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SEA VOYAGES AND OCCUPANCIES OF MALAYAN PEOPLES AT THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH SULAWESI

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Abstract: *This paper discusses the sea voyages and trades in relation to the history of Malayan occupancies at West Coast of South Sulawesi in fifteenth century when Bugis and Makassar kingdoms started to emerge. This research used philological approach with manuscripts (lontara) as primary data sources. The results of this research suggests that the establishment of local ports such as Suppa', Siang, Tanete, Kalukubodoa, and Sanrabone along the west coast of South Sulawesi since the fifteenth century indicates the initial periods of kingdoms' maritime activities in South Sulawesi. In sixteenth century, these sailing and trading activities continued to show their progress which was marked by the establishment of networks and relationships between Bugis and Makassar kingdoms with other areas at Nusantara such as Malacca, Pahang, Minangkabau, Patani, and Champa. It was proved, then, that these sailing and trading activities have become a crucial factor which led to the establishment of cooperation and social integration between Bugis-Makassar peoples and Malayan peoples who came from Malay Peninsula and Sumatera. Malayan traders already sailed to Sulawesi since the fifteenth century and they were well accepted by Bugis and Makassar local peoples. These Malayan traders from social relation aspect were accepted as residents, and even allowed to married with Bugis and Makassar peoples. In the long run this kind of intermarriage would integrate those Malayan into Bugis and Makassar.*

Keywords: *Malay, Voyages, South Sulawesi, Bugis, and Makassar*

The maritime activities at South Sulawesi has already advanced in the sixteenth century which marked by the establishment of foreign relationship and international trading and sailing networks in Nusantara islands (Reid, 2011). Since that century, local ports along the west coast of South Sulawesi, such as Suppa', Siang, Tanete, Sanrabone, Kaluku Bodoa, and Samboapu, have already operates they maritime activities. These maritime activities at South Sulawesi was continued to advance until the eighteenth century and set the trading activities as a life icon for Bugis-Makassar peoples, beside agrarian activities. One interesting development related to these maritime activities in the early period was the relation and massively presence of Malayan peoples at South Sulawesi.

The development of maritime life at kingdoms in South Sulawesi was also benefited from strategic geographical position of Sulawesi Island which has already became a natural route of crossing and stopover for inter-islands sea voyages between Moluccas and Malacca which crossed through Buton and Selayar (Ammarell, 1999). This is parallels to Pelras (2006: 9) who notes that this sea route was the most preferred by Portugese traveller such as Tome Pires who choose this route because it was shorter than other routes such as southern route which crossed northern Java's coast. This Sulawesi route was called as middle routes which only has one direction, eastward, from Malacca to Moluccas, and *vice versa*. Thus, this route was very suitable for sea voyages which are very dependent on the prevailing monsoonal winds which changed from time to time. When the wind was blown eastward, the ships from Malacca would sail to Moluccas. In contrast, when the west monsoonal was prevailed, and the windblown westward, the ships would sail back from Moluccas to Malacca (Halimi, 2006). It was in this context, the ports at South Sulawesi played their role as important ports of call that provide freshwater, ship repairs, and so on. This middle route was already depicted in Amanna Gappa's (a Gowa harbour master in seventeenth century) sailing map.

The position of South Sulawesi as a sea routes was became more important in the mid-sixteenth century, particular ports at the west coast of South Sulawesi which became more visited by foreign traders such as Portuguese, Arabian, Persian, and Malayan (Mattulada, 1982). In particular, the Malayan who sailed from Sumatera and Malay Peninsula were already noted in Bugis and Makassar manuscripts as important traders and have a close relationship with Bugis-Makassar local authorities. Indeed, besides trading, the Malayan already had a special area to build their settlement in the lands near to ports.

In this context, Tome Pires in *Suma Orientale* (cited in Cortesao, 2016) noted that South Sulawesi societies were already having strong maritime forces by the sixteenth century. He said that Bugis and Makassar people love to adventures, trade, and sometimes pirates at sea. There were more than fifty small and big kingdoms in South Sulawesi. All of those peoples were brave and warlike. Moreover, men from Sulawesi were the most feared pirates in the world because of their biggest groups, bravery, and fighting skills on the sea.

The same thing is suggested by Pelras (1985) who noted that Bugis peoples in that era were only used *keris* and their strength. They sailed here and there, being feared everywhere, even by the pirates. They sailed to Pegu, Moluccas, Banda, and all islands around Java. Joined with the Bajau, these Bugis-Makassar *lanun* (pirates) were sailed round over Sumatera Island. The loots were sold at Jumaia, near Pahang. Meanwhile, non-pirates Bugis-Makassar sold their trade goods to Malacca by *palari*, their traditional ships.

Since fifteenth century, transit ports that exported natural products and plays an important role in Eastern Indonesia have been established in South Sulawesi. These ports were visited by foreign ships, includes Malayan and Javanese ships which loaded natural products from South Sulawesi. The noblemen of Bugis and Makassar kingdoms were also engaged as ship owners, ports managers, and involved in the expeditions of trade ships.

The advanced sea voyages development reached by Bugis-Makassar peoples since fifteenth century has led to the establishment of international trading and sailing networks. This achievement, though, was not documented much in historical records which caused this maritime civilization was not known by many peoples. The concept or design of “sea toll” development by Indonesian Republic government does not assigned Makassar as a crucial point in Indonesian maritime networks development.

The presence of Malayan in South Sulawesi has social implications which led to social interactions, socio-political relationships, and intermarriages with local peoples. This paper describes the trading and sailing activities at South Sulawesi in the past time which related to the occupancy of Malayan peoples which came from Sumatera and Malay Peninsula through the toponyms of kingdoms at the west coast of South Sulawesi.

The development of maritime life in South Sulawesi

The maritime development in South Sulawesi, particularly in Gowa, has reached its peak in mid-seventeenth century which marked by the Amanna Gappa’s Law of Sea Voyages and Trades. This law was arranged in Bugis language and called as “*Ade’ Allopo-lopang Bicaranna Pabbalu’é*” or “The Law of Sea Voyages and Trades”. It was arranged by La Pataello, a Buginese who has titled as Amanna Gappa. It is noted that he had assigned as a *Matoa* or headman of Bugis Wajo people who lived in Makassar city in mid-sixteenth century.

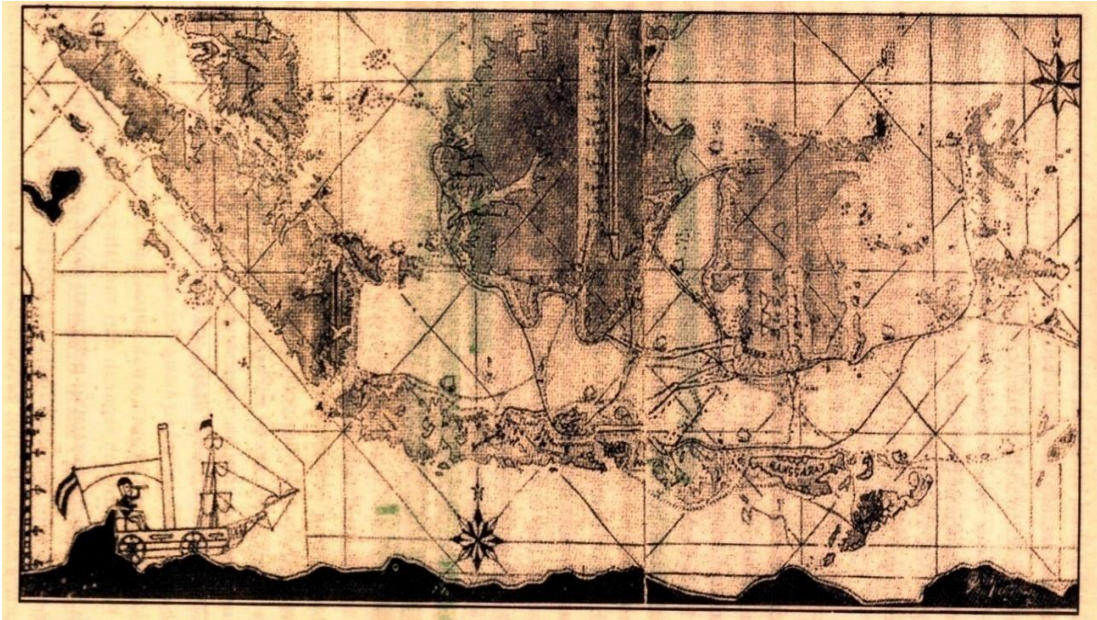
In addition to the law about sea voyages and trades, Amanna Gappa’s Law is also describes the coverage areas and routes of trading and sailing of Bugis-Makassar which formally organized by Makassar harbour masters. There were several ports in Nusantara which connected to South Sulawesi noted in Maritime Code of Amanna Gappa: Pasir (or *Passéré’* in Bugis language) at Kalimantan, Sumbawa, Kaili, Aceh, Kedah, Kemboja, Selangor, Malacca, Johor, Tanapulo,

Tarapuo, Jakarta, Palembang, Aru, Semarang, Sambas, Pontianak, Ambon, Banda, Kei, Ternate, Berau, Sumenep, Timor, Selayar, Mempawah, Sulu, Bali, Manggarai, and Buton (Tobing, 1977: 48-49). Each port has its own fee according to the distance of sea voyages.

The Bugis-Makassar's Maritime Code is contains everything which related to the trading and sailing activities, as well as the violations on sea voyages and trade goods. Things that are regulated in the code includes ship loads, skipper, boat equipment, buy-and-sell, debts, inheritance rights, trade disputes, sea voyages disputes, borrowing, *pongawa-sawi* relationship, and mandate from Amanna Gappa. All of the substance listed in Amanna Gappa's Law of Sea Voyages and Trades were reflected the maritime world civilization at South Sulawesi.

The ANRI *lontara* manuscripts roll 17/28 noted that the sailing vessels owned by Gowa noblemen, in instance, has sailed eastward to Timor (*Timoro*) island, Moluccas (*Maloku*), and Buton (*Butung*) (Cumming, 2010). It is also noted in this manuscript about *Gale*, a special type of ship owned by Gowa King which already used since sixteenth century. Irawan (2011: 278 and 283) found that this Makassar *Gale* is also known as "Ghali" in Malacca kingdom. Moreover, *Ghali*¹ or *Gale* ships were also used in Banjar kingdom, Lampung, and Portugal.

¹ Wan Hasyim Wan Teh said that Ghali ship in Johor is called as *Geliung* which also used by Johor authorities to watch Malacca Straits watershed. This was revealed by Wan Hasyim in his presentation at Kongres dan Pameran Warisan Melayu Sedunia (World Malay Heritage Congress), 28th October 2014, in MECC Kuala Lumpur.



Map: Sea voyage routes of South Sulawesi which connected ports outside
Nusantara
(Source: O. L. Tobing, 1977)

The *lontara* manuscripts noted that there were seven *Gale* ships owned by Sultan Alauddin, the King of Gowa kingdom, which has length in average of 13 to 20 *depah* and width of 3 *depah*. The seven ships has its own unique name, such as Idondona (the biggest ships) which has length of 20 *depah* and width of 3 *depah*; Iyanyesunggu which has length of 15 *depah* and width of 3 *depah*; Igalesiga which has length of 13 *depah* and width of 3 *depah*, etc. Those ships were used by Gowa's king to perform inter-island sea voyages and trades in Nusantara, either in the western (Malacca, Riau, Mempawah, Kalimantan) or in the eastern (Banda, Timor, Flores, Bima, Ternate, and North Australia) (Chambert-Loir, 2011).

*Gale*² ships belonged to Makassar's King, has three prows (or *guling* in Bugis language), which make this kind of ship more superior than one-prow ships. The three-prow ships have faster acceleration and more agile in face the sea waves. This kind of ships is usually owned by the rich and kings of Bugis and Makassar. In inter-island trading, Makassar *Gale* ships were considered as the most powerful ship, and therefore used by Bugis-Makassar and Malayan noblemen to transport *rempah ratus* from Moluccas. It should be noted that *Gale* ship has improves the maritime trading in Gowa, as well as other ports in South Sulawesi, since sixteenth century.



Photo: Bugis-Makassar's *Pinisi* boat sailing on the sea

² The name of the ship is found by Muhlis Hadrawi in *lontara* manuscripts roll 17 no. 28 of Makassar ANRIM collection in July, 2013. *Gale* ship is referred to a *pinisi* kind of ship. The characteristic of *Gale* ship has many common with a boat name noted by Cauto (cited in Pelras, 1985) which called as *jojoga*, a kind of ship which also has a big size, fast acceleration, and used for trading. See Christian Pelras, "*Manusia Bugis*". Jakarta: Nalar, Forum Jakarta-Paris Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient. (Translation of *The Bugis*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, p. 67).

The development of Bugis and Makassar civilization in maritime world was attributed to the development of villages and ports alongside rivers and its estuaries. The rivers were used as routes that connected villages and hinterland with natural products richness and ports in the coasts, the place for foreign traders to anchor their ships. Meanwhile, they also used the sea as the primary means for inter-islands trades and commercials.

In general, the establishment of settlement (villages) and seaports in Bugis and Makassar kingdoms at South Sulawesi such as Gowa, Bone, Luwu, Suppa', Tanete, Bacukiki, Sawitto, Siang, Tallo, Sanrabone, Garassi', Bantaeng, Sinjai, and Wajo, were depended on rivers and sea as a vital transportation lane. This phenomena was still could be seen until eighteenth century such as noted in "Lontara Bilang Gowa" or the Diary³ of Ahmad al-Saleh (1175-1812 AD), the 23rd King of Bone Kingdom. It was said that the visits by La Tenri Tappu to ally kingdoms were already used the sea routes, rather than land routes. The King of Bone has travelled from Bone to Makassar and also to Pare-pare and Suppa' using the ship which sailed from Bone Bay to Makassar Strait.

Since the fifteenth century, the kingdoms at South Sulawesi's west coast such as Suppa', Siang, Sanrabone, and Gowa-Tallo have played their own rules as port cities that interests the traders from foreign world. In this context, Rasjid (2000: 1) has found that Gowa in that time has already become an important port in the networks of silk trades which connected commercial places in Asia and Europe. This role was supported by the position of South Sulawesi as a strategic point in the intersection of commercial routes between East (Moluccas) and West (Kalimantan, Java, Sumatera, Malacca, South Asia, and Europe). Besides that, the

³ *Lontara Bilang Raja Bone ke-23* La Tenru Tappu Sultan Ahmad al-Saleh, kod Add 12354, British Library collection. This manuscript is already translated by Muhlis Hadrawi and studied by Rahilah Omar in his thesis, *the History of Bone A.D. 1775-1795: The Diary of Sultan Ahmad as-Salleh Syamsuddin*. Thesis Hull University, Center for South-East Asian Studies, Hull, 2003.

ports at South Sulawesi were also connected with commercial routes in the northern regions (Philippine, Japan, and China) and South regions (Nusa Tenggara and Australia).

This development reveals that silk trading between Asia and Europe, which initially used land routes, has been shifted to use sea routes in fifteenth century. Subsequently, in sixteenth century, the sea routes of silk trade were improved by the involvement of Chinese traders who reached Europe (Jung-Pang, 2012). These silk trade routes, either by ships through the sea or horse and other animals through the land, were called as “Silk Roads”. The Silk Roads has become important with the increase of sail voyages through Malacca Strait, which followed by Pasai, Jambi, Aceh, and others. All of seaports in Malacca Strait were served as harbour cities which altogether creates the trading networks in Malay world. Pasai, in particular, in its historical development was emerged as an important Islamic kingdom which connected Malacca, Java, Kalimantan, Makassar, and Ternate. In the context of global trading networks, South Sulawesi eventually emerged as an important place in the chains of international trading networks which crossed through Pasai and Malacca.

In fact, since fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, the ports of Bugis kingdom, such as Suppa’, and Makassar kingdom, such as Siang, were already known by their important roles in the trading activities along the west coast of South Sulawesi. In the mid-sixteenth century, however, the political and economic power of Suppa’ and Siang kingdoms were taken over by Gowa through the conquest of wars (Druce, 2009). Gowa kingdom, in that time, has reached its heyday and therefore capable to dominate the trades at South Sulawesi. By doing that, Gowa kingdom was rapidly flourished and have commercial armadas with ships equipped by weapons. Immediately, Gowa has emerged as a ruler of the sea in Eastern Nusantara which could not be matched by others local kingdoms. Almost all local kingdoms in Makassar, Bugis, and Mandar regions have already

conquest by Gowa. But the glories of Gowa as the strongest maritime kingdom in Nusantara was fell in the second half of seventeenth century because of their war with Bone Kingdom. The fall of Gowa Kingdom was marked by Bungaya Pact in 1667 and dimmed its maritime power.

The occupancy of Malayan in South Sulawesi

Pinto, a Portuguese traveller, who visited South Sulawesi in 1544 has met Malayan traders in Suppa' and Siang. Pinto noted that the Moslem Malayan were came earlier to Suppa' and Siang at South Sulawesi than Portuguese. Moreover, it was informed that in 1512 to 1515, Suppa' and Siang ports were already visited by ships and trade boats from many countries and foreign traders outside South Sulawesi (Fadillah, 2006). The Malayans were said to be one of important merchants and traders who have a close relationships with Siang communities. Those Malayan traders were come from Malacca, Johor, Champa, Minangkabau, Pattani, and Pahang, which all of them were already embraced Islam religion (Noorduyn, 1972; Rasjid, 2000: 25). That why, it was said that the arrival of Malayan at South Sulawesi were not only for trade but also to spread Islam religion (Perret, 2001).

In Gowa, under the rules of Tunipallangga (1548-1566), a great numbers of Malayan traders were already arrived in Sombaopu port. As noted in *lontara* manuscripts, in the era of Tunipallangga, the Malayans were well accepted, and thus so many Malayans came to South Sulawesi for trade and spread Islam religion. It was also said that this King of Gowa has established Mangallekana, an area in the south of Sombaopu, as the settlement for Malayan. Among the special treatments gave by Tunipallangga for the Malayans were the territorial and diplomatic rights in Mangallekana. Therefore, Mangallekana village which became the initial settlement of Malayan was continued to growth under the governance of next Gowa's King, Tunijallo (1566-1590).

Tunipallangga was also trusted the Malayan by giving them the right to have a position as harbour master at Sombaopu port. I Mangambari Daeng Mangaweang, in this instance, is a Malayan descendant who held a position as a harbour master which has duties to run the economies of the port and Gowa kingdom's trades. As the descendant of traders, those Malay-descent harbour masters were proved to be more expert in manage the port and trading transactions. The position as harbour master was already given to Malay-descents from time to time.

In ANRI collection manuscripts roll 77/15, Datuk Rajab is noted as an important Malayan figure of in Sanrabone. He was said as the first Malayan who teaches Islam religion to Makassar peoples in Sanrabone. Based on his lineage, Datuk Rajab was the second generation in the descendants of Datuk Leyang and Datuk Mahkota who first came and settled at Sanrabone in 1512. Datuk Leyang and Datuk Mahkota were two figures who started the occupancy and life of Pattani and Minangkabau Malayan at Sanrabone.

About his origin country, *lontara* noted that Datuk Mahkota was came from Pagaruyung Kingdom, West Sumatera; whereas, Datuk Leyang was from Patani (Southern Thailand). These two Malayan figures were brought a group of Malayan from their original countries even though there is a possibility that, in those groups, there were other Malayan who came from Malacca which leaves their countries because of Portuguese occupancy in 1511.

Stories about the arrivals and lineages of important Malay-descent figures were also noted in G and roll 77/17 manuscripts. Both documents noted about Malaysians such as Datuk Leyang, Datuk Makkotta (or *Datuk Mahkota*) and Datuk Leang Abdul Kadir and his wife Tuan Fatimah. The interesting thing is that Datuk Leang and Datuk Mahkota were noted as the ancestors of Malaysians in Sanrabone who had married with Makassar people.

Datuk Rajab has introduced Islam earlier than the formal acceptance of Islam in 1605 at Gowa Kingdom. He was also noted as an Islamic *guru* with titled as “*Guru Mangkasara dan Melayu serta sekalian hambah Allah*” (the Guru of Mangkasara, Malayan, and all Allah servants) for Malayan and Makassar peoples at Sanrabone. The term “guru” is based on Datuk Rajab’s role and responsibility as a Moslem leader who teaches Islam to Makassar and Malayan peoples in Sanrabone. Datuk Rajab was also known as Mukmin bin Abdullah Al-Makassar Al-Sanrobone.

Another interesting thing is about the Malayan identity at Pattani and Salajo Sanrabone which marked with the use of “Incek”⁴ title in front of their proper name, i.e., Incek Ali, Incek Hasan, Incek Mauluk, and Incek Huseng. In particular, the Incek title was only used by the Malayan elite who have position in Sanrabone kingdom. This Incek title, however, was also used by Malay-descents who lived at Gowa-Tallo, Pangkep, Tanete, and other areas which assumed started to use it in seventeenth century. Rasjid (2000: 17) has found that “Incek” was used by the descendants of Datuk Layang. The widespread use of Incek title by Malay-descents is the results of family relationship through marriages. Until now, Incek title is still used by certain peoples who are a Malay-descent even though they blood is already intermixed with Bugis-Makassar through intermarriages.

There was some archaeological evidence in the form of Malayan graves found at Pattani and Salajo villages, such as Datuk Rajab’s grave that was known as a *tasawuf* theologian. Local peoples called this grave as “Kuburan Patani”. Besides that, at Balaparang village, also in Salajo, there were graves of other

⁴ Compare to Yerry Irawan’s “*Sejarah Masyarakat Tionghoa Makassar, Dari Abad ke-17 hingga ke-20*”. Jakarta: KPG (Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia) in cooperation with École française d’Extrême-Orient (EFEO) KITLV-Jakarta, 2013, p. 257. Yerry Irawan (2013) suggests that the word etymology of Ince/Intje/Entje/Antje is a Tionghoan word which means Uncle. This word is used by Malayan and Moslem-descents Chinese. At Makassar, the word Intje is also used as a call for women.

Malayan figures which are Datuk Makkotta (Mahkota) and Datuk Abdul Kadir. All of those Malayan graves in Pattani, Salajo, and Balaparang, were now moved to Sanrabone.



Photo: Datuk Rajab's grave at Patani village, Sanrabone, Takalar

The next wave of Malayan arrivals to Sanrabone was occurred in the early half of seventeenth century. In 1632⁵, a Patani charismatic figure named Datuk Maharajalela and his entourage were landed in Sanrabone. It was noted that Datuk Maharajalela was a Patani nobleman who leaved his country because of political chaos in Patani palace. He and his families were leaved Patani and then moved to Makassar. Beside the chaos in the royal families, Patani was also disrupted by outsider such as China pirates and Siam-Thai kingdom in 1632 to 1638 period.

⁵ Reid (2011: 151) reveals about the arrival time of Datuk Maharaja Lela at Makassar was about 1624, meanwhile Mattulada (1982: 54) suggests it was about 1632. Same as Mattulada, Rasjid (2000: 16) dates the arrival time of Datuk Maharajalela was in 1632.

Conclusion

The presence of Moslem-Malayan at South Sulawesi since fifteenth century, other than initiated the establishment of Malayan villages, is also led social integration between them and Bugis-Makassar peoples through intermarriages. The Malaysians were trusted by local authorities through their assignment as Harbour Masters, which, in turn, has increased the transportation and trading relationships between Makassar and other countries in Malay World. The establishment of inter-countries trading networks in Malay world was not only a result of inter-islands and inter-ports trading, but also resulted from the development of Islam religion. It is in this context that a Malayan harbour master who embraced Islam religion was also played a role as a preacher and built Islam foundations for the communities who lived at various places alongside the coast of South Sulawesi. This is one of the reasons why the Portuguese were failed to spread their religions in this area since it was hard to match the position and influences of Malayan traders, harbour masters, and preachers at South Sulawesi.

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