

# EXPLORING EARLY POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN WEST SOPPÉNG AND SUPPAQ FROM ABOUT THE LATE THIRTEENTH CENTURY UNTIL THE MID FIFTEENTH CENTURY: MYTH, MARRIAGE AND TRADE<sup>1</sup>

Stephen Charles Druce<sup>2</sup>

(Ph.D. Candidate From the University of Hull in England)

## ABSTRAK

*Silsilah Bugis bukan hanya bermanfaat untuk mengetahui hubungan kekerabatan, tetapi dapat juga menjadi sumber sangat penting dalam menulis sejarah politik dan ekonomi negeri-negeri di Sulawesi Selatan sebelum abad XVII. Dalam artikel ini diungkap hubungan ekonomi dan politik antara Soppeng Barat dengan Kerajaan Suppaq sekurang-kurangnya antara abad XIII sampai pertengahan abad XV berdasarkan teks Lontaraq (naskah Bugis). Untuk mengatasi kesulitan kronologi digunakan bantuan bukti-bukti arkeologi. Telaah naskah Lontaraq (RGS) dan survei arkeologis memperlihatkan adanya hubungan perdagangan keramik antara Soppeng Barat dan Suppaq sekitar abad XIII sampai akhir abad XIV. Pada periode itu, keramik merupakan simbol status sosial otoritas politik golongan bangsawan. Keramik kemungkinan didatangkan ke Soppeng melalui pelabuhan Suppaq di tepi barat Sulawesi Selatan.*

The history of the former Bugis kingdom of Soppéng is often seen as being tied to that of Boné and, to a lesser extent, Wajoq. Today, the people of the three *kabupaten* where these kingdoms were located consider that they share a special cultural and historical affinity, often pointing to the well-known *tellumpoccoé* alliance of about 1582 as evidence of their close historical and cultural ties. A closer look at the sixteenth century history of these three kingdoms, however,

tells a different story. Wajoq appears to have been little more than a tributary of Luwuq until the beginning of the sixteenth century when it rejected this relationship and seized the Luwuq lands of Wagé, Singkang, Tampangeng and Témpé (Noorduyn 1955:178-9; Abidin 1985: 202-7). Shortly after this, Wajoq attacked Boné at the request of Luwuq, following Boné's famous victory over Luwuq in which the royal umbrella was captured (Noorduyn 1955:200-1; Abidin 1983:237-9; Macknight

<sup>1</sup> The article represents some preliminary results and ideas from my current research on the five Ajattapareng kingdoms and the west coast of South Sulawesi.

<sup>2</sup> Stephen Druce is a PhD candidate from the University of Hull in England.



Bugis genealogies are one of the most important written sources available for writing the political and economic history of the Bugis kingdoms before AD 1600. As historical sources, however, these genealogies present the historian with a number of philological and chronological problems.

& Muhklis forth coming). Soppéng itself was divided into two kingdoms, East and West Soppéng, until the mid sixteenth century when La Mataesso, the ruler of West Soppéng, unified Soppéng through war (Abdurrazak 1967). The mid sixteenth century also saw Soppéng and Wajoq side with Goa in an attack on Boné (Noorduyn 1955:240-3). Boné, Wajoq and Soppéng were temporarily united in the late sixteenth century when they formed the *tellumpoccoé* alliance in an attempt to halt the military expansion of Goa. This alliance ultimately failed and by 1611 Goa had defeated and Islamised all of the Bugis kingdoms (Noorduyn 1956). In the Makassar war of the 1660s Wajoq rejected the *tellumpoccoé* alliance and aligned itself with Goa against Boné, Soppéng, the remaining Bugis kingdoms and the Dutch.

This article is concerned only with West Soppéng and focuses on the period between the late thirteenth century to the mid fifteenth century, before the events briefly outlined above took place. Primary written sources for the study of West Soppéng during this period appear limited to two Bugis *lontaraq* texts (indigenous writing in the Bugis script), neither of which are longer than three manuscript pages in length: the *attoriolonna* Soppéng and the Royal Genealogy of Soppéng.<sup>3</sup> The most important of these sources for this study is the royal genealogy of Soppéng (hereafter RGS), which for the first ten generations traces only the ruling family of West Soppéng (Caldwell 1988: 118-127). The RGS suggests that West Soppéng's early political and economic orientation was towards the western half of the peninsula, with the main focal point being the former Bugis trading kingdom of Suppaq. This article aims to explore and test early political and economic ties between West Soppéng and Suppaq from about the late thirteenth to mid fifteenth centuries using textual sources and archaeological data.

### The First Five Generations of the RGS: Summary and Analysis<sup>4</sup>

Bugis genealogies are one of the most important written sources available for writing the political and economic history of the Bugis kingdoms before AD 1600. As historical sources, however, these genealogies present the historian with a number

<sup>3</sup> The *attoriolonna* Soppéng, which was probably first written down in the eighteenth century, is of limited use here in that its purpose, or function, is to legitimise kingship in Soppéng and to support the authority of the ruler of Soppéng over his lords (Caldwell 1988:105).

<sup>4</sup> Cladwell (1988:113-1290) examined nine versions of the RGS from Sulawesi and the Netherlands. The following summary is based on the text Caldwell chose to edit.



of philological and chronological problems.

Firstly, before the seventeenth century no Bugis genealogy (or any other Bugis source) contained dates by which the individuals named can be dated. One solution to this problem is to take a securely dated individual from the seventeenth century and then calculate backwards using a fixed number of years for each generation. Although somewhat crude, this backdating method does at least provide the historian with an approximate chronological framework with which to work in. Secondly, Caldwell (1988:171-74) has established that writing first developed in South Sulawesi at about AD 1400. The historicity of individuals named in genealogies who can be backdated to before 1400 are, as Caldwell (1988:169-174) demonstrates, much less reliable than the individuals named for the period after 1400 and must therefore be viewed with caution. In addition to this, Bugis genealogies, and all other Bugis sources, have been continuously transmitted through time in both oral and written form, resulting in numerous versions and variations of a particular genealogy or other text. As Noorduynd (1955: Stellingen 1) observed, any written Bugis source must therefore be subject to careful philological and historical enquiry before any historical analysis can take place.

Having briefly outlined some of the problems Bugis genealogies present the historian we can now turn our attention to the RGS.

The RGS is one of the longest known written Bugis genealogies, naming 14

rulers prior to Soppéng's conversion to Islam in 1609. By using a standard reign-length of twenty-five years, the first ruler of West Soppéng named by the RGS, La Temmammala, can be estimated to have ruled in the latter part of the thirteenth century (see figure 1).

Figure 1

1270 - 1295	La Tammammala
1295 - 1320	La Maracinna
1320 - 1345	La Bang
1345 - 1370	Wé Tékéwanua
1370 - 1395	La Makkanengnga
1395 - 1420	La Karella
1420 - 1445	La Pawiséang
1445 - 1470	La Pasampoi
1470 - 1495	La Manussaq
1495 - 1520	La Déq
1520 - 1545	La Sakati
1545 - 1570	La Mataesso
1570 - 1595	La Mappaleppeq
1595 - 1620	Béoe

Adapted From Caldwell (1988)

The RGS claims that the first four generations of West Soppéng's rulers had political ties with Suppaq. Such a relationship would thus date from about the late thirteenth century until the late fourteenth century. The first named ruler of West Soppéng, La Temmammala, is said to have married at Suppaq with Wé Mappuppu. This marriage produced one child, La Maracinna, who married with Wé Kawa of Suppaq. The two children from this marriage, La Bang<sup>5</sup> and La Bombang, became the rulers of West

<sup>5</sup> An alternative reading for La Bang is La[m]ba. Muhlis Hadrawi, Hasanuddin University's *Iontaraq* expert, considers La Bang to be the more accurate reading.



Soppéng and Suppaq respectively. The RGS provides no further information about La Bombang but states that La Bang married Wé Timanratu, the ruler of Balusu.<sup>6</sup> The one child named from this marriage was called Wé Tékéwanua. According to the RGS, Wé Tékéwanua ruled at both West Soppéng and Suppaq, thus claiming that the two kingdoms had become united under a single ruler.

*The RGS also provides us with some interesting traditions about Wé Tékéwanua. She is said to have summoned the people of Sidénréng, Marioriawa and Népo (a tributary of Suppaq) to plant rice along the shores of the great lakes. The RGS suggests that this agricultural expansion was driven by the desire to intensify wet-rice production and that the people from these lands were attracted by economic prospects rather than through forceful means.*

Wé Tékéwanua herself is said to have married at the West Soppéng tributary of Léworeng with La Temmapéoq, a marriage that produced six children. From this point on there is a marked shift in the geographical orientation of the marriages the RGS records for the ruling nobles of West Soppéng. The RGS also becomes appreciably more detailed and provides us with information about a number of Wé Tékéwanua's children, their place of marriage, which are all in present day Soppéng, and the political positions that they held. The RGS makes no further reference whatsoever to Suppaq and most of the remaining marriages recorded by

the RGS up until the mid sixteenth century, when Soppéng was united by La Mataesso, are between the ruling nobles of West Soppéng and their tributary lands.

The names and toponyms that appear in the first five generations of the RGS can all be backdated to before 1400 (see figure 1). This section of the RGS, or at least the first four generations, is almost certainly derived from oral tradition and the historicity of the individuals named cannot therefore be simply accepted at face value. There are certainly grounds for scepticism concerning the reliability of the RGS's information about the first four generations of rulers that requires comment here.

The distance between Suppaq and Tinco, the former capital of West Soppéng, is approximately 70 Kilometres by road. Marriages between the ruling families of two kingdoms such a distance apart during this early period in history—from the late thirteenth century—would be somewhat surprising given that the agrarian Bugis kingdoms appear to have been in their early stages of development at this time (Macknight 1983). One would have expected the early rulers of West Soppéng to have married their children to the rulers of West Soppéng's tributary lands, or potential tributary lands, in order to strengthen cohesion within the kingdom itself, just as they do shortly before 1400. The rather abrupt end to the claimed relationship with Suppaq is further ground for suspicion. As we have seen, the RGS claims that Wé Tékéwanua ruled at both West Soppéng and Suppaq thus claiming that two kingdoms had

<sup>6</sup> Balusu is also named as a tributary of Soppéng by the Soppéng tributary and domain list (Druce 1997:52).



become united, presumably through the preceding marriages. Following Wé Tékéwanua, however, there is no further mention of Suppaq whatsoever which, if the two kingdoms were indeed united, is somewhat puzzling.

We also noted above that there is a marked change in the quantity of information the RGS provides for Wé Tékéwanua's children. These children, and Wé Tékéwanua herself, married in Soppéng. If West Soppéng and Suppaq had been united during Wé Tékéwanua's reign then we would expect at least one of them to have married in Suppaq or perhaps at some other settlement along the west coast.

It should also be noted that the RGS's claim of a relationship with Suppaq is not supported by genealogical records from Suppaq itself, or by oral tradition in Suppaq. The royal genealogy of Suppaq (Druce, forthcoming) is, however, a disappointing work in that it names just six rulers before Suppaq's conversion to Islam in 1607, eight less than the RGS. The first named individuals in the royal genealogy of Suppaq can therefore be backdated to no earlier than the mid fifteenth century. This is one generation before political ties were established between Suppaq and Sidénréng at the end of the fifteenth century.

While the first five generations of the RGS probably pre-date the development of writing in South Sulawesi, I consider that there is sufficient evidence to accept Wé Tékéwanua, and her husband and children, as historical rather than legendary figures. The claim that Wé

Tékéwanua ruled both West Soppéng and Suppaq is, however, rejected. The justification for accepting the historicity of the fourth and fifth generations of the RGS is based upon the sudden increase in the quantity of information the RGS provides at this juncture concerning Wé Tékéwanua's children and the traditions about Wé Tékéwanua herself. Why the RGS claims marriages took place between the ruling families of West Soppéng and Suppaq, which must be regarded as myth, will be dealt with below, following our examination of the archaeological evidence.

### Archaeological Evidence

Archaeological surveys focusing on the recovery of ceramic and stoneware sherdage from imported trade wares (hereafter ceramic trade wares) have been used to great effect in South Sulawesi in recent years to build historical chronologies, date the advent of major external trading links and test relationships between polities (see Bahru Kallupa et al 1989, Bulbeck 1992, Bulbeck & Caldwell 2000). These surveys have also demonstrated how important archaeology is to the writing of South Sulawesi's early history and historiography.

Surveys in Soppéng were carried out at twelve sites in 1986 (Bahru Kallupa et al 1989). Seven of the sites surveyed produced 15 late Sung sherds dating to the mid to late thirteenth century, 101 Yuan sherds and 8 early Vietnamese monochrome sherds dating from the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries.<sup>7</sup> The highest density of these early trade wares

<sup>7</sup>The 15 Sung sherds recorded were originally dated to between the twelfth and thirteenth century. However, it is now thought that none of these sherds dates to before the thirteenth century (Bulbeck 1996-7:1047).



were found at Tinco, thus supporting the *attorio-lonna* Soppéng's claims that Tinco was the former palace site of West Soppéng (Caldwell 1988; Bahru Kallupa et al 1989). A total of 100 sherds dating to the fifteenth century were found throughout the sites surveyed, and over 400 sherds dating to between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.<sup>8</sup> The ceramic trade ware data from these surveys showed that Soppéng was participating, albeit indirectly, in international trade at about the mid to late thirteenth century.

These surveys also appeared to provide some support for the RGS's claim of an early relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq, suggesting that the mid to late thirteenth century to late fourteenth century ceramic trade wares may have found their way into West Soppéng via the port of Suppaq.

In July of this year,

The absence of Sung wares and the small number of ceramic trade ware sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is somewhat disappointing, particularly when we bear in mind that the economy of Suppaq, which was primarily a trading kingdom, would have been based upon the exchange of South Sulawesi commodities with traders from other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. The evidence suggests that international trade at Suppaq was of no great significance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

archaeological surveys were carried out in Suppaq by Karaeng Demanari and Irfan Mahmud from Balai Arkeologi, Muhammad Nur and Iwan Sumantri from Hasanuddin University, and the present author. One of the aims of these surveys was to investigate the possibility of an economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq from the late thirteenth century to the late fourteenth century.

Our preliminary results from these surveys show that Sung trade wares are absent from Suppaq.<sup>9</sup> The absence of Sung trade wares in Suppaq show that the few mid to late Sung ceramic trade ware sherds recovered during the Soppéng surveys could not have arrived via the port of Suppaq. Soppéng must therefore have obtained these trade wares via a different trade outlet. A number of Yuan and

<sup>8</sup> See Bahru Kallupa et al (1989) for further details and data for the sixteenth through to twentieth century.

<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that the final analysis of the sherds recovered during these surveys has yet to take place. However, we are confident that the data given here regarding the total absence of Sung wares is correct. The full results from these surveys will shortly be available in the form of a report.



early Vietnamese trade wares were, however, found at four sites in Suppaq: Gucié, Tonrong Peppingé, Matanré and Indo Lompa.<sup>10</sup> Gucié produced a total of 64 Yuan trade wares sherds dating from the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, 3 Yuan sherds dating to the fourteenth century, and 20 Viet-namese sherds from the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Tonrong Peppingé produced 2 Yuan sherds dating to the fourteenth century. In Matanré 3 Yuan sherds dating to the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries were found. Indo Lompa produced 2 Yuan sherds dating to the late thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. The absence of Sung wares and the small number of ceramic trade ware sherds dating to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries is somewhat disappointing, particularly when we bear in mind that the economy of Suppaq, which was primarily a trading kingdom, would have been based upon the exchange of South Sulawesi commodities with traders from other parts of the Indonesian archipelago. The evidence suggests that international trade at Suppaq was of no great significance during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Our preliminary data for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries show that there was a major increase in ceramic trade wares arriving in Suppaq during this period. For example, the site Makarraíé alone produced a total of 163 Thai, Vietnamese and Ming sherds dating to the fifteenth century, and 360 sherds dating to the sixteenth century. Gucié produced 69 Vietnamese sherds dating to the fifteenth century, 727 Ming, Vietnamese

and Thai sherds dating to between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and 129 Ming, Vietnamese and Thai sherds dating to the sixteenth century. Other sites surveyed also produced large quantities of fifteenth to sixteenth century sherds.

Our preliminary results thus show that although Suppaq was participating in international trade during the late thirteenth to early fourteenth centuries, it was not until the fifteenth century that Suppaq emerged as one of South Sulawesi's major international ports.

### Myth, Marriage and Trade

The relatively small number of Yuan trade ware sherds found during the surveys at Suppaq, together with total absence of Sung trade wares, reduces the possibility of an economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq during the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. This evidence further suggests that if an economic relationship between these two kingdoms did exist during this period then it is unlikely to have been of any major significance. The volume of trade would certainly not have been sufficient to induce a series of marriages between the rulers of West Soppéng and Suppaq from the late thirteenth to late fourteenth centuries and the unification of the two kingdoms through a single ruler. The archaeological evidence therefore appears to support the conclusions we made from our analysis of the RGS: the claims of marriage between the ruling families of West Soppéng and Suppaq, and notion that the two kingdoms became united under a single ruler, are based on myth.

<sup>10</sup> The site Makarraíé may also contain Yuan trade wares but this is yet to be confirmed.



The questions that we will now attempt to answer are: why does the RGS contain these myths of intermarriage between the ruling families of West Soppéng and Suppaq, and when did these myths begin to take shape? The answer to these questions can perhaps be found in two separate events, which very approximately coincide at about 1400: the development of writing in South Sulawesi and the emergence of Suppaq as a major international port.

South Sulawesi is one of Indonesia's richest sources of fourteenth to seventeenth century ceramic trade wares (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983). Over the last decade or so, historical research in South Sulawesi strongly suggests that rice was the major trade good that the Bugis, and Makassar, agrarian kingdoms exchanged for these ceramic trade wares (Caldwell 1995; Bulbeck 1992; Bougas 1998; Bulbeck & Caldwell 2000). These studies have also supported Campbell Macknight's hypothesis of an agrarian revolution in South Sulawesi at approximately 1400, which led to the emergence of the lowland Bugis kingdoms (Mack-night 1983).

The archaeological evidence above shows that from about 1400, one of South Sulawesi's major importers of these ceramic trade wares was Suppaq. As studies on chiefdoms and emerging kingdoms have shown (see, for example, Junker 1993 & 1994), these ceramic trade wares would have served as important symbols of social rank and political authority for the ruling elite. They could be strategically distributed in order to maintain loyalties and used to centralise political power. In South Sulawesi they

This hypothetical economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq would have taken shape when writing first developed in South Sulawesi. At this time Suppaq ranked as one of South Sulawesi's most important and prestigious ports. Suppaq therefore became a source of status and was important economically to West Soppéng when the names of West Soppéng's early historical rulers and their spouses and children, which have been passed down to us in the RGS, were first recorded in writing.

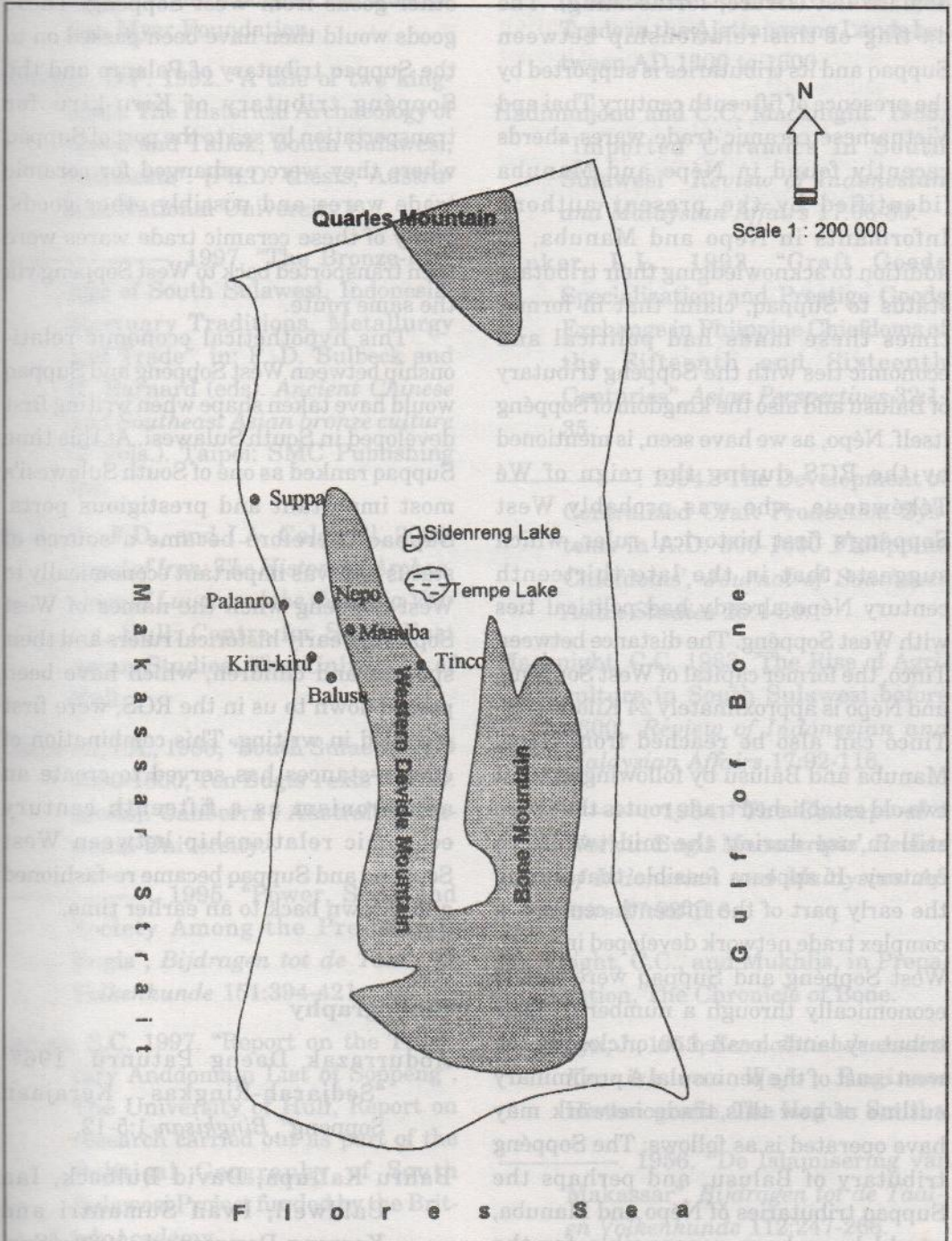
This combination of circumstances has served to create an anachronism as a fifteenth century economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq became re-fashioned and thrown back to an earlier time.

also functioned as important burial goods for the Bugis elite (Hadimuljono and Macknight 1983).

As a major source of these elite goods after 1400, Suppaq would have become a powerful, rich and prosperous kingdom. As Suppaq rose to prominence in the fifteenth century it began to establish tributary relations with Népo, Palanro and Manuba (see figure 2), all of which are named



Figure 2





tributaries by the Suppaq tributary and domain list (Druce, forthcoming). The dating of this relationship between Suppaq and its tributaries is supported by the presence of fifteenth century Thai and Vietnamese ceramic trade wares sherds recently found in Népo and Manuba (identified by the present author). Informants in Népo and Manuba, in addition to acknowledging their tributary status to Suppaq, claim that in former times these lands had political and economic ties with the Soppéng tributary of Balusu and also the kingdom of Soppéng itself. Népo, as we have seen, is mentioned by the RGS during the reign of Wé Tékéwanua, who was probably West Soppéng's first historical ruler, which suggests that in the late thirteenth century Népo already had political ties with West Soppéng. The distance between Tinco, the former capital of West Soppéng, and Népo is approximately 24 Kilometres. Tinco can also be reached from Népo, Manuba and Balusu by following at least two old established trade routes that were still in use during the mid twentieth century. It appears feasible that during the early part of the fifteenth century, a complex trade network developed in which West Soppéng and Suppaq were linked economically through a number of their tributary lands located on or close to the west coast of the peninsula. A preliminary outline of how this trade network may have operated is as follows: The Soppéng tributary of Balusu, and perhaps the Suppaq tributaries of Népo and Manuba, would have been responsible for the

collection and transportation of rice and other goods from West Soppéng. These goods would then have been passed on to the Suppaq tributary of Palanro and the Soppéng tributary of Kiru-kiru for transportation by sea to the port of Suppaq where they were exchanged for ceramic trade wares and possibly other goods. Many of these ceramic trade wares were then transported back to West Soppéng via the same route.

This hypothetical economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq would have taken shape when writing first developed in South Sulawesi. At this time Suppaq ranked as one of South Sulawesi's most important and prestigious ports. Suppaq therefore became a source of status and was important economically to West Soppéng when the names of West Soppéng's early historical rulers and their spouses and children, which have been passed down to us in the RGS, were first recorded in writing. This combination of circumstances has served to create an anachronism as a fifteenth century economic relationship between West Soppéng and Suppaq became re-fashioned and thrown back to an earlier time.

### Bibliography

- Abdurrazak Daeng Patunru. 1967. "Sedjarah-Ringkak Kerajaan Soppeng", *Bingkisan* 1:5-12.
- Bahru Kallupa, David Bulbeck, Ian Caldwell, Iwan Sumantri and Karaeng Demmanari. 1989. "Sur-



- vey Pusat Kerajaan Soppeng 1100-1986". Final report to the Australian Myer Foundation.
- Bulbeck, D.F. 1992. "A tale of two kingdoms: The Historical Archaeology of Gowa and Tallok, South Sulawesi, Indonesia". [Ph.D. thesis, Australian National University.]
- . 1997. "The Bronze-Iron Age of South Sulawesi, Indonesia: Mortuary Traditions, Metallurgy and Trade", in: F. D. Bulbeck and N. Barnard (eds). *Ancient Chinese and Southeast Asian bronze culture* (2 Vols.). Taipei: SMC Publishing Inc.
- Bulbeck, F.D., and I.A. Caldwell. 2000. *Land of Iron: The Historical Archaeology of Luwu and the Cenrana Valley*. Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, The University of Hull.
- Caldwell, I.A., 1988, "South Sulaewsi A.D 1300-1600; Ten Bugis Texts". [Ph.D. thesis]. Canberra : Australian National University.
- . 1995. "Power, State and Society Among the Pre-Islamic Bugis", *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, en Volkenkunde* 151:394-421.
- Druce, S.C. 1997. "Report on the Tributary Anddomain List of Soppeng". The University of Hull, Report on research carried out as part of the Political Geography of South Sulawesi Project funded by the British Academy.
- Druce, S.C., forthcoming, *The Lands West of the Lakes: Geography, Power and Trade in the Ajattapareng Lands between AD 1300 to 1600*.
- Hadimuljono and C.C. Macknight. 1983. "Imported Ceramics in South Sulawesi" *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:66-89.
- Junker, L.L.. 1993. "Craft Goods Specialization and Prestige Goods Exchange in Phiippine Chiefdoms of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries", *Asian Perspectives* 32:1-35.
- . 1994. "The Development of Centralized Craft Production Systems in A.D. 500-1600 Philippine Chiefdoms", *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 25:1-30.
- Macknight, C.C. 1983. "The Rise of Agriculture in South Sulawesi before 1600", *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:92-116.
- . 1984. "The Concept of a Work in Bugis Manuscripts", *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs* 17:92-116.
- Macknight, C.C., and Mukhlis, in Preparation, *The Chronicle of Bone*.
- Noorduyn, J., 1955, *Een achttiende-eeuwse Kroniek van Wajo*; Buginese Historiografie, The Hague: Smiths.
- . 1956. "De Islamisering van Makassar". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, en Volkenkunde* 112:247-266.



