

Trade and Ethnicity: Business Ethics and the Glory of Maritime Trade of The Makassar's Wajorese in the 18th Century

Bambang Sulistyono

Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Hasanuddin University,
Makassar, South Sulawesi, Indonesia

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Abstract

This article aims to trace the role of the book *Amanna Gappa*, also known as *Ade Alopping-lopping Bicarana Pabalue*, as a set of business ethics practiced by the Wajo ethnic group in the city of Makassar in the 18th century. The Wajo people of Makassar at that time was one of the tribes that lost the war between the Goa-Tallo Sultanate and the alliance of the Sultanate of Bone and the Dutch trading company VOC (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*) in the 1660s. The Wajo people were famous as great traders in Southeast Asia and its communities are scattered across the Indonesian archipelago. This article argues that one of the factors for their success in maritime trade is their ability to create business rules and ethics in maritime navigation and trade. Some scholars refer to this set of rules as the law of navigation, or the law of commerce. However, this research seeks to explain that that this set of rules was a set of maritime business ethics practiced by the Wajorese as traders and sailors. The Wajo people were not rulers of a sovereign state and were unlikely to have been able to enforce their business ethics as a law.

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*Corresponding Author:
b.sulistyono.unhas@gmail.com

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Introduction

Knaap & Sutherland (2005, 55) calls *Amanna Gappa* the law code of Makassar's Wajorese, while Tobing (1977) as well as Abidin (1983, 120), calls it the *Amanna Gappa* as shipping law or the law of the sea. However, this article shows that *Amanna Gappa*, also known as *Ade Alopping-lopping Bicarana Pabalue*, which is not a commercial law but a set of business ethics in maritime navigation and trade. The book does not discuss the ownership and control of sea territories, nor does it mention the existence of a state or a government that guarantees and enforces accountability in the event of violations (Farid 1979). In addition, there is no mention of a territory in which the rules applied. Likewise, the book does not discuss penalties or legal sanctions, nor does it mention the existence of a judiciary, judges, prosecutors and attorneys as described in article 10 of the book *Amanna Gappa* (Anderson 2009; Rogers & Acciaoli 2009). The obligations of citizens/ship passengers to the state are also not discussed in this book. In the absence of a state in the rules of the book, any problem that could not be resolved together were left to God's power.

The discussion adopts a historical approach to looking at the historical dimension of *Amanna Gappa*'s composition. In Classical Philosophy, ethics is part of moral philosophy. This is in accordance with the ethics opinion of Immanuel Kant (Bakhtiar 2010, 8). As part of classical philosophy, the concept of ethics has existed during the classical period which was about 25 centuries ago as discussed by Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle (Bertens 2000, 34). The philosophers stated that this type of moral ethics is a religious philosophy in the form of morals that governs individual behavior. Religious philosophy stems from the belief in the existence of *causa prima* that governs and controls the universe including the human world, namely Allah (Bakhtiar 2010, 7-8). Ethical behavior is an act of conscience, which for Muslims is accountable to Allah as *causa prima*. Therefore, individual acts are intended to be an observance of Allah's commandments and avoidance of those that are forbidden (Bertens 2000, 28). In business activities such as spending and receiving money, producing, distributing and buying goods, and hiring people, individuals act according to their

conscience (Berten 2000, 34). Consequently, a discussion on business ethics in the Wajo community will be linked to the verses of the holy Qur'an, the main source of Islamic morality. As ethics, the rules in Amanna Gappa are often not in harmony with the law. The rules do not regulate the details regarding practical procedures for solving problems. Laws and ethics can conflict, for example in the prohibition of sailing on a particular territory. This is unethical because it prohibits people from sailing. However, legally it can be justified because it has been decided by the rulers who won the war (Bertens 2000, 26).

There are 18 copies of the Wajo manuscript written in *lontara* which have been stored in several regions such as Makassar, Mandar, and Soppeng, and Pare-pare. Some of the *lontara* has been studied by C.H. Thompson and Caron (Tobing 1977). *Lontara 107* is entitled *Ade Alopping-lopung Bicarana Pabalue* in the Wajo language. Etymologically, *ade* means customs, manners, or habits (Mattulada 2015, 629). *Alopping-lopung* means going back and forth or sailing in a boat, *bicarana* means speaking, *pabalue* means small traders. It is therefore not appropriate to equate the book with a statute or law. As a set of ethics, *Ade Alopping-lopung* applies specifically to the Wajo merchant and seafarer community. From various historiographical works, it can be understood that Wajo people had special role in formulating their business ethics which later been used in the archipelago, including their business ethics involved families in boat rental, how to pursuit capital, transportation handling, and dealing with various problems related to their business.

In that context, this article examines Amanna Gappa as a set of ethics practiced in sea navigation and trade. The discussion begins by explaining the background, followed by an examination and comparison of *ade alopping-lopung* as a set of business ethics and rules in its social and historical context. The discussion of business ethics in navigation and trade as practiced by the the Wajorese in Makassar will be treated as part of a discussion on Islamic philosophical ethics, considering that the Wajo people were known as devout Muslims.

Description of Amanna Gappa

During the decade and a half leading up to the writing of Amanna Gappa, the Wajo people were involved in major wars in the struggle for power and hegemony in South Sulawesi (Wellen 2017). The wars occurred in 1660, 1666, 1669, 1670, 1674 and 1675. Wajo was on the losing side. Tens of thousands of Wajo soldiers died. Its leaders (Arung Matowa Wajo, La Palili Tomalu Pianna Geila, Ranreng Tua, Ranreng Tallotenreng, and Arung Bettempola), were detained at the Rotterdam fort in Makassar. The Wajo people were only allowed to sail to Bali, the Java coast to Batavia and Kalimantan. However, the Wajo people could sail across Sulawesi, they could reach Mandar, Kaili, Selayar, Buton, Wowoni, Tombuku, Lohiya (on the island of Muna), Binongko, (in the south of Buton Island) and even to Borneo such as the areas of Pasir, Sukadana, Mempawa, Sambas, Brunei, Banjarmasin and Berau; to Sumatra, Aceh and Palembang; to Maluku: Banda Seram, Kei and Aru, to the Malay Peninsula: Selangor, Melaka, Kedah, Johor, and Trengganu and also to Lesser Sunda, even to Cambodia, Batavia, and Lombok (Abidin 1983, 20). by developing business ethics among themselves under the leadership of their aristocrats. This allowed them to develop autonomous social entities, with primordialism in their tribe, which as a whole was a diaspora linked by commercial service activities. Amanna Gappa is also considered as a codification of maritime law edited by local communities, the creation of which is thought to be in the same period as the Malacca law of the sea (Malacca Code) (Anand 1981, 446).

When Wajo was ruled by Arung Matoa To Pabukiq, (1671-1676), the king of Bone, Arung Palaka, based in Bontoala, Makassar, with the permission of the Governor of the VOC, Cornelis Speelman, in the same city, tried to end hostilities (Andaya 2004). About 300 Wajo people were allowed to stay in Wajo village, then democratically appointed their leader, who had the title matoa in Makassar (Abidin 1978, 6). They also appointed a trusted person to be the head of all traders. They carried out commercial shipping activities by registering themselves with the Dutch Harbor Master. To promote commercial shipping in 1676 La Patello Amanna Gappa invited Wajo merchants in Makassar, Sumbawa, and Paser to a meeting to formulate and approve commercial shipping regulations and promised to comply with them and pass them on to their children and grandchildren (Sutherland 2009, 319).

The Amanna Gappa book consists of 21 articles. Article one contains ship charter rates, capital, while profit sharing from the buying and selling business are addressed in seven articles. The rights and obligations of children, wives and heirs in business are regulated in four Article 3, 8, 9, 18, and 19. Creating conducive conditions for business development is addressed in the Article 9 and 10 respectively. Meanwhile, humanitarian obligations during voyages are discussed in the Article 13 and 16 and 20. The provisions on organizational structure, authority and responsibility are regulated in the Article 4, 5, 6 and 15. The remaining article is a pledge to uphold *adat*. None of the articles had mentioned state and judicial institutions, even though they were aware that there were courts and how they worked on the ground. The book contains a set of business ethics because it does not contain provisions on judges who have the power to enforce their decisions.

Amanna Gappa as the Guidance of Ethics Navigation

The Wajo people were Muslim. They had embraced Islam since 1610 when La Sangkuru Patau, Arung Matowa Wajo was conquered by Karaeng Matoaya, King of Gowa (Poelinggomang, 2004, 88). They believed that God is One. As Muslims, they believed all of their behavior was accountable to Allah, who rule the universe including mankind. Therefore, not only must be fair to others (*Habluminnanas*), it must also be accountable to God (*Habluminallah*). Practicing justice and doing good to others are an obligation. By doing so God will reward mankind in the form of blessings, mercy and justice.

The book of Amanna Gappa contains an obligation to do good, the implementation of which is the responsibility of the person concerned. The power of regulation is not due to the support of the State and law enforcement, but rather because of personal responsibility to an all-just Creator. Maintaining calm and a sense of security for both passengers and the country they were visiting is called fro in Article 10. All problems that occur on board must be resolved on board. Disputes among the traders were mediated by the elders, who acted the same way as a court by listening to both sides of the story and witnesses as well as the circumstances and their actions. If after a mediation and an examination no settlement was reached, the decision is left to God. This means that both parties, especially those who felt they were being treated unfairly, need to be patient because God would make a decision in His own way. God is the guarantee of justice. If the person acting as judge asks questions, the prosecutor must first be questioned, then the person being prosecuted and the witnesses. They were asked for their respective representatives, and then were told to retreat so far that they could not hear the people who engaged in conversations. The person who acted as a judge thought about all the ins and outs of the matter. Each one turned his heart to God to make an honest decision. Each follows the root of the problem. Four big roots, four small roots. If one (of the two people in dispute) was found to be guilty or innocent, blame the guilty and justify the innocent.

Conversely, passengers were not allowed to bring problems on board the ship. This is regulated in Article 11 which stipulates that if before sailing there is a dispute, settle it first. However, if a fight occurred on the ship, the dispute should be resolved on the ship. After it was over, they were allowed to go ashore. If one of them disagreed, the skipper had the authority to solve the problem. The problems that occurred on board the ship must not be brought ashore, because each country has its own judges. There was no guarantee that any decision would be to the liking of the people in dispute. Therefore, it is hoped that passengers disembarking from the ship would not have problems or cause problems in the country they were visiting. In this way, the relationship between passengers is created peacefully, and when a ship docked in a country it does not carry a burden of problems for the population and the country it is in. It is understandable if their ships get customers and are always waiting for their presence.

The principles of trade which include a desire to get the maximum profit (Soekardono 1957, 20) were avoided by Amanna Gappa. Although each captain can determine their shipping rates, Article 1 of the Amanna Gappa determines the rate for the charter of the ship and the destination of the voyage. There were six packages including Makassar (South Sulawesi); Paser; Sumbawa (East Nusatenggara); Kaili (Central Sulawesi) to Aceh; Kedah (Malacca Peninsula); and Cambodia (Central Southeast Asia), the transportation charge was about seven Reals. Meanhile destination to Aceh, Kedah, Cambodia, Malaka, Johor, Tarapuo, Jakarta, Palembang, Aru was charged six Real. The

destination to Semarang, Sambas, Pontianak, Ambon, Banda, Kei, and Ternate was charged about five Reals. The destination to Berau, Sumenep, Timor was charged about four Reals. The shipping rate charged per item from Makassar. The method of determining prices was contrary to the supply and demand. Moreover, if there is security disturbance or piracy, the skipper has the opportunity to increase shipping rates (Sulistyo 2014).

Business ethics are not just about seeking profit for the family. Article 2 regulates that if a boat is rented to non-friends of the boat owner, the boat rental is divided into two, one part for the owner of the boat and another part for the skipper with the helmsman and mason. If the boat carrier is a friend of the boat owner, the rent is divided by three. One part is for the helmsman and mason and two parts for the boat owner. As to why non-friends received a bigger share than friends of the boat owner, this was closely related to the kinship that occurs where sometimes it is easier for someone to manage each other if they are related, rather than strangers. Apart from that, more profits for non-friends motivated non-friends, including those from the Bugis Wajo tribe, to do business with them. Furthermore, Article 2 avoids the involvement of the judiciary. If the skipper charged the wrong amount, the cost should not be passed the passengers. If there is a dispute between the sailors, the skipper is obliged to mediate and find a solution to the problem without the involvement of a court.

The logic of the captain as a shipping entrepreneur, which usually applied during an emergency period, did not apply. Travel from or to the port of departure was possible due to bad weather, security disturbances or avoiding capture by the enemy. On the ship there was equality between passengers and sailors. All passengers according to Article four were sailors. They consisted of four categories: 1. Permanent sailors, in charge of guarding the boat and not leaving the boat while on the move; 2. Free sailors; 3. Sailing passengers and 4. Passengers. The captain is the highest person in charge of navigating a boat, is not allowed to receive sailors, if there is no agreement on the goods to be transported, both those requiring a large space and the capacity of the goods. However, Article 5 explains that any damage to the boat is the responsibility of the helmsman and mason. The two officials were authorized to give orders to the sailors to repair the boat.

On the one hand the skipper is the person in charge of non-commercial obligations but he is responsible for all social obligations on board. Article 6 shows that the leadership of the skipper occupies a central position, but is not authoritarian, therefore the captain must have the following requirements: (1) Has mental strength and weapons, both heavy and light weapons to defend themselves from various threats; (2) Has a boat that is strong for sailing, able to withstand storms and various problems at sea; (3) Thorough and diligent, so that they are able to supervise and become an example for their subordinates; (4) Owns capital, to charter a ship and pay a fine if something goes wrong; (5) Able to supervise sailors; (6) Able to uphold the truth without discriminating against people; (7) Able to accept suggestions and criticism; (8) Has integrity and honesty; (9) Receiving sailors by treating him as their children, becoming the protector of other sailors; (10) Always gives lessons to sailors about the means of shipping without feeling bored; (11) Patient; (12) Being respected; (13) Able to take care of sailors' merchandise; (15) Able to trade the boat; (16) Knowing the designated shipping line. According to these characteristics, a skipper then expected to act as the patron of all sailors and passengers on board.

Amanna Gappa states that business does not undermine the dignity of entrepreneurs and promotes togetherness and fair responsibility. In Article 7, there is an announcement that the good way to sell is by using boats, stalls, or entrepreneurship by paying attention to the principle of sharing, meaning that you will enjoy together if you get profits, or share the losses if there is damage. But in the case of Samatula, the owner of the goods bears all damage to the goods if they are defective. Conversely, if it is not the wrong way of selling, the buyer will bear the loss. This rule also emphasizes the principle of debt for business, namely debt without interest. In addition, the creditor only collects debt when it is due. Meanwhile, debt repayment is carried out by first setting the price of the goods to be sold, and will be settled if the goods are sold. If not sold, the goods are returned to the creditor (Henley & Boomgaard 2010). In the Samatula context, there are two parties, namely the owner of the capital and the business actor who are different people. Meanwhile, in the case of the risk of merchandise and capital deposited with other people, this is commonly known as Kalula. Damage is the joint responsibility of the owner of the capital and the trader if the goods are damaged due to sea travel, fire, and stolen.

Article 8 regulates the efforts of traders to obtain capital by borrowing. A person who borrows goods at the market or while on a voyage, without the knowledge of his family and then passes away, the family cannot be invoiced and they are not obligated to pay. Unless he has met his family and has been told about the debt, then his wife and family are obliged to pay. Thus, debt responsibility for the business falls to the family, even to the heir, even though he has been married several times.

Article 9 states that old things are handed down to old children. Meanwhile if someone is married again and has the items, then the old things should be handed down to the older children. Profit or losses, inheritance of goods may not be canceled if the price has been decided, even though it will be traded. Conversely, if it has been traded and something is missing or something is torn, what is missing is added and what is torn is replaced. Purchases cannot be canceled.

The Amanna Gappa book does not only convey fair ethics that passenger's favor also contains messages for entrepreneurs who traded using debt as capital. Article 12 states that debt is not allowed to be used for prostitution, marriage, gambling, drug abuse and extravagance. If the seller loses any of these seven things, the seller must bear the loss. Article 13 protects people who are in debt in business, preventing people who fail in their trade after working hard from falling deeper at the expense of their descendants. There were four kinds of debtors. First: people who are in debt; second: people who were able to pay; third: people were guarantors. Fourth: people who accompanied, or brokered. People who borrow must pay up. There were cases that people who can afford paid someone else's debt, if the borrower was unable to pay. However, a person who is made an insurer may not be charged unless the borrower dies or disappears. Article 14 states that a person who is in debt, and his assets are not enough to pay his debt, he could become a servant to pay off and cannot be charged again. Charging interest on debt interest was prohibited. Only the debt principal is paid off. However, if the payment is insufficient, the lender is only entitled to receive the remaining receivables. If in the future the borrower became successful, the profit is for himself and he could not be charged again. These provisions ensured that the Wajorese remained free and independent people.

Social obligations and social responsibility can be found in articles 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, and 20. Not all activities in business are commercial in nature and are treated formally. Article 18 discusses *kalula*, namely people who voluntarily participate by providing services to facilitate transportation, commerce and settlement. This service is performed without request from either the buyer or the seller. A *kalula* and his family did not bear the damage to their goods, but relied on mercy. However, if *kalula's* assistance results in damage to the goods (not because of the method of selling), the *kalula* will have to pay himself, not his family.

In conducting his business, an employer or entrepreneur was assisted by an *anak guru*, an *anak buah* and a slave. In general, the three of them are treated as children, so they were not burdened with responsibility. Article 15 states that if the slave is ordered to transport goods and he makes a mistake while on the voyage, if the skipper seizes the goods, in the event that there is no representative or person who orders him and as a result the goods are damaged, the damage is borne by the captain. The captain is obliged to pay the price for the damage. The captain will be relieved of responsibility only when the item has been received by the owner. However, if there is a representative of the owner, and the captain confiscates it, the owner bears the losses and profit. The same goes with the person carrying the goods, in the event that they are damaged, according to the rules, the profit is shared. A captain can confiscate, for example, goods that are problematic.

The relationship between employer and worker is like a teacher and his student or child. The teacher is obliged to teach the worker skills, while the child or slave is obliged to follow the teacher's orders. Employers and workers do not have the same obligations. Their relationship is like that of father and son. Whatever the slave did was the responsibility of the teacher or master. The teacher's work is for the purpose of learning. Subordinates work to make a living. There were cases in which a slave worked for dedication, not for wages, knowledge or scholarship. Article 19 regulates the relationship between the teacher's child and his slave, meaning an employer and his subordinate. If there is an *anak guru* who takes a debt from another person without the knowledge of the teacher, the teacher is not obligated to pay. If the slave is ordered to keep the goods, then (the slave) goes away and owes another debt and before it is sold out (the borrowed item) has changed shapes, especially if lost, the employer will have to pay. It is because of the employer's trust that the slave was ordered to watch the goods. But (in general) slaves should not borrow without their master's knowledge.

Humanitarian responsibility to the person who died on the trip. Article 16 mentions the duties of the captain if any passenger on his ship dies on a business voyage. As the leader on the boat immediately met his heirs, secured his belongings and gathered several people who acted as witnesses to ensure his property was received by his heirs. If due to circumstances the property is sold at a reasonable price, the remaining should be given to the heirs. After that, both sides in their respective books. If there are no heirs, the captain will accept it. The captain is obligated to replace if the goods were damaged. If you make a profit, you have all the profit. After you arrive in his country, give it to his son (or) his wife.

Article 17 contains the ethics of debt repayment for trade. Debt is paid according to the value of something borrowed. If the money borrowed is paid for with the goods sold, then the decision is determined by an intermediary who assesses the price of the goods. If the goods are borrowed and paid for with money, the price is according to their agreement. Similarly, if borrowing goods is paid for with goods, the value depends on the agreement.

Finally, Article 20 concerns people found in the ocean or in the forest on a voyage. People who are picked up in the ocean, even though he has been stranded on an island, were someone who are unlikely to survive there, as is the case with the person picked up in the middle of the ocean. (Such people) are charged according to the market price. If they are stranded on the edge of the sea, where other people can keep them alive. If there is no agreement with the captain and people who are picked up go to the land, they should follow any customary decision. Evita et al. (2017) described Wajo ships as safe, orderly and ethical, attracting passengers to become customers.

With this set of ethic, the sailors built a reputation as orderly traders, and maintaining security both on land and on ships in countries they visited. Governments in the archipelago accepted their presence as customers. They were welcomed to live in Pagatan, Paser, Kutai, Samarinda, Sukadana, all in Borneo; Jambi, and Indrapura in West Sumatra. They also have colonies in Malaysia, Singapore, and in East Nusa Tenggara. Wajo people traded more profitably compared to Bone or Soppeng people (Noorduyn 2001, 133).

This custom does not include judicial institutions in the form of referees, judges and sanctions to violators of legal articles, although it was emulated and used as a reference for tribes in South Sulawesi such as Mandar and Soppeng. The only judicial official was found in the Mandar lontara, while in the Soppeng lontara there was a port master but not in the Amanna Gappa lontara among the Wajo tribe.

Conclusion

The analysis in this article that the book of Amanna Gappa or *Ade Alopping-lopping Bicarana Pabalue* as a code of business ethics has played an important role as a driving force behind the progress of the Wajo ethnic group in the 18th century in the field of navigation and maritime trade. Business ethics as an ethnic product has brought the Wajo people as a leading group of traders and sailors in the Indonesian archipelago. The Wajo merchant community developed a business system that guarantees their togetherness and livelihood by creating a set of business ethics. They avoided slavery especially among the Wajo people themselves internally. They had their own monetary system in relation to loans, for which they did not collect interest. It is implemented on the basis of Islamic religious values. The social aspects of business remained prominent, for example, they had an obligation to save slaves found in remote places. Economic activities in the field of navigation and trade were not only commercial in nature but also social as a way helping each other, including in the face of business losses.

The mandate given to the captains was not only based on their skills, but also on their wisdom and professionalism. A captain must also be respectful towards parents and care for slaves properly. Therefore, the form of moral ethics in the book is implied as it was not supported by state power. The guardians of the ethics were tribal chiefs (*matoa*), not territorial officials. The Wajo community business agents were treated as family. All passengers and crew (sailors) had their respective rights and obligations in accordance with their main duties. With this set of ethics, all individual behavior is accountable to Allah as the highest authority. When the Wajo people experienced a failure in their business, they would not fall into slavery, and they were still welcome in all ports they went to. The

Amanna Gappa ethics contain the values of local wisdom, which reflected the superiority of the Wajo tribe, and allowed them to compete with Dutch traders, and were emulated by other Bugis people.

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