

Transcript

00:00:11 Speaker 1

We resume with difficulty.

00:00:14 Speaker 1

Her Majesty has set us an impossible task.

00:00:18 Speaker 1

No matter what we say at the front of the room after this enlightening and brilliant speech we've just heard, it is going to seem a little pale by comparison.

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And yet, we have assembled for this first panel truly wonderful scholars whose research

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will enhance and extend the vision that we've had in our keynote address by Her Majesty.

00:00:41 Speaker 1

I would like to invite our four speakers to proceed in the order in which they are listed in your program.

00:00:48 Speaker 1

We will then hand the floor to our discussant, Professor Hazal, who it is wonderful to welcome back to Oxford from

00:00:57 Speaker 1

in Doha, no stranger to this lecture theater.

00:01:01 Speaker 1

And then we hope to have a bit of time for your questions as well.

00:01:05 Speaker 1

If I could remind each of our speakers that we'll have 15 minutes for your presentations, and I promise not to wave my hands too furiously on the 16th minute, but I'll make you aware.

00:01:16 Speaker 1

So if I could please invite Dr.

00:01:18 Speaker 1

Jennifer Hayner to give us her address on Early Interconnections in Maritime Southeast Asia.

00:01:29 Speaker 2

I would like to thank Dr.

00:01:34 Speaker 2

Rumina Abdul-Razak and Professor Rayhan Ismail, along with Museum Pahan and St.

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Anthony's College for putting together this workshop.

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I look forward to hearing everyone's papers and to the opening of Museum Pahan's Research Center and Maritime Museum.

00:01:51 Speaker 2

In my talk today on Early Interconnection from Maritime Southeast Asia,

00:01:55 Speaker 2

I will speak a bit about some of Southeast Asia's early maritime polities, and about even earlier long-distance voyaging by people from the region, both within Southeast Asia and beyond it.

00:02:07 Speaker 2

But before I get to early maritime history and prehistory, I want to tell you about some of my previous work so that you will understand why the research findings, particularly those about maritime dynamics, ignited my interest in much earlier periods.

00:02:26 Speaker 2

My previous work focused on monochrome Southeast Asians from the 17th century to the present, mostly in the central archipelago around south and southeast Sulawesi.

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This research drew in part on untapped materials in the archives of the VOC, the Verlang de Ost Indus Company, the Dutch East India Company.

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Early in my research, I came across this image of a naval battle off the coast of Celebes or Sulawesi.

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a remarkable image of defiance and resistance at sea.

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At the time, I had no idea that it would launch me through a trail of correspondence between VOC ships that would lead me back to the Straits of Kiworu, where I had spent time prior to graduate school.

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In addition to VOC sources, my research also drew on court chronicles and diaries from 17th and early 18th century Makassar.

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as well as manuscripts written in Bugis, yet inherited through Sama matriline.

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These Bugis language manuscripts, in other words, had been passed from mother to daughter and families of Sama people in southeast Sulawesi.

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You may know the Sama as Badot or Badal.

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The Southeast Asian sources were vital for understanding the importance of nautical people.

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For instance, in Makassar,

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jointly ruled by Goa and Talo.

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Sources indicated when the Sama community at Makassar selected a new leader, or Papu.

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Sources also indicated, or quote, the dates when three such Sama leaders, Isuvajo leaders, were installed as Makassar's harbor master, of course, or in Makassar's.

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an important position in Makassar's political structure was commercial, military, and some punitive powers.

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These revelations and others offered insights into how to read European sources critically, underscoring the tenuousness of colonial stereotypes that portrayed regional nautical people as stateless sea gypsies and pirates.

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Of course, colonial powers, as Her Highness

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mentioned, they often applied the label pirate to those who opposed their interests.

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For instance, the DOC's Admiral Spellman, on the first page of his voluminous report about the spice wars, he called it Tiworo, a nasty pirate's nest, a .

00:05:02 Speaker 2

Intertidal history in island southern Asia submerged genealogy and the legacy of coastal capture.

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Sorry, shameless bad here.

00:05:14 Speaker 2

drew attention to this previously unexamined polity in the Straits of Tiworo.

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And it illustrated how Sama people formed part of a complex society connected through networked littorals or tidal zones of the region, of the early modern region.

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Tiworo was a non-urban maritime hub.

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VOC sources made clear that Tiworo had been an ally of Makassar's and that their ruling families were close.

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To be sure,

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their alliance came with certain advantages, as Makassar, the transshipment point for spices from the Eastern Archipelago, sought to protect its commercial and political interests militarily.

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So Tehoro, or the strength of Tehoro,

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in southeast Sulawesi there, was strategically important, a staging area between Makassar and the source of cloves, some 630 kilometers to the east on the Hohomoa Peninsula, where battles also took place against the Veno City.

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In addition to its strategic location, Tuoro had important nautical resources.

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It provided a haven for ships fighting under Makassar, including Tuoro's own ships.

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Attacked in 1655 by the VOC and its allies under Tenate, a dozen years later, Tiworo was again under threat, only this time, the leader of the VOC allies was a Bugis man from Bone, known among many names as Arampolaka.

00:06:45 Speaker 2

Whereas in 1655, the men present at Tiworo had been slaughtered, its women and children captured, and at least 50 of its, the sources said, exquisite ships, junks, galleys, kora kora,

00:06:58 Speaker 2

had been burned.

00:07:00 Speaker 2

In 1667, Arampalaka instead confiscated Tiuro's vessels.

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He forbade the governor general of taking them, actually.

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He then elevated 60 of Tiuro's men and armed them, making them half of his guard of prime commanders.

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In short, late in the Spice Wars, a large Tiuro contingent switched sides, relinquishing their alliance with Makassar to fight under Bone.

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Their subsequent relocation to Bone soon gave rise to what VSC sources called a cosmopolitan port on Bone's coast, a stilthouse settlement known locally as Cholu, still called Cholu, but known to others as Bajoey, which in Bugis means the Bajo.

00:07:45 Speaker 2

So what were the maritime dynamics that intertidal history made visible?

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The research showed how nautical people's skills made them sought-after political, commercial, and naval partners.

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These features, in turn, gave nautical people the capacity to reassign their loyalties and, in the process, to reorganize the workings of inter-ethnic alliances in the maritime world.

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As mariners were connected also with shipping networks, the relocation also had the potential to draw commerce in its wake.

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creating new ports, or reinvigorating old ones.

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These maritime dynamics were thus intimately intertwined with the structure of politics, with interpolity relations, with kinship and alliances, and with commerce and political economy.

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We see, of course, hints of similar dynamics in the history of the Western archipelago and peninsula.

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Yet if one looks only from early in the second millennium forward inter-regional phenomena,

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dominate historical explanations of trade and maritime interaction.

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Historians often turn to records from outside of Southeast Asia to understand these inter-regional connections, which we'll hear, I'm sure, a lot more about today and tomorrow.

00:09:03 Speaker 2

And historians also turn to sources from outside of the region to, in a way, make up for the paucity of sources from Southeast Asia.

00:09:12 Speaker 2

For these

00:09:12 Speaker 2

For reasons, though, I found myself turning to the work of linguists and archaeologists who have a great deal to teach us about the region's deep nautical past for reasons that will become a little bit clearer as we go on.

00:09:24 Speaker 2

So some of the early region's maritime polities got their start during the first millennium, and these include Champa,

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along the central and southern Vietnam coast, as well as Buthuan in the southern Philippines, Brunei, and, of course, Srivijaya centered in Palambang.

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The earliest extant manuscripts, or inscriptions, rather, in a Southeast Asian vernacular was in Cham from the late fourth century, and some of the earliest Sanskrit inscriptions from the fifth century came from Cham sites.

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Cham influence was felt as far afield as Java and Sulawesi, and they had ties with the Philippines,

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and Brunei across the South China Sea.

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Not as much is known about Butuan in Mindanao in the southern Philippines, but it was noted in a Chinese source from 1001 as a place in the sea east of Tampa, not south of China.

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That's interesting.

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Although we don't have detailed descriptions or images of Butuan, much, much later during the 17th century, Francisco Combes described people in Mindanao, Polo, and Basilan from the southern Philippines

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as living in places much like those shown here in Semporna, Eastern Malaysia.

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This was taken in 2009.

00:10:41 Speaker 2

You've undoubtedly heard of Brunei's Kampung Ayer, or water village.

00:10:46 Speaker 2

Pijafita, Antonio Pijafita, drew a sketch of Brunei in his 1521 record of his voyages and described 2 large towns of houses built on stilts, one of Muslims and the other not.

00:11:00 Speaker 2

Jawubuah in the 13th century, sorry,

00:11:03 Speaker 2

in the early 15th century, because of Chinese sources, noted that Sri Vijaya's people lived on rafts tied to mooring stakes and then men trained to fight on the water.

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Importantly, all these places except Sri Vijaya, which I'll come back to, have had ties among their sites, like between them, demonstrated before the establishment of actual polities.

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So,

00:11:30 Speaker 2

Forgive me if you've seen things like this in the past, if you study Southeast Asia.

00:11:34 Speaker 2

This is an Austronesian language, mostly migration map.

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So take the Tom for instance.

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You may already know that the largest pre-modern maritime migration was undertaken by Austronesian-speaking people, both across the Pacific to Easter Island and across the Indian Ocean to Madagascar, where Malagasy is an Austronesian language.

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Linguists now also know, though, that Cham speakers did not fan out from the mainland through the peninsula, as previously assumed.

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Instead, Cham speakers came from island Southeast Asia to Vietnam's coast.

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So given their maritime avocation, it's very possible that the Indic features that appear from this time in Cham sites

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may well have been acquired during their own voyages and via links they had with other Austronesian-speaking populations.

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The archaeologist Hung Shao Chun and her colleagues at the Australian National University used chemical analysis to trace the distribution of green nephrite or jade artifacts from a specific mine in eastern Taiwan.

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Jade from this mine initially traveled

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to Philippine sites as early as 3,000 years ago.

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While jade ear pendants, two specific kinds, along with unworked or roughly hewn blanks, were distributed around the South China Sea between 500 BCE and 500 of the Common Era.

00:13:09 Speaker 2

And here's a map of that.

00:13:09 Speaker 2

And it's a rough map.

00:13:11 Speaker 2

Really, it should extend to Pahang somehow.

00:13:16 Speaker 2

Their research revealed an extensive sea-based trade network.

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Importantly, this network's sites correspond closely with places around parts of the South China Sea basin associated with Austronesian-speaking populations.

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Wilhelm Solheim, an archaeologist of an earlier generation, noted the distinctive pottery styles shared between sites in Vietnam and the Philippines from about, again, 500 BCE through 100 CE.

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These locales also shared the practice of jar burial baked clay jewelry and the neph kinds of nephrite and also mica as described earlier, as the nephrite was described, which suggests the interactions fear that they had may have lasted longer.

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So it's all about connections across the South China City here.

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Additional evidence suggests cross-regional exchange between Vietnam and the Philippines may have extended back at least to 1500 BCE for the Common Era.

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Some scholars have linked the South China Sea network of interaction with the migration of Malay-Atomic speakers from island to mainland Southeast Asia.

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A still wider framework has been proposed by Berenice Belina

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postulating a late prehistoric maritime Southeast Asian integration.

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Hung and her colleagues state that the diagnostic Sahuan pottery is now recognized across a rather broad geographic range, much larger than its original definition in coastal Vietnam, and also larger than Solheim's original Sahuan colony formation.

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Nevertheless, as many scholars have noticed,

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The Indianized poetry of Champa in central Vietnam provides functional parallels for its southern predecessor in that it served as a gateway to the Indianized world for Philippines, the Philippines and Vietnam, and also a gateway to the Chinese world for Malaysians and Indonesians.

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And they add that, interestingly, during the Han Dynasty, Chinese historical documents report that the Chinese exported gold and silk to the lands around the South China Sea in exchange for glass-making materials,

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crystal agate, rhinoceros horn, aromatic woods, and spices.

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It was also recorded, though, that Champo people were expert traders and sailors.

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We can imagine that the second ancestors of Champo probably traded on many geographic scales, all with considerable impact on neighboring countries.

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When we look at earlier periods,

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We see not only the largest maritime migration of the pre-modern period within Southeast Asia itself, we can also discern the movement of Chamic speakers from island Southeast Asia to the mainland coast, distinct cultural practices linking coastal

Vietnam and the Philippines over intergenerational time, and an early trade network linking sites around the South China Sea associated with speakers of Austronesian languages.

00:16:15 Speaker 2

The archaeologist and historian Pierre Yigmagan, a Srivijaya specialist, has underscored major recent breakthroughs.

00:16:23 Speaker 2

First, dense settlements-- I haven't got slides for this part.

00:16:26 Speaker 2

First, dense settlements of houses built on stilts again were found in the tidal swamplands downstream from Palembang starting in the third to fourth century.

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Recall the tidal zone dwellings of people in the southern Philippines and in Brunei and later Srivijaya.

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Second, another major discovery revealed a pre-Srivijaya sixth to seventh century coastal sanctuary at Kota Kapur on the island of Bangko across the strait from the Musi River Delta, the river on which Srivijaya would later make its center of Palambang.

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The site contained a Vishnu temple, a small link in a long chain of Vaishnava settlements strewn from the Mecca Delta along the tidal lake Peninsula to West Java and to Bali, and between these links, of course, there's a Palambang.

00:17:11 Speaker 2

Taken together, these archaeological findings, along with epigraphic studies, which I have not discussed today, completely disrupt earlier conceptions of state formation among Malay-speaking populations in southeast Sumatra, as well as in other parts of Southeast Asia.

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They put to rest, as Pierre Kuenga has pointed out, any notion of a sudden intervention in the 7th century by an external hand, Indian or otherwise,

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to explain Srivijaya's appearance.

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And to conclude here, within a broader frame, these multidisciplinary approaches examine historical change in maritime Southeast Asia and reveal a kind of source for the maritime dynamics, without introducing external actors, such as Europeans or other Asians, as the motors of trade and historical change.

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Thank you.

00:18:12 Speaker 1

Thank you so much for the most sort of multilingual deep dive into challenging everything we thought we knew about Southeast Asia in 15 minutes.

00:18:22 Speaker 1

So thank you so much, Dr.

00:18:24 Speaker 1

Gaydon.