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<https://doi.org/10.1007/s11457-023-09354-7> ORIGINAL ARTICLE Between Maritime Tradition and Violence on the Sea: Local Response to the European Expansion in Indonesia Alamsyah1 · Agustinus Supriyono1 · Muallimin Muallimin1,2 · Siti Maziyah1 Accepted: 12 February 2023 © The Author(s), under exclusive licence to Springer Science+Business Media, LLC, part of Springer Nature 2023 Abstract Piracy may be defined as an offense that consists of acts of pillage and violence upon the high seas which, on land, would amount to a felony. Whereas a pirate has generally been described as a rover and robber upon the sea there has, however, been much more (scholarly) attention in research and writing the history of piracy in Indonesia. It has been known that the fact of piracy has been conducted since the pre-colonial times on a very large scale. However, there is also the interrelation between the phenomenon of piracy and the tradition, religion, politics, and economy. This article elucidates the activity of piracy in Indonesia since precolonial times and identifies the records of pirates who had performed their activities which amounted to both cooperation and antagonism of the European expansion. Keywords Piracy · European expansion · Maritime tradition · Violence on the Sea Introduction This study focuses on the territorial waters of Southeast Asia, specifically the Nusantara area. A system of maritime trade was established among the kingdoms in Nusantara in pre-colonial times. In addition to economic networks, the connectivity of the Southeast Asian region was also politically interconnected. Members of local tribes commonly turned to piracy during this period, and often formed alliances with local rulers along the Malay Peninsula, East Sumatra, and Borneo, as well as on the outer islands. With their expertise in shipping and maritime knowledge, pirates helped rulers maintain maritime security, collected marine products for distribution to the market, and assisted in territorial expansion (Sugiyama 2021). The interinsular economic network also provided the opportunities for slave trading (Lapian 2008; Rutter 1930). This study outlines the role of pirates in these economic and political networks of Nusantara since the pre-colonial period. The indigenous tribes of the Indonesian archipelago should not be purely stigmatized as pirates, people who commit violence at sea, because of their diverse roles in the maritime economy and sociopolitical structure of the insular communities. \* Alamsyah Alamsyah [alamsyah.fib@live.undip.ac.id](mailto:alamsyah.fib@live.undip.ac.id) 1 Department of History, Faculty of Humanities, Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia 2 Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Humanities, Diponegoro University, Semarang, Indonesia Vol.:(012314563789) Piracy in and around the archipelago of Indonesia can be traced back to the pre-colonial era. Piracy is the act of taking the property of others by force from ships at sea. Their enterprise would often extend to dry land, where they would raid coastal towns. During these raids people, considered a commodity, were trafficked by sea and sold into slavery. The definition of piracy changes over time, and the act was often backed by governments, such as American privateers during the War of 1812 against the British. In the 19th and mid twentieth centuries, the Dutch government, operating in the Indonesian archipelago, viewed them as criminals (Campo 2003, 199–214). Piracy was also viewed by some as a form of holy war (NL. heiligen oorlog). This view was common among Islamic communities who viewed non-Muslims as infidels, particularly Christian westerners. In their view, during times of war against infidels, Muslims were entitled to capture enemies. These prisoners would be taken or sold as slaves if they refused to convert to Islam (Veth 1870). Throughout history, tales of pirates' raids have been filled with aspiring adventurers hailing from areas with culture which encourage exploration, giving pirates a legendary status. From the modern community's perspective, they were not always viewed unfavourably, or as criminals. Piracy was a prestigious and lucrative enterprise. Communities with such an open view of piracy were typically hunting or fishing communities along the coast or river banks. They sold commodities that were not only limited to valuable goods, but also humans who were transported through the waters and sold into slavery (Ormerod 1924). The driving forces that led people to piracy were multi-faceted. One factor was a community's need for reciprocity in response, being the victims of a raid by pirates from another community. Additionally, certain communities turned to piracy because those in the community were already participating in piracy, for example people from Sulu (Grant 1980). Nusantara is the Indonesian term for the seas of Southeast Asia meaning the 'outer islands' of Indonesia. For those who lived on these islands, pirates were either seen as brazen criminals or as heroic swashbucklers. Piracy had a positive impact in certain areas, as it brought in wealth through the capture and sale of goods. Pirates often traded with other pirate groups or with communities in coastal settlements. Such trade gradually developed through peaceful relations, although, if the pirates felt cheated during a transaction, they were known to raid the coastal towns instead (Lapian 1987). The difference between piracy and maritime trade was not always clear. Activities such as fishing and maritime trade could often be accompanied by acts of piracy. The shifting political and interethnic ties among the people in coastal areas and further inland, along with their shared interests on distant coasts, exemplifies how regional maritime dynamics interacted with social and political worlds above the high-water mark (Gaynor 2017). The pirates were also often involved in the politics and internal conflicts of the kingdom. When there was a conflict in seizing territory in the Lingga sultanate, for example, one of the parties asked for military support from the pirates. The pirates seem to be much more loosely structured, operating from a multitude of somewhat connected groups (Teitler 2002). If the pirates' assistance led to a victory, they were rewarded in the form of protection and allowed to continue their operations. The kingdom would also receive shares of the pirates' bounty. Certain nobles or Malay rulers were also commonly involved in pirate activities. Such involvement made the pirates welcome in the ports of the Malay sultanate (Charles 2004). Pirates did not pose significant economic or physical danger to the community. In the sixteenth century, Islamic kingdoms were established in Nusantara. There were the sultanates of Demak, Cirebon, Banten, Jepara and Tuban on the island of Java. Outside of Java were the Aceh and Goa-Tallo kingdoms in Sulawesi, which were connected with one another through trade. The Javanese kingdoms primarily traded rice, whereas kingdoms from outside of Java were centres of spices, fish, and other forest commodities. The development of trade between Islamic kingdoms attracted traders from distant lands such as India, China, and Persia to come to trade with Nusantara (Benedetto 2014). The situation changed after the arrival of the Western nations, especially the Dutch, who founded the Dutch East India Company, or Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (VOC) in 1602. At this time, local pirate activity was seen as a threat that disrupted shipping and trade in the territorial waters of the Nusantara. The VOC had an interest in eradicating these pirates, who often targeted their ships. Indonesian people, especially those from outer islands of the archipelago, were both victims of piracy and involved in piracy themselves (Jong 2011; Tarling 1963). Pirates not only robbed goods being transported by boat, but also kidnapped the people in the boat, who would be sold as slaves. The goods obtained through piracy were used to meet market demands in various regions of China and Southeast Asia, especially in the Indonesian archipelago. Akiko Sugiyama (2021) identifies, in certain cases, that one of pirate actors involved women as intellectual actors, support crew, and main ship crew (the war queen). Owen Rutter (1930) documented the people who engaged in piracy in Southeast Asia, including in the Nusantara. The pirates were known to have come from the Sulu Archipelago (Ilanun, Balanini), Basilan, Binadan, Tawi-Tawi, Jailolo, and the Malay Peninsula. Their influence covered Southeast Asia, especially the Indonesian archipelago. Rutter also describes the efforts made by the Europeans to eliminate piracy. For example, a British ship pursued Balanini pirates in the waters of Borneo. In this engagement the pirates fought back for six hours, until finally their ship was destroyed and they were captured. In addition, the British colonial government, tried to crack down on pirates, but was ultimately unsuccessful. Owen also discussed the slave

trade which was an integral part of pirate activities in the past. One of the most valuable commodities of piracy was slaves, because they could be traded and easily sold. The typical approach was to attack coastal villages and kidnap women and children. Owen visited various areas such as Aceh, South Kalimantan, Brunei, Batavia, and Mindanao, to identify the past slave markets in the Nusantara. One of the frequent clients of female slaves was the Chinese (Rutter 1930). Hoogervorst (2012) states that the peoples of Southeast Asia have strong maritime traditions, which focus on community relations between maritime ethnic groups, local rulers, and governments (states), as well as pirate groups, which exemplify the different ethnicities involved (Hoogervorst 2012a, pp 245–65; Hoogervorst 2012b). The idea of ethnicity and adaptation to changes in maritime society can be understood in a diachronic perspective. According to Hoogervorst, there is both continuity and discontinuity between maritime pre-colonial ethnicities and colonial “sea people” when the nation state began in the mid twentieth century. Piracy hindered the imperial process of forming a modern state, which had been in progress since [the arrival of the VOC](#) (Tagliacozzo 2000). [In Southeast Asia, the Malacca strait](#) has become the main hub of pirate activity since pre-colonial and colonial times. Malacca strait connected the Nusantara, especially the Moluccas islands, which were producers of spices, with India, Persia and the Middle East. The spices would eventually find their way to the European market. This historical research relied on historical sources, many of which are primary sources that consist of Dutch colonial documents which have been found at the National Archive in Jakarta and Portuguese archival sources. The Dutch colonial sources consist of official publications including reports as well as statistics about pirate activities in Nusantara. It is also found in Portuguese sources which contain traveller’s reports in Southeast Asian regions including Nusantara. This article argues that greater attention should be paid to the variety of activities that lead to maritime violence in the waters of the Nusantara. The case studies presented in this article show examples of piracy that occurred in Southeast Asian waters, not only as economic competition, but also as a political battlefield. Those who had been considered “pirates” had an impact on the politicization of the maritime area. Therefore, this study provides an explanation related to the activities of pirates in Nusantara during the European expansion, especially when the VOC reigned, as well as their efforts in eradicating piracy in the archipelago. Traditional Maritime Society Maritime traditions in Nusantara have been the backbone of communities in coastal areas who still exist today (Horridge 1981). These maritime communities were small, diverse groups that made their living on the sea. Most mariners were fishermen, but some were traders and participated in inter-island shipping (Susilowati 2017). One group of traders were the Makassar sailors who also traded and shared their culture with the outside world through maritime trade. The Makassar sailors traded with the maritime kingdoms of Nusantara, native tribal groups, Chinese, Indian, Middle Eastern, Portuguese, Spanish, and Dutch traders. Their contact with other cultures allowed for the sharing of boat technology, shipping knowledge and skills, trade competition, and political and war policies (Lampe 2014). This maritime culture is also apparent in the culture the Sulawesi people including the Bajo, Bugis, Makassar, Sangihe islands, and Talaud, all of whom share shipwright traditions (Lapian 2004, 11). This shared maritime culture is apparent in these peoples’ common use of Amanna Gappa, which is important in their maritime culture and trade. The Amanna Gappa is an understanding that showed that the Sulawesi people shared their strong maritime culture and values (Kesuma 2019). This is a set of ethical guidelines set down by the Waho people around maritime trade. In general, the people from Makassar and Wajo implement Amanna Gappa as a guidance for social interaction. Therefore, they are known as a group who succeeded in diasporic activity in Nusantara. The Makassar maritime community settled in Johor, mainly in Tanah Melayu or the Malay Peninsula, after the end of the Makassar War in 1667. During this conflict, the Makassar supported Sultan Sulaiman. In return for their assistance, the Sultan granted the Riau islands to the Makassar (Bugis) people. One of the Bugis even later became a ruler of Riau and held the title Yang Dipertuan Muda Riau (Lit. The Young Lord of Riau) (Kesuma 2004). The Bugis people established villages in Johor, Pagatan, Bali, downstream of Indragiri, and Jambi to work as farmers, traders, and sailors (Iskandar 2017; Eklof 2006). Many Bugis people also settled on the islands of South Sulawesi, outside the Nusantara region, as well as islands in Malaysia, the Philippines, Brunei, Thailand, South Africa, East Kalimantan, Jambi, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. In East Kalimantan, the Bugis people were welcomed by the Sultan of Kutai and were granted land around the estuary, and were allowed to make a living in farming, fishing, and trading. The Bugis had long been inter-island traders in the waters of Nusantara, and outside of this area they were known as master sailors, fearsome mercenaries, and some of them eventually became rulers of the Islamic kingdoms of Nusantara (Pelras 1996). In the history and maritime traditions of Nusantara, the meaning of the word ‘pirate’ could mean two different things (Tanjung 2021). The first meaning is a group of people who raided ships, and the second one is people who fight to protect their communities from external threats. Pirate groups were led by raja laut (lit. King of the Seas, leaders of sailors), which in certain situations may have created enmities, competition, or even sparked war in the form of raiding each other’s fleet. Therefore, categorization of people who live in the sea according to A. B. Lapian consists of three groups, sea people (orang laut,) pirates (bajak laut,) and sea kings (raja laut.) However, the label of sea kings in Nusantara is not appropriate because sea kings are not necessarily pirates nor do pirates come from the group of sea people and sea kings. Piracy in the Nusantara During the European Expansion The Portuguese and Dutch arrival in Nusantara disturbed the stability of the region as armed conflict arose between the Europeans and the natives. The Portuguese conquered Malacca in 1511, which at that time was the most important trading centre in Southeast Asia. As a result, prosperity in the Malacca sultanate declined and piracy in the Malacca strait increased. The pirates were free to act unhindered because the naval power of the Malacca sultanate that had controlled piracy had withdrawn from the area. Consequently, Javanese, Arab, Indian, Malay and other merchants and sailors began to avoid the trading centre (Amirell 2019). Portuguese control of Malacca led to the king’s resistance in Malacca, Johor, Aceh and Palembang. Jepara sent five military expeditions to Malacca under the leadership of Adipati Unus (1512 and 1513) and Ratu Kalinyamat of Jepara in 1551, 1568, and 1574 (Lemos 1585; Couto 1586; Veth 1870). When the Portuguese expanded into Timor and established a monopoly on the spice trade, the indigenous population took to piracy as a form of resistance (Veth 1870). They considered the Portuguese monopoly of trade itself an act of piracy. Piracy was seen as criminal in certain instances, and at other times as heroic. The colonial government, however, did not understand the difference between the terms, and therefore considered all of the marine indigenous communities’ criminals had to be eradicated. The colonial powers controlled administrative regions in Sumatra, Java, and Makassar limiting the movements of pirates in shipping and trading routes. The colonial government did not recognize the customary laws that were established among the communities to resolve both internal and external conflicts (Teitler 2005, pp. 113–14). The Europeans did not tolerate piracy whether it was a military force fighting to protect their communities or the acts of true piracy to raid and plunder ships and coastal villages. However, [the colonial sea power](#), which was equipped with [many technological](#) tools, imposed difficulties [when it came to acting against pirates](#), however [those advantages disappeared in the shallow and dangerous coastal waters where the pirate vessels were faster, easier to manoeuvre, and elusive](#) (Campo 2007). The pirates used their traditional boats and weapons. Meanwhile, the activity of pirates in Sulawesi was also increasing along with the migration of the Bugis and Makassar people to the Malay lands. This movement started when Makassar was conquered by the Dutch in 1667. As a result, VOC ships became one of the targets of piracy (Juwono and Hutagalung 2005, p. 168). The migration of the Bugis and Makassar to Malay was led by nobles and community leaders. They were welcomed by the Malays and their rulers because they would assist in the struggle against the Europeans at sea (Kathirithamby-Wells 1976, pp. 65–84). The Bugis were asked by the Malay rulers to secure the kingdom. The decision of the VOC Governor General, dated 18 July 1773, provides evidence for the indigenous kings who turned to piracy and became pirate leaders. The Sultans of Johor and Pahang were under threat of attack and concerned that their courts would be destroyed by the VOC because the two sultans were thought to be leading pirate groups against the Dutch. However, because the Sultan of Johor showed that he was no longer participating in piracy, the VOC backed off in 1774. Regardless, an internal conflict in the Johor court saw Raja Haji seize Riau and remove Muhammad Syah from power, and an expedition was sent to attack the Raja Haji, who was a known pirate leader. Along the Minahasa coast of North Sulawesi, indigenous pirates operated against foreign ships, especially those of the VOC. The VOC allied with the native rulers to impose a trade monopoly, which pushed many merchants to turn to piracy (Riedel 1826). These pirates consisted of Malay, Mandar, Bugis, Papua, and Tabelo people. The expansion of piracy throughout the archipelago included pirates from Sulu or Mangindano seas to the Malay. One group of pirates from the Sulu archipelago was known as Lanun or Rranun (Warren 1981). The word lanun comes from the Mangindano language which means ‘lake or silt people’ in the Southern Philippines; the Spanish became a colonizer in the Phil-

ippines in 1529 according to Saragosa Treaty. Therefore, they called lanun by the name Illano or Illanun or Iranun (Lapian 2004, p. 11). The word Sulu by Dutch sources came from the term Sollok, which is an archipelago located northwest of Kalimantan or Borneo. The people who came from Sulu, Balangingi, Kankangan, Telayan, Bakun, Buan or Woan, Tontana, Luwus, Tapol, Siasi, Patian, Pata, Lombian, Banaran, Simunur, and Tabuan, sailed over the waters of the North, the Java Sea, the Sulawesi Strait, and Papua (Waal 1879, pp. 17–108). Pirate bases were sometimes protected by local kings or rulers (Teitler 2005). The most famous bases were located on the islands of Riau, Lingga, and Bangka. Other bases are located in Makassar, Mandar, Sumbawa, Tambora, Bima, Buton, Bali, Kalimantan (Borneo), and the Malaya coast (Kniphorst 1882). In addition to the use of the coasts and seas, the interior of many islands contained fertile farmland, and it was because of this under-utilized resource that pirates were able to find slave labor to work these lands. The communities along the coast of Sulu made their living as fishermen because the Sulu Sea was rich with sea cucumbers, fish and pearls. Some people also made their living as traders, shipwrights, and as mariners exploring the ocean and fighting on the seas (Warren 2002, p. 204). The availability of extensive agricultural land in the interior as well as abundant marine wealth was greater than the local people had laborers to farm and fish. To fully utilize the natural resources of the land and sea, the people of these islands had to employ slaves. To acquire slaves, pirates set out to raid coastal towns with the aim of capturing people, especially men for their strength. Those captured were taken to the village to be enslaved. Slaves were sold to many places, including Riau, Lingga, Jambi, Sulawesi, and to the Dutch. In other words, the Sulu pirates became suppliers in the slave trade chain both in the Sulu archipelago and in Nusantara. Pirates operating in and around the Malay peninsula often attacked Dutch and Spanish- flagged ships. Spanish ships had traded with locals since the sixteenth century. In the eighteenth century, Spanish ships in the area also became targets of piracy, and their crews were then forced into slavery and traded, according to reports from Europeans. The Ilanun and Balanini pirates from the Sulu archipelago were the primary pirates operating in the area of the Malay Peninsula. In these native communities, piracy was an occupation and way of life that was [passed down from generation to generation. The area of operation of these pirates includes the Sulu Archipelago, the Malay Peninsula, the Philippines, Papua New Guinea, and along the coasts of Java and Sumatra to the Bay of Bengal.](#) Balanini pirates reportedly clashed occasionally with Johor pirates, but they typically targeted British merchant ships (Rutter 1930, pp. 35–45). By the eighteenth century, the Sulu pirates from the territorial waters of Nusantara also operated in the waters of Moluccas, islands in the eastern part of Nusantara, the bay of Bone, and around the Makassar strait. They also moved into the waters of East Sumatra and settled on the small island of Serasan in the Riau archipelago, operating a large number of boats and crew (John 1853). The Sulu pirates operated out of their haven in the Riau Islands, East Sumatra, especially in Reteh. Outposts were established between the mouth of the Jambi River and the Indragiri River. The outpost of Reteh was able to mobilize a force of 1000 armed pirates. The Ilanun fleet, operating from these outposts, was made up of between 10 and 20 large boats, each of which was manned by 50 to 80 pirates. The ships were armed with large cannons, small cannons (lilla), and various bladed weapons for hand combat when ships were boarded or villages raided. The Ilanun pirate fleet consisted of 30–40 ships, and sometimes as many as 200 ships. Each ship had its own captain and the crew members were often related by blood. Some crew members were also taken from slaves. The Balanini pirate fleet could number up to 150 ships. During raids, in addition to using large ships, they also used canoes that could carry between 5 and 15 people (Rutter 1930, p. 35). The Sulu pirates operated in the waters of the Bangka strait, on the Musi and Palembang rivers. A Dutch chiefperson (resident) of Palembang filed an objection to the pirate activities to the Sultan of Palembang, Muhamad Bahauddin (1776–1804) and had also repeatedly attempted to expel the Sulu pirates, but had been unsuccessful (Rochmiatun 2016, p. 196). The Sulu pirates continued to operate in the territory of the Palembang sultanate. In the Lampung region, pirate settlements were established along the coast of Lampung and at river mouths, especially in the Tulang Bawang area. The pirates sold slaves to residents inland to be used as labor in the rice and pepper fields. However, when the pirates began to raid inland settlements, the pepper plantations were abandoned (Anonymous 1886). The Actors: The Rulers, Pirates, and Boat People Maritime communities could participate with pirates or oppose them, and this was typically influenced by social, political and cultural dynamics. Several historical events illustrate this, regarding pirate activity in Southeast Asia that had occurred since the fifth century. On his return journey from India to China (413–414), Fa-Hsien stated that "The (South-east Asia) sea is full of pirates. Whoever meets them will meet his end". A more specific account can be found in the Chia-Tan record (785–805), which mentions the pirate outpost in [the kingdom of Ko-ko-seng-chih](#), located in [the northwestern part of the kingdom of Fo-shih](#). The records state that most of the Ko-ko-seng-chih people were pirates who operated in the waters of the Malacca strait (Wheatley 1966, 38–58). However, the people of Fo-lo-an, a kingdom under the rule of Srivijaya, reportedly fought and succeeded in expelling the pirates (Lapian 1987). These examples show that certain people in the kingdom considered piracy a crime and attempted to eradicate them. One of the main pirate outposts in pre-colonial times was located west of Fo-shih; Shih-li-foshih is another name for the Srivijaya empire. Their area of operation covered the Strait of Malacca, which is the gateway into the territorial waters of Srivijaya. During the twelfth century, the people of Fo-lo-an, a vassal kingdom of Srivijaya, succeeded in defeating the pirates. This victory was aided by a powerful gale, and the locals believe the gale was a blessing from the Buddha (Lapian 2009). Since pre-colonial times, the prominent pirates in Nusantara came from the nation of Malay. The historical context of the word "Malay" is from the word Melayu, the name of a river in South Sumatra. This river flows down the Si Guntang hill, near Palembang and is believed to be the place of origin of the three kings who were the founders of the Malay empire. They are believed to be the ancestors of the Malay kings of Palembang, Singapore, Malacca, Johor, Minangkabau, and Tanjung Pura (Putra 2018). Indonesia had the second largest number of Malay people after Malaysia, and had a number of Malay kingdoms including Srivijaya, the Deli sultanate, the Johor-Riau sultanate, and the Sambas sultanate (Melalatoa 1955). Some pirates at this time had obtained notoriety among sailors and traders, particularly those hailing from the land of Sha-ha-kung, whose inhabitants often engaged in piracy. Any- one they captured were taken to Sho-p'o and sold as slaves. In addition, crews stranded on the island of Ma-lo-nu would be caught, cut into pieces, and grilled with tongs over a spit- fire, and afterwards eaten (Wheatley 1996). Pirate activity increased in the seventeenth century in the waters of the Bay of Gorontalo, by Bugis, Makassar, Mandar, Mindanao, and Tobelo pirates. The rulers of Gorontalo, known as "Olongia", fought for years to end piracy, but were unsuccessful. However, when the VOC also became a target of piracy, along with the Olongia, the Dutch assisted in the effort to eradicate the pirates (Juwono and Hutagalung 2005, pp. 74–75). However, due to the dominance of the VOC trade monopoly, the Gorontalo Olongia also benefited from trading with Bugis, Mandar, and Makassar pirates and continued to do so in secret, in particular for weapons, ammunition, opium, and slaves, which were highly profitable (Hasanuddin 2018a, b, p. 269). Following the Bongaya Treaty in 1667, the Bugis people migrated to the Malay peninsula, and provided assistance to Sultan Sulaiman who was removed from his throne by Raja Kecil (the small king.) With the help of Bugis sailors, Sultan Sulaiman managed to defeat Raja Kecil with his army of pirates, and returned to his throne from 1718 to 1760. As a reward for the support and assistance of the Bugis people, Sultan Sulaiman gave them the Riau islands. This example shows how the Bugis could both act as pirates and fight against other pirates, depending on the political and economic situation. Since pre-colonial times, especially in the territorial waters of Makassar strait, the Mandar people were known to be natural-born sailors as well as pirates. Their daily lives were tied to the sea, in almost all aspects. Geographically, the strait of Makassar is rich in sea- food such as fish and clams, which the Mandar people catch for sustenance. Marine products such as sea cucumbers, seaweed, turtles, and pearls were collected by Mandar sailors and fishermen for trade (Mollengraaf 1912). The Mandar people made a primary living as fishermen and supplemented their income with shipping and trading activities (Alimuddin 2013). Trading also helped them build political and economic hegemony over natural resources (Zerner 2003). In the fight for maritime dominance in the seventeenth century, the Mandar clashed with other kingdoms such as Goa and Bone in South Sulawesi. Goa and Bone, however, succeeded in their competition for political and economic dominion in South Sulawesi over the Mandar. Some of the Mandar people who were removed from power turned to piracy (Moor 1837). The Mandarese pirates operated along the coastline of the Makassar strait and their control of these waters was recognized by other groups, including Bone, Makassar, and the VOC in the following period. The Mandar Pirates established havens in Mamuju and Majene (see Fig. 1). Their range included 100 miles of coastline, primarily around the mouth of the river near the port of Makassar to the south, and the Paku bay to the north. Outside of this area, the Mandarese pirates crossed into territory patrolled by other pirates (Anonymous 1909). Maintaining control of the coastal areas of the

Makassar Strait was essential to supporting the hegemony of its inland regions. Control over a large area also served as a source of income for the Mandar ruling elites, who were supported by the Mandar pirates (Nordholt 2002). Fig. 1 Pirate Actors and Bases since the VOC Era This is one aspect of the mutual relationship between the pirates and the political elite of Mandar. Pirates operated in local political structures such as in the areas of Banawa, Tawaeli, Palu, Toli-Toli, and Buol. Pirates also established permanent settlements inland or close to local power centres and were often involved in political engagements as supporters or opponents of certain elites (Anonymous 1854). Pirates from the Bajo tribe also operated in the Makassar Strait. The origins of the Bajo people trace back to [the Sulu archipelago in the Southern Philippines](#). The Bajo tribe was a maritime society with strong traditions tied to the sea and maritime prowess on the open water, as that area of the Southern Philippines was predominantly small islands and open sea (Lancon 2004). The Bajo people lived on the coast of the Riau archipelago during the time of the Srivijaya kingdom between the ninth-eleventh centuries (Anwar 2017). Many of the Bajo were fishermen, but some operated as pirates and assisted in maintaining the maritime sovereignty of the Srivijaya empire. Bajo mariners were employed to guard [the entrance of the Strait of Malacca from](#) enemies of [the](#) Srivijaya empire. The Portuguese encountered the Bajo pirates when they captured Malacca in 1511. A Portuguese ship under the command of [Francisco Serrao came to](#) Moluccas and [met pirates on the island of 'Lucipino' \(Nusa Penyu\), which is located west of the](#) Banda Islands (Hubert and Jacobs 1971). The existence of Bajo pirates in the eastern region of Nusantara was recorded by Tome Pires in his book Suma Oriental. He described their territory as comprised of [several small islands adjacent to the west coast along the](#) peninsula of [South Sulawesi](#). Their territory covered a large area extending to the waters of Sumatra. These pirates established their bases on the Jumaia island, near Pahang. Jumaia was a market- place for pirated goods, and was also called Jemaja, which is mentioned in the Hikayat Hang Tuah. These pirates raided property, captured ships' crews or people living along the coast, and then sold them into slavery. While the Bajo controlled the waters of the western part of Sulawesi, the northern Makassar strait was controlled by the Mandar pirates, the middle part was controlled by the Bugis, and the waters at the southern end of Sulawesi were controlled by the Makassarese (Buddingh 1834). However, instead of war between these people, they instead commonly worked together, and practiced the same religion as the Bajo people as a result of their interactions and communication with other sailors and pirates. The Bajo tribe also engaged in piracy and lived and worked in and around the islands of Sulawesi and Mindanao. Accounts indicate the Bajo, or Samal tribe, were violent and often engaged in piracy and used boats that resembled the kora-kora (Dick-Read 2008). Their area of operation expanded to Sumatra and Bawean Island in the Java Sea (Lapian 2009, p. 126; Hapide 2017). Several groups of Makassar people turned to piracy during the colonial period. According to historical fact, [at the end of the seventeenth century](#), there [was a](#) Makassar man named Winatacca who was the son of a pirate named Was- singrana. Wassingrana came from Makassar who pirated in Surabaya and other areas on the eastern part of Java Island (Oosthoek). Wassingrana and his crew of Makassar were captured and sentenced to death by the regent of the coastal district (Hapide 2017, p. 25). [In the late seventeenth century, the](#) Dutch described [the](#) Makassar people as pirates and their colonial government took firm steps in exterminating them (Amirell 2019, p. 98). The same is true for the Mandar pirates. In July 1862, Dutch sources state that four Maradias Mandar, from Balangnipa, Pambuung, Cenrana, and Binoang were engaged in piracy and slave trade (Asba and Ali 2015, p. 7). [In the nineteenth century](#), Mandar [pirates](#) operated in [the area of](#) Palu Bay [and](#) they were respected and valued by local elites from Banawa, Tawaeli, Palu, Toli-Toli, and Buol (Buol) because they interfered in local political dynam- ics as supporters of local elites (Asba and Ali 2015, p. 4). The Bugis people also turned to piracy or other mercenary activities because of the dif- ficult conditions they faced as a result of the colonial Europeans presence. A Bugis pirate named Sarena was well known, and he and his men often raided coastal villages and kid- napped people who were then sold as slaves to Buton. The ruler or king (Olongia) of Gorontalo was unable to put an end to Bugis and Mandar pirates. The Bugis pirates were driven out of Gorontalo waters by VOC forces, but this was only temporary. In 1790, Bugis pirates had returned and allied themselves with pirates from Sulu. The crews of Bugis pirates operating in Tomini Bay, Gorontalo, was led by Puang Nyili who led a raid targeting the VOC representative stationed in Kwandang. Puang Nyi- li's son named Labajo was killed by the VOC representatives in Kwandang, and he sought vengeance for this attack. However, more VOC soliders arrived from Ternate, and Puang Nyili called off the attack in the face of the greater force (Juwono and Hutagalung 2005, p. 168). In the early nineteenth century, Mandar pirate activities increasingly dominated the trade and maritime activities in Tomini Bay, which caused the Bugis pirates to gradually withdraw from the area. Many Bugis pirate fleets instead roamed Indonesian waters from their base on an island near Samarinda. These Bugis pirates supported sultans from Kali- mantan, who in turn protected them from Dutch pursuit following a Bugis pirates raid on VOC Dutch ships (Vlekke 1959, p. 200). Other actors were the Tobelo people from Maluku also operated as pirates in [the eastern part of the archipelago](#), and [in](#) and around [the island of](#) Java. In [the eighteenth century](#), the Tobelo pirates expanded their reach into Sulawesi and [the waters of the Banggai Islands](#). The activity of these pirates altered the [shipping and trading](#) dynamics [in the eastern part of Sulawesi](#) (Hasanuddin , 2018a; b, p. 103). Tobelo pirates also captured residents to enslave the Balantak (Banggai) people, and the pirates' raids were met with resistance raids by the villagers along the Sulawesi coast (Hasanuddin , 2018a; b, p. 108). The Tobelo pirates commonly raided villages in remote areas and captured crews from the ships they encountered on the seas to be enslaved and sold (Zaco 2008). Tobelo pirates worked with other pirates from Bangkalan (Madura), Bajau (Bajo), and Mangindano to operate in the Java Sea (Bustami 2004, p. 279), and up into southern Timor (Vlekke 1959, 230). Tobelo Pirates established bases of operations on the northeast coast of Halmahera (Vlekke 1959, p. 230), as well as on several small islands in the Flores Sea, such as Jampea land, Kalao, Bonerate, and Riung Island West Flores (Manggarai) (Lapian 2009, p. 274). Meanwhile, Malay historical records indicate that when Ibn-Battuta, a scholar and explorer from Morocco, visited Southeast Asia, including Nusantara, he made a trip to Qaqullah, another name for Sumatra, and observed boats being outfitted as pirate ships. These vessels extorted money from the communities under the pretext of tribute or tax from every ship that arrived or moored in Qaqullah. For anyone who did not pay the tax, the pirates would confiscate the vessels' cargoes (Lapian 2009). The Malay pirates were led by the king of the indigenous Malay population; the ruler of the kingdom in Qaqullah at that time was King Mul-Java Al-Malik az-Zahir. Many pirates were also mariners who served the Malay king (Barnard 1998). The Malay aristocrats became pirate leaders after being removed from their seat of power due to a lack of formal education and [widely regarded as unsuitable to participate directly in the colonial](#) admin- istration (Triantafillou 2004). The Malay rulers used pirates to protect and expand trade, because they encompassed a strong fighting force at sea (Barnard 1998). Throughout the eighteenth century, the Melayu Sea Tribe was considered an intruder along the trade routes in the Malacca Strait (Amrifo et al. 2014, 191). The Aceh people were well-known pirates since the sixteenth century. Pirates from Aceh commonly raided coastal residents around Sumatra and were known to hijack European ships. In 1511, Aceh was a small port where some of the people worked as pirates part time. Aceh pirates had a fleet of about 30 ships (lankhara) and would ambush Portuguese ships in the Malacca Strait to seize cannons for their own use in pirate raids. By 1530, Aceh had more cannons than the Portuguese at their Malacca fort (Kathirithamby-Wells 1976, p. 66). On the island of Java, particularly along the north coast, pirate raids and kidnapping of people from communities to be enslaved was common. Therefore, on 24 July 1789, the VOC Governor of the northeast coast of Java proposed to the VOC Governor General to place armed naval fleets in VOC fortresses and coastal towns as a measure to prevent pos- sible pirate attacks. However, due to a lack of resources in the area for the widespread VOC, the plan could not be implemented. Piracy continued to run rampant. Pirate activities expanded and on 20 September 1800 in Nusapari, near Bangka, pirates attacked a group of Sumenep Resident, Bronckhorst together with his 50 mariners who were traveling on a ship from Sumenep to Bangka. Similarly, a Padualang from Gresik was also assaulted. The pirate fleet consisted of 64 boats equipped with 143 large cannons and 157 small cannons and 3,200 men. According to Leupe, the pirates came from Magindano under the authority of the king of Magindano. This pirate group was the largest of the time, and consisted of the Lanu, Diedu, Magindano and Timorese tribes. Boats and Weapons Pirates were equipped with sailing boats and technological navigations as their tradi- tional knowledge. The boat types used by the pirates were various. Bugis pirates often used bintak or binta for conducting their activities. This binta boats were used as trad- ing boats as well as war boats of the Goa king. This type of boat was described by pirate victims from South Sulawesi (Bugis). The binta boat type had been built by many shipwrights in the Sulu Archipelago because of its practical use and was easily modi- fied into a merchant boat. Pirates operating in the waters around Singapore used to sell their looted goods in the trading cities by disguising themselves as merchants and

using modified merchant boats. The other types of pirate boats, although less common, were kora-kora, penjajap or gobang, gara, salisipan, pakuwakang, and pancalang boats. The names of the sailing ships used by the pirates are as follows (ANRI No. 4352, "Instruktur voor de prauw-schippers en hun opzichters"); (1) Balor is the largest type, equipped with or using 50–60 pedals; (2) Bintas has a steering wheel at the rear and front, equipped with 40 oars; (3) Penjajap has 2 rows of oars (above and below), ranging from 40 to 50 oars total; (4) Lancang has a length of 12–15 vadem and is equipped with up to 50 oars; (5) Gagap or Salisipan was the pirate's fastest boat, equipped with 24–30 oars. Of the six boat types above, the boat most frequently used for piracy is the Pen- jajap. This boat was designed as a cargo vessel, but it was commonly modified into a war or pirate boat. In the course of his visit to the archipelago, a Portuguese diplomat described [the Penjajap as a cargo ship](#). However, [many Penjajap boats were modified by Pati Unus](#) of the Demak Sultanate to serve as warships and military transport vessels. The earliest information about the Penjajap (Fig. 2) boat came in 1509 by Fernão Lopes de Castaneda, who wrote that the Penjajap boats originated in Sumatra, and described them as long and fast, and equipped with both sails and oars (Kops 1921, p. 485). Eng- lishman Thomas Forrest wrote that in 1775 there was a large Penjajap boat anchored at Sulu where the Iranun people were based. The size of the boat was 42 feet (13 m [m]) long, 4 feet (1.2 m) in width, [and 3.5 feet \(1.1 m\) deep](#). This boat [was equipped with six Lantaka \(a kind of small cannon\) and was manned by approximately 30 people \(Warren 2002\)](#). The Penjajap boats were long but small so they were well suited for raiding coastal villages and merchant boats that were either lightly armed or completely unarmed. In their attacks, Penjajap boats carried [smaller boats called Kakap, which were used as scouts for targets to be ambushed \(Zen 2002\)](#). The Salisipan boat was a type of canoe with a narrow shape that was commonly used by the Balangingi pirates in Sulu Archipelago. This boat was propelled by oars and a driver located at the stern (Warren 2002, p. 200). The Salisipan boat was relatively light so it could easily be lifted by several people to shore. The other names for the salisipan boat were vinta, kakap, or baroto. These boats were also used as lifeboats aboard larger vessels because of their small size and light weight, and as a relief boat for larger pirate boats such as a Garai. The Garay was a pirate boat known as panco or penjajap (as indicated in the Fig. 3 and was used by pirates from Balangingi during the eighteenth century. This boat was designed for speed, manoeuvrability, and toughness and was therefore chosen by pirates (Warren 2002). Besides using sails for its power, this boat also used oars and rowers. The size of the garay boat was large and could accommodate about 60 oars. Fig. 2 Pirate Boat, Penjajap. (Source: Warren 2002) Fig. 3 Illustration From Garay boats (penjajap) (Source: War- ren 2002, 201) Pirates also used a type of outrigger boat known as penjajap boats, or gobang panga- java or pangayaw. These outrigger boats were commonly used in naval battles by several Austronesian ethnic groups in Southeast Asian waters, for example in Indonesia, South Philippines, Malaysia and Brunei. The boat had a long and narrow shape, but could be propelled at fast speeds (Warren 2002, pp. 239–41). The boat was constructed from light wood (as can be seen Fig. 4). The outriggers were attached for balance and assisted the boats at high speed. They used a sail to move at high speeds, and the oars when it needed to manoeuvr against the wind. Pirates also used kora-kora boats, which were outrigger boats from Maluku. An out- rigger was attached to both sides of the boat and had seats for the rowers. If the wooden blocks attached to the outrigger were damaged or came loose, or if the outrigger were to Fig. 4 Gobang Pangajava or A Pangayaw (Penjajap) boat had sailed off the coast of Patani. (Source: Smyth 1902) Fig. 5 Kora-Kora Boats of Maluku (Source: Warren 2002, 206) Fig. 6 Pancalang Boats 1820. (Source: Horridge 1981, p. 49) submerge the boat could become unstable and capsize,. The rower seat was made of water- proof wooden blocks (van der Lith 1893–94, p. 544). Small kora-kora usually used bam- boo for the outriggers (as seen in the Fig. 5). Larger kora-kora boats, which belonged to the rulers or kings of Maluku, had outriggers that could have as many as 300 rowers also equipped with spears, arrows and swords. These larger kora-kora boats were modified in such a way for pursuit of Iranun and balangingi pirate boats (Warren 2002, p. 206). There- fore, these boats were used by pirates, and were also used by the kingdom to chase and fight other pirates. The Pancalang (Fig. 6) boat was a Malay trading boat entirely made of planks with one or two poles. The deck and cabin were connected, and in the middle of the boat was a room to store cargo, which was enclosed beneath a roof. In Aceh this boat was called bencalang, which was made on Simalur Island, West Aceh. This boat had also been used and was well known in West Java and Lampung (Stibbe 1927, p. 118). According to Horridge (1981), the Pancalang was a type of trading boat found throughout the archipelago, which historically has been referred to as pantchialang. This pboat was made by Malay people, and this type was also built by the Javanese and Chinese people in the area around Rembang and was also widely used by Balinese and Sulawesi sailors. It had a curved shape on the bow and stern and the base of the hull was round and with a keel. The boat wheel was attached on both sides at the back using a hook (wooden stick.) In the middle part, a strong pole functioned as a mast to hold a wide tanja sail. The mast and sail rigging depended on the boat size. This boat could accommodate between 8 and 20 crew. The Bugis pirate boat was equipped with three levels of oars arranged from the bottom to the top, which were installed on a wooden beam that had a barrier called ampilang. At the back was a 6-to-12-pound piece of iron with a hole in which to hold a rifle. Armament consisted of a large calibre rotary cannon (draaibassen), small cannon (lela), weapons or throwing tools, and sharp weapons. The Binta boat was able to carry 200 people including the boat crews and its weapons. The description of the pirate boat named binta was more appropriate to describe the type of Ilanun boat from Mindanau (Fig. 7). The success of pirate operations was not only influenced by the type of boat but also the weaponry which it carried. The armaments used by pirates were extensive and included both light and heavy firearms, as well as various traditional sharp weap- ons. Firearms included cannons, lilla, lantaka, and rifles. Traditional blade weapons included spears, klewang, keris, kampilan, and tempuling. Keris is a stabbing weapon with a sharp tip, and sharpened on the right and left sides (Fig. 8). Keris has a non- straight shape but it has curves from the wider part of the stalk that taper and then become sharper at the ends. The Javanese used the keris for both its artistic and cultural functions, and is considered to have supernatural powers according to the age and the maker. Therefore, in its maintenance, this weapon is accompanied by certain ceremo- nies to maintain its supernatural powers and when washing the weapon. Fig. 7 Binta Boat which Similar with Ilanun Boat from Mindanau (Source: Warren 2002, 247) Fig. 8 Java Keris (left dan right edges) and Kalimantan Keris (the middle). (Source: Nederlandsch- Indie, Nieuw en Oud (Amster- dam: Van Munster's Uitgevers- maatschappij, 1937)) Conclusion Piracy in Nusantara during the pre-colonial period was already part of the maritime cul- ture. The culture is deeply rooted among the people living in coastal areas. Piracy grew along with the development of trading and shipping activities. However, in pre-colo- nial times, pirates were not viewed as a detriment to the socio-economic growth of the community. During the Dutch colonial rule, piracy expanded greatly. This significant increase in piracy was caused by the displacement of merchant mariners, indigenous rulers, and a number of trade hubs due to VOC annexation. The trade monopoly exerted by the VOC destroyed shipping and trade networks between native groups. People who were once mer- chants, sailors, and rulers of coastal towns were displaced and forced to migrate or spread to various islands in Nusantara. Some of them turned to piracy to survive and preserve their social status. During the VOC period, new indigenous pirate groups also took to the seas. These groups consisted of Bugis or Makassar, Papua, and Tabelo people. Their exist- ence was a form of resistance against the VOC, who forcibly took away the shipping and trading hubs of the natives. Moreover, this phenomenon caused the expansion of pirate areas from Sulu Island to the entire Nusantara. These pirates were professionals, supported by technology and their geo- graphical knowledge. Their solution was to use slaves, by kidnapping or capturing people from coastal villages. In addition to raiding ships and coastal areas for bounties, the pirates of Sulu's score included people, which were then sold as slaves. The existence of pirates concerned the VOC, such that they made efforts to eradicate piracy in Nusantara by creating regulations, requiring kings to fight against pirates, arm- ing expeditionary vessels, and building forts in coastal towns. Despite their efforts, piracy continued to be a problem for the VOC, and some pirate groups even survived after VOC was disbanded in 1799. At the time, VOC focused on trade through cooperation with the allied native rulers. In addition, the shipping technology employed by the VOC was not too different from the existing ones locally; both still employed sail powered vessels. From the human resources standpoint, the pirates were more experienced in sailing through the waters of Nusantara, especially in terms of navigation. Funding Funding was provided [by Directorate of Higher Education, Ministry of Education, Culture, Research and Technology Republic of Indonesia \(Grant Number 06/UN7.6.1/PP/2021\)](#). 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