

WOMEN AND MARITIME PIRACY IN PREMODERN ISLAND SOUTHEAST ASIA

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Abstract

The historiography of maritime piracy has largely concentrated on the experience of male seafarers and featured their reckless adventure, violence, and harsh life. In the male-focused historiography of seafaring and maritime piracy, women's presence on the sea has been often reduced to the symbolic realm of the wooden figureheads carved into the bow of sailing vessels. Maritime historians over the past few decades have uncovered and rediscovered life stories of female seafarers and pirates across the ages and regions. Against this backdrop, this article reviews leading works primarily in English on statecraft and commerce in premodern island Southeast Asia, a historical and contemporary hub of maritime piracy. In a striking contrast with the world's major seas and oceans, the region is marked by a relative absence of women pirates. This article suggests that in seafaring communities of island Southeast Asia were not pirates or did not become one because of complementarity in gender roles, social patterns based on bilateral kinship, and women's prominence in local commerce. These observations effectively turn our attention away from the quest of women pirates to a broader examination on gender roles and gender relations in seafaring societies.

Keywords: Maritime Piracy, Pirates, Women, Gender, Island Southeast Asia

Introduction

The historiography of maritime piracy has largely concentrated on the experience of male seafarers and featured their reckless adventure, violence, and harsh life. Such association between seafaring and "rugged masculinity" is firmly illustrated in the stereotypical analogy of "iron men, wooden women" in which the presence of women on the sea is reduced to the wooden figureheads carved into the bow of sailing vessels.¹ Against the backdrop of the male-focused historiography of seafaring and maritime piracy, in 1995, a maritime and creative historian Jo Stanley opened her trailblazing anthology, *Bold in Her Breeches: Woman Pirates across the Ages*, by asking, "[W]ere there any [women pirates]?" and "[C]ould there have been women pirates?"² The inquiries into women pirates have uncovered and rediscovered life stories of female seafarers some of whom are called "pirates" across the ages and regions from Admiral Queen Artemisia of Caria (r. 353 – 351/0 BCE) in Western Anatolia to Cheng I Sao (1775 – 1844), a Cantonese prostitute turned a wife of the pirate leader Cheng I and the successor of his piratical fleet upon his death, in the South China Sea in the early nineteenth century.³ When it comes to women pirates, the Atlantic Ocean between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries is the most extensively documented. Both scholarly and popular literature have showcased adventures and careers of such notable figures as Gráinne O'Malley (c. 1530 – c. 1603), a lord of Umhaill in western Ireland, another Irish seafarer Anne Bonny (1698? – 1782?) and her cross-dressing English sailing companion Mary (Mark) Read (c. 1690 – 1721), who both were crew members of the

Jolly Roger of John Rackham (1682 – 1720) in the Caribbean, and the American-born Rachel Wall (c. 1760 – 1789).⁴

One will be quick to notice that case studies from Southeast Asia are noticeably absent or at best received sporadic references in global anthologies of women pirates and maritime piracy.⁵ Such underrepresentation of Southeast Asia may come as a surprise given a rich scholarship on historical piracy in connection with premodern state formation, economy and trade. Not to mention today the Straits of Melaka is still dubbed the most dangerous waters precisely because of the rampant maritime piracy and violence.⁶ Combined with Southeast Asia's reputation as a region known for women's prominence, past and present, one might wonder what roles women might have played (or have they ever so) in piratical activities and maritime raids. Were there women pirates in Southeast Asia? Could there have been women pirates in Southeast Asia?

This article reviews leading works primarily in English on statecraft and commerce in island Southeast Asia from around the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. What we find in the seas of Southeast Asia is the relative absence of women pirates, in a striking contrast with the world's major seas. Women were *not* pirates or become one in the coastal communities of sea-oriented peoples, a hub of maritime piracy. In island Southeast Asia women undertook a multitude of activities, on land and at sea, while men pirated. Upper-class women oftentimes were influential players in court politics and local commerce so much so that some, such as the mother of Sultan Abdul Rahman of seventeenth-century Palembang, stayed on land and masterminded maritime raids to their advantage. In rare occasion some noble women were sighted aboard raiding vessels under their partners' command as consorts. At the same time, the highborn women were growingly subject to seclusion, a customary practice associated with Islam, which effectively shunned them from the public eyes, thus contributed to bolstering the existing gendered structure of maritime piracy. Common womenfolk outside the court were known for their economic potency that complemented commercial exploits of maritime piracy. Less exposed to Islamic doctrines, these women fished, farmed, and weaved, while men set sail for raids, and remained commercially viable through the period under focus.

At the core of these observations lie salient patterns in social organization of premodern Southeast Asia marked by complementarity in gender roles and bilateral kinship that accorded (near) equal value for sons and daughters, as well as maternal and paternal ancestries. The relative absence of women pirates in island Southeast Asia are also deeply rooted in women's position and roles that were marked by their prominence especially in local commerce.⁷ These discussions effectively turn our attention away from the search for women pirates to a broader examination on gender roles and female-male relations in seafaring societies.

Sea People and Maritime Piracy

Located in the crossroads of the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea, seas and seafaring have been a prominent theme in the historiography of Southeast Asia. The region's early civilizations are deeply rooted in the maritime heritage of Austronesians who set sail by boat in Taiwan about 5000-6000 years ago and reached shores of island Southeast Asia well by 2000 BCE.⁸ Through a sustained maritime movement that spanned over several millennia, they reached and settled in as far afield as Madagascar to the west, Easter Island to the east,

Hawaii to the north, and New Zealand to the south. In Southeast Asia the arrival of Austronesian mariners were instrumental to the agricultural growth and expansion of maritime trade that connected the region firmly to the commercial networks of the greater Indian Ocean and Chinese worlds. They are distant ancestors of numerous ethno-linguistic groups in island and to a lesser extent southern mainland Southeast Asia that include speakers of such major languages as Malay (Malaysian, Indonesian), Javanese and Tagalog, as well as countless dialects. While much of Austronesian peoples have long adopted a sedentary land-based life, some are still in keeping with their maritime migratory heritage and live semi-nomadically dependent on fishing and the foraging of sea products along the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, Borneo, eastern Indonesian islands, Mindanao, and the archipelagos of Riau-Lingga and Sulu. Major groups of maritime people include Bugis, Dayaks, Bajau, and Orang Laut of proto-Austronesian ancestry and are also collectively and varyingly known as Sea People, sea-oriented peoples, and sea nomads, to mention three.⁹

Historically, Sea People in varying extents engaged in piratical activities.¹⁰ Generations of travelogues and personal accounts have recorded instances of maritime violence in Southeast Asian waters. By the fifth century CE, the Straits of Melaka was already known to be a piratical hotbed as recorded by the Chinese monk Faxian traveling from China to India: “[T]his sea is infested with pirates, to meet whom is death.”¹¹ At around the turn of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese sojourner Tomé Pires (1465-1540) was yet again noticing maritime raids around Melaka carried out by *celates* or the Orang Laut whom he described as “robbers.”¹² Over two centuries later, private letters of Sir James Brooke (1808-1868), or the white raja of Sarawak, were again commenting on piratical expeditions of Sea Dayaks and Iranun and Barangangi along Borneo and the Riau Archipelago.¹³

Maritime piracy was integral to the premodern statecraft until well into the nineteenth century. Seafarers were occasional raiders and played vital roles in the officialdom as merchants, soldiers and even members of the court. Cases in point are the Orang Laut along the Malay Peninsula, the Bugis in south Sulawesi, and the Iranun based in the Sulu and Celebes seas.¹⁴ Apart from looting the cargo of rival ships, one overarching aim of maritime raids was to attack seafaring communities, capture their men, women and children, resettle them in their adoptive homes to engage in agriculture, fishing, court affairs, and procreation (for reproductively able women).¹⁵ Such structure of maritime piracy as a state-sanctioned endeavour in island Southeast Asia stands in a marked contrast with near contemporary cases from the Atlantic, South China Sea, where pirates were often rowdy, raucous outlaws, and women pirates were often seen as norm benders and celebrated for their exceptional bravery and ambitions.

Locating Women in Premodern Statecraft and Piracy

A succession of trading states rose along the Straits of Melaka until the nineteenth century. With limited agricultural resources to exploit, the bulk of wealth in these states derived from international trade. Operating as “a entrepôt state,” the ruler’s authority rested on his ability to control the tide of international commerce to the advantage of his realm.¹⁶ While the sphere of influence varied from one entrepôt to another, the reach of Srivijaya (c. 600 – c. 1300) and Melaka (c. 1400 – 1511), the two foremost Malay states, encompassed the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, western Java, and the northern coast of Borneo. Following the fall of Melaka to the Portuguese in 1511, Melaka’s royal lineage re-established itself in sultanates of Pahang, Bintan, Perak, and Johor.

Much has been said about the vital importance of *Orang Laut*, literally sea people, in the premodern Malay statecraft. The *Orang Laut* is a generic term for inhabitants in seafaring communities along the coastline of the Malay Peninsula, east Sumatra, and Borneo, as well as on islands off shore.¹⁷ Through much of recorded history of the precolonial Malay world, the *Orang Laut* formed close alliances with the largely land-based Malay rulers. Armed with expertise in seafaring and profound knowledge of maritime traffic, the *Orang Laut* constituted the bulk of naval fleets of Malay states, guarded maritime security, collected valuable sea products for exchange, and were engaged in the raiding of vessels from rival ports, as needed, to increase the revenue of the state. Their fearsome involvement in maritime raids earned them a name for their aggression and led Tomé Pires, a sixteenth-century Portuguese visitor in Melaka, to describe the *Orang Laut* as “robbers.”¹⁸

Local understandings of maritime piracy have illuminated its importance as a strategy of alliance building between sea-oriented and land-based peoples. Combined with the prevailing bilateral patterns of social organization, the *Orang Laut* emerge as power brokers in regional politics and diplomacy. In his seminal study on the historiography of Southeast Asia, O. W. Wolters stressed with an anthropological insight that cognatic kinship is one defining feature of Southeast Asia.¹⁹ By this common classification, it is understood that cognatic or bilateral kinship reckons descent through both maternal and paternal sides, administers inheritance matters through equal or near-equal bequests between sons and daughters, and arranges residence along bilocal lines. Bilateral kinship brings a greater flexibility and fluidity to social organization and relations than linear patterns of reckoning descents through either male or female line. Early observers of Southeast Asian history have identified these bilateral features in a wealth of source materials, such as creation myths, royal genealogy, kinship terms used in ancient languages, and traditional law code.²⁰ More recently, Michael Peletz has reiterated with a specific reference to early modern Southeast Asia (ca. 15th-18th centuries):

[P]erhaps most important to underscore is that during this time and for many centuries prior to it kinship systems throughout Southeast Asia tended to emphasize bilateralism rather than one or another variant of unilineal descent and inheritance thus valorizing relations through men and women alike as well as looking in all directions to forge connections and realize other social value²¹

At the backdrop of bilateralism in human relations and social organization, local understandings of gender differentiation has stressed complementarity in men’s and women’s work, and “the relative lack of ritual and or economic differentiation between men and women.”²²

Leonard Andaya’s recent monograph on trade and ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka has brought further empirical depth to our understanding of bilateral kinship networks and the position of *Orang Laut* men and women of highborn births in the formation of precolonial Malay states. He has shown that the kingdom of Srivijaya was essentially a web of bilateral kinship networks.²³ Tenth-century Arab and Persian sources from the time of Srivijaya offer a rare insight into the practice of bilateral kinship and recount that the gold belonging to the deceased ruler, Maharaja, was divided and distributed equally among both male and female members of the royal family, including children.²⁴ Further reading of the surviving sources from Melaka and its neighboring polities show how kinship networks helped solidify the

alliance between Malay rulers and the Orang Laut. By the time of Melaka's founding in early fifteenth century, the Orang Laut were held in such high regard in the Malay court, itself a reflection of their contributions to Malay state formation, that Melaka's founder, Parameswara, granted Orang Laut men *and* women hereditary noble status. On the founding of Melaka, Pires recounted:

Paramjcura made them [Orang Laut or celates] mandarins—which means nobles—both them and their sons and wives for ever. Hence it is that all the mandarins of Malacca are descended from these, and the kings are descended through the female side, according to what is said in the country.²⁵

In keeping with the prevailing bilateral patterns, both Orang Laut men and women were elevated to status of mandarins and the rulers of Melaka were traced even through the maternal line.²⁶ So vital were the kin-based alliances for the authority of Melaka that they even “constituted the polity itself.”²⁷

In the precolonial Malay world, periodic conflict arose among rival polities over the acquisition of slaves, and women and girls were coveted targets of the raids as potential “gifts” for the royal court. The nobles aspired to take as many female attendants and consorts as they could afford because their political potency was measured by the (large) numbers of women they could harbour in the royal harem.²⁸ Through an arrangement known as *gundik* or secondary wife, large numbers of women, some of Orang Laut background, entered the court.²⁹ Women from the *suku* (tribe) Bintan and the *suku* Mapar based on the island groups of Riau and Lingga in the south of Singapore were held in particularly high esteem for their historical ties to prominent regional polities and claimed the highest bride prices among all major Orang Laut groups. Together, the two *suku* constituted Orang Dalem or People of the Royal Court as recently as the nineteenth century.³⁰ In some instances, Orang Laut leaders were on the receiving end of *gundik*. Through this royal marriage, they rose to ranks of prominence in the court. A case in point is an Orang Laut chief, Long Pasir, from seventeenth-century southeastern Sumatra. A renowned raider and trader, his service to the court of Sultan Agung of Jambi was awarded with one royal *gundik*, and this newly formed kin network further solidified, in principle, the alliance between the Orang Laut and the reigning polity.³¹

Besides *gundik*, adoption and fictive kinship offered channels of alliance building. Some Orang Laut women entered the royal court by serving as wet nurses to Malay princes. Through lactation of the same milk, the Orang Laut and Malay princes became adopted *saudara susunan* or milk relatives.³² Just like the arrangement of *gundik*, royal adoption was mutually beneficial for the Orang Laut and for the Malay court. A version of *Sejarah Melayu* (Malay Annals) from the early seventeenth century refers to an influential queen of Bintan, one of the two esteemed Orang Dalem tribes, who adopted a royal prince of Palembang as her son and, in exchange, ensured that her fleet would serve on behalf of the Palembang court.³³

Through bilateral reckoning of descent, polygamy, and adoption, the ranks of nobles and their offspring, known collectively as *anak raja*, literally “child of the ruler,” multiplied. As much as being a binding force in early phases of state formation, the extended family networks were the seedbed of conflict and the catalysis for political disintegration.³⁴ Especially when the authority of the royal court was waning, periodic instability plagued fringe areas, and estranged royal princes resorted to maritime piracy for survival and personal

gain. Abundant examples link the anak raja with maritime violence, and it was not uncommon for the estranged royal offspring to live off raiding and smuggling.³⁵ Such was the case with Raja Hitam, who was the brother-in-law of the reigning Sultan Iskandar (r. 1752–1765) in Perak on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula. In the 1760s, piratical activities of the anak raja from Siak on the east coast of Sumatra were so rampant that they even disrupted regional trade.³⁶ In other instances, the anak raja of rival polities turned to maritime violence as a means of advancing their position in regional competition for supremacy. One notable incident was a piratical attack on Perak in the 1770s carried out by the leading princes of Selangor, Perak's neighbour in the south.³⁷

Male anak raja were not the only perpetrators of maritime piracy and violence. The court women also were active agents of the piratical endeavours in their own right. To take one example, seventeenth-century Dutch sources recorded an infamous *coopwif* ("experienced tradeswoman"), who was the mother of Sultan Abdul Rahman of Palembang. The Dutch observers suspected that she was behind the smuggling of pepper into the nearby Riau to ensure the royal monopoly of highly lucrative pepper trade.³⁸ Similarly, in seventeenth-century Jambi, a leading polity along Sumatra's east coast and Palembang's long-time rival, the three queens of Sultan Ingalaga, known for their political and economic skills, sponsored piratical expeditions in pursuit of luxury goods they desired.³⁹

There were even cases of women outstandingly joining raiding expeditions. Tomé Pires observed in the sixteenth century that the Makassarese commonly took women to sea on their plundering expeditions in eastern Indonesia, Java, and as far afield as Pegu in south Burma.⁴⁰ William Dampier, an English trader and visitor to Mindanao in late seventeenth century, noticed an exceptional chief queen of the regent who was known as "the War Queen" because she always accompanied her husband to the battlefield, whereas other wives did not.⁴¹ A mid nineteenth-century source also mentions a sighting of a woman on raiding expeditions of the Iranun and Balangingi in the Sulu archipelago who joined the crew as "the consort of a commander."⁴² These women were truly exceptional considering that by the eighteenth century female rulers were virtually absent in Islamic Southeast Asia, which markedly contrasts with the preceding centuries when widows and older women at times presided over polities and it was not uncommon to find polities governed by queens and consorts.⁴³

A different picture emerges for women in seafaring societies who lived outside the court. Fragments of historical records allude to a link between commercial undertakings of women and their absence in raiding expeditions. A case in point is Sea Dayak women in eastern Borneo who were (are) known for their weaving expertise.⁴⁴ It is no coincidence Daniel Beeckman, an English trader and a near contemporary of Dampier, observed in the late seventeenth century that raids and maritime commerce were largely male activities among the Dayaks in eastern Borneo because he "never saw" any women in public.⁴⁵ Among the Iranun, too, male members of society dominated maritime raiding, while "the majority of their inhabitants – women, children and slaves – were either engaged in subsistence agriculture, fishing or local enterprises, such as tin or gold mining."⁴⁶ An early nineteenth-century account of Orang Laut women in Kedawangan in Southwest Borneo, too, illuminates complementarity in gender roles and observes that "the women and children lived by collecting fish and tree leaves, and growing a small amount of rice," while men practiced piracy.⁴⁷

Some activities were carried out specifically by women and were of vital importance for local and regional trade. The weaving of *kajang* mats made of palm leaf was a primary

task of Orang Laut women in the Palembang area. The sales of these mats generated the bulk of household income especially during the monsoon season of May to August, when the unfavourable wind conditions limited fishing.⁴⁸ Women were also collectors of sea products, another lucrative source of income. A nineteenth-century Dutch official report, for instance, noted that Orang Laut women of the suku Galang gathered and prepared *tripang* (seaweed) for sale to the Chinese while men carried out piratical activities.⁴⁹ Prominence These observations suggest that the Islamic sanction of female seclusion and the parallel construction of ideal womanhood—that a good woman stays inside—had a limited appeal among women of rank and file and they continued to carry out their commercial undertakings both ashore and at sea.

Maritime violence intensified in the eighteenth century. By the turn of the century the Malay states and their Orang Laut allies were on the decline following decades of conflict and turmoil, and various seafaring groups, such as the Bugis from south Sulawesi and the Iranun and Balangingi based in the Sulu archipelago, were eclipsing the Orang Laut as the leading raiding force in insular Southeast Asia.⁵⁰ By the 1780s seasonal raiding of Iranun and Balangingi was ravaging coastal settlements in the Malay world and southern Philippines. Meanwhile the Dutch East India Company continued to advance in Indonesian islands amidst growing tension and rivalry with the British East India Company.

The human cost of maritime piracy cut across gender and social standings, and men, women, and children indiscriminately fell victim. In this context of widespread violence, the practice of reciprocal gift giving between the Orang Laut and the land-based Malay elite gradually gave way to a commoditized sale of slaves during the seventeenth through nineteenth centuries in conjunction with economic globalization. Valued for their multiple uses as medicine and condiments, Southeast Asian spices, native or otherwise, had been in high demand in Asian markets for several centuries.⁵¹ The arrival of European missionaries and merchants in Southeast Asia in the sixteenth century further expanded the spice trade network to Europe. As the demand for Southeast Asian spices grew, so did the demand for human power required in production. In the Malay world spices were traditionally cultivated in the sparsely populated riverine plateaus, and maritime raiding of coastal and downstream communities by the Orang Laut often aimed to capture slave labourers for spice production. Although strong young men were most desired, women and children were also captured because they could undertake light tasks for spice production.⁵² By the second half of the seventeenth century south Sumatra under Dutch control had become a thriving site of black pepper production for global export. The attacks on the coastal and riverine Orang Laut settlements became so rampant that even female weavers of *kajang* mats, a lucrative commodity and a vital source of income, succumbed to the raiding, implying a gradual erosion of women's prominence in local commerce.⁵³

The Iranun and Balangingi, a rising power in island Southeast Asia, were fearsome warriors and marauders of the Sulu sultanate. They carried out seasonal attacks on coastal settlements and passing ships along the extensive sea lanes from southern Philippines to as far afield as Burma. Between the late eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries, the Iranun raiding was so pervasive in August, September, and October that these months became known locally as “*musim lanun*” or Iranun season.⁵⁴ The Iranun and Balangingi were equipped with purpose-specific raiding vessels that ranged from small canoes for short inshore expeditions to larger and armed cruisers designed for long-haul journeys with the capacity to hold crewmembers and captured slaves by the hundreds.⁵⁵ Armed with the technological edge, the Iranun's and Balangingi's mobility far surpassed that of the Orang

Laut and other seafaring groups in the region. In this hostile environment women were described warlike and armed to defend themselves and fight off rivals when needed. On Iranun women settlers in the Tuaran-Papar area on the northeast corner of Boneo where they had colonized by early 1800s as a new hunting ground, a British consul Spencer St. John (1825-1910), observed that they were “warlike and used firearms, and were considered sufficiently powerful to beat off the Dyaks.”⁵⁶

In parallel to the sponsorship Malay states had provided for Orang Laut raiders, the Sulu sultanate saw economic value in maritime piracy of the Iranun and Balangingi and actively endorsed their raiding expeditions. Centred in the strategic passageway between the South China Sea and the Strait of Melaka, the Sulu sultanate was a thriving commercial centre in China trade from the late eighteenth to late nineteenth centuries. The coastal chieftains along the Sulu Sea collectively formed the sultanate and were chief producers and exporters of sea and forest products, such as sea cucumber, bird’s nest, and cinnamon. These products were highly desired in the Chinese market and traded for firearms, textiles, and luxury goods.⁵⁷

The booming China trade spurred the demand for human power to produce and supply the sea and forest products for the Chinese market. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Sulu sultanate grew into the region’s foremost centre of slave trade, and the seasonal raiding of the Iranun and Balangingi served as a primary means of capturing slaves for sale. Most captives were men, women, and children from seafaring communities in the Sulu region, as well as from European trading posts, and European women were taken as wives of Iranun men.⁵⁸ Similar scenes of looting prevailed when the Iranun and Balangingi attacked passing cargo ships and stripped their passengers of every possession and equipment the pirates could carry away before detaining the passengers.⁵⁹ Although many lives were lost during the initial showdowns, the Iranun and Balangingi raiding, in principle, was to keep as many captives alive as possible so long as they remained obedient and submissive. The slave raiders even granted conditional release by ransom of some captives of prominent standing. Muslim hajis and imams, Spanish friars, colonial officials, and well-to-do chiefs were among those who escaped the ordeal of long captivity.⁶⁰

Able-bodied men were always in high demand, especially those with fishing and sailing skills because they could collect sea products and take part in slave raiding as rowers and warriors.⁶¹ Moreover, the high human cost of the seasonal raiding demanded a constant supply of male labourers. Many crewmembers were lost in storms and shipwrecks and more commonly in battle, so the newly seized men routinely filled in the loss and were forced into arduous labour as rowers and galley slaves.⁶² Harsh treatment and strained life during the treacherous journeys to Sulu that lasted as long as three months took heavy toll on the health and morale of male captives, who were poorly fed and sometimes forced to live on tuber and salt water. Cramps, diarrhoea, and dysentery were widespread, and the unfit boys and older men were usually the first to perish on board.⁶³

Women and children were captured sometimes in preference to men and were exchanged at higher prices than were male counterparts on the slave market.⁶⁴ Children, especially young boys, were welcomed into Iranun and Balangingi communities because they could be trained to become raiders and warriors. Women also were desired for the numerous tasks they could perform in domestic service and the processing of sea products. Above all, the reproductive capacity of the captured females was most valued because they could bear future generations of the Iranun and Balangingi.⁶⁵ Reflecting on the value of female captives,

an English report on “the Subject of Piracy” from 5 December 1828 recounted that women were fairly well treated on board and not always exposed to the hardships their male counterparts suffered as long as they remained obedient to the captors.⁶⁶ A further account of benign treatment of female captives comes from “The Illanoon” in the *Singapore Free Press* on 6 April 1847. It reported that the code of conduct among crewmembers on Iranun and Balangingi fleets forbade sexual abuse of female captives and considered raping of women a criminal offense.⁶⁷ At the same time, these excerpts of benevolence toward women (and children) must be read with caution because the surviving sources offer little insight into the extent to which the protections against female abuse were enforced on the raiding vessels. Indeed, some male crewmembers were suspected to have broken the code of conduct and advanced with their sexual affronts, and slaving and gruesome treatment of female captives, such as submerging them in water.⁶⁸

By the closing decade of the nineteenth century, the Sulu sultanate and slave raiding of the Iranun and Balangingi were on the decline. The ravaging effect of musim ilanun and the widespread “robbery and violence” in Southeast Asian waters prompted European powers to take measures against what they came to understand as acts of piracy during the nineteenth century.⁶⁹ The Spanish reacted resolutely to end the seasonal raiding of the Iranun and Balangingi. Between 1848 and 1858, the Spanish launched sustained attacks on the raiding ships and trading centres in southern Philippine, Borneo, and Sulawesi. For instance, in the 1848 campaign in Sipac, the chief fortress of the Balangingi off the southwestern coast of Mindanao, the Spanish resorted to the scorched earth policy and left the area inhabitable. Many Balangingi men, women, and children were either killed in the battle or took their own lives in defiance. Those who survived the carnage were taken to the Spanish ships as prisoners of war and held hostage in Spanish-controlled Zamboanga.⁷⁰ The destruction of raiding centres continued through the 1860s, when the Spanish fleet applied larger numbers of gunned steamboats in maritime expeditions that could easily outmanoeuvred the manually operated vessels of the Iranun and Balangingi. By the late 1870s, the Spanish consolidated much of Muslim states in southern Philippines, and by that time, the Iranun and Balangingi raiding, though it had not completely disappeared, occurred only sporadically and was largely confined to the northern Borneo coast.⁷¹

Concluding Notes: From the Women Pirates Questions to Gendered Maritime History

This article started out as a response to Jo Stanley’s call in 1995 in search of women pirates. In premodern island Southeast Asia women were commonly *not* pirates and most probably could not have been pirates because of a multitude of undertakings they performed in society as evidenced in the excerpts and summaries about women’s position and roles in seafaring societies. Women may have been many things, be they courtiers, consorts, wives, mothers, wet nurses, craftswomen, tradeswomen, agriculturalists, fisherwomen, armed fighters, victims of raids, or slaves. Yet, being a pirate and a raider was not something they were renowned for. These observations on island Southeast Asia illuminate how underlying regional patterns in gender roles and female-male relations, most notably complementarity, bilateral social organization, and women’s prominence in court politics and local commerce, are closely linked to the relative female absence in maritime raiding. By so doing, this article effectively reoriented the initial quest for women pirates into one that addresses gender roles and dynamics of female-male relations in seafaring societies in island Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, maritime historians who had inquired into women pirates were growingly reminded of the dearth of records about women seafarers let alone pirates and led some to

conclude the “women pirates” question a futile pursuit.⁷² In her 2001 essay on Cheng I Sao, Dian Murray, a maritime historian of the South China Sea, was already struck by the discrepant information regarding her life course, including her ascendancy to power as a successor commander of the raiding fleet following the death of her pirate husband Cheng I in 1807. Instead of attempting to offer a coherent biography of Cheng I Sao, Murray opted to dedicate her entire piece to evaluating what is fact and what is fiction about Cheng I Sao’s life and career.⁷³ Furthermore, women pirates themselves were generally considered norm benders that broke social conventions and challenged the prescribed public roles, and were by no means representative of concerns and experiences of the vast majority of women in seafaring communities. Moreover, seafaring, historically, was by no means a popular occupational choice for women and if anything, most women contently steered clear from sailing and maritime booty hunt. As John Appleby puts in reference to the English and Anglo-American piracy from the sixteen to the eighteenth centuries, “[V]ery few women were attracted by sea life or the prospect of sailing with disorderly and potentially dangerous gangs of rovers.”⁷⁴ Given the rarity of women sailors and pirates compounded by the perennial paucity of reliable source material to reconstruct their lives, it made only sense for some maritime historians to focus more broadly on women’s roles in seafaring communities and more generally, women’s relations with the sea.⁷⁵ Therefore, it was only sensible for some maritime historians to centre their analysis on gender as demonstrated in the 1996 anthology, *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World*.⁷⁶

In 2002 Jo Stanelly herself reflected on the state of scholarship on women’s maritime history and acknowledged the usefulness of gender in the study of seafaring and maritime piracy. She points to the aforementioned *Iron Men, Wooden Women* as one of the first to complement women’s history with gender history and demonstrate “gendered women’s maritime history.”⁷⁷ On a most fundamental level, as Stanley continues, women’s history concerns “meaning ‘about women,’” whereas gender history examines “meaning ‘about socially constructed gender difference and its operations.’”⁷⁸ In maritime history, the genre of women’s history has added “rare individuals,” such as women pirates, into the historical accounts of seafaring and maritime piracy. These studies, despite their novelty, do not allow researchers to “deduct patterns,” to quote Stanley again, due to the absence of data on women and women pirates more specifically.⁷⁹ After all, women pirates are too sporadic a phenomenon to carve out a historiography on its own unless paired with a more broadly conceived gender history. Gendered maritime history, as Stanley puts it, warrants researchers to examine “how gender has functioned as a fundamental component in life at sea, as it is ashore.”⁸⁰ It is in the spirit of gendered maritime history that cases on historical piracy from Southeast Asia will find their counterparts and possibly inspire cross-regional comparisons among historians of seas and oceans.

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¹ Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (eds.), *Iron Men, Wooden Women: Gender and Seafaring in the Atlantic World, 1700–1920*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, p. vii.

² Jo Stanley (ed.), *Bold in Her Breeches: Woman Pirates across the Ages*, London: HarperCollins, 1995, pp. xvi–xv.

³ Dian Murray, “Cheng I Sao in Fact and Fiction,” in Pennell, *Bandits at Sea*, pp. 253–282; Jo Stanley (ed.), *Bold In Her Breeches*; F. O. Steele, *Women Pirates: A Brief Anthology of Thirteen Notorious Female Pirates* Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2007; J. Yolen and C. J. Pratt, *Sea Queens: Women Pirates around the World*, Watertown, MA: Charlesbridge, 2008.

⁴ C. R. Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea: A Pirate Reader*, New York: New York University Press, 2001; especially, chapters by John C. Appleby, “Women and Piracy in Ireland: From Gráinne O’Malley to Anne Bonny,” pp. 283–298 and Marcus Rediker, “Liberty beneath the Jolly Roger: The Lives of Anne Bonny and Mary Read, Pirates,” pp. 299–320. An extended version of Rediker’s essay is in Creighton and Norling, *Iron Men, Wooden Women*, pp. 1–33.

⁵ See, for instance, Jo Stanley (ed.), *Bold In Her Breeches*; Pennell (ed.), *Bandits at Sea*; F. O. Steele, *Women Pirates*; J. Yolen and C. J. Pratt, *Sea Queens*.

⁶ Adam Mccauley, “Pirates in Southeast Asia: The World’s Most Dangerous Waters,” *Time* <http://time.com/piracy-southeast-asia-malacca-strait/> (last accessed 17 April 2018). For historical accounts of maritime violence in the Straits of Melaka, see, for instance, Peter Borschberg, *The Singapore and Melaka Straits: Violence, Security and Diplomacy in the 17th Century*, (Singapore: NUS Press, 2010).

⁷ Anthony Reid’s survey on the livelihood of Southeast Asian peoples in the early modern era highlighted patterns in gender relations in which women enjoyed considerable autonomy in sexual and marital relations and played prominent roles in trade, agriculture, diplomacy, ritual, and religion. Combined with a broad comparison of women’s positions relative to the neighbouring South and East Asia, where patriarchy prevailed, Reid suggested that the relative equality in gender relations constituted one defining feature of precolonial Southeast Asia; Reid, “Female Roles in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies* 22, no. 3, 1988: 629–645, p. 629 and *Southeast Asia in the Age of Commerce*, Vol. 1, Chapter 4 “Social Organization.” A general consensus about women’s “high” status is writ large in anthropological literature on domestic economy and household management in twentieth-century Southeast Asia; see Shelly Errington, “Recasting Sex, Gender and Power: A Theoretical and Regional Overview,” in *Power and Difference: Gender in Island Southeast Asia*, edited by Jane Moning Atkinson and Shelly Errington, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990, pp. 4–5; Ester Boserup, *Women’s Role in Economic Development*, New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1970; Barbara Ward, ed., *Women in the New Asia: The Changing Social Roles of Men and Women in South and South-east Asia*, Paris: UNESCO, 1963.

⁸ Peter Bellwood, *Prehistory of the Indo-Malaysian Archipelago*, rev. ed., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995.

⁹ Orang Laut also include “a group of Malays who share some degree of identity connected to their choice to live on boats rather than on land”; Ota Atsushi, ““Pirates or Entrepreneurs?” The Migration and Trade of Sea People in Southwest Kalimantan, C. 1770-1820,” *Indonesia*, no. 90 (2010): 67-95, p. 69.

¹⁰ Five main cases of historical piracy include Bugis, Vietnamese/ Chinese, Malay, Iban (Sea Dyaks), and Iranun; see Adam J. Young, *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia: History, Causes and Remedies* (Singapore: ISEAS Publishing, 2007), pp. 28-42. With a specific reference to nineteenth-century Celebes Sea, Adrian B. Lapien finds three major groups, Bajau Orang Laut, Bajak Laut (pirates) of Iranun and Balangingi, and Raja Laut that loosely refers to ruling elite of sultanates and Euroepan powers in *Orang Laut Bajak Laut Raja Laut: Sejarah Kawasan Laut Sulawesi Abad XIX*, Depok: Komunitas Bambu, 2009; cited also in Ota, p. 69. For the Vietnamese/ Chinese case, see, for instance, George Dutton, *The Tây Sơn Uprising: Society and Rebellion in Eighteenth-Century Vietnam*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006, pp. 2, 174, 204, 219.

¹¹ Young, *Contemporary Maritime Piracy in Southeast Asia*, p. 26.

¹² Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, 2 vols., edited by Armando Cortesao, New Delhi, Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1990, pp. 233, 238, 262, 264. *The Suma Oriental* is a collection of letters by Tomé Pires

written in Melaka during his sojourn (1512–1515). It is an earliest surviving source with substantial information on the relationship between *celates* (Orang Laut) and the Malay court.

¹³ Gertrude le Grand Jacob, *The Raja of Sarawak: An Account of Sir James Brooke, Given Chiefly through Letters and Journals* (London: Macmillan, 1876), Vol. 1, pp. 20, 145, 148, 162-163, 189, 205-206, 232, 239, 272, 278-281, 287, 295, 299, 305, 312, 333-334, 352-353. See also James Brooke and John C. Templer, *The Private Letters of Sir James Brooke: Rajah of Sarawak, Narrating the Events of His Life from 1838 to the Present Time*, in three volumes, London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1853.

¹⁴ Leading monographs over the last two decades in ascending order include: Barbara Watson Andaya, *To Live as Brothers: Southeast Sumatra in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Leonard Y. Andaya, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1993); Timothy P. Barnard, *Multiple Centres of Authority: Society and Environment in Siak and Eastern Sumatra, 1674–1827*, Leiden, Netherlands: KITLV Press, 2003; James Francis Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2002, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1989: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery, and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State*, 2nd edition, Singapore: NUS Press, 2007; Leonard Y. Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree: Trade and Ethnicity in the Straits of Melaka* Singapore: NUS Press, 2010; Kathryn Anderson Wellen, *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora*, Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014.

¹⁵ Securing human resources was a pressing concern in traditional Southeast Asia. Until well into the nineteenth century, the region was known for its low population density with abundant land for settlement. Faced with endemic labour shortages, wars were fought over access to human resources. Victors took home the captured prisoners of war, many of whom were skilled artisans, as slaves. Similarly, maritime raids served a means of acquiring much-needed human labour in agriculture, fishing, and even procreation. For a concise overview of demographic trends in precolonial Southeast Asia, see Anthony Reid, “Southeast Asian Population History and the Colonial Impact,” in Ts’ui-jung Liu, James Lee, David Sven Reher, Osamu Saito, and Wang Feng (eds.), *Asian Population History*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 45–62.

¹⁶ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 67.

¹⁷ For a further discussion on divisions and groups among Orang Laut, see Leonard Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, pp. 62, 174.

¹⁸ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, From the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, 2 vols., edited by Armando Cortesao (New Delhi, Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1990), pp. 233, 238, 262, 264. *The Suma Oriental* is a collection of letters by Tomé Pires written in Melaka during his sojourn (1512–1515). It is the earliest surviving source with substantial information on the relationship between *celates* (Orang Laut) and the Malay court.

¹⁹ O. W. Wolters, *History, Culture, and Region in Southeast Asian Perspectives*, rev. ed. (Ithaca, NY: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1999), p. 21. For an anthropological distinction between cognatic kinship and bilateral kinship, see Nhung Tuyet Tran, “Gender, Property, and the ‘Autonomy Thesis’ in Southeast Asia: The Endowment of Local Succession in Early Modern Vietnam,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 1, February, 2008, 43-72, p. 44.

²⁰ A few exemplary works include James J. Fox, “The Ordering of Generations: Change and Continuity in Old Javanese Kinship,” in *Southeast Asia in the 9th to 14th Centuries*, edited by David G. Marr and A. C. Milner (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies; and Canberra: The Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, 1986, 315–326; Thomas A. Kirsch, “Kinship, Genealogical Claims, and Societal Integration in Ancient Khmer Society: An Interpretation,” in *Southeast Asian History and Historiography: Essays Presented to D. G. E. Hall*, edited by C. D. Cowan and O. W. Wolters, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1976, 190–202; Insun Yu, *Law and Society in Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century Vietnam*, Seoul: Asiatic Research Center, Korea University, 1990. For regional surveys on the working of bilateral kinship in state formation, see Tony Day, “Ties That (Un)Bind: Families and States in Premodern Southeast Asia,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, vol. 55, 1996: 384-409 and *Fluid Iron: State Formation in Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2002.

²¹ Michael G. Peletz, *Gender Pluralism: Southeast Asia since Early Modern Times*, New York: Routledge, 2009, pp. 20-21.

²² Errington, “Recasting Sex, Gender and Power,” pp. 1-2. See also Wazir Jahan Karim (ed.), “Male” and “Female” in *Developing Southeast Asia*, Oxford, UK: Berg, 1995, pp. xiii, 25.

²³ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, pp. 67–8.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

²⁵ Pires, *Suma Oriental*, vol. pp. 214-215.

²⁶ Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 235, cited in Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 185.

²⁷ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 73.

- ²⁸ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 95.
- ²⁹ Barbara Watson Andaya, *Perak, The Abode of Grace: A Study of an Eighteenth Century Malay State*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press, 1979, p. 31.
- ³⁰ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 183.
- ³¹ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 100.
- ³² Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 73; Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 35; Barnard, *Multiple Centres of Authority*, p. 61. Literally *saudara susunan* translates into “relatives of the same milk.”
- ³³ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 75.
- ³⁴ For an in-depth treatment of anak raja, see Barbara Watson Andaya, “The Role of the Anak Raja in Malay History: A Case Study from Eighteenth-Century Kedah,” *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 7, no. 2, 1976, pp. 162-86.
- ³⁵ See Andaya, *Perak, The Abode of Grace* and Barnard, *Multiple Centres of Authority*.
- ³⁶ Andaya, *Perak, The Abode of Grace*, pp. 229, 246.
- ³⁷ Andaya, *Ibid.*, p. 333.
- ³⁸ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 122.
- ³⁹ Andaya, *Ibid.*, p. 129.
- ⁴⁰ Pires, *Suma Oriental*, p. 226.
- ⁴¹ Barbara Watson Andaya, “Delineating Female Space: Seclusion and the State in Pre-Modern Island Southeast Asia,” in Barbara Watson Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 2000, 231-253, p. 244.
- ⁴² Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 171, citing A. J. F. Jansen, “Aanteekeningen omtrent Sollok en de Zeerovers,” *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Vokenkunde uitgegeven door het (Koninklijk) Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 7, 1858, pp. 212–239.
- ⁴³ Barbara Watson Andaya, “Delineating Female Space: Seclusion and the State in Pre-Modern Island Southeast Asia,” in Andaya (ed.), *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hawai‘i at Manoa, 2000, pp. 244, 248. A summary discussion of women’s position in precolonial Southeast Asia is in Reid, “Female Roles in Pre-Colonial Southeast Asia,” *Modern Asian Studies*, VL/22, 1988, pp. 629-45.
- ⁴⁴ Alfred Cort Haddon, “73. The Textile Patterns of the Sea-Dayaks,” *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 30, 1900, 72-73. Haddon (1855-1940), an accomplished British anthropologist and ethnologist, observes that women were not only weavers but also designers of textile patterns and these skills were passed down from mother to daughter: “[T]here are a very large number of designs and patterns, which are remembered by the women and handed down from mother to daughter” p. 73.
- ⁴⁵ Andaya, “Delineating Female Space,” p. 244.
- ⁴⁶ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 126.
- ⁴⁷ Ota, ““Pirates or Entrepreneurs?”,” p. 87, citing Georg Müller, “Proeve eener geschiedenis van een gedeelte der west-kust van Borneo,” *De Indische Bijl* 1 (1843). For a contemporary ethnography of Orang Laut men and women, see Cynthia Chou, “Orang Laut Women of Riau: An Exploration of Difference and the Emblems of Status and Prestige,” *Indonesia and the Malay World*, v. 1, 1995: 175-198 and *Indonesian Sea Nomads: Money, Magic, and Fear of the Orang Suku Laut*, London and New York, RoutledgeCurzon, 2003.
- ⁴⁸ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, pp. 118-119.
- ⁴⁹ Andaya, *Leaves of the Same Tree*, p. 182. On the rising demand for Southeast Asian sea and forest products in China, see Ota, ““Pirates or Entrepreneurs?”,” pp. 78-79, also citing Leonard Blussé, “In Praise of Commodities: An Essay on the Cross-Cultural Trade in Edible Bird’s Nests,” in Roderich Ptak and Dietmar Rothermund (eds.), *Emporia, Commodities, and Entrepreneurs in Asian Maritime Trade, c. 1400-1750*, (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1991), pp. 317-35; Heather Sutherland, “Trepang and Wangkang: The China Trade of Eighteenth Century Makassar, c. 1720-1840s,” *Bijdragen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156, 3, 2000, pp. 451-72.
- ⁵⁰ For a concise overview on the waning Malay-Orang Laut alliance, see Barbara Watson Andaya and Leonard Y. Andaya, *A History of Malaysia*, 2nd ed., Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2001, Chapter 3 “The Demise of the Malay Entrepôt State, 1699–1819.” An in-depth study of the waning influence of the royal line of Melaka can be found in Leonard Y. Andaya, *The Kingdom of Johor, 1641–1782*, Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- ⁵¹ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, pp. 43–44.
- ⁵² Andaya, *Ibid.*, p. 96.
- ⁵³ Andaya, *Ibid.*, p. 105.
- ⁵⁴ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 2, 238. In modern Malay and Indonesian “ilanun” and its derivative “lanun” take the meaning of “pirate”; see John M. Echols and Hassan Shadily, *An Indonesian-English Dictionary*, 3rd ed., Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1989, p. 329.

- ⁵⁵ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, especially Chapter 9 “The Raiding Ships,” pp. 238–239.
- ⁵⁶ Warren, *Ibid.*, p. 135, citing Spencer St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*, London: Smith Elder, 1862, vol. I, p. 382.
- ⁵⁷ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. xv, 8, 22, 33.
- ⁵⁸ Andaya, *To Live as Brothers*, p. 225 and Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 293, 296, 299.
- ⁵⁹ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 314.
- ⁶⁰ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. 314–15, 323.
- ⁶¹ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. 93, 121, 319–20.
- ⁶² Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. 298, 301, 316, 319.
- ⁶³ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. 233, 299, 318.
- ⁶⁴ According to Warren, the price of one woman was worth three men in some recorded cases (*Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 321–322).
- ⁶⁵ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 297, 321–322.
- ⁶⁶ Presgraves Report on the Subject of Piracy, 5 December 1828, Public Records Office, London (PRO), Admiralty 125/133, cited in Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 321.
- ⁶⁷ Cited in Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 321–322.
- ⁶⁸ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 321–22.
- ⁶⁹ Tarling, *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World*, p. 1.
- ⁷⁰ Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, pp. 352–353.
- ⁷¹ Warren, *Ibid.*, pp. 345, 384.
- ⁷² In her 2002 historiographical essay, Jo Stanley points to biographies of women seafarers as one main body of work that has contributed to including “women seafarers as subjects of study” in maritime historiography. Jo Stanley, “And After the Cross-dressed Cabin Boys and Whaling Wives?: Possible Futures for Women’s Maritime Historiography,” *Journal of Transport History* VL/23, 2002, 9-22, p. 10.
- ⁷³ Murray, “Cheng I Sao in Fact and Fiction,” pp. 258–71.
- ⁷⁴ John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540 – 1720: Partners and Victims of Crime* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), p. 7. To what extent (and whether) women were attracted or discouraged by seafaring and life at sea is debatable. Already in 1993, two years prior to the publication of Stanley’s *Bold in Breeches*, a maritime historian Marcus Rediker was noting that the choice to become a pirate was more common than previously thought and there were more women pirates and seafarers than surviving records led us to believe, Rediker, “When Women Pirates Sailed the Seas,” *The Wilson Quarterly*, Vol. 17, No. 4, Autumn, 1993, 102-110, p. 102.
- ⁷⁵ Wendy Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy war in the Sixteenth-century Adriatic*, Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press, 1992 and “Women among the Uskos of Senj: Literary Images and Reality,” in Pennell, *Bandits at Sea*, pp 321–334; John C. Appleby, *Women and English Piracy, 1540 – 1720: Partners and Victims of Crime*, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013.
- ⁷⁶ Margaret S. Creighton and Lisa Norling (eds.), *Iron Men, Wooden Women*. The coverage of ten chapters in *Iron Men, Wooden Women* not only involves how femininity and masculinity were constructed and subverted through life experiences aboard and ashore but also in maritime fictions in English and American literature. The authors cast light on women’s experiences that were varied and versatile, from norm-bending sailors, mothers, sisters, and wives of piratical crewmembers, working women in taverns and lodging for sojourning sailors.
- ⁷⁷ Jo Stanley, “And After the Cross-dressed Cabin Boys and Whaling Wives?: Possible Futures for Women’s Maritime Historiography,” *Journal of Transport History* VL/23, 2002, 9-22, p. 10.
- ⁷⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

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