters concerning the problems and difficulties that may arise because on our part we regard the English Company, in all seriousness of heart, as our mutual friend. And since we have already made known our friendship, please uphold it well at all times. Please do not forget. And we shall likewise eternally uphold our friend’s name, such that it can become a symbol of affection between friends, as in the olden days.

Following that, if it pleases our friend, should there be any chandeliers, perhaps about three pairs or so, of different shapes, our friend may send them and we shall buy. We would also like large-size glasses, about ten pairs, and 100 steel swivel-guns as well as about four or five score pieces of very fine cloth of the best quality. And whatever our brother is desirous of having, anything that is available in Bali, please do not hesitate to ask, for we shall try to find it to the best of our ability, in order that we can become a true friend.

Further to that, there is nothing much of a token of affection from us to our friend, except four pairs of birds, those with a white tuft and white beak, and also six ketti of safflower and a slave girl who is still a minor. All these are tokens of friendship. Finis.

Written in the court of Singa Raja, on the fourteenth of Rabii’ul-awal in the Saka year of one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three, at eleven o’clock [8 April 1811 CE].

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**Bali 4**

_Warkah Ratu Ngurah Wayahan Karang-Asem kepada Raffles, satu lembar (berlipat), 40.8 x 32.2 sm_

_Warkah. Bahawa ini surat tulis dan ikhlas watahfat al-ajnas yang diterangkan suci putih hati yang tiada berhingga dan bermasa selagi ada peredarannya syamsu wal qamar alay al dawam, iaitu daripada Seri_

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22 Name of a deep and well-sheltered bay in the province of Banyuwangi in Java, on the strait that divides that island from Bali. For a long time Blambangan belonged to Bali. However, due to the long wars between Bali and Java, Blambangan and Jembrana were laid waste. Still, the Balinese raja aspired for the return not only of Blambangan, but also Banyuwangi, Lombok and Sumbawa.

23 The district that forms the eastern extremity of Java.

24 Situated in the north of the district of Situbondo, Besuki includes the two districts of Probolinggo and Besuki, and on two sides is bounded by the sea, to the north by the strait that divides Java from Madura, and to the south by the Southern Ocean.

25 A large island that is separated from Lombok by the Strait of Alas. In the 19th century the principal towns were Bima and Sumbawa. Bima was situated in the east with jurisdiction over the straits of Sapi, Mangarai, and the island of Gunung Api. The latter stood on a large bay, open to the north and northwest, and a good harbour stretched inland between the reefs on the west side of the entrance. The island of Sumbawa produced teak, gold dust and pearls. Walter Hamilton, _The East-India Gazetteer_, 2nd edn, Wm. H. Allen & Co., London, 1828, Vol. 2, p. 601.

26 Bima is about 100 miles to the east of Sumbawa.

27 Probably in reference to the Bugis people of Boni and Wajo. However, this claim by the raja of Bali could not be substantiated.

28 In the Minangkabau dialect a _keti_ is a measure of weight equivalent to 16 _tahils_ or one and one-third pounds. _Kamus Dewan_, edisi ketiga, Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, Kuala Lumpur, p. 668.

29 The Balinese calendrical system is based on that of the Javanese. _Saka_ refers to the year computed from the coming of the legendary king Saka to Nava (78 CE).

30 Corresponds to 1226 AH.


Kemudian dari itu suatu pun tiada apa tanda cinta kasih daripada beta dangan [sic] sahabat, melainkan bebek putih jambul dengan bebek putih mulus empat pasang dan bunga kesumba enam kei; dan lagi budak satu perempuan misti [sic] kecil dangan [sic] syepeerti [sic]; hanya tanda kasih sahabat bersahabat adanya. Tanat al-kalam biikhairi wassalam.

Tersurat di dalam peseban Singaraja kepada empat belas haribulan Rabi-ul-awal kepada hari k snin [sic] “asyaka” [sic] seribu tujuh ratus tiga puluh tiga puluh sebelas.

BALI V

Letter of the Temenggung of Ulu Nungrah to Raffles (12 April 1811) Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 40.3 x 31.6 cm Letter of the Temenggung of Ulu Nungrah of Bali Buleleng, with red-wax seal on the second fold of folio, addressed to Thomas Raffles Heading: ‘Ya Qadhiah-Hajat’ Endorsement verso (centre page of folded folio) in Jawi script: ‘This letter is from the Temenggung of Bali Buleleng [b-l-y-l-y-ng] on the eighteenth of Rabi’ul-awal’ Malay letter marked in pencil: ‘No. 3’

The letter’s address is from Tuan Temenggung of Ulu Nungrah in the country of Bali Buleleng; may God Almighty extend it to Mister Raffles Esquire, who now owns the seat of power to rule the negeri [domain] of the English Company as agent to His Excellency Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General, supreme ruler, most illustrious raja of all dependencies of the country of Bengal.

Whereas this letter of sincerity that springs from pure and limpid heart accompanied with unlimited greetings of honour and multiplicity of respects without limit forever and ever and remains so as long as the night and daylight exist, from Tuan Temenggung of Ulu Nungrah, who serves under the reign of His Highness Ratu Gusti Anghurah Gede Karang Yang Jemenang who reigns over all the land of Bali Buleleng Darus-salam [abode of peace]; that is, may it be conveyed by the will of God the Majestic and Sublime to the presence of His Excellency Tuan Thomas Raffles Esquire who has power to rule the settlement of the
English Company; who represents His Excellency Maharaja Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General, chief yang dipertuan, most honourable raja of every district in the country of Benga and all countries that are subjects under the flag of the English king; who conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition and pleasant manners towards every friend and companion whether near or far; and may his duration of life be lengthened and good health increased and all his requests fulfilled by God the Majestic and Sublime; and may he obtain everlasting honour, distinction and magnificence in station. Amen, O Thou Who Adjudicates on human hopes.

Following that, I would like to solicit lots of help from your lordship on account of my son, Nyoman Bagus, who has been assigned by His Highness Ratu Gusti Ang lurah Gede Karang, and also my other son named Made Bukit, who is assigned by His Highness Ratu Gusti Wayahan Karang-Asyam [sic], to present themselves before your lordship. Since both my sons may be unintelligent, I humbly request you, Sir, to grant me lots of help by taking good care of them. It is possible that their behaviour may not be commendable, that it might be deemed improper according to the customs of children of good breeding, and I therefore beseech your lordship not to hesitate to upbraid them and to teach them as your lordship would teach your own slaves so that they will understand.

I would be much obliged and do hope your lordship will fulfill my request. Your lordship should not hesitate to do a good turn to me, for one day I shall perhaps be able to repay your kindness.

Letter is completed on the eighteenth of Rabi’ul-awal in the Zai year, 1226 Hegira [12 April 1811 CE].

Bali 5

Warkah Tuan Temenggung Ulu Nungrah, Bali Buleleng, kepada Raffles, satu lembar (berlipat), 40.3 x 31.6 sm


Bahawa ini surat tulis dan ikhlas terbit daripada hati yang suci hening serta diriingi dengan tobek yang kemuliaan serta hormat begitu banyak yang tiada hingga alay al-dawam ma damat al-lail wa ayyam seleji ada peredaran al-nur al-syamsu wal-qamar iaitu daripada Tuan Temenggung Ulu Nungrah yang di bawah iatu [sic] pemerintah Seri Paduka Ratu Gusti Ang lurah Gede Karang yang Jemenang, kuasa memerintah serata tana Bali Buleleng Dar al-salam iaitu barang disampaikan Allah Subhanahu wata’ala kiranya ke bawah hadzerat Seri Paduka Tuan Tamas Raffles Askoyar [sic] yang kuasa memerintah negeri Kompeni Inggeris [sic] yang jadi ganti Seri Paduka Maharaja Gilbatlet [sic] Lord Minto, Gurnor [sic]-Jenderal, yang dipertuan besyar [sic], yang maha mulia, raja segala daerah negeri Benggala, dan segala negeri yang takluk di bawah bendera raja Inggeris [sic]; yang melakukan hukum yang adil beserta dengan bersetia budi perangai keelokannya dan kemanisannya pada antara segala sahat handai taulannya yang kariib dan yang ba’id; serta barang dilihatkan Allah subhanahu wata’ala usia umur zamannya serta shiaf dan ‘ajifat; serta barang dikabulkan Allah barang pintaknya [sic], serta beroleh pangkat ketinggian dan kebesaran serta kemuliaan selama-lamanya. Amin, ya qadzi al-hajat.


31 N-ng-r-h.
Tamat al kalam bilkairi wassalam kepada delapan belas haribulan Rabi’ul-awal tahun Zai 1226.

BALI VI

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 45.9 x 26.6 cm
Letter of Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang-Asem of Bali. Red-wax seal Addressed to Raffles
Malay letter marked in pencil: ‘No. 4’
Heading: ‘Qawiluh u l-Haqq’

This white epistle of distinction, which emanates from the light of the heart of refugent splendour that shall illuminate and shine on all creatures of brotherly love and friendship, comes from Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang, who owns the throne of government and majesty in the realm of Bali Buleleng, especially the land of Bali Petemuan and Jembrana and who always intends to cultivate mutual love and affection; may it be conveyed, we pray, to His Excellency, our brother Thomas Raffles Esquire who owns the seat of authority to rule the settlement of the English Company as agent to His Excellency Sri Maharaja Gilbert Lord Minto, Governor-General, paramount ruler, most illustrious raja of every district of the country of Bengal and every settlement that is under subject to the flag of the English King who executes his authority with loyalty and noble character and whose conduct is endearing towards friends. May his duration of life be extended like the revolving moon and sun and the succession of night by day that is ever eternal. Amen, O Thou Who Adjudicates on human hopes.

Following that, with all sincerity and affection, our brother has made known the letter; that is the white epistle that is beautifully written, which has reached us safely. It was received with honour and when unfurled and every line and portion read, every word of goodness was well understood. It is mentioned that our brother has instructed a ship captained by Captain Greig to convey a letter in which is stated that you are informing us about the arrival of the warships at Pulau Pinang, bringing along an innumerable number of troops who would come to Java to expel the Hollanders in the East. And that the Governor-General of Bengal intends to come himself along with the dignitaries under him for the purpose of introducing good government in ways that will be profitable to every great raja in the East.

And so with regard to our brother’s intention as such we will be most pleased if you can carry out the occupation with speed.

Written in the gallery of the district of the country of Bali Buleleng on the twenty-seventh of the month of Rabi’ul-awal, at eight o’clock, 1226 Hegira [21 April 1811 CE].

Bali 6

Warkah Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang kepada Raffles, satu lembar (berlipat), 45.9 x 26.6 cm


Waba’adah adapun daripada itu tulis dan ikhlas kasih dan mesra [sic]: maka adalah saudara bermaklumkan surat syerta [sic] membayangkan sahifat al-abiadz yang amat indah-indah telah sampai pada kita dengan sejahteranya; serta disambut dengan kemuliaannya dan [sic, dan] laju dibaca segala janab syatarnya; adalah masuk dalamnya kalam al-ehsan yang saudara bersuruhkan satu kapat kapitannya bernama Kapitan Greg [g-r-y-g] serta membawak sepenuh surat.

Syahadan daripada saudara punya mau yang demikian itu kita terlebih suka yang supaya segera bersaudara menjadikan pekerjaan itu adanya.

Tersurat di dalam peseban daerah negeri Bali Buleleng pada tujuh likur hari bulan Rabi’ul-awal jam puluk dualapan, 1226 Sanah.

BALI VII

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 40 x 32.2 cm
Letter of Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang of Bali with red-wax seal, addressed to Behrama Andrew Bruce, Governor of Penang
Heading: ‘Qawluk u l-Haqq’
Endorsement verso Malay letter in Jawi script [second fold]: ‘This letter is from the Raja of Bali Buleleng / on the seventeenth of the month of Rabi’ul-awal’
Malay letter marked in pencil: ‘No. 5’

Whereas this white letter of distinction that emanates from the light of the heart with scintillating splendour, illuminating and shining over all creatures of brotherly love and friendship, is from His Highness Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang who owns the throne of government and majesty in the realm of the land of Bali Buleleng, particularly so the land of Bali Petenuan and Jembrana; whose intent is always to create brotherly love, may it be conveyed [by the grace of God] to His Excellency our brother Tuan Behrama Hendru [sic, Andrew] Bruce, Governor, Raja of Pulau Pinang who possesses the seat of authority to rule the settlement of Pulau Pinang; who conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition and pleasant manners towards every friend; and may his duration of life be lengthened like the circling of the moon and the sun, and the replacement of the night by daylight, that is ever eternal. Amen, O Thou Who Adjudicates on human hopes.

Following that, our brother has made known that the Company’s behrama in Europe has sent hither a Company’s ship bearing gifts. Concerning these things, the Company’s behrama instructed your lordship to deliver them to us as a sign that the Company’s superior (behrama) has accepted our affection and sincerity in return for the help that we extended to one of the Company’s vessels that experienced distress some time ago.

Furthermore, our brother has informed us that Mister Raffles will be sailing to the East to be vakeel [agent] of the behrama, the Governor-General of Bengal, to conduct all important affairs of government. Because of that our brother has instructed a letter be sent to us along with all the things in the hands of Mister Raffles. Our brother’s request to us was that we should help to take good care and give assistance as is usually the custom among friends; or [if] Mister Raffles sends another person to Bali as his agent, our brother’s request was that we should also take good care of him so that the English Company and we in the country of Bali could become good friends.

With respect to that, Mister Raffles’ agent to Bali is Captain Smith. His perahu is a one-mast vessel, carrying letters addressed to us. There are two letters from Mister Raffles to us and four other letters. One letter is addressed to the Susuhunan of Solo, another to the Sultan of Mataram, one to the Susuhunan of Mandura [sic] and another letter addressed to the Panembahan of Sumenep. These are the four letters that Mister Raffles had requested us to deliver to the said Javanese rajas. With respect to these letters, we have already instructed them to be sent to the said four Javanese rajas.

Further to that, with regard to Captain Smith, we have taken very good care of him; even more so, all the English ships that have come to the country of Bali Buleleng have been taken care of and given good treatment, for we are anxious to befriend the English Company, as has been the custom between mutual friends.

Following that, we are making known to our brother about the aforementioned gifts of the Company’s superiors [behrama] in Europe. The gifts firstly consist of a gummy bag of broadcloth of various kinds and a long chest of weapons. Those gifts have been ordered by our brother for delivery to us. But we have only received from Captain Graves a
bundle of scarlet broadcloth and one of green broadcloth. As for that
long chest of weapons, it has not reached us yet. That is what we wish to
inform our brother.

Written in the gallery of the country of Bali Buleleng, on the seventeenth
of the month of Rabi’ul-awal, in the year of Zai 1226 Hegira [11 April
1811 CE].

**Bali 7**

**Warkah Ratu Gusti Angkurah Gede Karang kepada Behrama Andrew
Bruce, Gabenor Pulau Pinang**, satu lembar (berlipat), 40 x 32.2 sm

Bahawa ini sahifat al-abiadz yang aziz terbit daripada nur al-qalub
[si] yang amat gilang gemilang akan memberi terang benderang pada
antara segala makluk yang saudara bersaudara dan sahabat bersahabat
taiu daripada Seri Paduka Ratu Gusti Angkurah Gede Karang yang
empunya tahta [si] kerajaan dan kebesaran dalam alam tanah Bali
Buleleng istimewah [si] tanah Bali Petemuan dan Jem[hr]ana yang
senantiasa berniat pada berkasi-kasihan taiu barang disampaikan
kiriannya pada Seri Paduka saudara kita Tuan Behramah [si] Hendru
[si, Andrew] Bruce, Gornador [si] Raja Pulau Pinang yang mem-
punyai tahta [si] kuasa memerintah negeri Pulau Pinang yang
melakukan hukum beserta dengan berselisah budi perangai keelokannya
dan kemanaannya pada antara segala sahabat. Barang dilaikan
kiriannya usia unur zamannya seperti peredaran bulan dan matahari dan
pergantian malam dan siang. Amin, ya gadi al-hajat.

Waba’adah kemudian daripada itu adalah saudara bermaklumkan
adalah Behrama Kompeni di Eropa sudah hantar mari sebuah kapal
Kompeni barang-barang hadiah. Maka akan barang-barang Behrama
Kompeni suruh Tuan antar pergi kepada kita menjadi tanda Behrama
Kompeni sudah menerima kasih sayang tuah ikhlas daripada kita, ada
tolong pelihara akan sebuah kapal Kompeni yang kena susah dahulu itu.

Syahadah lagi, saudara memberi maklum kepada kita yang Mister
Raffle [sic] itu hendak berlayar pergi ke sebelah negeri timur itu men-
jadi wakil Behrama Gurnor [sic] Jenderal Benggala memerintahkan
segala perintah yang besar-besair [sic]; sebab itu saudara suruh
antarkan surat kepada kita serta dengan barang-barang itu pada tangan
Mister Fol [sic, Raffles] itu; pintak [sic] saudara kepada kita yang
supaya kita tolong pelihara dengan baik; tolong menolong seperti adat
sahabat bersahabat. Ataua [sic] Mister Raffol [sic] hantarkan orang
lain akan gantinya pergi ke Bali pintak [sic] saudara supaya demikian
juga kita tolong pelihara dengan baik yang boleh jadi sahabat baik
Kompeni Inggerisy [sic] dengan kita di negeri Bali.

Maka daripada hal yang demikian itu adalah Mister Raffles punya
ganti datang ke Tanah Bali bernama Kapitan Asmit [Smith]. Perakunya
capital tiang satu, membawak surat kepada kita; yang surat dari Mister
Rafol [sic] kepada kita dua pucuk surat; dan lagi empat surat, yang satu
surat kepada Susu[hu]nan Solo, dan satu surat kepada Sultan Mataram,
dan satu surat kepada Susuh[hu]nan Mandura [sic]; dan satu surat
dari Panembahan Sumenep. Maka yang empat surat itu Mister Rafol
[sic] minta tolong kepada kita yang kita boleh suruh hantaran empit
surat itu kepada fasal-fasal Raja Jawa yang tersebut di hadapan itu.
Maka daripada surat yang empat itu telah sudah kita suruh hantaran
daripada fasal-fasal Raja Jawa yang empit itu.

Syahadah daripada itu Kapitan Asmit [Smith] telah sudah kita
peliharanya dengan segala baik istimewah [sic] sekalian kapal
Inggerisy [sic] yang datang ke negeri Bali Buleleng. Telah sudah kita
tolong segala perkaranya dengan segala baik adanya kerana kita terlahu
amati suka bersahabat dengan Kompeni Inggerisy [sic] seperti adat
darah bersahabat adanya.

Syahadah lagi kita memberi tahu kepada saudara daripada yang
tersebut itu hadiah Behrama Kompeni di Eropa. Maka akan hadiah itu,
pertama kain sakhibit jenis-jenis satu guni dan senjata satu peti panjang;
itu hadiah saudara suruh hantar kepada kita. Maka ada pula yang sudah
sampai kepada kita dibawakan oleh Kapitan Grewey [sic], sakhibit merah
satu bungkus [sic] dan sakhibit hijau satu bungkus [sic]; itulah
ada. Maka daripada senjata yang satu peti panjang itu tiada sampai
daripada kita; itulah kita maklumkan kepada saudara.

Tersurat dalam peseban negeri Bali Buleleng kepada tujuh belas hari
bulan Rabi’ul-awal tahun Zai 1226.

**Bali VIII**

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio, 16 x 22.3 cm
Letter of Ratu Gusti Angkurah Gede Karang Yang Jemenang of Bali,
with red-wax seal addressed to Raffles
Malay letter marked in pencil: ‘No. 6’
Heading: ‘Qawluh u’l-Haqq’
Endorsement verso Malay letter in Jawi script: ‘This is the Raja of Bali Balling’s letter of reminder’

This is a reminder of His Highness Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang Yang Jemenang who reigns over the country of Bali Buleleng, requesting help from His Excellency Tuan Thomas Raffles Esquire who is representing the General [sic] in Bengal. We are requesting you to purchase a small boat for our amusement measuring six arms’ length with two masts and [which is] of the best kind. Its fittings should be of English style, costing around 400 rix dollars. We also want twenty kegs of gunpowder, two kegs of fine priming powder, an English-type camera obscura, a set complete with glass together with 200 sheets of paper that are new and of the best kind; and a burning glass that will, when exposed in the sun, produce fire; and two bundles of black broadcloth that is extremely fine at the ‘head’, all at reasonable price.

Could our brother please state the price in the letter. We beseech our brother to ensure that these [things] will reach us in the country of Bali Buleleng with speed. Further, we wish our brother could buy for us the fittings for the little boat, which should not be less than six arms’ length. Better still, if it were to exceed six arms’ length, or even much better if the length is seven arms’ length; however, it should definitely not exceed seven.

Further to that, may we implore our brother to send us two score of gun triggers. Captain Smith knows the size. Pertaining to the cost, please put that in the letter.

The Tuan Raja herewith encloses a dagger that is studded with gold—a tool for Balinese art of writing.

(undated)

Bali 8

Warkah Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang Yang Jemenang kepada Raffles, satu lembar, 16 x 22.3 cm

Bahawa ini peringatan Seri Paduka Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang yang Jemenang memerintah negeri Bali Buleleng iaitu mintak tolong kepada Seri Paduka Tuan Tamas Raffles Askoyar [sic] yang jadi ganti Tuan Jenderal di Benggala; mintak tolong belikan satu kapal permainan yang kecil yang panjang enam depa, yang tiang dua, yang bagus [sic] sekali yang segala pakaian cara Inggeris [sic] yang kira-kira harga empat ratus rial dan ubat senapang yang baik dua puluh pipa dan ubat anglan [England?] yang halus dua pipa dan gambar cara Inggeris kamera hab seskoyar [sic, camera obscura] satu perangkat syeria [sic] dengan cerminnya yang dia punya kertas dua ratus lembar yang bahan dan baik sekali, dan kaca api yang ditaruh di panas matahari menjadi api dan sakhlit hitam yang kepala yang halus sekali dua bungkusy [sic] yang sepaturt harganya.

Saudara sebuah dalam surat iaitu kita mintak kepada saudara yang boleh segera datang kepada kita di negeri Bali Buleleng adanya. Tamat al-kalam.

Dan lagi kita mintak belikan makai daripada itu kapal kecil; jangan kurang daripada panjang enam; terlebih baik yang lebih daripada panjang enam atau panjang tujuh terlebih baik; jangan sekali-kali lebih daripada panjang tujuh adanya.

(Di sisi sebelah kanan teks surat) (songsang):


(tanpa tarih)

BALI IX

Malay letter, Jawi script, 1 folio [folded], 41.8 x 33.5 cm
Letter of Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang of Bali, with red-wax seal, addressed to Lord Minto

32 A darkened box with a convex lens or aperture for projecting the image of an external object on to a screen inside.

33 From ‘pakai’ meaning something worn (not necessarily clothing); rather more like furniture or equipment.
Endorsement verso [second fold]: ‘From the Raja of Bali / Baliling / to
Lord Minto / D. 27 Rabi‘ul-awal 1226’

Heading: ‘Qawluh ul-Haqq’

This white letter of distinction and varied gifts that arises from the light
of the heart of refulgent splendour that shall illuminate and shine on all
creatures of brotherly love and friendship comes from His Highness Ratu
Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang who owns the throne of government and
majesty in the realm of the land of Bali Buleleng, particularly so the land
of Bali Petemuan and Jemeran [sic] and whose intent is always to culti-
vate mutual love and affection; may it be conveyed, we pray, to our
brother, His Excellency Seri Maharaja Gilbert Lord Minto, paramount
ruler, most illustrious Governor-General, raja of all the districts of
Bengal and Hindustan, Keling [sic, Kalinga], Surati and Gujerat and the
Maha Lingga and every district that is subject to the flag of the great
English king, most illustrious among all the rajas under the rule of the
English king, other than those in the English [sic] European states; who
conducts jurisdiction with loyalty, discretion and charming disposition
and pleasant manners towards every friend; and may his duration of life
be lengthened like the circling of the moon and the sun, and the replace-
ment of the night by daylight, ever eternal. Amen, O Fulfiller of Hopes.

Following that, Captain Graves has brought news that the Maharaja
Gilbert Lord Minto, paramount ruler, most illustrious Governor-General,
is saying that we have been very good towards every English captain
who comes to the land of Bali Buleleng. That is the message according
to Captain Graves.

And with regard to your missive to us which has been carried by the
English captain who comes to Bali Buleleng, we would like to state that
it has safely reached us. We thank you very much for that.

Further to that, there is a letter mentioning that there is a plan to
invade Java. We would be happier if the English Company could become
supreme in the land of Java because we are quite sure that we shall be
much relieved.

And further to that, we are requesting our brother, if it is possible,
to contribute to our gratification by sending us a picture [sic, camera
obscura] of which the paper is of good quality. As for its cost, you may
state it in the letter. That is all.

There is nothing [of value] that we could send as a gift except a kris
of our own wearing. It has a girdle ornamented with an embossed plate
of gold, and the hilt and sheath are made of ivory. We are also sending
two slaves.

We are also consigning a text written on palm leaf, which happens to be our own work, together with this letter that Captain
Greig is to deliver. Finis.

Written in the court of the district of the country of Bali Buleleng on the
twenty-seventh of the month of Rabi‘ul-awal, on Saturday, at nine
o’clock, in the year 1226 Hegira [21 April 1811].

[Postscript]:

And if our brother is considering sending anything, please do not send
something that is too expensive. Other than the said picture [sic] and the
unloaded gun, we would like to have bullets that will shoot swiftly.

Bali

Warkah Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gede Karang kepada Lord Minto, satu
lembar (berlipat), 41.8 x 33.5 sm

Bahawa ini sahbat al-abiadz yang aziz terbit daripada nur wal-qalub
[sic] yang amat gilang gemilang akan memberi iarang [sic] benderang
pada antara segala makhluk [sic] saudarah [sic] bersaudara bersahabat
[sic] bersahabat daripada Seri Paduka Ratu Gusti Anglurah Gade
[g-a-d-y] Karang yang empunya tahta [sic] kerajaan dan kebesaran
dalam alam tanah Bali Buleleng, istimewa tanah Bali Petem[u]an dan
Jemran [sic] yang senantiasa berani dan berkasih-keasih iaatu
barang disampaikan kiranya pada paduka saudarai [sic] kita Seri
Maharaja [sic] Gilbatlet Lord Minto yang pertuan basyar [sic], yang
maha mulia Gurnor Jeneral raja segala daerah negeri Benggala dan
Hindusatan [sic] dan Kaling [sic] dan Surati dan Guzerat [sic] dan
Maha Lingga dan segala negeri yang takluk di bawah bendera raja
maha basyar [sic] Inggeris, yang maha mulia daripada segala raya yang
di bawah perintah raja Inggeris lain daripada negeri Eropa [sic]
Inggeris; yang melakukan hukum beserta dangan [sic] berserta budi
perangai keelokan dan kemanisannya pada antara segala sahabatnya;

34 See below.
serta barang dilanjutkan usia umur zamannya, seperti peredaran bulan dan matahari, pergantian malam dan siang dangan [sic] selamalamanya. Amin, ya qadzi al-hajat.


Syahadan lagi ada surat mengatakan hendak memukul Tanah Jawa. Adalah kita terlabih [sic] suka jikalau Kompeni Inggeris menjadi basyar [sic] Tanah Jawa; pasti kita menjadi senang. Syahadan lagi adalah kita mintak tolong pada saudara seperti saudarah [sic] menya[m]paikan kita kesukaan ati [sic]. Saudara boleh tolong kirimi gambar yang baru kertasnya, yang baik cerminnya, dan daripada harganya saudara tarok dalam surat; demikianlah adanya.


Translation of Balinese letter written on a lontar by the Raja of Karang-Asem, addressed to Lord Minto36

1. Memo: There is a Captain who has been forgotten. He requested a letter of permission from the Syahbandar of Buleleng to sail to Rembang. He has five perahu and twenty crew. The cargo is twenty piculs of gambier, two pairs of cannons, fifteen musketeons, a picul of gunpowder, a thousand cannonballs each of big and small sizes, [and] twenty spears. He sailed from Buleleng on Tuesday Wage, on the Dungulan Wuku, 14th of the ninth month.

2. Our father the Governor-General, Lord Minto. Our father seems to have heard the news from William Greig that we have struck a friendship with William Greig, an English Captain who came to Bali. We have only [tried] helping the English captain. Such was the news conveyed to our father. Owing to that our father is pleased. And now our father has sent us gifts; everything that was sent has reached us, delivered by William Greig. We are most thankful to our father. Now we send our father a dagger that has an ivory casing. Its handle is also of ivory and gold-plated. Our kris, which is white, is wedged in.

3. We are also sending twenty men to our father. We have also learnt that our father is planning to invade the land of Java. If that is true, we are extremely pleased. We hope they will be defeated with speed by our father so that the English will rule the land of Java. If that becomes the case we would feel much relieved.

We hesitate to make a request of our father. We wish our father could purchase us a new picture [camera]. It should have a glass that is bright. Our father may fix the price … We prefer an English-made picture. (Gde Kari).

Bali X

Unidentified part of Malay letter; 1 folio, without seal; undated Letter of Raja of Bali Buleleng addressed to Raffles in Malacca

… and further we send our profuse salutations to our friend. In regard to our request for a small shallot, which we can take care of and for our

36 For the Malay translation and its original in Balinese see Appendix IX. I wish to thank Mr. Agung Kriswanto of the National Library in Jakarta for helping me to provide the transliteration of the manuscript and its translation into Indonesian.
own use when doing work as a sign of our friendship, let it be of some length; for we are brotherly friends. And regarding our name, please uphold it well. And we are making it known to you that the country of Bali is much like the Settlement of Malacca. There is nothing that cannot be found in Malacca—you should just send someone to see us; whatever is available in Bali that you would like to have we shall not disappoint you. But we hope and trust that you are serious at heart in your desire to be friends with us. Nonetheless, we shall, all the same, uphold your name forever and ever. That is it.

Bali 10
Bahagian atau keratan warkah yang tidak dapat dikenalpasti:

Dan lagi dari itu beta kirim tabek banyak-banyak kepada sahabat beta dari hal beta mahu mintok [sic] perahu slop37 yang kecil yang boleh kita piara [sic] dan yang boleh kita pakai kendiri ia dikaraca [sic, kerja] tanda kita sahabat biar supaya pancang [sic, punjang]: kita saudara bersaudara. Dan lagi dari hal beta punya nama biar saudara pegang baik-baik; dan saudara punya nama biar beta pegang baik-baik dan lagi dari hal beta bilang kepada beta punya saudara darihal negeri Bali itu sama juga dangan [sic] negeri Melaka. Jikalau yang tiada di dalam negeri Melaka itu melainkan sahabat bersuruhan saja kepada beta; apa yang ada di dalam tanah Bali yang sahabat punya suka tiada boleh beta salah lagi melainkan kita harap kepada sahabat yang sahabat sungguh hati mahu bersaudara kepada beta; melainkan kita pegang juga saudara punya nama sampai selama-lamanya. Itulah adanya.

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37 From English ‘shallop’ which is a light sailing boat used in shallow waters. In Dutch ‘sloop’ means a boat.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

(a) Raffles’ first Malay letter to the Sultan of Palembang (based on the Rumi transliteration of the Malay original in John Bastin, Essays on Indonesian and Malaysian History, Appendix IV, Letter no. 1, pp. 185–186)

A letter of sincerity along with endless affectionate love, that is from us, His Excellency Thomas Raffles Esquire, who represents the Governor-General, raja above all rajas who are subject to the colours of the great raja from above the wind to below the wind, the yang dipertuan of the settlement of Bengal. An epistle of sincerity has come to the presence of our friend Sultan Mahmud Badr ad-Din, who sits on the throne of government of the country of Palembang and who is wise and whose name is renowned everywhere.

Following that, we make it known that we have just arrived in Malacca from Bengal with the intention to conduct deliberations with all rajas in the Eastern districts concerning the warships so that they will not detain the perahu of people who come hither and thither to conduct trade between Palembang and other countries, including those from the English Company’s lands, if they are in possession of our chop.

Further, when we arrived in Malacca we heard from the raja of Malacca that many Dutch warships have arrived at the mouth of the Palembang River. We are rather disturbed upon hearing the news, for the Sultan of Palembang has been true friends with the Dutch for a long time; if the Sultan of Palembang does not have true friendship with the Dutch why then are the Dutch still allowed to stay in Palembang?

When we heard this news we then hastened to send this letter to our friend, so that our friend may be cautious of the Dutch, for they are evil-hearted. They want to be rich at the expense of our friend’s wealth and money.
Our friend should, instead, strike to expel them entirely if the Dutch are not willing to deliberate cordially according to our friend’s wishes. And if at the present time our friend is unable to be rid of the Dutch altogether and our friend wishes to be true friends with the English, then our friend may send a letter to us quickly mentioning all the circumstances, along with a representative of good intelligence. We shall then conduct deliberations if our friend is agreeable and we also desire it. We can conclude all the deliberations, for under our jurisdiction there are many warships that can expel the Dutch even if there are 100,000 of them.

And further, ... whatever is mentioned in this letter should be kept secret. Don’t let others know about it for all the deliberations ... When our brother intends to deliver the letter and the representative to us ... please do not let others know; let him come as though he is only a trader to Malacca.

And so here is a token of sincerity from us. There is a roll of Indian muslin with golden flowers, a roll of golden-flowered cloth and a shawl. Please accept them with whiteness of heart as a sign of true friendship.

And so we let it be known. Letter is written on the eighth of Dzulkaedah, on Thursday, in 1225 Hegira, the year of the second Jim [= 5 December 1810]. Finis.

(b) Copy of Raffles’ original first Malay letter (from Bastin, Essays on Indonesian and Malaysian History, Appendix IV, Letter No. 1, pp. 185-186)


Wabadahu kemundun [sic] dari itu beta maclumkan ahwal maka adalah beta baharu datang [da]ri negeri Benggala sampai kenege ri Melaka mau buat bitjara sama dengan segala radja2 negeri dairah timur pasal segala kapal2 [pe]rang ini dijangan lagi ia tangkap segala perahu2 orang pergi datang berniaga dari negeri Palembang dan negeri lain2 sampai kenege ri Kompeni Inggeris djika ada masing2 dengan iajp beta. Dan lagi apakala beta sudah sampai ke Melaka maka ada beta dengar khabar daripada radja Melaka mengatakan ada banjak kapal perang orang Belanda sudah sampai kekuala Palembang maka betapun mendjadi banjak susah hati menengarkan khabar itu karena dari dahulu


1 Khasah or kasah—thin, semi-transparent muslin or lightweight cotton fabric.