

Kings, Power, and Trading Ports: West Coast of Sulawesi in the Archipelago Spice Trade Route

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Abstract

South Sulawesi, which we find today as one of the provinces in Indonesia, is a peninsula that has an important role in the country's maritime history. On the west coast of Sulawesi, there are several kingdoms that have an important role in the archipelago's shipping and trade activities. This is due to its position on the Indonesian shipping route from west to east or vice versa. Thus, when discussing the strip and the spice trade as an important commodity of the world, then the gait of the kingdoms in this region becomes interesting to study. This paper discusses several kingdoms involved in spice trade activities, such as the Gowa Kingdom, the Tallo Kingdom, the Siang Kingdom, the Tanete Kingdom, the Suppa Kingdom, and also the Bantaeng Kingdom. Although only the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo are considered to be at the forefront of trade activities, but some kingdoms that have abundant produce also play a role as suppliers of various commodities that can be exchanged for spices.

Keywords: *kings, power, trading ports, spice trade route*

1. INTRODUCTION

Spices, which were once the world's main important commodity in the 16th and 17th centuries, have recently become a topic of discussion among various groups, especially in the academic environment in Indonesia. There are at least two main reasons behind the re-emergence of this issue to the surface, namely: first, the position of spices as an important commodity creates shipping and trade networks and forms cross-culturalism in commercial activities. Second, the desire of the government and the people of Indonesia to make the spice route a world heritage. This historical awareness is further encouraged by the view that shipping and sea trade activities by actors with various ethnic and religious backgrounds are not only an economic network, but also a socio-cultural construction.

Before entering the discussion about the network and activities of the archipelago's spice trade involving kings, hegemony, and commercial ports, the pre-understanding that needs to be put forward is what and why spices? In general, spices are defined as parts of plants that have a strong aroma or taste. Spices are usually used in small amounts, for the purposes of preservatives and flavorings in cooking. The importance of spices as a determinant of the taste of cuisine, makes this commodity of high value so that it is sought after by people. It was for the sake of spices that the Europeans explored the oceans to the Archipelago.

There are many varieties of spices according to plant type, which Turner calls approximately 188 species spread from India to Maluku. Thus, when referring to the spice trade through shipping in the archipelago, the spices in question (generally sourced from the Maluku islands) are: nutmeg, nutmeg (full), and cloves (Turner, 2008). In addition, there are also types of spices such as pepper, which are produced from Sumatra and Kalimantan (Zuhdi, 2002). Types of spices that occupy a special position in the world trade system, namely: nutmeg, mace, cloves, pepper, and cinnamon. Each of these types of spices is produced on a number of islands in the archipelago, namely: cloves in Ternate, Ambon, and Seram; nutmeg in Banda; pepper in Kalimantan and Sumatra; and cinnamon in Java.

Although South Sulawesi is not a spice-producing area, its geographical position which is traversed by shipping routes and the spice trade of the archipelago from west to east and vice versa makes its position important. It is known that the shipping route to Maluku in the east of the archipelago is quite far and takes a long time, so that the sailors need additional supplies of raw materials to continue their journey. This is where the role of several regions in South Sulawesi which are known as rice producers becomes important and even the ports become crowded with commercial transactions. Based on this fact, the role of the king, power and port on the west coast of South Sulawesi will be described.

Just to illustrate that the shipping and trade network of the archipelago before and after the arrival of the western nation was formed within the framework of shipping and trade between the western and eastern regions of the archipelago. At that time it was clear that the most crowded shipping and trade in the archipelago were 3 (three), namely: "first, the route connecting Malacca

with the waters of the Natuna Islands, the Sulawesi sea (north coast of the island of Kalimantan and Sulawesi island) and so on the Maluku islands or the Philippines or otherwise. Second, the route that connects the western and eastern regions of the archipelago by crossing the waters of the Java Sea, the waters of South Sulawesi (Selayar), the waters of Southeast Sulawesi, the Banda Sea and so on the Maluku islands or vice versa. Third, the route that connects the northern coast of Java, Madura, Nusa Tenggara, the Banda Sea, and continues to the Maluku islands (Ahmadin, 2006); (Tobing, 1967).

2. RESEARCH METHOD

This study is a literature review through the search and use of sources relevant to the study of the role of kingdoms on the west coast of South Sulawesi in the spice trade activities of the archipelago. The types of literature that are used as sources for writing are: books, scientific articles, archives, popular scientific articles, and other sources.

This research uses 4 (four) stages of historical work, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Gottschalk, 1975). At the heuristic stage that is to search and collect sources relevant to this study. Types of data sources such as: archives, reports, books, journal articles, and other sources are collected through searches of archival body collections, library collections, and personal collections.

At the stage of source criticism, a series of criticisms are made of sources that in terms of data have a relationship with other sources. After the process of comparing the sources whose content discusses similar issues, then proceed to the stage of data interpretation. The last stage is historiography which is the presentation of the reconstruction of events in the form of historical stories (Ahmadin, 2013). Given that the topic of this study is humans and their activities related to navigation and trade, then this type of historiography in terms of thematics is called maritime history.

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In the maritime history of the archipelago during the 16th and 17th centuries of the spice trade, several kingdoms along the west coast of South Sulawesi took part in trading activities. The roles of several kingdoms as well as the role of their trading ports are described below, starting with the Gowa-Tallo kingdom at the forefront of commerce.

3.1. Trading Port in the Gowa-Tallo Kingdom

Gowa is a maritime visionary kingdom led by a king named Sombaya. The form of government is characterized by an absolute monarchy, where the king has absolute power. In the Makassar language, this absolute power is described through the expression "makkanama 'numammio" which means "I say you say yes". Through a book entitled "History of Gowa" mentioned the process of government of the Kingdom of Gowa, supported by several important officials, namely: Pabbicara Butta (Royal Spokesman), Tu Mailalang Towa (communicator of the king's order), Tu Mailalang Lolo (official receiving the request or aspiration to presented to the king), Tu Kajannangang (government office of peace affairs), Gallarang (District leader), Matowa (Department level below Gallarang), Sabannara (Syahbandar), and Alakaya (Male census organizer of government rituals) (Patunru, 1969).

One interesting thing about the structure and system of government of the Kingdom of Gowa, namely the position of Sabannara which is proof that this kingdom has a maritime vision. In other words, Syahbandar is a sign of the existence of a system that requires such regulation and in this case the policy of the maritime sector. Through the writings of Mangemba further describes the function of Sabannara (Syahbandar) not only serves as a regulator of business traffic, but also in charge of collecting trade taxes at the port (Mangemba, 1972).

The kingdom of Gowa occupies the forefront in the maritime trade scene of the archipelago, due to its port position as a transit port. Thus, as written (Nomay & Ahmadin, 2009) these roles can be understood when discussing the economic and cultural life that maritime activities that bring this kingdom has international prestige in its relations with various countries in the hemisphere. Although the exact year is not yet known, the important role of the Gowa Kingdom in trade

activities (trade) began in the first half of the sixteenth century. Call it the time after Malacca fell to the Portuguese in 1511, which caused traders to move their activities to eastern Indonesia, including Gowa (Ahmadin, 2016).

The involvement of the Gowa kingdom in trade activities began since the reign of King Gowa IX, Karaeng Tumaparisi Kallongna. This is marked, among others, by the policy of relocating the agrarian -based center of government from Tamalatea to the coastal area at Somba Opu Fortress around the mouth of the Jeneberang River. No specific historical source has been found to explain the reason for the relocation of the center of government of this kingdom, except for the suspicion that the profit factor of trade was the trigger. This can be related to the lineage of the Tumaparisi Kallonna family which is said to have originated among traders. His mother, I Rerasi was the daughter of a lime trader from the north who came to this kingdom during the reign of Batara Gowa, the 7th king of Gowa. From the background of this lineage, it is believed that he inherited the spirit of trade (business) to his relatives (Mangemba, 1972).

Indicators of the maritime vision of the Gowa Kingdom are not only seen in the relocation of the center of government to the coastal areas, but more than that the policy of expanding the reach of commercial activities is actively carried out. This is clearly seen in the conquest of several surrounding kingdoms that in fact have long been active in trade activities, namely the Kingdom of Tallo with its allies including Maros and Polongbangkeng. Furthermore, the Gowa Kingdom expanded the hegemonic wings of its power by conquering Garassi, Katingang, Parigi, Siang, Suppa, Sidenreng, Lembangang, Bulukumba, and Selayar. Success in this conquest, apparently, is not a guarantee that they can automatically control their business activities. The proof is that some of the conquered kingdoms are actually each actively developing trade activities in their own ports.

This condition is considered a signal that will hinder the trade vision of the Gowa Kingdom, so this is also a trigger for the emergence of new policies when the government is in the hands of Tunipallangga. As written by Wolhoff his party then held a series of special conquests for the kingdoms in the coastal region, such as: Siang, Bacukiki, Suppa, Sidenreng, Bajeng, Lengkesa, Polongbangkeng, and others. The estuary of this conquest obliged the kingdoms to transfer the merchants and their property to Gowa. The residents who were mobilized from the conquered

kingdom, were then placed for trade activities in two ports, namely Somba Opu Port and Tallo Port (Wolhoff, 1959).

In Abdurrahim's note as written by Andaya, he describes a series of Tunipallangga's glorious achievements mentioned in the Goa Chronicle, as follows:

1. He conquered and subjugated Bajeng, Lengcese, Polombangkeng, Lamuru, Soppeng, various small countries behind Maros, Wajo, Suppa, Sawitto, Alitta, Duri, Panaikang, Bulukumba, and other countries in the south, and the mountainous regions in south.
2. He was the first to bring the people of Sawitto, Suppa, and Bacukiki to Goa.
3. He created the position of Tumakkajannanggang.
4. He created the office of Tumailalang to handle the internal administration of the kingdom, so that the Syahbandar was free to take care of trade with outside parties.
5. He established a formal system of weight measurement and measurement.
6. He was the first to install cannons placed on large forts.
7. He was the first beautician when the people of Makassar started making bullets, mixing gold with other metals, and making bricks.
8. He was the first to make a brick wall surrounding the settlements of Goa and Sumbaopu.
9. He was the first ruler who was visited by foreigners (Malays) under Anakhoda Bonang to ask for a place to live in Makassar.
10. He was the first to make large shields into small ones, shorten the handle of the spear (batakang), and make Palembang bullets.
11. He was the first ruler to ask for more energy from his people.
12. He was an intelligent war strategist, a hard worker, a resource person, rich and very brave (Andaya et al., 2004).

In its development, the Gowa Kingdom successfully introduced the Port of Makassar as a well - known trading city as well as a trading center for various commodities. The position of the Gowa Kingdom with the port of Somba Opu as a transito town on the spice trade route, made it a settlement for Malay traders. Even the Malays occupied an important position in the governing structure of the Gowa Kingdom, which officially gained legitimacy around 1561 during the reign of the 10th Gowa king Tunipallangga (1546-1565). In the writings of Reid mentioned that the Malays who came to Gowa each came from Campa, Minangkabau, Pahang, Patani, and Johor. They were

represented by Master Bonang facing the king of Gowa to ask for a permanent place of residence (Reid, 1992).

Another important government in Makassar that is at the forefront of the South Sulawesi maritime trade scene is Tallo. This kingdom is a fraction of the Gowa Kingdom, founded by Karaeng Loe ri Sero who is the brother of Batara Gowa. Both were children of the 6th Gowa king Tu Natangka Lopi (1445-1460). In its development, these two kingdoms then reunited into a twin kingdom, namely during the time of the 9th Gowa king Karaeng Tumaparisiq Kallonna (1546-1565) and the 3rd Tallo King Karaeng Tu Nipassuluq. Kiprah Tallo as a maritime kingdom in South Sulawesi is evidenced by historical sources, among others, narrated by the 2nd king of Tallo, Karaeng Tu Nilabu ri Suriwa, who sailed to Java, Malacca, and Banda. Even more than that, his successor, the 3rd Tallo king Karaeng Tu Nipasuluq, is said to have trade relations with Malacca and Johor (Amir, 2015).

3.2. Trading Port in the Kingdom of Siang

John Villiers explains that on the west coast of Sulawesi there is an important trading center, namely the Kingdom of Siang as well as the name of the port. In the port of Siang, it is mentioned that there are a lot of exports of products from Sulawesi and other surrounding islands, especially sandalwood in large quantities imported from Timor and Sunda. This product or commodity is in high demand from Asia, especially China. Then from the little Sunda it is mentioned that there are turtle skins, wax, rice, and slaves (Nomay & Ahmadin, 2009).

Later through Portuguese sources it is mentioned that the Siang Kingdom was once ruled by a king named Kodingareng or Gadinaro (in the Portuguese dialect) who was a contemporary of Don Alfonso, king of Portugal I and Pope Post II (Pelras, 1985). The name Siang (Fadillah & Mahmud, 2000) comes from the word "kasiwiang" (offering to the king). This kingdom or port was visited by Portuguese ships in the period 1542-1548.

The heyday of the Siang Kingdom is estimated to have taken place in the XV-XVI centuries, although its historical sources are still very limited. From the results of archaeological research mentioned, the center of government as well as the port of Siang at the site of Singkae, Bori Appaka,

Bugoro District, Pangkep Regency now. From Portuguese records of 16th century documents, it is mentioned that Gowa and Tallo were once followers of the Day Kingdom. The research also revealed that Siang was an important trade center and political force in the XIV-XVI centuries whose hegemony stretched along the west coast, especially in the Limae Ajatappareng region to Gowa-Tallo in the south. Nevertheless, the role of this kingdom faded and even disappeared with the emergence of the Gowa-Tallo power at the end of the sixteenth century (Pelras, 1997).

The Kingdom of Siang developed due to the potential support of natural resources, namely forest and marine products, minerals, and paddy fields. From the interior of the land and the sea are transported by utilizing the flow of the river to the estuary. However, in its development as the coastline farther away due to the sedimentation of the Siang river as access to the city, making the colony of Malay traders moved to the western Gowa and to Suppa and Sidenreng (Makkulau & Farid, 2005).

3.3. Trading Port in the Kingdom of Tanete

The next maritime kingdom on the west coast of Sulawesi that once operated in the spice trade route was Tanete with its capital Pancana. The name Pancana is not only a reference to the capital, but also as a trade center that is the commercial town of Pancana. In various colonial sources, Malay, as well as lontarak mentioned Pancana trading town or Pancana trading town has been known since the 16th century. Although it is not mentioned when exactly the year of the arrival of the Malays in the Kingdom of Tanete, but it is said that the arrival of the Malays in this area was immediately picked up by the king of Tanete in the river Pancana.

The Tanete Maritime Kingdom has residents scattered in several settlement centers such as: Pattampa, Gattareng, Lompo Tenggara, Lompo Rilau, Pancana, Laloang, Cinrapole, Cinekko, Ammessangeng, Butung, Kaworo, Pao-pao Lapukasi, and Pute Anging (Asba, 2010). The Tanete kingdom is bordered by the Barru kingdom on the north, the Soppeng kingdom on the east, the Lamuru kingdom and the Pangkajene Ordeafdeling on the south, and the west is the Makassar Strait (Asba, 2010). The administration of the Tanete kingdom was ruled by the queen and assisted by two speakers as well as several other elements of leadership. In addition, there are members of the hadat consisting of the aru, galla, macoa and puanlolo.

The sources of income of Queen Tanete, the hadat council and the nobles, came from inheritance fields, market taxes, *susung pateke* (transport tax), sale of opium, gambling (including cockfighting), settlement of cases, marriage, *susung binaga*, and fines from crimes or minor violations. The maritime kingdom of Tanete not only came up with the commercial town of Pancana as a trading center, but also became a chain of trade commodity distribution activities. The Pancana trading town served as a link between the sources of goods from the hinterland to the shelters and shipping ports and then brought to the main ports for widespread trade.

Merchandise at the Pancana trading port such as rice, betel, tobacco, and brown sugar, were obtained through *pateke* using vehicles in the form of transport horses or porters from Lamuru (Bone) and Soppeng. Through the port of Pancana in the kingdom of Tanete, the export trade of dried sea fish from the interior of Soppeng and Lamuru was carried out, then there was also the trade of *tripang* and mussels to Makassar. In addition, commodities traded in this port are rice, paddy, brown sugar, copra, hazelnuts, tobacco, and buffalo hides. In the port of Pancana there is an import of salt, cloth, weaving, manufacturing, and other daily necessities. These commodities are transported from Makassar or from Tallo, Jeneponto and Takalar.

Although Bakkers described the area as showing little significant development in the industrial sector, it was mentioned that there were some goldsmiths and silversmiths among the population, blacksmiths, carpenters, as well as shipbuilders (*lepa-lepa*, *sampan*) in limited numbers. In addition, it is mentioned that there are handicraft industries such as: bamboo weaving, rattan, and palm leaves including mats and baskets. The merchandise is also mentioned such as: corn, coconut, tobacco, brown sugar, teak wood, and rattan. Special seafood is also mentioned such as dried foreign fish, *tripang*, fish fins and turtles (Asba, 2010).

Tanete is not only famous for the role of the port of Pancana as a link between the goods from the hinterland to the port and then to the main trading center, but the kingdom is also a producer of commodities. In the mountains Tanete produces teak wood that uses the river as a means of transportation for coastal areas. In addition, there are also types of valuable wood such as *ipi*, *biti*, *cenrana*, *laoting*, and *aju asmara* or white sandalwood. Exports of timber and other forest products are low, except for rattan and hazelnuts.

3.4. Trading Port in the Kingdom of Ajatappareng

Suppa is one of the 5 kingdoms in the Ajatappareng region, namely the kingdoms located west of Lake Tempe, Lake Sidenreng, and Lake Buaya. In its development, these five governments formed an association or agreement called "Limae Ajatappareng" (Pabitjara, 2006). The name is adopted from three word elements, Lima (five), Aja (west), and Tappareng (lake). As a coastal state, Suppa is bordered by the Sawitto Kingdom to the north, Alitta and Sidenreng to the east, Sidenreng and Malusetasi to the south, and the Makassar Strait to the west. The capital of the Suppa kingdom was Watangsuppa (Muhammad Amir, 2017).

From Dutch reports of the end of the 19th century, in the Suppa region lay areas of rice fields and fields that produced on and corn. In the mountainous areas the people grow corn and rice is grown by the people along the river. Other commodities produced in this area are sweet potatoes, beans, coconuts, betel nuts, hazelnuts, and palm oil. Residents of coastal areas catch fish and find many tripang that are estimated to reach 150 pikul per year (Muhammad Amir, 2017).

Through the writings of Pelras mentioned Suppa became the main port in the Ajatappaeng region in the XV century and early XVI century. Pare Bay is currently very crowded with merchant boats and at the same time this area provides a safe anchorage, namely Ujung Lero, which prevents strong winds and waves. Archaeological evidence in the form of ceramic fragments in this area is a marker Suppa was once an important area at the time, before fading its role when Makassar rose and then was replaced by the VOC (Pelras, 1997).

3.5. Trading Port in the Kingdom of Bantaeng

In the history of South Sulawesi, Bantaeng is recorded as one of the oldest works. No wonder if in the Makassar language this area is called "Butta Toa" which means old land or old country. This predicate is not excessive because indeed Bantaeng has existed since the 12th century before the presence of other kingdoms. In the writing of Sakka mentions the kingdom of Bantaeng began to form in the 12th century, where this area was recognized for the first time by the navy of the Kingdom of Singosari and the Kingdom of Majapahit during an expedition to expand trade and power in the Eastern archipelago (Sakka, 2016).

Kiprah Bantaeng in the maritime world can also be traced as written by Mahmud et al that there are findings of fragmented artifacts of early whiteware and early monochromes ceramics. This type of ceramic is said to originate from China and was found in the Gantarangkeke valley. This trace proves the existence of an ancient maritime business in Bantaeng around the thirteenth century AD. The oldest historiographical sources about Bantaeng call this area Nagarakartagama written by Mpu Prapanca in the fourteenth century AD or precisely in 1365 AD or precisely in 1365 AD. In the Nagarakartagama manuscript, Bantaeng is mentioned as one of the three central and main toponyms in South Sulawesi at that time. Bantaeng's name was originally "Bantayan" from 1594 to 1737, then the colonial period became Bonthain in 1737 to 1962. From January 22, 1962 until now called Bantaeng Regency (Mahmud et al., 2007).

Such is the picture of the gait of the kings and the role of the trading towns of the kingdoms on the west coast of South Sulawesi. Trade activities on the spice line, which involve the interaction of actors from different ethnic (ethnic) backgrounds, in turn bring great influence. For example in the field of social, economic, cultural, language, and others.

4. CONCLUSION

Several kingdoms engaged in spice trade activities, such as the Gowa Kingdom, the Tallo Kingdom, the Siang Kingdom, the Tanete Kingdom, the Suppa Kingdom, and the Bantaeng Kingdom. Although only the Kingdoms of Gowa and Tallo are considered to be at the forefront of trade activities, but some kingdoms that have abundant produce also play a role as suppliers of various commodities that can be exchanged for spices. At that time it was clear that the most crowded shipping and trade in the archipelago were 3 (three), namely: "first, the route connecting Malacca with the waters of the Natuna Islands, the Sulawesi sea (north coast of the island of Kalimantan and Sulawesi island) and so on the Maluku islands or the Philippines or otherwise. Second, the route that connects the western and eastern regions of the archipelago by crossing the waters of the Java Sea, the waters of South Sulawesi (Selayar), the waters of Southeast Sulawesi, the Banda Sea and so on the Maluku islands or vice versa. Third, the route that connects the northern coast of Java, Madura, Nusa Tenggara, the Banda Sea, and continues to the Maluku islands

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