

Dating the Tributary and Domain Lists of the South Sulawesi Kingdoms

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Among the various indigenous historical writings of South Sulawesi are a particular category of texts known as 'Tributary and Domain Lists' (TDL). These lists are found for all the major and minor Bugis kingdoms, the Massenrempulu and Mandar kingdoms, and about five of the Makasar kingdoms.¹ As their name suggests, these lists set out the tributary lands that were attached to a particular kingdom and the domain lands that formed the core of the kingdom to which the list refers. These lists thus appear to provide us with a record of the political and geographical boundaries of power and influence achieved by these kingdoms at some unspecified period in that kingdom's history. Some of the tributaries that appear on a particular TDL also have TDLs of their own, which set out their own tributaries and domain lands. Other tributaries, or small settlements not part of any kingdom, may possess what can be termed as a 'Domain List' (DL), which simply sets out the domains of the focal settlement.

To date, I have located over 60 TDLs and DLs for different kingdoms and tributaries, the data from which covers almost the entire inhabited geographical landscape of South Sulawesi with the exception of a few Makasar kingdoms and the various Toraja lands in the mountainous north. If these lists all date to the same period in history, it would therefore be theoretically possible to use them to identify and locate almost all the lands that made up the political landscape of South Sulawesi for this period and create a detailed political map of the region. Work of this nature has already been undertaken for a number of kingdoms and tributary lands as part of wider research on the history of South Sulawesi (see Caldwell 1988; Druce 1997a, 1997b, 2009; Caldwell and Druce 1998; and Caldwell and Bougas 2004). These studies utilized TDLs to locate historical settlements and understanding the geographic extent, political structure and toponymic hierarchies of kingdoms. They further proved invaluable in locating important historical sites for archaeological investigation that may otherwise have remained unknown.

While these studies have demonstrated the value of TDLs as historical sources, much less is known about the lists themselves, in particular the period in history to which they might refer. What was the function of these lists and why do they exist for South Sulawesi but not (to my knowledge) for other regions of the Indonesian Archipelago? Do the lists in their written form all date to a particular historical period, and perhaps mark a major change or event in South Sulawesi that led to relations between kingdoms and tributary lands being fixed and set down in writing, perhaps in the interests of political stability or simply for documentation and administrative purposes? Alternatively, are the lists derived from oral tradition, dating to different historical periods and simply reflect a memory of a particular kingdom's one-time geographic boundaries of power and influence. In this paper, I attempt to answer these questions using indigenous South Sulawesi written sources supplemented by published materials and relevant archaeological data. I begin with a brief description of TDLs.

Description of Tributary and Domain Lists

The South Sulawesi kingdoms that emerged at about 1300 had highly decentralized political structures with multiple centres (Druce 2009:26-32).² Historical and archaeological research shows clearly that tributary lands had their own rulers, laws and government and that the ruler of the kingdom's central polity rarely interfered in the affairs of the tributary. Power in the South Sulawesi kingdoms was therefore not centralized but fragmented between the numerous tributaries that made up the kingdom. The ruler of the central polity, from which the kingdom's name derived, was leader, or *primus inter pares*, of the numerous other rulers of the tributary lands. This decentralized political structure is to some extent reflected in the Tributary and Domain Lists.

All TDLs known to me are remarkably similar in language, structure and design and divided into three basic sections: kingdoms, tributaries and domains. The list indicates the first of these divisions by stating the name of the kingdom to which the list belongs. This is followed by the term *paliliqna*, which indicates the second of the list's divisions. The word *paliliqna* is derived from the root *liliq*, which means 'around'. When the prefix *pa-* is added to *liliq* a noun is formed that means 'something around [a centre]'. The suffix *na-* is possessive and changes the meaning to 'something around the kingdom', or more precisely, 'the kingdoms tributaries'. The term *paliliqna* is followed by a list of settlements that are of tributary status to the kingdom, the number of which can vary considerably depending on the kingdom in question.

The third of the list's divisions is indicated by the expression *naponogé rakkalana*. The literal meaning of *naponogé rakkalana* is 'the plough [of the

kingdom] goes down to them'. The expression it is used to make known that the following list of lands are directly ruled and form the domain (cluster of villages) of the kingdom of the list. The *napanoqé rakkalana* lands were directly supervised by members of the kingdom's ruling family, or headmen that reported directly to the paramount noble of the kingdom.

A small number of TDLs have additional divisions that further divide the tributaries and domains lands named into hierarchical groupings. Two such examples are the Boné and Sidénréng lists that use several formulaic expressions to divide their tributaries and domains. DLs share the same design and structure as TDLs but omit the term *paliliqna*, simply stating the term *napanoqé rakkalana* before presenting a list of domain lands.

An example of a South Sulawesi TDL from Sidénréng is presented below in transcription and translation, followed by a map showing the distribution of the kingdom's tributaries and domains as set out in its list.

The Sidénréng Tributary and Domain List³

Transcription

Sidénréng \ paliliqna \ Mawoiwa \ Bulucénrana \ Otting \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ bab Bila \ tellu arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Wala \ Botto \ Ugi \ Jampubatu \ duwa arung déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Barukku \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Baraqmamasé \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bétao \ duwa arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Kalémpang \ tellu arung \ déq masala napoléi bilabilana Sidénréng \ Lamerrang \ Paraja \ Ampirita \ Wawanio \ duwa arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Bélokka \ dua arung \ duwato bilabilana Sidénréng \ Cirowali \ Wetteqé \ tammat Sidénréng \ napanoqé rakkalana \ Massépé \ Alekkuwang \ Tétéaji \ Liseq \ Sidénréng \ Guru \ engka arunna \ mapanoqtosia ri wanuanna \ Wala \ Séréang \ Liwuwu \ Arateng \ engka arung \ temmapanoqsa ri pabanuwanna \ Wéngeng \ Tellang tammat

Translation

Sidénréng's [first three] tributaries are: Maiwa, Bulucénrana and Otting, there are two great lords of these lands. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Bila, there are three great lords of Bila. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next are] Wala, Botto, Ugi and Jampu Batu, there are two great lords of these lands. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Barukku, there are two great lords of Barukku. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend.

[Next is] Baraqmamasé, there are two great lords of Baraqmamasé. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Bétao, there are two great lords of Bétao. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Next is] Kalémpang, there are three great lords of Kalémpang. For whatever purpose, Sidénréng calls upon these lords and summons them to attend. [Following are] Lamerrang and Paraja. [Now come] Amparita and Wanio, there are two great lords of these lands, so two summons to attend from Sidénréng. [Next is] Bélokka, there are two great lords of Bélokka, so two summons to attend from Sidénréng. [Following are] Ciroali and Wetteqé. These lands are directly ruled by Sidénréng. [The first six are]: Massépé, Alakkuang, Tétéaji, Liseq, Sidénréng, and Guru. There are lords of these lands. These lords preside over these lands. [Next are] Wala, Séréang, Lawawoi and Aratang There is a lord of these lands. This lord does not preside over the people of these lands. [Last are] Wéngeng and Tellang.

A single historical period?

The first question to address is whether the lists all date to the same historical period or to different periods. There are two main reasons why I believe the answer to be the former. The first is the consistency of the lists themselves. TDLs and DLs exist in multiple copies as individual texts in manuscripts containing a miscellaneous collection of Bugis and Makasar writings. With the exception of copying errors, all lists I have examined consistently name the same tributaries and domains, which suggests that only one written list exists for a particular kingdom or tributary. The second reason, which I believe shows convincingly they all date to a single period, is that the tributaries and domains named on a particular list never appear on the list of another kingdom or tributary. This is particularly revealing as Bugis and Makasar sources independent of these lists indicate that kingdom-tributary relations could at times be volatile and provide examples of tributaries changing allegiance from one kingdom to another, often because of defeat in war or a considered change in their political strategy.

That no tributary or domain land named on a particular list appears on another kingdom's list can only mean that the TDLs and DLs passed down to us all date to the same specific period in South Sulawesi's past. Determining when this period was, however, is less straightforward.

Lands of the Soppéng and Sidénréng TDLs: Narrowing the time frame

Most of the tributary lands named in TDLs can today be located within the boundaries of modern kabupaten (regency) that are based on the names and territories of the South Sulawesi kingdoms as they existed in the mid-

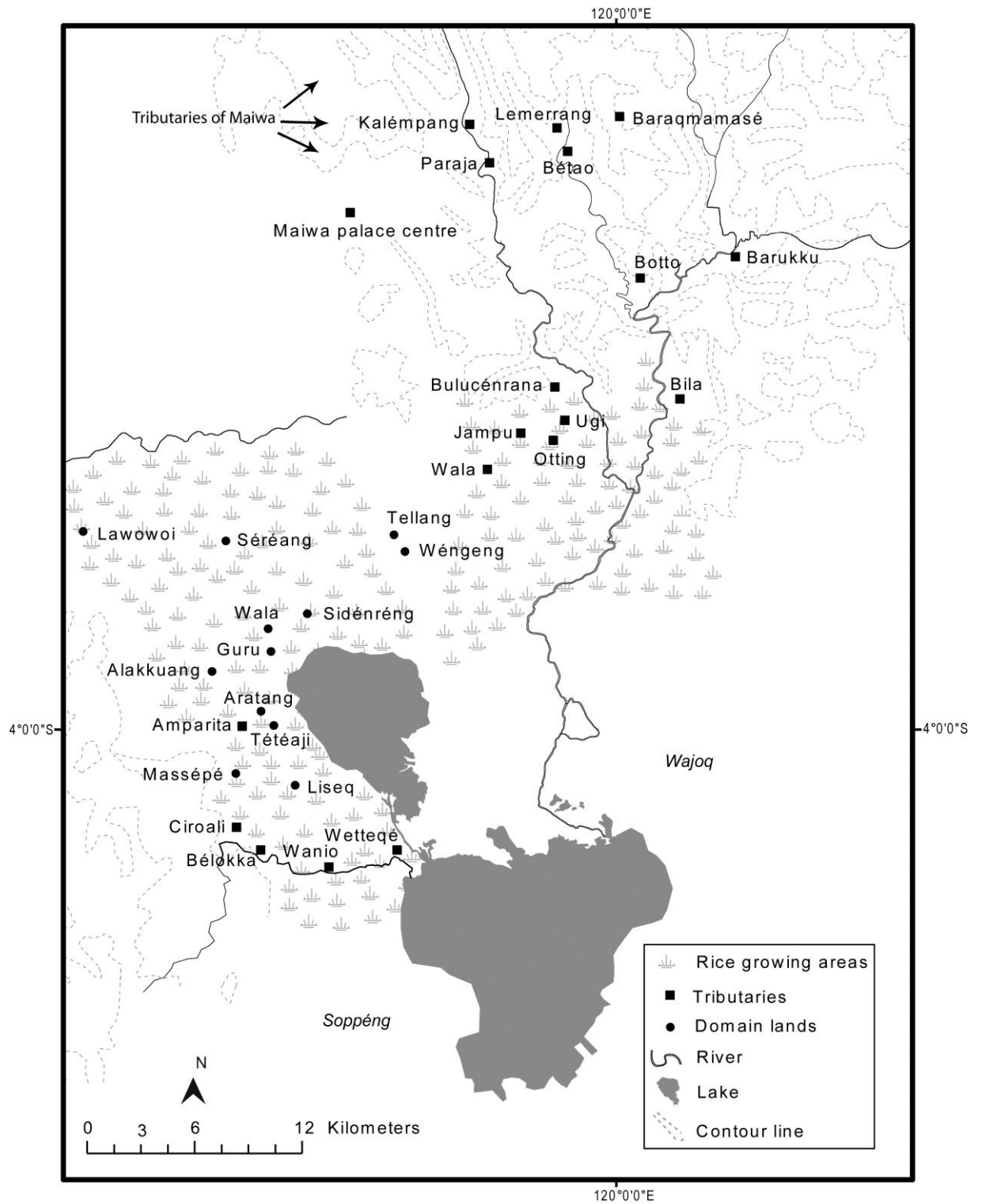


Figure 1: The lands of the Sidénréng Tributary and Domain List

twentieth century.⁴ Despite this twentieth century political association, historical and archaeological data suggest that the traditions set out in the lists are at least several hundred years old. Furthermore, there are some lands named on TDLs that today are not located within the boundaries of the modern *kabupaten* associated with their former kingdoms. If the date can be identified when the tributary status of these lands to the kingdom came to an end, then this would provide a good indication of the latest possible date for the lists. Likewise, identifying the date when lands named on a particular TDL entered into a tributary relationship with the kingdom of the list would provide the earliest possible date for that list. In the following analysis, I use datable references found in Bugis and Makasar texts relating to several tributaries named in the Soppéng and Sidénréng TDLs that are not part of the modern *kabupaten* derived from these kingdoms.

The Soppéng and Sidénréng lists have been subject to considerable research. All tributaries and domains named on the Sidénréng list have been clearly identified and all but one of the tributaries named on list from Soppéng. Many of these lands named on both lists have also been subject to detailed archaeological investigation (Bahru Kallupa et.al 1989; Druce 2009), the data from which can be used to supplement the textual sources.

Two tributary lands named on the Soppéng TDL are not found in in *kabupaten* Soppeng but are located in neighbouring *kabupaten* of Bone. The first of these is Lamuru, which seems to have been a small but early kingdom that has its own TDL (Druce 2009:30). Lamuru appears several times in South Sulawesi textual sources in relation to the Makasar kingdom of Gowa and the Bugis kingdoms of Wajoq, Soppéng and Boné. The first of these references to Lamuru is found in the Chronicles of Wajoq (Noorduyn 1955:202-3; Abidin 1979:249), dating to the early sixteenth century during the reign of the Wajoq culture hero Puang ri Maqgalatung.⁵ According to the Wajoq chronicles, during this period Lamuru voluntarily attached itself to an increasingly powerful and expansionist Wajoq. This first reference to Lamuru and its status should, however, be viewed with caution as the Wajoq chronicles list a large number of lands that they claim voluntarily became tributaries of Wajoq during this period and clearly exaggerate Wajoq's influence at this time (Druce 2009:232).

The next, and perhaps more reliable, reference to Lamuru is found in the Chronicle of Gowa (Wolhoff and Abdurrahim n.d.:23-4; Cummings 2007:88), where Lamuru is listed as a land defeated by Gowa during the reign of Tunipalangga (1546-1565). It is probable that Lamuru was forced into a tributary relationship with Gowa following this defeat but, as our next reference suggests, this relationship would have been short-lived as the Chronicle of Boné (Macknight and Mukhlis n.d.) relates how Lamuru then became a tributary of Boné. Lamuru's new tributary relationship with

Boné appears to have been part of the Caleppa peace agreement, which brought an end to a war between Boné and Gowa and dates to the 1570s.

Lamuru is first mentioned in relation to Soppéng about a decade later. This reference comes from the well-known Tellumpocoé alliance of about 1582, related in the chronicles of Boné and Wajoq as well as numerous independent Bugis texts. The Tellumpocoé alliance was convened between Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng and it aimed to halt the military expansion of the Makasar kingdom of Gowa into their regions. According to the story told in the Bugis texts, Soppéng was the smallest of the three kingdoms in terms of territory and as part of the alliance, Boné and Wajoq agreed to transfer a number of tributary lands to Soppéng. One of the lands transferred from Boné was Lamuru, another was Goagoa, which is located in *kabupaten* Soppeng. Wajoq transferred to Soppéng a tributary called Tanatengnga, the one tributary of the Soppéng TDL that has not been located (Druce 1997b:27). Lamuru remained a tributary of Soppéng for about 130 years but appears to have never fully accepted this position. In 1710, following the execution of its ruler on the order of the *datu* (ruler) of Soppéng, Lamuru once again became a tributary of Boné at the request of the people of Lamuru (Muttalib 1978:39-40).

Based on textual evidence from the Soppéng TDL, it appears that the lists date to no earlier than 1582 and no later than 1710. Archaeological data from Soppéng provides further support for the latter date and reveals that Bulu Matanré, which is named as a tributary on the Soppéng TDL was completely abandoned by the late seventeenth century (Bahru Kallupa et.al 1989:31). Also abandoned about this time was the Soppéng domain land of Tinco, where the early rulers of that kingdom first built their places (Caldwell 1988:200-1; Bahru Kallupa et.al 1989:23-4).

Historical data from lands named in the Sidénréng TDL suggest that the lists date to a little earlier than 1710. The one land named on the Sidénréng TDL not located in the modern *kabupaten* of Sidenreng-Rappang is its former tributary of Maiwa, a Massenrempulu-speaking area located today in the most southerly part of *kabupaten* Enrekang. Comparative archaeological data suggests Maiwa became a tributary of Sidénréng in the mid- to late fifteenth century, during an early period of that kingdom's expansion (Druce 2009: 221-2). A Bugis textual sources claims that this relationship came to an end in the latter part of the seventeenth century, when Arung Palakka was ruler of Boné.⁶ This short text indicates that after Arung Palakka had defeated the mountain settlement of Letta, he began to rearrange political groupings and boundaries in relation to Sidénréng, Soppéng and the Massenrempulu lands:

[You, Sidénréng] take the area as far as the Mario river and take the lands there as tributaries. You give [me] your tributary Maiwa and I will also take [all of the] Massenrempulu [lands].

So it happened that Maiwa was no longer a tributary of Sidénréng and became part of [the] Massenrempulu [confederation].

According to Van Braam Morris (1892:215), the attack on Letta by Boné took place in 1685 and was an act of retribution by Arung Palakka for the killing a Boné envoy. This would have been 16 years after the conclusion of the Makassar War, in which a combined VOC (Dutch East India Company) and Bugis force defeated the Makassar Empire. Following the war, a new order was introduced in South Sulawesi as the Dutch took direct control of several Makasar areas while Arung Palakka attempted to assert his authority over the remaining areas of South Sulawesi.

Seventeenth century stability

From the brief analysis of textual and archaeological data above, it is clear that the lists date to no earlier than 1582 and no later than about 1685. Within this 103-year period, it is less likely that the lists date to before 1611 as for much of the sixteenth century there was continual warfare in South Sulawesi between the various kingdoms and alliances between them constantly shifted as they jockeyed for power. Tributary lands were directly affected by this instability and often changed allegiance because of defeat in war, or to ally themselves with more powerful overlords. The only clearly identifiable period in the sixteenth century where there appears to have been a degree of peace and stability between the major kingdoms dates from about 1565 until 1580, the first fifteen years of Tunijalloq's reign as ruler of Gowa (1556-1590), before hostilities between kingdoms resumed (Druce 2009:244).⁷

The year 1611 is particularly significant as it marks Gowa and Talloq's final victory over the Bugis and other South Sulawesi kingdoms and the Islamization of those they defeated.⁸ Despite several failed rebellions by some Bugis, the victory ushered in a period of Gowa-Talloq dominance over the Bugis that brought relative stability to the region that lasted for over fifty years until the Makassar Wars of the 1660s. The second period of relative stability followed the Makassar Wars after Gowa's power base was destroyed by the VOC together with the Bugis under Arung Palakka's leadership, who together became South Sulawesi's new overlords.

Before its defeat in the Makassar Wars, as the undisputed overlord of South Sulawesi Gowa would have been in a position to mediate in border disputes between kingdoms, confirm, alter or adjust political boundaries, and political ties between tributaries and kingdoms. There is some evidence that Gowa did mediate in border disputes between kingdoms and make final decisions on such matters. This evidence comes from a Bugis text of about ten manuscript lines of writing derived from oral tradition.

The text tells of how the *suro* (messenger) of Gowa arrived on the orders of the *karaeng* (ruler) of Gowa in order to set out clearly the border between Sidénréng and Wajoq, who were in dispute. In this text, the Gowa *suro* names a number of geographical features and settlements that set out the border between the two kingdoms and uses compass points to indicate changes in direction.⁹ However, I know of no other text that indicates Gowa's involvement in border disputes between the Bugis kingdoms.

Interestingly, the tradition about Gowa mediating in the Sidénréng-Wajoq border dispute ends with the following statement:

Later, when we were subject to Boné at the time of Petta Risompaé ri Boné Malampe-é Gemmeqna, [the border] was reconfirmed and the judgement remains unbroken today.

Petta Risompaé ri Boné Malampe-é Gemmeqna is a reference to Arung Palakka, whose period of prominence in South Sulawesi dates to the second period of stability that followed the conclusion of the Makassar War of 1669, in which Gowa was defeated by a combined VOC and Bugis force. As we have seen, at some point after the Makassar War, Arung Palakka appears to have been actively engaged in altering borders and political groupings, such as the transfer of Maiwa from Sidénréng to the Massenrempulu Confederation in 1685. However, as Maiwa is named on the Sidénréng TDL, the lists appear to therefore date to before 1685.

Missing Makasar lists

While Tributary and Domain Lists can be found for a number of Makasar kingdoms and their tributaries, it is highly significant that none appear to exist for Gowa, Talloq, Maros and Bantaeng. If Gowa's 1611 victory over the Bugis was the catalyst for the creation of the lists, there is no apparent reason they would not have created lists for their own and Talloq's tributary and domain lands and even more puzzling to omit Maros and Bantaeng from this process. While there is a remote possibility that these lists have been lost, a look at the status of Gowa, Talloq, Maros and Bantaeng following the Makassar War suggests another reason for the absence of TDLs for these kingdoms.

As Andaya (1981:264) points out, following the victory over Gowa, the VOC followed Western European notions of 'rights of conquest', which meant that the rulers of Gowa and Talloq were considered to have no rights over any land outside their gate, with the exception of the Gowa ruler's apanage land in Sanrebone. Maros and Bantaeng were among the defeated lands that had fought on the side of Gowa and therefore considered as VOC property. The latter was presented by the VOC to Arung Palakka an apanage

in recognition of his invaluable service (Bakkers 1866:200).

The most probable reason for the missing Makassar lists is that the South Sulawesi TDLs were written shortly after the end of the Makassar War in 1669. No lists exist for Gowa, Talloq, Maros and Bantaeng because they had lost their independence.

Conclusion

The unique TDLs of South Sulawesi all date to a single period in history that lies somewhere between 1669 and 1685. The reason why these lists were written in this period remains unclear. The VOC may have initiated them as part of a documentation programme following the war in order to facilitate mediation in future disputes between kingdoms, or simply as records. However, all lists are written in local languages and none appears in Dutch records. Arung Palakka may have been responsible for their creation in written form but his evident dissatisfaction with some of the relationships set out in the lists casts doubt on him directing their creation. Furthermore, the lists were not updated to reflect the changes he made in kingdom-tributary relations. It is probable that similar oral lists existed for more than a century before the Makassar War but there was never a perceived need to write them down. In their written form the lists are clearly a product of the immediate post-Makassar War period, when many kingdoms were emerging from a period of Gowa-Talloq domination into a much changed and uncertain world with two new overlords to contend with, the VOC and Arung Palakka. Perhaps it was partly the circumstances and events of the latter part of the seventeenth century that led to their creation and a movement towards fixing political relationships and boundaries between the regions many polities.

Chapter Notes

¹ ‘Makasar’ in this work is used in reference to the ethnic group and their language, while ‘Makassar’ refers to the historical kingdom and the present day capital (formerly Ujung Pandang) of South Sulawesi. Other spelling conventions used are ‘q’ in order to indicate the glottal stop found in many Bugis and Makasar words and the symbol ‘é’ is used in order to differentiate this vowel from the schwa vowel, represented as ‘e’. These conventions are applied only to historical place names and not to the names of modern administrative units, which follow Indonesian spelling.

² Heather Sutherland’s (1983) work shows that the decentralized nature of the South Sulawesi kingdoms was still clearly evident in the nineteenth century.

³ The following transcription, translation and accompanying map are taken from Druce 2009:255-6 and 260.

⁴ A few of the modern kabupaten, such as Pinrang and Jeneponto, were formed from an amalgamation of one or more kingdoms and the name of the kabupaten is derived from relatively unimportant settlements.

⁵ In relation to Wajoq, ‘chronicles’ rather than ‘chronicle’ is used because there are several variant chronicles for Wajoq that are a consequence of re-writing. Other South Sulawesi chronicles, which exist for a few kingdoms only, are reasonably consistent and differences between versions are mainly confined to copying errors.

⁶ The text is little more than half a manuscript page of writing and can be found on page 268 of ROL 60/7 in the Makassar Branch of the Arsip Nasional microfilm collection.

Tunijalloq succeeded Tunibatta. Following the death of the latter, a treaty was concluded between Boné and Gowa that recognized their respective spheres of influence. The fifteen years or so of peace that followed appears to have been facilitated by the relationship between the Boné ruler Bongkangngé and Tunijalloq, who as a young man had lived in Boné for two years.

⁸ Luwuq, the first of the South Sulawesi kingdoms to convert to Islam, took no part in these wars.

⁹ This text is found on page 267 of ROL 60/ 7 in the Makassar Branch of the Arsip Nasional microfilm collection.

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