



Revaluation and Reconstruction of the Maritime Historiography in Southeast Asia Archipelago

Ismail Ali

Universiti Malaysia Sabah

Email: ismailrc@ums.edu.my

Malaysia

MOSLI TARSAT

Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities

Universiti Malaysia Sabah

e-mail: mos_79@ums.edu.my

Malaysia

Douglas Nyeging Taong

universiti malaysia sabah

email: taongdouglas@gmail.com

Malaysia

ARTICLE INFO

Article History:

Received : 28 April 2024

Revised : 15 May 2024

Accepted : 20 May 2024

Publication : May 31, 2024

DOI : 10.47742/ijbssr.v5n5p1



<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>

ABSTRACT

Seas and oceans are equally realms with their advantages in bridging nations, inculcating a sense of unity, mutual understanding, and cooperation as well as in generating wealth. They are considered priceless treasures, which can neither be exchanged nor modified. At the same time, seas and oceans are also capable of changing their function as theaters of conflict and routes towards colonization/imperialism that has ultimately led to the demise of various ancient kingdoms. In the historiography of the Southeast Asia Archipelago, the relationship between men known as seafarers and seas like the South China Sea, Sulu Sea, Celebes Sea, Flores Sea, Jawa Sea, Banda Sea, and others, all of which are within the confines of the Indian and Pacific oceans, is indisputable. It is not far-fetched to suggest that the change and development in present-day Southeast Asia, from traditional kingdoms to modern nation-states are intimately rooted in and shaped by the contributions of our seafaring ancestors. History demonstrates how they risked as well as sacrificed their lives crossing treacherous waters and encountering stormy weathers just to ensure their legacy and continuity of the future generations of seafarers, and turning this region into an epicentre that was second to none in the world of civilizations. Yet, their thousands of years of contributions and sacrifices appear trivial and pale into insignificance like "shipwrecks laying at the bottom of the sea in their forgotten watery graves". This article aims to discuss the diversity of terminology and fields in maritime historiography; the glory of the maritime kingdoms in the Southeast Asia Archipelago as leading powers, emporiums, and empires; and to reevaluate and reconstruct the facts of maritime history in the Southeast Asia Archipelago.

Keywords: Maritime, Historiography, Southeast Asia Archipelago, Revaluation, Reconstruct and Seafarer.

Introduction

The facts of the Quran's science and facts show that about 70 percent of the earth's face consists of water (oceans, rivers, lakes, lakes and so on) and the remaining 30 percent is terrestrial land until the earth is known by various names such as planet of water, the blue planet and underwater world. The facts of the ocean show that 361 million square kilometers (139 million square miles) of the total area of planet Earth consists of seas and oceans with an estimated volume of 1,348 million cubic kilometers (324 million cubic miles) with an average ocean depth of about 3,733 meters (12,247 feet) and the deepest ocean is 11,022

meters (36,163 feet). Mario Soares (Portugal) as Chairman of the Commission in the World Oceanic Independent Commission Report themed "Our Future Seas" states that "the sea is an invaluable, irreplaceable and modified property. A sea is a place with its advantages to unite relations between countries, to form a united spirit, to understand, and to unite."¹

Terminology and Scope of Maritime Historiography

A question that is often associated with the field and maritime historiography is what sea and ocean mean. What was the perception and worldview of the early ancient humans of that time? How did ancient humans adapt, evolve, and ultimately

¹ For more information on this commission's report, please see Iskandar Sazlan, *World Independent Marine Commission Report*, Kuala Lumpur: Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA), 2000.
<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

contribute to the construction of early civilizations? How did the existence of these seas and oceans eventually develop into historiography? How does the importance of the sea and the sea end up creating various branches and disciplines of knowledge and other questions? In ancient Malay, the seas, and oceans that we know and understand today are referred to as *Tagaroa* which arise from two words, namely *Taga* and *Roa* which means large lakes, wide wells, or vast lakes. Islanders who settled in Melanesia and Micronesia also referred to *Tagaroa* as *Tangaroa*, *Tanaroa*, *Ta'arua*, *Tagalua*, *Tangalua*, *Tagaloang*, and *Hangalua*. All the terms mean "the god of all the seas and the seas." For ancient Malay sailors, *Tagaroa* refers to only one sea instead of the ocean as we know it today such as the Pacific Ocean, the Indian Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Southern Ocean, and the Arctic Ocean. Meanwhile, the ocean is also known as "samudera" in the Malay language and oceans in English. It refers to the waters that are very large and have a variety of seas within its territory.

The seas and oceans have coined a new term, which is "sea" which is commonly used as a special in legal and administrative languages such as the laws of the seas, the policy of the seas, the sea states, and so on. Bonar Simangunsong² calls it a "supra system" that includes the cruise, fisheries, tourism, migration, tax, security, defense, and so on. From academic and technical perspective, the marine term can be defined as³ knowledge which learns all sea affairs equally ada in terms of humanity (human oceanography) that includes fisheries activities, fishing technology, delimitation, and so on; aspects of all marine physics (physical oceanography) which includes the science of marine geology (geological oceanography) and meteorological knowledge on climate and weather, marine chemistry (chemical oceanography) and marine biology (biological oceanography).

When discussing the terms sea, ocean, ocean, or *bahari* from the perspective of the science of the sea, the term maritime will directly appear by itself as a term capable of explaining the meaning and scope of the above terms. The maritime term adopted nowadays comes from the English word, which is maritime which also comes from the Latin, namely *myrayne*, *maritayne*, *maritime-usand mariten*. *Marior Mare* in Greek means sea, near-sea life, or cruise-related affairs. The term maritime is also always synonym with the word *bahari* which means; (1) ancient, ancient; (2) beautiful, and (3) about the sea. Therefore, the term maritime term refers to a study related to human activities in the past related to aspects of maritime, especially sailing and trade. In simple language, the term maritime can be referred to as something of a human activity related to the sea. Historically, the term maritime is a new term and does not arise from the Malay language other than borrowed from English.

Thus, a marine-based civilization developed by various tribes of seafarers in the Southeast Asia Archipelago in the past has never been referred to as a maritime civilization except for Malay civilization or civilization only. This is because the Malay word is synonymous with seafarers, sailors and the maritime term known today only existed in the 14th century, that is, during the Renaissance (resurrection or enlightenment). This happens when

Europeans begin to shift their worldview or worldview from land-oriented to sea and ocean. Maritime is also referred to as the sea which is defined as a description connected to the sea but only in physical aspects such as sea water, currents, islands, and marine biodiversity that have not yet been harnessed by humans. Maritime does not refer only to the physical aspect alone, but already shows the existence of human intervention or influence on it. Meanwhile, the term "bahari" comes from the Arabic word, which means *Bahr* which means sea which creates several terms such as *baharí* vision, *baharí* culture, *baharí* country, *baharí* history, *baharí*paradigm, *baharí* tourism, and so on. Baharí term also has various meanings such as past, *bari* (old), ancient, ancient, and beautiful, and refers to everything related to the sea that can be seen in terms of its beauty, culture, and heritage.

What is meant by the terms "historiography" and "maritime historiography"? Generally, "historiography" means knowledge that learns all the practices in history as an academic discipline. The term "maritime historiography" refers to the writing of history and its methods by making maritime historiography its main theme. Historiography is formed from two words, that is history means *history* and *graph* means writing. Through historiography, it will certainly enable historians to produce a frame of thought or concept and apply various appropriate methods of ology in the study of either a and a study of a problem oriented or non-problem oriented, writing events in the past chronologically and systematically, making historians more critically minded and historic. History is a discipline that has its methodology that uses the term historiography and will not be a term of historiography such as anthropology, sociology, and so on. Today, there comes a new term, the new historiography, especially when re-examining the historiography from the perspective of imperialism, colonialism, and capitalism and stifling the multidisciplinary approach. The use of these various terms in conducting research and writing on marine knowledge has created various terms in the field of maritime history.

Some historians tend to use the terms marine history, maritime history, bahari history and ocean history, ancient maritime history, nautical history and so on which vary in meaning, time, space, and scope of discussion. In general, the concept and scope of maritime history can be defined as the study of human interaction with activities at sea. It includes broad thematic historical elements that often use a global approach, although national and regional history remains dominant. As an academic subject, it often crosses the boundaries of standard disciplines, focusing on understanding the various human relationships with the world's oceans, seas, and waterways. This means that research and writing on maritime history is no longer limited by time and space according to the historical level or chronology but also examines and writes the current affairs of the ocean today known as "contemporary maritime history".

Although there are various terms used, all the terms described above are still based on the sea and ocean, that is, as the basis of scholarship. What sets it apart is only in terms of the thrust of knowledge. In writing about the history of the ocean, the author

² Drs. Bonar Simangunsong, *Laut, Future of Indonesia*, Jakarta: Publisher: Gematama, 2015, p. 17.

³ The ocean is estimated to cover 361 million square kilometers (139 million square miles) or 71 percent of the earth's surface with a total ocean volume estimated at 1,348 million cubic kilometers (324 million cubic miles), has an average ocean depth of 3,733 meters (12,247 feet), the deepest area is 11,022 meters (36,163 feet) and in the deepest place, The water pressure is 1 ton per square centimeter (8 tons per square inch) or the equivalent of one person trying to hold 50 jumbo jets. For further clarification please also see Iskandar Sazlan, the <https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

Independent Commission on World Oceans Report. Kuala Lumpur: Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA), 2000. Also see the Nontji Award, *Sea of the Archipelago*, Jakarta: Publisher of Dbridge, 1987.

is more likely to use the term maritime because this term continues to refer to the sea and ocean as opposed to the term bahari which also has other meanings besides the sea and ocean. In addition, the term maritime is also more global and transcends the knowledge of the ocean itself, having considered the existence of various branches of marine and ocean history today. I am also of the view that if research and writing are of a complete "history of *perse*" which is limited by space, time, and focus on the early history of the Southeast Asia Archipelago, the Malay Islands (Malay Archipelago) or the Malay World it is desirable⁴ using the historical term bahari only. This is because it refers to a geo-political concept only as expressed by A.B. Lopian during his scholarly speech which is "History of the Bahari is Nusantara History".⁵

Research Methodology and Framework

As previously explained, this paper aims to explain the diversity of terminology and fields in maritime history and to reevaluate and reconstruct the various ideas in the writing of maritime history in the Southeast Asia Archipelago by earlier scholars. For this purpose, the writing of this article is to use a qualitative approach and use historical methods. Considering the diversity of these terms and scopes, historians will not be able to verify their research well if it is based only on the facts of the nature of primary and secondary sources. Maritime historians need to first understand the basics of dynamics and differences in the maritime traditions and culture of the seafarers. This is because maritime tradition is one of the aspects of maritime culture, whereas maritime culture is aspects related to maritime such as shipping, sailing, trade, robbery, and knowledge of the sea. In addition to the above terms, there are also new terms that are often used by maritime historians at this time such as "sea of history" and "sea history" as previously introduced by A.B. Lopian. Although in principle these two terms have the same meaning, if viewed from a metaphorical perspective the context is two different things.

The sea of history is a metaphor that shows that the sea is human life, and the history of the sea is an activity related to human activity in the sea in the past. To celebrate the diversity of terms and the difference in meaning in the term itself, I am more likely to use the term maritime history only after considering the latest changes in terms of the scope of maritime studies itself. I am also of the view that this maritime term is broader in meaning than the term bahari, sea, or ocean. This is because, in addition to discussing the elements of the sea in terms of physicality, it also discusses matters related to human relations with the sea which includes the worldview; how the ancestors sought to use the sea as the basis of a civilization that involved the spread of culture; trading; adventure; opening of new settlement; construction of governments; the emergence of various ports; conflict in the form of war and so on. In addition, the use of the term maritime history is also very appropriate in the current context of the Southeast Asia Archipelago which is beginning to change and make the sea and ocean the main agenda of the country.

Nowadays, there is also some confusion in the term "orang laut" (sea-people). In general, today's society often identifies or classifies all people whose lives are based on the sea as seamen, sea travelers, sea *nomads*, and *sea gypsies*. The term orang laut refers to a special name for a tribe of sailors who live in boats and in the Straits of Malacca, Riau, and Johor which have existed since the days of Sriwijaya. During the era of Sriwijaya, Majapahit, Melaka, and Johor-Riau, although their way of life at that time was quite marginalized and closed compared to other communities, and lived without a master, they also played a significant role in determining the success of the maritime kingdoms. Among them is the role of a supplier of marine products and warriors. As a result, they have permission to stay and be protected by the kingdom or government. For other seafarers and sailors who are in Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, and Banda are not referred to as orang laut but have specific titles such as Bajo, Mandar, Buton, Bugis, Sangir, Talaud, Tobello, and in the southern Philippines are called Bajau, Taosug, Illanon, Balangingi and so on.

Usually, this given title or name is based on the name of the place of residence, kinship, or daily activities they perform. For example, Bajau seafarer do not identify themselves as Bajau but in more detail such as *Sama*, *Sammah*, *Samal*, or *Samal di Laut*, and call the Bajau people and others who live on land "orang bagai".⁶ With the dynamism of the term of the seafarers' tribes in the Southeast Asia Archipelago, I suggest that we no longer identify or classify all those whose lives travel the sea as "orang laut" but term them as "sea humans or seafarer" only. A.B. Lopian in his book entitled *Orang Laut, Bajak Laut dan Raja Laut* has classified the tribes of seafarers involved in the sea world in the Southeast Asia Archipelago into three groups, namely "orang laut", "bajak laut" and "raja laut".⁷ In maritime historiography, it is also a question of diversity and the worldview of the world or the worldview of its society towards the sea and the oceans is also separable.

In general, this way of worldview can be divided into two, namely, (1) view the sea as a source and inspiration of life and (2) secondly, see it as a life challenge in the form of separator, barrier, scare, and so on. For seafafer, sailors, merchants and governments in the Middle East, India, China, and the Southeast Asia Archipelago have long viewed the seas and oceans as a source and inspiration to achieve success. Thus, since the beginning of the century *Masihi* they have waded through and controlled not only the sea area around it but also the world's oceans to reach the various parts of the world until it became a well-respected nation. The seafarers of the Southeast Asia Archipelago in Hindu-Buddhist times believed in angels or *dewa* such as *Dewa Lokapada* (wind), *Dewa Varuna* or *Baruna* (water), and *Dewa Makara* (*Gajah Mina*) who always protected and provided sustenance to a seafarer. Hence, they will hold certain ceremonies to the gods with various gifts and worship. This way of thinking and worldview of the sea people seems to be significantly different from the European race

⁴ In 1920, Ernest Francois Eugene Douwes Dekker (1879-1950) or Dr. Setiabudi revived the concept of the archipelago to replace the concept of "East Indies" created by the Dutch colony. The concept of the archipelago is different from the concept of the Majapahit-era archipelago which covers all Indonesian provinces from Sabang to Merauke. Apart from the archipelago, Alfred Russel Wallace used the concept of "Malay Archipelago" which refers to any region that is between the mainland of Southeast Asia and Australia and between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific Ocean which consists of more than 20,000 islands.

⁵ For an explanation of the terms History of the Archipelago and the History of Bahari, please see A.B. Lopian, in his scholarly strengthening speech entitled "History of the Bahari History of the Archipelago" which he delivered at the acceptance ceremony of the department of the extraordinary headmaster at the Faculty of Literature, Universitas Indonesia on March 4, 1992.

<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

⁶ For further clarification on this term, see François Robert Zicot, *Bajo People: Sea Traveler Tribe. Experience of an Anthropologist*, Jakarta: Gramedia Populer Library, 2008; David E. Sopher, *The Sea Nomads: A Study of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia*, Singapore: National Museum Singapore, 1977; Clifford Sather, *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History, and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-Eastern Sabah*, Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1997; and A.B. Lopian, *Seaman, Pirate, and King of the Sea*, Depok: Bamboo Community, 2011; and Ismail Ali, 2016. *The History, Culture and Arts of Bajau in Sabah from the Perspective of Haji Bakara Marajahah Onnong*, Kota Kinabalu: UMS Publisher.

⁷ For further clarification please see A.B. Lopian, *Sea People, Pirates and Kings of the Sea*, Depok: Bamboo Community, 2011. Also see Ismail Ali, 2018. *History and Culture of Pirates in the Borneo Islands*, Yogyakarta: Publisher of Waves.

in medieval times or *the Middle Ages* which were orthodox thinking (religious over riding intellect) thus limiting their voyages. Long before that, various images were thrown to the sea and ocean like a very dangerous area, overshadowed by death because it still thought that the earth was flat in shape, filled with dangerous monsters, and so on.

It can be said that the Europeans to sail and subsequently dominate the oceans was only embodied when two maritime powers from Europe, namely Portugal and Spain, broke the tradition late in the 5th century. Through the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1498, the two powers divided the seas to the east of Portugal and the oceans to the west of Spain. Through the concept of *mare-clausum* (closed sea) and later *mare-liberum* (free sea) supporting the monopoly doctrine, capitalism, and imperialism have finally undermined the "spirit of the sea" itself. They began to see the seas and the oceans as belonging to everyone and became a source of inspiration that had long been cultured and fought by seafarers, sailors, merchants, and previous rulers. In summary, the scope of maritime history is a wide and borderless field as described by S.K. Wahyono as follows:⁸

"The sea is impossible to fence off, let alone be occupied all year around. Even the mass of water is constantly moving, flowing around the earth so that no part of the water mass can be claimed to belong to one country. Because at the time the announcement was made, the claimed mass of water had already moved far away from the place. Similarly, with the fish in the water, they are free to move from one place to another, even laying eggs and hatching in one place and growing up in another."

Reevaluate and Reconstruct Southeast Asia Archipelago Maritime Historiography from the Asia-Centric Perspective

Discussion of maritime historiography in the Southeast Asia Archipelago or any part of the world would not be considered complete and perfect without discussing the historians and the validity of the sources used. A reality that historians cannot hide in conducting research and writing of maritime history in prehistoric times is the question of obtaining written sources. Since the writing culture of those times did not yet exist among the seafarers and sailors at that time, historians relied heavily on archaeological sources, cave paintings, oral stories, and records of sailors, seafarers, and merchants from outside only. According to A.B. Lapian:

*"For any study of (maritime) history, the question of sources is a central issue. In the previous section, several papers have been mentioned about the Sulawesi Sea area that can act as primary and secondary sources. It is a fact that these sources are largely external, because – as in many ethnic groups in Southeast Asia the tradition of writing among the local population has not been entrenched so written sources of past events are scarce."*⁹

The post-World War II period has shown awareness among foreign and local historians to conduct research and rewriting maritime historiography in the Southeast Asia Archipelago from the

perspective of the actual history of the Southeast Asia archipelago itself. This contrasts with the early records and writings made by colonial officials before or during the colonial era which were more Western-centric in making an assessment thus creating a misinterpretation of it. This was because these colonial officers only recorded and wrote based on their hidden observations and agendas from the deck of their ships or luxury houses without first understanding the historical and cultural background of the maritime community itself. The research and writing of these historians have greatly helped to re-establish the various maritime historical facts of the region. In addition, it has further enriched various themes in maritime historiography and is a very useful reference to today's historians in understanding the course of maritime history in this region.

Dutch historian J. C. van Leur in his work entitled *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*¹⁰, which focuses his research on early trade in Southeast Asia, concluded that the pattern of trade in luxury goods but high value for the European market. Meanwhile, Meilink-Roelofs in¹¹ his work titled *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630* says the bahawa trade of the time is massively marked with spices trade and peppers that needed large ships. Meanwhile, the influence of trade on the development of coastal communities in the Southeast Asia Archipelago was studied by O.W. Wolters¹² through his work entitled *Srivijaya Maritime Preservation and the World Business of the III-Abad VII*.

In his research, he concluded that the emergence of early governments in Southeast Asia was a result of the reaction of the local population who saw the existence of trading opportunities with foreign traders. Kenneth R. Hall in his work,¹³ *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, attributed the emergence of early kingdoms in the Southeast Asia archipelago to the development of trade. Through his work, Hall summed up the influx of traders from outside such as Arabia, Persia, India, and China, which has intensified trade in the region. This golden opportunity has been fully utilized by the local governments by offering various commodities and facilities to foreign traders including establishing diplomatic relations such as with China.

Anthony Reid in his work¹⁴ entitled, *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief* has shown how the importance of various ports in determining the success of maritime trade in the Southeast Asia archipelago, especially in the throes of navigation patterns and how traders have taken advantage of the wind monsoon that blows regularly throughout the year. According to Reid, from April to August, winds will blow north towards the Asia mainland. On the other hand, from December to March, the wind will blow southward, that is, from mainland Asia towards the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea. This change in wind gusts has directly affected the cruise line and the development of several ports in the Southeast Asia archipelago. The development of this cruise and trade activity also does not seem to be spared from the problem of robbery by pirates.

⁸ For more clarification, please see Wahyono, S.K., *Indonesia Maritime Country*, Jakarta: Publisher Teraju, 2009, p. 30.

⁹ For further explanation please see AB. Lapian, *Sea People, Pirates and Sea Kings: History of the Sulawesi Sea Area XIX Century*, Depok: Bamboo Community, 2011, p. 24.

¹⁰ See J. C. van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, Den Haag: W. van Hoeve, 1967.

¹¹ See the works of Meilink-Roelofs, *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague: Nijhoff, 1962.

<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

¹² For more clarification, refer to Wolters, O.W. 2011. *Srivijaya Maritime and World Business Century III-Abad VII*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu, 2011.

¹³ Untuk further explanation, refer to Hall, Kenneth R. 1985. *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.

¹⁴ Look at Reid's work, Anthony Reid. 1993. *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

This was studied by AB. Lapien in a work entitled, the¹⁵ *Sea-Pirates: The History of the Sea Area of the Sulawesi of the XIX Century* and James F. Warren in a work entitled¹⁶, *The Sulu Zone*. Meanwhile, the strength and courage of the sailors of the Southeast Asia archipelago in wading through the seas and oceans to reach Madagascar and the coastline of Africa and Benua Australia (*Marege*) was debated by Robert Dick-Read in his work entitled¹⁷, *The Phantom Voyagers: Evidence of Indonesian Settlement in Africa in Ancient Times*. Today, the case of local and foreign historians on maritime orography in the Southeast Asia archipelago seems to be evolving by featuring more maritime historians who touch on the diversity of themes in the maritime field. Among the historians in question include Arysia Santos in¹⁸ *Atlantis the Lost Continent Finally Found*; Bernhard Limbong in¹⁹ *Maritime Poros*; Abd. Rahman Hamid in²⁰ *Indonesian Maritime History*, Armando Cortesao in²¹ *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*; Paul Micheal Munoz in²² *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesia Archipelago and the Malay Peninsula*; Adrian Horroidge in²³ *The Prahau, Traditional Sailing Boat of Indonesia*; Nontji Award in the²⁴ *Sea of the Archipelago*; Susanto Zuhdi in²⁵ *Nationalism, the Sea, and History*; Djoko Pramono in²⁶ *Bahari Culture*; Agus S. Djamil in the²⁷ *Qur'an and the Sea*; Asnan wrestling in²⁸ *the Maritime World Coast Barat Sumatra*; Ahmad Jelani Halimi in²⁹ *Malay Trade and Shipping in the Straits of Malacca* and many others.

Robert Dick-Read notes that the history of Bahari in the Southeast Asia archipelago is the oldest, longest, and most complex in the world.³⁰ There is a wide range of solid evidence to suggest that before the century C.E., seafarers, and sailors from this region had waded through and captured various corners of the world's seas and oceans. They managed to reach the Middle East, Africa, India, and China to transport various commodities, especially spices that are quite valuable in the world market. Therefore, it is not surprising that the Southeast Asia archipelago was recorded in the story of Solomon (King Solomon), the Greek and Roman empires, and the Middle East. Thus, it is impossible to talk about maritime history in the Southeast Asia archipelago without considering the historiography of prominent early kingdoms such as Sriwijaya and Majapahit which existed before the 15th century and dominated geopolitics in the region.

The glorious history of the Southeast Asia archipelago as a unity of territories and nations seems to have long been recorded on the world map. This happened when the Southeast Asia archipelago became the world's trade route and route to the sailors and sects of Europe, the Middle East, India, and China, marked by the emergence of several prominent maritime kingdoms such as Funan, Koying, Kantoli, Sriwijaya and Majapahit which lasted from the first to the 15th century. The kingdom of Funan, established in the early first century AD, located between Bassac, Sia Bay, and the southern part of Cambodia, was the earliest maritime kingdom in Southeast Asia. Funan, who has a trading spree in Oe-Eo, has taken control of the sea trade route between India and China. In

the third century, the kings of Funan were said to have sent envoys to India and China so that Funan was once ruled by an Indian king named Kaundinya-Jayawarna.

In the 2nd to 5th centuries, there were two kingdoms in Sumatra, namely Koying and Kantoli. The two kingdoms have taken control of trade routes in the Straits of Malacca and the Java Sea and serve as a terminal for the boats and merchant ships of the Southeast Asia Archipelago (Jawa) sailors known as *Kun-lun*. These governments have become the collection point of various trading commodities especially spices to be brought to India, Funan, and China. Like Funan, the Kingdom of Koying and Kantoli also suffered a decline due to the internal strife of the kingdom itself. The collapse was also affected by the policy of the Yan Jian Emperor (Zhou Dynasty) which limited the entry of luxury goods and spices into China, the eruption of the Krakatau volcano in 535, the invasion of pirates, and so on. Although Koying and Kantoli suffered a slump and setback, it did not end Indonesia's role and contribution in trade and the world's storied strips as experienced by the Funan kingdom. Without the decline and setbacks of these two kingdoms appear to have brought the Southeast Asia Archipelago to a higher level and turned its maritime history. It was marked by the emergence of the Sriwijaya kingdom in the 7th century in Sumatra and Majapahit in the 13th century in Java.

Five strategies have been developed and translated by the Sriwijaya kingdom to strengthen its position as a maritime power. First, conquer and reduce the influence and power of coastal kingdoms in Sumatra, Jawa, and the Malay Peninsula. Second, controls the cruise lines in the Straits of Malacca and the Sunda Strait connecting trade between India, the Southeast Asia Archipelago, and China. Third, further strengthened the relationship of and political trade with the states under its colonies referred to as *vassal*. Fourth, further diplomatic with China through the delivery of various messengers. Fifth, strengthen the prefix on its marine territory by increasing the capabilities of the marine fleet with the help of the sea people. In the 11th century, Sriwijaya kingdom began to enter the dark ages as the leading maritime trading center and cruise line in the Southeast Asia Archipelago due to various factors. Among them is the last kingdom's desire to continue the mission and vision of the seas that the previous government embraced. China's commerce is no longer entirely dependent on ships from Sriwijaya to transport their trade goods unless they sail themselves to the territory without going through the cruise lines controlled by Sriwijaya.

The emergence of Arab traders who controlled the east coast of Africa threatened the monopoly of Sriwijaya trade in the Straits of Malacca and the function of Sriwijaya as the center of the Mahayana Buddhist religion. In addition, the influence of Chola (Tamils) in southern India under the leadership of Raja Agung who began to take control of the waters in the Indian Ocean closed the trade lines in Sri Lanka and once invaded Sriwijaya in

¹⁵ Look back at A.B. Lapien's work. *The Seamen, the Pirates, and the King of the Sea*. Depok: Bamboo Community, 2011.

¹⁶ For more clarification, please see James Francis Warren. *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*. Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1985.

¹⁷ Robert, Dick. *The Phantom Voyagers: Evidence of Indonesian Settlement in Africa in Ancient Times*. England: Thurlton Publishing, 2005.

¹⁸ Arysia, Santos. *Atlantis: The Lost Continent Finally Found: The Definitive Localization of Plato's Lost Civilization*. Seattle: Atlantis Publication Inc, 2009.

¹⁹ Bernhard, Limbong. *Maritime Shift*. Jakarta, Publisher: Margaretha Pustaka, 2015.

²⁰ Abd. Rahman Hamid. *History of Maritime Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Wave Publisher, 2013.

²¹ Armando, Cortesao. *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1944.

²² Micheal, Paul Munoz. *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesian Archipelago, and the Malay Peninsula*. Singapore: Mainland Press, 2006.

<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

²³ Adriaan, Horridge. *The Prahau Traditional Sailing Boat of Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1981.

²⁴ Nontji Award. *The Archipelago Sea*. Jakarta. Publisher of D Bridge, 1987.

²⁵ Susanto Zuhdi. *Nationalism, the Sea, and History*. Depok: Bamboo Community, 2014.

²⁶ Djoko Pramono. *Bahari culture*. Jakarta: Publisher of PT Gramedia Main Library, 2005.

²⁷ Agus S. Djamil. *The Koran and the Ocean*. Bandung: PT Mizan Pustaka, 2004.

²⁸ Gusti Asnan. *West Coast Maritime World Sumatra*. Yogyakarta: Wave Publisher, 2007.

²⁹ Ahmad Jelani Halimi. *Malay Trade and Shipping in the Straits of Malacca 15th to 18th Century*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 2006.

³⁰ For further clarification please see Robert Dick-Read, *Bahari Explorer: The Influence of the Archipelago Civilization in Africa*, p. 208. See also MS. Ardison, *History of the Archipelago Cruise*, Surabaya: Publisher of Stomata, 2016.

1017C.E. The leadership of the original Sriwijaya kingdom from Palembang was first replaced by the Jambi-born king. Kenneth R. Hall in his book entitled, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia* explained³¹ that at the end of the 13th century or so in the early 14th century, the Southeast Asia Archipelago had not evolved into a trade corridor and the world's main cruise line and connecting the centers of trade between the West, Asia, and China.

This is due to its strategic position between the two continents of Europe and Asia. In the 15th to the 17th century, the Southeast Asia Archipelago continued to play its role as the world's trading center and cruise line until this day was dubbed *The Age of Commerce* by Anthony Reid.³² This is explained in his book entitled, *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era and Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*.³³ In addition to successfully mastering trade and cruise lines in the Southeast Asia Archipelago, the Majapahit kingdom has expanded its conquered colonies through a sea fleet known as *the sarwajala mandala*³⁴. The Majapahit colony is said to cover not only all the territories of Southeast Asia but up to the Southeast Asia archipelago.

In the field of trade and navigation, Majapahit has developed various ports in Java Island such as Changku, Bubat, Tuban, and Surabaya to control all commodities in the form of spices such as cloves and nutmeg, gold, pepper, rice, forest products and so on. The decline of the Majapahit kingdom as a maritime power (trade, navigation, and military) was then continued by various small kingdoms such as Aceh, Banten, Maluku, Makasar, Ternate, Tidore, and others.³⁵ The 15th century also saw the transition of trade and sailing routes from Java and Sumatra to the Maluku Islands led by several kingdoms such as Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo. During the days of Srivijaya and Majapahit, the Maluku Islands also earned the nickname "Spice Islands" among Chinese, Arab, Persian, Gujerat, and European traders who were producers and suppliers of cloves and nutmeg. From Maluku, this commodity is transported using traditional Indonesian ships to various ports in Sumatra and Java to be distributed to traders around the world.

The Portuguese who colonized Malacca in 1511 were the first Western powers to have secured the right to trade and monopolize cloves and nutmeg in Ternate through Francisco Serro in 1512 before being followed by Spain through Ferdinand Magellan (Magelhaens) in 1521. The rivalry between the Portuguese and Spain in the scramble for the trade of cloves and nutmeg in the Maluku Islands was finally settled through the Treaty of Zaragoza in 1529. It can be concluded here that the first century of Masihi to the 1st-century 5th century has shown the emergence of various superior maritime kingdoms in this region. All this success was due to the policies of the rulers and the fighting spirit of the seafarers and merchants who managed to exploit the seas and the seas around them thus lifting the seafarers, sailors, and merchants of that era as "bahari nations". Considering this historical reality, then it is time for us to certify that "the ancestors of the Southeast Asia Archipelago were the tribes of seafarers"

and "the history of the Southeast Asia Archipelago history is the *bahari* (sea) history". At the beginning of the century, the ancient seafarer of the Southeast Asia Archipelago proved that the seas and the oceans were not separators, but as a unifier.

Findings and Way Forward

Comparatively, research, writing, and publications in various disciplines produced by scholars are more focused on terrestrial knowledge and marine knowledge. Why does this happen? There are various reasons and causes that can explain why this situation is happening such as resources and records on land are easier to obtain from the oceans; research on land is easier than the sea; exposure to terrestrial knowledge is more prominent than marine knowledge and so on. Taking this reality into account, it would be appropriate for us to re-debate the direction of research and writing of maritime history in the Southeast Asia Archipelago and raise concerns about this. The source of historiography in this region during the era of the oral tradition until before the Second World War seems to depend heavily on the records and records of Western sailors, merchants, and officials. This note is made based on their observations and judgments from the deck of the ship and the land of the land. In contrast to the observations of sailors and merchants, British naval officers such as Captain Edward Belcher, Captain Henry Keppel³⁶, and Captain Rodney³⁷ Mundy and others described the Dayak Laut people at the estuary and upstream of Batang Lupar and Batang Saribas river in Sarawak (Borneo and Kalimantan) who are known for their "headhunters" culture, uncivilized, violent, and dangerous.

In the Philippines, Captain Silver described the Iranians as "*so poor was the early eighteenth-century image of the Iranun... 'murderers and man-eaters'*" and Thomas Forrest described the race as "*dangerous people*."³⁸ On a case-by-case basis, the depictions, reports, and records by the West on various matters in the region from the traditional era until before the Second World War are based on spontaneous observations and judgments from a Western perspective and colonial interests rather than from the perspective of the region. After the Second World War ended, especially in the 1960s and 1970s, there was a change in writing as early as history in Southeast Asia. In other words, the research and writing done by Western and local scholars was no longer supported by Western sources and the records of all colonies but began to rummage through the indigenous records themselves. In terms of the theme and framework of research and writing, it seems to focus more on the question of centrality and debating what a fact is and what is a historical reality from the views of two different worlds.

In this regard, the author argues that the above allegations should be revisited by the truth and validity of its historical facts as it seems to be more Western-centric or biased, that is, producing historical writing without fully understanding local history and writing for its colonial interests. According to a Dutch scholar named J.C. Van Leur³⁹ "... much of Asia history has in the past been observed from the decks of European ships, from the ramparts of

³¹ For more clarification, please see Kenneth R. Hall, *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1985. Also look at Donnelly, A. Iyon. *Chinese Junks and Other Native Craft*, Singapore: Graham Brash Pte. Ltd., 1924.

³² Anthony Reid, *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

³³ For more clarification, please see Anthony Reid, *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Silkwood Books, 2000.

³⁴ For more clarification on the *mandala sarwajala* please see Abd. Rahman Hamid, *Indonesian Maritime History*, Yogyakarta: Wave Publisher, 2013, p. 75.

³⁵ For further clarification on maritime governments after the fall of Majapahit please see Abd. Rahman Hamid, *Indonesian Maritime History*.

Yogyakarta: Wave Publisher, 2013, p. 102-177.

<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

³⁶ Edward Belcher, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang during the years 1843-1846*, Vol. 2, London: Reeve, Benham & Reeve, 1848. See also Ismail Ali. *History and Culture of Pirates in the Borneo Islands*, Yogyakarta: Publisher of Ombaks, 2018.

³⁷ Henry Keppel, *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy, with Extracts from the Journal of James Brooke of Sarawak*, 3rd Edition, Vol. 2, London, 1874. See also Ismail Ali. *History and Culture of Pirates in the Borneo Islands*, Yogyakarta: Publisher of Ombaks, 2018.

³⁸ J.F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2002, pp. 42.

³⁹ Quoted from J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society, Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, Bandung: Bandung Well, 1960 in Adrian B. Lapijan, *Sea People, Pirates, Sea King: History of the XIX Century Sulawesi Sea Area*, Jakarta: Bamboo Community, 2009, p. 1.

the fort nass, the high gallery of the trading-house". On that awareness, it is time for scholars to start researching and rewriting maritime history in the region from the perspective of Asian centric and scholarship of scholars from various approaches, spaces, and themes.

Through the research and rewriting of the maritime history of the Southeast Asia Archipelago, we will be able to understand why and how such historical events occurred and reinterpret those facts for recorection. Let me take the history and culture of pirates in the Southeast Asia archipelago as a discussion. As previously explained, the question of eliminating pirates or pirates and the practice of slave hunting is among the important agendas in the history of Western colonization in the region. The colonists considered it a serious and barbaric criminal act by labeling them as pirates, savage seaborne terrorists, robbers of the sea, murderers, and man-eaters, dangerous people, and so on.

From the point of view of the perpetrators, this action on their glasses is a noble occupation and no stigma can be attributed to the culture of "marauders" or criminals, but rather as a single culture and way of life of the sailors. This view seems to be in line with the views of some Western historians such as James Warren who noted that ". In the eighteenth century, the Iranun dan Balangingi world was still usually observed from the deck of the ship, the ramparts of the fortress, and the high gallery of the trading house, and consequently, this world remains "grey and undifferentiated".⁴⁰ The truth of this argument is further reinforced by Anne Reber in⁴¹ *The Sulu World in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy*. He noted that there was a historical misconception by the British about the "Malay Pirates" stating that the culture of robbery is not the natural nature of Iranun, Balangingi, and Dayak Laut (Sea-Dyaks). It is due to labor needs the impact of Western trade developments with China and Spanish pressure on the Philippines.

In the Philippines, C.A. Majul in his book entitled, *Muslim in the Philippines* and⁴² Julasari Hajad in his work entitled⁴³, *Tausug & Sultanate of Sulusaw* the robbery and capture of Spanish merchant crews by the Iranians and Balangingi was seen as the "jihad" of the Sulu people against the spread of Christianity by the Spaniards. To the scholars mentioned above, the question of piracy in Malaya (Selat Melaka), the Borneo Islands, Indonesia, and the Philippines exists as a form of "local response" due to the Western colonial process itself which has monopolized trade, seized government power, spread Christianity (the case of the Philippines) and colonized their homeland. Today, the focus of research and writing on maritime disciplines in the

Southeast Asia Archipelago seems to be no longer limited to history alone but is based on problems that use interdisciplinary approaches such as sociology and anthropology, economics, political science, and so on to understand current maritime questions.

In terms of focus and themes of scrutiny are various that include crimes such as terrorists, smuggling, and foreign migrants; overlapping claims of territory and delimitation; culture and arts such as water village, sculptural art; economics such as ecotourism, fishing, oil, and gas exploration; marine communities and so on. For example, Clifford Sather in his work entitled, *The⁴⁴ Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-Eastern Sabah*, David E. Spohrer in, *The Sea Nomads: A Study of the Maritime⁴⁵ e Boat People of Southeast Asia*, Francois Robert Zacot in, *Bajo People of the Sea Traveler Tribe* and Christian Pelras⁴⁶ in *The Bugis* have focused their research on the Bajau Laut (Sea Nomads) and the Bugis by using historical and anthropological approaches. In addition, the field of maritime archaeology is also beginning to gain attention due to the discovery of various forms of treasures that are worth hundreds of sunken ships at the bottom of the South China Sea, Sulu Sea, Celebes Sea, Java Sea, and many others.

Conclusion

The maritime historiography in the Southeast Asia archipelago after the end of the Second World War by local scholars and scholars seems to be beginning to change from European-centric to Asian Centric and Malay-centric. The writing of maritime historiography in this region seems to be more chronic and disordered when talking about the ancient history of the region, especially the historiography that involves prehistoric times or before the century. This is because the writing culture did not exist at that time. In other words, the history of the seafarer's civilization at that time can only be traced in the form of relics in the form of artifacts, cave paintings, and inscriptions that have certainly suffered damage and destruction because of the passage of time. The awareness of the importance of the seas and oceans has changed the perception of the sea from a separator to a unifier of the Southeast Asia Archipelago and world. In other words, this voyage and trade activity has succeeded in lifting the dignity of the Southeast Asia Archipelago as a region of considerable importance to the history and development of the world today. Considering the role and contribution of these seas and oceans, Zuhdi has stated "The sea is life ... Life is the sea, how is it possible to disobey the sea, for it means denying life itself." Sir Walter Raleigh in⁴⁷ *The History of the World* once revealed that "... Whoever dominates the seas, he is the one who dominates the riches of the world, and therefore he also dominates the world."

REFERENCES

Awardn Nontji. (1987). *Sea of the Archipelago*, Jakarta: Publisher of Dbridge.

⁴⁰ James Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 45.

⁴¹ Anne Reber, *The Sulu World in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy*, Tesis M.A, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University, 1966.

⁴² Caser Adib Majul, *Muslim in the Philippines*, Manila: Saint Mary's Publishing, 1978.

⁴³ Julasari Hajad, *Tausug & Sultanate of Sulu*, Selangor: RNH Marketing Sdn. Bhd., 2007.

⁴⁴ Clifford Sather, *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-Eastern Sabah*, 1997.

<https://ijbssrnet.com/index.php/ijbssr>

⁴⁵ David E. Spohrer, *The Sea Nomads: A Study of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia*, Singapore, 1965.

⁴⁶ Christian Pelras, *Bugis Man*, Jakarta: Also see Ammarell, Gene. 2014. *Bugis Navigation*. Makasar: Inninawa Publisher, 2006.

⁴⁷ Walter Raleigh, *The History of the World*, London: MacMillan Publisher, 1971.



- Asnan, Gusti. (2007). *West Coast Maritime World Sumatra*. Yogyakarta: Ombak Publisher.
- Ali, Ismail. (2016). *The History, Culture and Arts of Bajau in Sabah from the Perspective of Haji Bakara Marahajah Onnong*, Kota Kinabalu: UMS Publisher.
- Ali, Ismail. (2018). *History and Culture of Pirates in the Borneo Islands*, Yogyakarta: Ombak Publisher.
- Ardison, M.S. (2016). *History of the Archipelago Cruise*, Surabaya: Publisher of Stomata.
- Belcher, Edward. (1848). *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. Samarang during the years 1843-1846*, Vol. 2, London: Reeve. Benham & Reeve.
- Corteseo, Armando. (1944). *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*. London: Hakluyt Society.
- Micheal, Paul Munoz. (2006). *Early Kingdoms of the Indonesian Archipelago, and the Malay Peninsula*. Singapore: Mainland Press.
- Djamil, Agus S. (2004). *The Koran and the Ocean*. Bandung: PT Mizan Pustaka.
- Dick, Robert. (2005). *The Phantom Voyagers: Evidence of Indonesian Settlement in Africa in Ancient Times*. England: Thurlton Publishing.
- Gene, Ammarell. (2014). *Bugis Navigation*. Makasar: Inninawa Publisher.
- Hajad, Julasari. (2007). *Tausug & Sultanate of Sulu*, Selangor: RNH Marketing Pte. Ltd.
- Hall, Kenneth R. (1985). *Maritime Trade and State Development in Early Southeast Asia*. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Hamid, Abd. Rahman. (2013). *History of Maritime Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: Ombak Publisher.
- Horridge, Adrian. (1981). *The Prahu Traditional Sailing Boat of Indonesia*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press.
- Halimi, Ahmad Jelani. (2006). *Malay Trade and Shipping in the Straits of Malacca 15th to 18th Century*. Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka.
- Ivon, Donnelly, A. (1924). *Chinese Junks and Other Native Craft*. Singapore: Graham Brash Pte. Ltd.
- Keppel, Henry. (1874). *The Expedition to Borneo of H.M.S. Dido for the Suppression of Piracy, with Extracts from the Journal of James Brooke of Sarawak*. 3rd Edition, Vol. 2, London.
- Lapian, Adrian Bernard. (2011). *Seaman, Pirate and King of the Sea*, Depok: Bamboo Community.
- Lapian, Adrian Bernard. (2009). *Sea People, Pirates, Sea King: History of the XIX Century Sulawesi Sea Area*, Jakarta: Bamboo Community.
- Lapian, Adrian Bernard. (1992). "History of the Bahari History of the Archipelago" which he delivered at the acceptance ceremony of the department of the extraordinary headmaster at the Faculty of Literature, Universitas Indonesia on March 4.
- Laur, J. C. van. (1967). *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History*, Den Haag: W. van Hoeve.
- Limbong, Bernhard. (2015). *Maritime Shaft*. Jakarta: Margaretha Publisher.
- Majul, Caser Adib. (1978). *Muslim in the Philippines*. Manila: Saint Mary's Publishing.
- Pelras, Christian. (2006). *Bugis Man*. Jakarta.
- Promono, Djoko. (2005). *Bahari culture*. Jakarta: Publisher of PT Gramedia Main Library.
- Reber, Anne. (1966). *The Sulu World in the 18th and Early 19th Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy*, Tesis M.A, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University.
- Raleigh, Walter. (1971). *The History of the World*, London: MacMillan Publisher.
- Roelofs, Meilink. (1962). *Asian Trade and European Influence in the Indonesian Archipelago between 1500 and about 1630*, The Hague: Nijhoff.
- Reid, Anthony. (1993). *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Reid, Anthony. (2000). *Charting the Shape of Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Singapore: Silkworm Books.
- Simangunsong, Bonar Simangunsong. (2015). *Laut, Future of Indonesia*, Jakarta: Gematama Publisher.
- Sopher, David Edward. (1965). *The Sea Nomads: A Study of the Maritime Boat People of Southeast Asia*, Singapore.
- Sather, Clifford. (1997). *The Bajau Laut: Adaptation, History and Fate in a Maritime Fishing Society of South-Eastern Sabah*.
- Sazlan, Iskandar. (2000). *World Independent Marine Commission Report (Terj.)*, Kuala Lumpur: Maritime Institute of Malaysia (MIMA).
- Santos, Arysio. (2009). *Atlantis: The Lost Continent Finally Found: The Definitive Localization of Plato's Lost Civilization*. Seattle: Atlantis Publication Inc.
- Warren, J.F. Warren. (2002). *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, Singapore: Singapore University Press.
- Warren, James Francis. (1985). *The Sulu Zone, 1768-1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*. Singapore: Singapore University Press.



Wahyono, S.K. (2009). *Indonesia Maritime Country*, Jakarta: Publisher Teraju.

Wolters, O.W. (2011). *Srivijaya Maritime and World Business Century III-Abad VII*. Jakarta: Komunitas Bambu.

Zacot, Francois Rober. (2008). *Bajo People: Sea Traveler Tribe. Experience of an Anthropologist*, Jakarta: Gramedia Populer Library.

Zuhdi, Susanto. (2014). *Nationalism, the Sea, and History*. Depok: Komunitas Bamboo.