

- 51 Creative Spaces: Seeking the Dynamics of Change in China ⇨ *Denise Gimpel, Bent Nielsen and Paul Bailey (eds)*
- 52 Red Stamps and Gold Stars: Fieldwork Dilemmas in Upland Socialist Asia ⇨ *Sarah Turner (ed.)*
- 53 On the Fringes of the Harmonious Society: Tibetans and Uyghurs in Socialist China ⇨ *Trine Brox and Ildikó Bellér-Hann (eds)*
- 54 Doing Fieldwork in China ... with Kids! The Dynamics of Accompanied Fieldwork in the People's Republic ⇨ *Candice Cornet and Tami Blumenfeld (eds)*
- 55 UNESCO in Southeast Asia: World Heritage Sites in Comparative Perspective ⇨ *Victor T. King (ed.)*
- 56 War and Peace in the Borderlands of Myanmar: The Kachin Ceasefire, 1994–2011 ⇨ *Mandy Sadan (ed.)*
- 57 Charismatic Monks of Lanna Buddhism ⇨ *Paul T. Cohen (ed.)*
- 58 Reinventing Social Democratic Development: Insights from Indian and Scandinavian Comparisons ⇨ *Olle Törnquist and John Harriss (eds)*
- 59 Fieldwork in Timor-Leste: Understanding Social Change through Practice ⇨ *Maj Nygaard-Christensen and Angie Bexley (eds)*
- 60 Debating the East Asian Peace: What it is. How it came about. Will it last? ⇨ *Elin Bjarnegård and Joakim Kreutz (eds)*
- 61 Khaki Capital: The Political Economy of the Military in Southeast Asia ⇨ *Paul Chambers and Napisa Waitoolkiat (eds)*
- 62 Warring Societies of Pre-colonial Southeast Asia: Local Cultures of Conflict Within a Regional Context ⇨ *Michael W. Charney and Kathryn Wellen (eds)*
- 63 Breast Cancer Meanings: Journeys Across Asia ⇨ *Cynthia Chou and Miriam Koktvedgaard Zeitzen (eds)*
- 64 Empire and Environment in the Making of Manchuria ⇨ *Norman Smith (ed.)*
- 65 Mythbusting Vietnam: Facts, Fictions, Fantasies ⇨ *Catherine Earl (ed.)*
- 66 Departing from Java: Javanese Labour, Migration and Diaspora ⇨ *Rosemarijn Hoefte and Peter Meel (eds)*

NIAS Press is the autonomous publishing arm of NIAS – Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, a research institute located at the University of Copenhagen. NIAS is partially funded by the governments of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden via the Nordic Council of Ministers, and works to encourage and support Asian studies in the Nordic countries. In so doing, NIAS has been publishing books since 1969, with more than two hundred titles produced in the past few years.



WARRING SOCIETIES OF PRE-COLONIAL SOUTHEAST ASIA

Local Cultures of Conflict
Within a Regional Context

edited by

Michael W. Charney and Kathryn Wellen



Warring Societies of Pre-colonial Southeast Asia
Local Cultures of Conflict Within a Regional Context
Edited by Michael W. Charney and Kathryn Wellen

Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
Studies in Asian Topics, no. 62

First published in 2018 by NIAS Press
NIAS – Nordic Institute of Asian Studies
Øster Farimagsgade 5, 1353 Copenhagen K, Denmark
Tel: +45 3532 9501 • Fax: +45 3532 9549
E-mail: books@nias.ku.dk • Online: www.niaspress.dk

© NIAS Press 2018

While copyright in the volume as a whole is vested in the Nordic Institute of Asian Studies, copyright in the individual chapters belongs to their authors.
No material may be reproduced in whole or in part without the express permission of the publisher.

A CIP catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-87-7694-228-1 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-87-7694-229-8 (pbk)

Typeset in Arno Pro 12/14.4
Typesetting by NIAS Press

Printed and bound in Great Britain
by Marston Book Services Limited, Oxfordshire

Contents

<i>Contributors</i>	xii
<i>Introduction</i>	1
<i>Michael W. Charney (SOAS) and Kathryn Wellen (KITLV)</i>	
1. Warfare and Depopulation of the Trans-Mekong Basin and the Revival of Siam's Economy	21
<i>Puangthong R. Pawakapan (Chulalongkorn University)</i>	
2. La Maddukelleng and Civil War in South Sulawesi	47
<i>Kathryn Wellen (KITLV)</i>	
3. Kinship, Islam, and Raiding in Maguindanao, c. 1760–1780	73
<i>Ariel C. Lopez (Leiden University)</i>	
4. The Age of the Sea Falcons: Naval Warfare in Vietnam, 1771–1802	101
<i>Vu Duc Liem (University of Hamburg)</i>	
5. Expansion and Internalization of Modes of Warfare in Pre-colonial Bali	129
<i>Hans Hågerdal (Linneaus University)</i>	
6. Armed Rural Folk: Elements of Pre-colonial Warfare in the Artistic Representations and Written Accounts of the Pacification Campaign (1886–1889) in Burma	155
<i>Michael W. Charney (SOAS)</i>	
7. Military Capability and the State in Southeast Asia's Pacific Rimlands, 1500–1700	183
<i>Gerrit Knaap (Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands)</i>	
<i>Bibliography</i>	201
<i>Index</i>	223

in *Early Colonial Timor, 1600–1800* (2012) is a comprehensive study of early Timorese history from original sources, published by KITLV Press.

▷ **Gerrit Knaap**

Professor Gerrit Knaap is Senior Researcher at Huygens Institute for the History of the Netherlands and Professor of Overseas and Colonial History at Utrecht University. He studied history and obtained his Ph.D. at Utrecht University. Previously, he held several positions in research and education, amongst others at Utrecht University, Free University Amsterdam, Leiden University and the Royal Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies. He was co-founder/secretary of the Foundation for the Oral History in Indonesia and initiator/creator of VOC-Kenniscentrum. His research interest concerns the history of the Netherlands in Asia, in particular during the colonial period. In this broad field he focuses on the interaction between Western and non-Western people, groups and institutions.

▷ **Ariel C. Lopez**

Mr Ariel C. Lopez is a faculty member at the Department of History, University of the Philippines, Diliman. He is finishing his dissertation on the political and religious history of north Sulawesi (Indonesia) at Leiden University, the Netherlands. He previously obtained undergraduate and graduate degrees in History at Leiden University as part of the Encompass/Cosmopolis programmes.

▷ **Puangthong R. Pawakapan**

Dr Puangthong R. Pawakapan is Associate Professor of Political Science at Chulalongkorn University in Thailand. Her work focuses on the political relationship between Thailand and Cambodia. She is the author of *State and Uncivil Society in Thailand at the Temple of Preah Vihear* (ISEAS, 2013).

▷ **Vu Duc Liem**

Mr Vu Duc Liem taught Vietnamese and Southeast Asian history at Hanoi National University of Education (HNUE), Vietnam. He received a B.A in history in 2008, an M.A. in Southeast Asian history in 2010 from Hanoi National University of Education, and a second M.A. degree in Southeast Asian Studies at Chulalongkorn University, Thailand, with a scholarship from the Rockefeller Foundation. He was also a

Graduate Fellow at the Asian Research Institute, National University of Singapore (2012). Since 2013, he has become a PhD candidate in Vietnamese history at Hamburg University. His publications have appeared in the *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* (in Vietnamese), *Chinese Studies Review* (in Vietnamese), and *Rian Thai: Journal of Thai Studies*. His research focuses on Vietnamese historiography, imperial memorial system, and palace archives of the nineteenth century.

▷ **Kathryn Wellen**

Dr Kathryn Wellen (Ph.D., University of Hawai'i, 2003) was the first Western exchange student to Brunei Darussalam, a Fulbright scholar at University Malaya, an area specialist at the Library of Congress, and the librarian at the Royal (Netherlands) Institute for Southeast Asian Studies. She currently works as a historian for the Royal (Netherlands) Academy of Arts and Sciences. She is the author of *The Open Door: Early Modern Wajorese Statecraft and Diaspora*, published by Northern Illinois University Press in 2014.

Kinship, Islam, and Raiding in Maguindanao, c. 1760–1780

Ariel C. Lopez

Introduction

The late eighteenth century was a dynamic period in the history of insular Southeast Asia. It marked the expansion of “indigenous” commerce and the consequent resurgence of various Malay-Indonesian polities. Indeed, Anthony Reid has called this the “second stage of trade expansion” that followed the initial “Age of Commerce” (1450–1680).¹ The period’s commercial and political dynamism was manifested strikingly, even if viciously, in the proliferation of maritime-based raiding. Although such raiding forays have traditionally been part of the formation of complex archipelagic chiefdoms,² the marked incidence of raids during this period is quite exceptional. The infamous maritime raids that fanned out for instance from Sulu and were documented by James Warren’s numerous works, are understood as a means to acquire slaves to gather export commodities as *trepang* (sea cucumber) and edible bird’s nests.³ But these raids, some recent studies

1. Anthony Reid, “Global and Local in Southeast Asian History,” *International Journal of Asian Studies* 1.1 (2004). See also: Leonard Blussé, “Changes of Regime and Colonial State Formation in the Malay Archipelago, 1780–1830 – an invitation to an international project” (ARI Working Paper No. 41: Asia Research Institute–Singapore, 2005).
2. Laura Lee Junker, *Raiding, Trading and Feasting: The Political Economy of Philippine Chiefdoms* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999).
3. James Francis Warren, *The Sulu Zone, 1768–1898: The Dynamics of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of a Southeast Asian Maritime State* (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981); idem, *Iranun and Balangingi*:

argue, were propelled more by a “deeper” cultural logic of competition for social pre-eminence than by any immediate economic need.⁴

While the scholarly literature sheds light on the possible causes for maritime raids, it remains less clear on how raiding relates with the broader social and political life. One might ask: how did maritime raiding shape or had been shaped by contemporaneous notions of social organization? More concretely: if maritime raiding was traditionally constitutive of polity formation and expansion, then how did it relate with familial and religious affiliations – widely conceived as important aspects of early modern Southeast Asian polities?

Some studies of pre-modern insular Southeast Asia have highlighted such “soft”, “cultural” affiliations that complement or even supersede “hard” military power. Leonard Andaya’s work of the early modern Moluccan kingdoms serves as an example of how warfare in general plays a secondary role to “cultural myths” in an otherwise violent process of state building. He argues that the shared myth of origins among the various Moluccan kingdoms provided the “basis for common action without political coercion in vast areas encompassing many different cultures and peoples”.⁵ William Cummings’ view of Gowa’s early modern expansion in south Sulawesi likewise privileges socio-cultural over explicitly economic or military factors. To him “Gowa’s imperial expansion was fundamentally a matter of establishing, cementing and perpetuating social relationships”, especially through inter-elite marriage alliances.⁶

But while these studies tend to focus, if not isolate, the social from the strictly military, this chapter explores the link between actual raiding

Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity (Singapore: Singapore University Press, 2002).

4. See David Henley, “Review of the Sulu Zone; The world capitalist economy and the historical imagination (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1998) by James Warren”, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 156.4 (2000); Heather Sutherland, “Review Article: The Sulu Zone Revisited”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 35.1 (2004).
5. Leonard Andaya, “Cultural State Formation in Eastern Indonesia”, in Anthony Reid (ed.), *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993): 23. This argument is elaborated in idem, *The World of Maluku: Eastern Indonesia in the Early Modern Period* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1993): Chapters 2 and 3.
6. William Cummings, “Re-evaluating State, Society and the Dynamics of Expansion in Precolonial Gowa”, in Geoff Wade (ed.), *Asian Expansions: The Historical Experiences of Polity Expansion in Asia* (London: Routledge, 2015): 215.

and the notions of the “social.” It examines how the endemic practice of sea-based raiding might have been conceived and instrumentalized by social actors in the context of intensified and perhaps unprecedented economic and ideological flows in the region. It focuses on the Maguindanaos and their activities in the Dutch-claimed territories around 1760–1780 when records of their forays become more conspicuous in the archival sources. It argues that alongside the increased capacity for raiding was the parallel existence, perhaps even intensification, of trans-local identities that likely facilitated and consequently shaped the contours of raiding.

Two underexplored elements appear preponderant: Islam and kinship. While the sources (mostly Dutch) are not particularly keen in describing – much less explaining – how these two social formations played a role in raiding,⁷ they nevertheless provide useful information to extrapolate their dynamics. But before proceeding to these points, a brief contextualization is in order.

Maguindanao has been Sulu’s traditional rival and occasional ally in the region. Notwithstanding its being surpassed by Sulu as the leading polity,⁸ it was able to participate in large-scale expeditions to North Sulawesi and Maluku between c. 1760 and 1780. Maguindanao’s intensified incursions into areas dominated by the Dutch appear closely connected with the presence of the British in Maguindanao and the surrounding region. British traders have been intermittently present since the arrival of several East Indiamen in Sulu in 1761 under the escort of the famed mariner Alexander Dalrymple.⁹ In 1762 Dalrymple succeeded in negotiating the cession of the island of Balambangan off the coast of north Borneo to serve as a British outpost for acquiring goods destined for the China trade. Maguindanao benefitted from the British presence in Balambangan and Sulu where indigenous traders exchanged

7. Most of the sources for this essay are culled from the archives of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) in the National Archives of the Netherlands (The Hague) and Indonesia (Jakarta), henceforth NA and ANRI, respectively.

8. Laarhoven places the decline in 1773 “when the British tried to intercept the Chinese junk trade with the southern Philippines through a competing port at Balambangan, and the subsequent rise of the Sulu state as regional emporium.” Ruurdje Laarhoven, *The Triumph of Moro Diplomacy: The Maguindanao Sultanate in the 17th Century* (Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 1989): 181.

9. Howard T. Fry, *Alexander Dalrymple (1737–1808) and the Expansion of British Trade* (London: Frank Cass & Co., 1970): 140.