

# THE IRANUN IN BORNEO: PIRATES OR HEROES FROM THE MARITIME PERSPECTIVE ?

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## **Abstract**

*During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Iranun of the Philippines were well known as the 'conqueror' of the sea. They were feared by the European and Chinese sailors who travelled around Borneo and the Southeast Asian waters. Their passion to raid the western merchants and to turn the crews of their ships into a commercial commodity for the slave trade changed the origin of their identity, which was once known as the Iranun of the Sulu Islands to the lanuns or 'pirates' later by the westerners. These people had long existed even before the arrival of the Westerners, yet their identity was changed due to their marauding activities at sea. The re-identification of the Iranun had slowly taken away their original identity and the locals of the Malay Archipelago began to identify them as having a new identity during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. This article is to re-document the history of the Iranun around Borneo waters from the perspective of the 'maritime world' which was dominated by the Iranun of the Philippines.*

## **Introduction**

During the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Iranun of the North Borneo were well known as the 'conqueror' of the sea and became the nightmares for the European and Chinese sailors who traveled on the waters of Borneo and Southeast Asia. The hegemony and the domination of the Iranun on the waters around Borneo and Southeast Asia during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century had caused lots of difficulty to sailors and merchants in the Malay Archipelago and China.

The control of the Iranun or '*Raja di Laut*' meaning 'King of the Seas' on the waters around Borneo and Southeast Asia had terrified famous European sailors on the waters around South China Sea, Sulu and Celebes seas during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century which was referred as the 'age of the pirate'. These Europeans also labeled the months of August-October as the 'pirates seasons' or 'pirate wind'.<sup>1</sup> Based on the early notes of 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century the famous sailor such as Alexander Dalrymple, William Dampier, Thomas Forrest and others had already reported the piracy activities on the waters around Southeast Asia. Owen Rutter regarded the Iranun as the 'Vikings of the Eastern Seas', as their supremacy resembled the Viking, the most terrorizing group in Europe<sup>2</sup>. According to him:

"No merchant ship of the colonial powers and no shore village was immune from their attack which, in their rampant ferocity, made the threat of extreme violence and anarchy an everyday fact of life for the coastal populations of Southeast Asia for long periods of time... fierce, dangerous and merciless... European, American, Chinese, and native vessels who had been sold into slavery"<sup>3</sup>

### Concept and Meaning of Pirate and Piracy

From the historical perspective, the marauding activities of the Southeast Asia had long existed since the emergence of Funan Reign during the first century. The Funan had raided ships that passed by their waters. It was once told that the queen of Funan, Liu-ye, had led a troop of Malay sailors to raid merchants' ships that passed by the waters of Funan.<sup>4</sup> However, A.P. Rubin<sup>5</sup> defined piracy and pirates as robbery at the sea by a ship to another ship without the state authority and for personal gain. According to Joan Rawlins:

"A pirate is a robber on the high seas, and there were many of them in the Eastern Seas at the beginning of the nineteenth century... Opium, tin, tea, silk, cotton, gold, crockery and pepper were only a few of the goods that might fall into the hands of a lucky pirate, but more valued than all of these were the slaves. Sometimes the crews of captured ships were sold as slaves, but more often the pirates raided small coastal towns and villages and carried off the women and children... The life of a pirate was an exciting one and probably many men preferred it to a life of paddy-planting or fishing"<sup>6</sup>

In the English language, the word 'pirate' refers to someone who is sailing on the seas, attacking other boats and stealing things from them, while the term 'piracy' refers to the crime of attacking and stealing from ships at high sea. In Western legal terms, the concept of robber and pirates are distinctive. Normally, a robber refers to an individual who forcedly robs others' belongings and rights on the land, whereas a pirate refers to an individual who forcedly robs

others' belongings and rights on the high sea and outside of his or her state's jurisdiction. The Western people categorized these individuals involved in the high sea robbery as pirate, and not 'lanun', then. The term 'lanun' used by the Malays nowadays comes from the word 'Iranun' or 'Illanun'. Later, during the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century, the word 'lanun' or 'Illanun' has been over generalised and has been widely used to refer to pirate of any ethnicity.

Nicholas Tarling<sup>7</sup> questioned the use of the term 'piracy' to explain the slave raiding and marauding activities of the Iranun at the Southeast Asia. He suggested that the activities should be regarded as 'honorable activity' from the perspective of ethno-history. James Warren also stated that marauding activities and maritime slave raiding by the Iranun, from the perspective of cultural history of Iranun, as "honorable occupation... no stigma associated with the cultural label 'marauder'... the Iranun world saw them as 'born and bred' to a life of maritime marauding which they simply regarded as a means of living and not as a notorious criminal occupation".<sup>8</sup>

Anne Reber said in her thesis entitled *The Sulu World in the 18<sup>th</sup> and Early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy* that there is a historical misconception by the British about 'Malay Pirates'.<sup>9</sup> The British regards that the culture of robbing is not the norms of the Iranun. It is merely because of the needs of labors due to the development of Western-China trade and pressure from the Spanish in Philippines. Besides that, C.A. Majul viewed the action of robbing and raiding Spanish merchants' ships by the Iranun as a 'jihad' or holy war of the Sulu people who were against the spread of Christianity by the Spanish in Philippines.<sup>10</sup>

### **The Origin of Iranun**

The word 'Iranun' in their language means 'loving each other'<sup>11</sup> which shows the close social relationship among them. Historically, the Iranun are said to be originated from Mindanao Island in the Southern Sulu Island. They lived at Lanao Lake (in Iranun, it is called *Ranao*) and they were known as the Meranao; they also lived at Illana Bay (in Iranun, it is called *Teluk Illanun*) and they were called the Iranun. Some lived along the coast and the estuary of Pulangi and also Polok Port in Mindanao Island. Apart from their Iranun name, they were also referred to few names by the colonists and Western scholars such as *Illanoons*, *Hilanoones*, *Iranon*, *Irranun*, *Illanun*, *Iranon-Meranao (I-Lanawen)* or *Merano*. For instance, during the 19th century, the Spanish record referred the Iranun of Mindanao Island, who were at that time under the reign of Sultan Pakir Maulana Kamsa of the Maguindanao sultanate as the Illanun (*Illanoons*).<sup>12</sup> This was to distinguish them from the other ethnics of Sulu.

William Dampier, a famous British sailor during the 17th century, who once lived in Sulu for seven months (1686-1687), disagreed with the proposition which said that the term 'Iranun' or 'Illanun' was used to refer to the sailors of Maguindanao-Sulu during the end of the 18th century. He further stressed that this term was only applicable to the people of Lanao Lake. Dampier also argued that not all Iranun were 'lanun' or pirate, as they were also farmers, traders and craftsman. They hunted slaves as a part-time job to assist them in their works, as done by the Iranun-Maranao of Lanao Lake. This portrayed them as a community of "prosperous and stable with a developed commercial life...they build "good and serviceable ships and barks for the sea"... they were a "martial race" that had build some "ships of war".<sup>13</sup>

Figure 1: A Potrait of Iranun Warrior in Tempasuk (North Borneo)



Source: J.F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2002, p. 198.

During the 1760s, a massive ethnic migration of the Iranun-Maranao from Mindanao Island to other islands in Sulu (*Sooloo*) such as Basilan Island, Zamboanga, Tawi-tawi and North Borneo (Tampasook, Pandassan, Marudu and Tawarran) took place. This was due to several factors such as ecological catastrophe such as flood at Pulangi River; and volcano eruption in 1765 that had destroyed many villagers, paddy fields and poultry. The migration was also due to social mobilization and status when the eldest son of an Iranun raja married the daughter of the Raja Muda of the Cotabato, and also when Sultan Kibad Sahrijal of Maguindanao pledged his support to Spain in 1794. His action had caused the whole villages of Iranun, who were led by Datu Camsa (the son-in-law of Sultan Sharaf ud-Din), Anti, Datu Tabuddin (a son of Camsa), and another Visayan named Impa, shifted their allegiance to the Sultan of Sulu and Dato Taosung in Jolo and Basilan.

The traditional social class of Iranun comprised a few stratifications that were the ruling class, the middle class, the people and the slaves. For example, the social class of the Iranun people in Mindanao was divided into few classes that were the royal class which comprised the Sultan, Radia Moda or Kabogatan; the middle class which comprised datu, *panglima* (the highest rank political leader), scholar, layman that consisted of the *dumata* and *sakup*; the slave class which was also called the *oripen* and *baniaga*.<sup>14</sup> Similar to the other traditional Southeast Asia sultanates, the Iranun stressed the importance of slavery or *oripen* in their social stratification. It must be noted that the slavery concepts and practice by the Iranun are different from those practised by the western slavery. Here, the concepts and practice of slavery are mostly towards the social obligation and values between rulers and the people, while the western slavery is mostly based on economical and political obligation, and always related to oppression. Economically, Iranun were well known as sailors who are active in fishing and processing sea products. Besides that, they also involved in farming, crafting and trading around the North Borneo and the Sulu island.

### **The Early Settlements in Borneo**

By the end of the 18th century and the early 19th century, the Iranun, which were originally based in Mindanao migrated to Jolo in Basilan that was under the Sultan Sulu's reign. They started slave hunting and ships raiding expedition around the waters of Sulu, South China Sea and Celebes sea which were dominated by the Datus Tausug. Since the early 19th century, the Iranun began their slavery and marauding activities at the Mindanao and Tawi-Tawi islands as well as Basilan (Jolo) together with Datus Tausug in the waters around Southeast Asia such as Sulu, Borneo, Sulawesi, Java and Sumatera of Indonesia; Malaya to Siam. During their expedition to Celebes Sea, Sulawesi and Java, the Iranun had established a few settlements at Sulawesi such as Tontoli, Dampelas, Tobungku, Tanah Jamea, Lambok and others.



Under the leadership of Datu Malfalla (brother-in-law to Raja Muda Cotabato), Tontoli had become the base in Celebes Sea. In 1812, Tontoli as "the great piratical establishment", a settlement for thousands of Iranun who were led by Raja Jailolo and his son, Niru.<sup>15</sup> In the early 1820s, Tobungku and Tontoli had become "a primary staging center for financing and outfitting Iranun slave raiders in east Sulawesi and the Moluccas".<sup>16</sup> By making Tontoli and Tobungku as the bases, the Iranun apart from hunting slaves, started to attack and raid trading ships owned by the Dutch and Bugis. These ships were loaded with various valuable commodities such as spices, tin and others. To reinforce their position in Celebes Sea, the Iranun had cooperated with the Tobello and Gilolo. The Tobello and Gilolo settled in Malauku, hunt slaves and attack the Dutch and Bugis interest in Makasar. Between 1774-1798, the Iranun had committed series of robberies on the Dutch and Spanish trading ships around Sulu and Sulawesi by using 100-200 prahus and *joanga* and *garay* that reach almost 130 feet long. In their expedition to South China Sea, the Iranun had landed at the west and north of North Borneo and settled in Teluk Malludo (Marudu), Tempasuk (Tampasook), Tuaran (Tawarran) and Pandasan (Pandassaan) at the west coast of North Borneo. These places had become the bases for their settlement and operation for slave hunting and ships raiding in the South China Sea. In Kalimantan, the Iranun had started settlements at Sambas, Bangkeleen and Berau. The Iranun had extended their slave hunting and ship raiding expedition from west coast of North Borneo (Teluk Malludo, Tampasook, Tawarran and Pandasan) and from Sambas and Bangkeleen of Kalimantan. In order to have smooth operation, they had also built more settlements in Lingga, Reteh and Siak of Pulau Sumatera.

In North Borneo, the consequence of giving away the east and north coast of North Borneo by Sultan Brunei to Sulu Sultanate in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had provided more opportunities to the Iranun to conduct their slave hunting and ships raiding on the waters around North Borneo. From the historical perspective, Tempasuk was the earliest settlement for the Iranun in North Borneo. There, they were led by an Iranun named Sultan Sa-Malabang who originated from Malabang of Mindanao in 1807. In Tempasuk, the Iranun began to establish settlements in Kuala Tempasuk (*Minanga a-Tampasuk*) that is Tamau, Marabau, Katabongan (Kota Bongan), Kota Peladok, Peladok, Payas-Payas, Pantai Emas, Liang and others.

For example, in 1790s, Tempasuk and Sungai Pandasan were led by an Iranun leader called Sultan Si-Tabuk and the people in Tuaran were led by an Iranun leader named Si-Mirantau. Apart from Tempasuk (Tempasook, Sungai Pandassan and Tawarran), the Iranun had also settled in northern of North Borneo, that was Teluk Marudu (Malludo). This was their reaction towards the opening of a new British trading base Pulau Balambangan (Malambangan) of North Borneo in 1761. Among the prominent leaders of the Iranun in Marudu was Sherif Usman, a mix parentage Arab-local merchant who married

to Dayang Cahaya, a sister to Datu Mohammad Buyo (Raja Muda Sulu). He was said to have about 1500-2000 followers in Marudu and had gained approval to dominate the Iranun and Sea Bajau in Balabac and Palawan islands by Sultan Sulu, so that he can form Tempasuk-Marudu Bay region of northwest Borneo.

Sharif Usman, who was also known as "a man of character and energy", succeeded to transform Marudu into "the most fruitful, populous, and valuable district in all Borneo".<sup>17</sup> The major settlements in Marudu are Bawengun, Tandik, Malansingin, Sipuni, Kudat, Tambalulan and Malubang. Under the Sherif Usman reign, Marudu had become "Iranun regional satellite network between Straits of Malacca, North Borneo and Sulu, and Sulawesi, funneling captives and guns between Tempasuk and Tungku".<sup>18</sup> With the strength of 1000 people, the Iranun had also established a few temporary settlements at Tungku River of east coast of North Borneo under an Iranun leader named Rajah Muda. About 70 houses were built in that temporary settlement. The settlements were situated in Sibahat River and Mekawa River, Peninsular Unsang, Paitan, Sugut and Labuk River.

Unlike the Tempasuk and Marudu, the settlements of the Iranun and Balangingi along the coast of the east of North Borneo was not equipped with forts as they were not exposed to the English, Dutch and Spain's attacks. In the 1830s and 1840s, Tungku River was ruled by Raja Laut, an Iranun leader, who was related to Sherif Usman in Tempasuk and Pandassan. Since the attack on the settlements in Kota Marudu, Tempasuk, Pandasan in the west coast of North Borneo, and Tontoli and Tobungku in Sulawesi by the English and Dutch in the middle of 1850s, the settlements in Tungku River and Sihabat River had become crucially important for the Iranun. The attack had caused them to flee to east coast of North Borneo. Captain Belcher, who had headed many British fleets to attack the Iranun settlements in North Borneo, once described Tungku River in the 1840s as slave market and pirate and he further added that Tambisan Island was the main base for the Iranun in the east coast. Even though the Iranun can be classified as the second class community in the Sulu Sultanate's social system, their figure as the '*Raja di Laut*' and their contribution in leveraging the rank of Sulu Sultanate as the 'sea power' in Malay Archipelago during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century were undeniable. For instance, when there was a conflict to gain control over the trading power of the Sulu Sultanate in Marudu (which was under in Brunei in 1771), Mohammad Israel, an Iranun leader, led a fleet of 130 large prahus -*joanga* against the Sultan Brunei (Bornean Sultanate). In 1820s, the Iranun who were based in Marudu Bay, succeeded to defeat Brunei. Brunei at that time was regarded as a competitor by Sulu Sultanate. In 1775, with the help from the Iranun and Spain, Sultan Israel from Sulu attacked and destroyed the trading base in Balambangan.

Besides serving Sultan Sulu and Tausog's local leaders in Sulu Sultanate's district, the Iranun had contributed a lot and had helped the sultans and other local leaders in Malay Archipelago to fight the Westerners. For example, it was said that Sultan Brunei was once asked Sherif Usman of Marudu Bay to assist him to defeat James Brooke reign in Sarawak. It was said in Tuhtat al-Nafis, Sultan Mahmud sent a group of people to Tempasuk headed by Talib, to request for help from Raja Ismail, an Iranun King, to defeat the Dutch in Riau. In 1787, Raja Ismail and Tuan Aji (a Bugis), under the leadership of Sultan Mahmud, attacked and drove the Dutch away from Riau.

Later in 1789, Syed Ali, a royal from Siak, requested the Iranun assistance to attack Songkla in the southeast Siam.<sup>19</sup> Despite slave hunting and marauding activities at sea, the local leaders of Sulu used the Iranun to mobilize the local people living along the coast (Samal) and interior (Ida' an and Murut), so that they could yield the marine and forest's sources, as an *ufti* or a contribution to Sultan Sulu and also to be traded in Jolo port. Here, the Iranun were regarded as the soldier and the oarsman to wade main rivers in North Borneo in order to reach the interior. Normally, they would bring with them salted-fish, dried fish, salt and weapons to be traded with the forest yields planted by the people of the interior.

### The Maritime Raiding Expedition

With the establishment of bases and settlements of the the Iranun are in Tempasuk (Tempasuk, Tuaran and Pandasan), Marudu and Tunku; and in Sulawesi such as Tontoli, Dampelas, Tobungku, Tanah Jamea, Lambok and others, was implicitly permitted them to run their maritime raiding activities on the waters around Borneo. Thus, before 1840s the maritime raiding activities of the Iranun were vastly done on the waters around Borneo and Southeast Asia. In general, these activities would take months and for this purpose, the Iranun as well as Tausog leaders had sponsored and supplied boat equipment, ships and weapons to hunt slaves and also to raid trading ships from the West and China.

Sherif Sahib (an Iranun) from Sadong (East coast of North Borneo) had sponsored his people to raid the Dutch and English trading ships sailing on the southern coast of North Borneo until Banjarmasin. Sherif Usman, who governed Marudu and involved in the slave hunting and ships raiding on the South China Sea, had also sponsored his people in his territory to hunt and raid ships at sea by supplying them ships, *prahus*, gun-powder, weapons, food, salt and others. This operation involved helmsman (*julmuri*), cabin crew (*sakay*), boatswain, preacher, judge and elderly influential people in the society. To raid the western ships at sea, the Iranun used various types and sizes of small and large *prahus* which were called with various names such as *salisipan*



(*vinta* or *baroto*), *garay*, *joangga*, *penjajap* (*gubang* or *panco*), *barangayan*, *prahu*, *kora-kora* and others. In order to raid trading ships, apart from the use of traditional weapons, the Iranun facilitated their ships and large prahus with modern weapons invented by the westerners, which were supplied by the Iranun and Tausog leaders. As for the slave hunting activities at the coastal area, the Iranuns would normally use types of *prahus* called *lanong*, *kakap* and *prahu*. These *prahus* were smaller and lighter, and suitable to be used along the curvy and shallow coast of Borneo that was rich with reef, as reported by Captain Kolff and Captain Keppel in 1831.

This was also reported by Captain Rodney Mundy of the British Royal Navy. As he was sailing on ships named *Royalist* and *Ringdove* he encountered three *lanong* owned by Sherif Usman in Tempasuk and Pandasan in 1846. The *lanong* raised a 'black flag' to signify "sinister and threatening, symbolizing death and evil".<sup>20</sup> Similarly, in other places around the waters of Southeast Asia, the maritime raiding activities of the Iranun in the 18<sup>th</sup> century focused on slave hunting rather than raiding the Westerner trade ships. James Warren argued intensively the importance of slaves in the economic and political systems as well as in social system of the Sulu Sultanate.

Besides exploiting the forest and marine sources, slaves were also used by the Datus of Sulu to row and navigate *lanong* (*joanga*), *garay* (*panco* or *penjajap*) and *salisipan* (*vinta*, *baroto* or *kakap*), which were loaded with all kinds of sea and forest products from the northeast coast of Borneo, to cross Sulu Sea to get to Jolo port. To hunt slaves, the Iranun of Tempasuk and Marudu had sailed along the west coast of North Borneo and interior to go to places such as Brunei, Labuan, Sarawak and Kalimantan. This included sailing through South China Sea to Sumatera and Strait of Malacca to hunt the people who lived along the coast and interior. These people were then forced to become slaves for economic, political and social purposes. These slaves were also sold or captured for ransom at Brunei and Jolo ports.

They were exploited to do all kinds of jobs, from collecting the marine and forest yields to rowing the *prahus*. Among the yields, the bird nests collected from Gomantong Cave in Magindora was among the most essential commodity for the Sulu Sultanate. The importance of bird nest in the international market, especially in China, began when a Suluk named Abdullah brought sags of bird nest to Sultan Sulu as an *ufti* or contribution. In addition to slave hunting, the maritime raiding activities that were conducted by the Iranun includes the marauding of the ships belongs to English, Spanish, Dutch, Chinese and Bugis sailed on South China Sea. This was for the purpose of trading and also attacking the European trading bases. For instance, in 1970s, the Iranun from Tempasuk in North Borneo and Reteh in Sumatera raided tin from the Arab, Chinese and Dutch ships in Bangka Island.

## Conclusion

To date, the use of the term 'pirate' or '*lanun*' to identify the Iranun on the waters of Southeast Asia by the sailors, merchants and western colonials during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century has triggered different arguments among the scholars of western centric and eastern centric. The western's proposition on labeling of the *lanun* in the Southeast Asia as identical to the pirates in European (the Vikings), who raided only European trading ships on an open sea, has confused people on what were actually done by the Iranun who were actually done it due to their social and cultural obligation, particularly around the waters Borneo and Southeast Asia generally. It is transparent that the Iranun involvement in these maritime raiding activities include the slave hunting on sea and also jobs on land such as farmers and fisherman, which were not done by the pirates in the West. The term pirates given by the colonial and western scholars to the Iranun of Borneo and Southeast Asia, is merely an external evaluation as well as political and economic interest of the west who refuses to understand the historical and socio-cultural background of the society.

The same things happen when James Brooke, Captain Edward Belcher, Captain Henry Keppel and Captain Rodney Mundy picture the Sea Dayaks of the estuary and upstream Batang Lupar and Batang Saribas rivers, which are well known for its headhunter's culture, as uncivilized, hostile and perilous. Overall, the western colonials during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century describe these tribes as savage sea borne terrorists and robbers of the sea. According to J.F. Warren this description was due to "...on the eighteenth century, the Iranun world was still usually "observed from the deck of the ship", the ramparts of the fortress, and the high gallery of the trading-house and consequently this world remained "grey and undifferentiated".<sup>21</sup> However, after the end of colonial era in Southeast Asia, the Western scholars as well as the local scholars have shown great interest to reevaluate the authenticity of these facts which have described the Iranun in such a way.

In relation to this matter, western and local scholars such as James Francis Warren, Datu Bandira Datu Alang, Cesar Adib Majul, Ahmad Jelani Halimi, A.B. Lopian and others have argued against the accusation made by the early colonial officers such as James Brooke, Sir Thomas Cochrane, Captain Edward Belcher, Captain Rodney Mundy, Captain Henry Keppel, Captain Congalton, Captain Stanley, Captain Talbot and Captain Bethune. They also have evaluated the Iranun from the perspective of socioeconomic and cultural of the ethnics themselves, and no longer from the writer's point of view. Credit should be given to Warren who has made encouraging study on Sulu Sultanate from the perspective of The Sulu Zone and has settled many confusion on the identification of the Iranun as *lanun* (pirates) and has made a conclusion that the sea was a critical fact of life.

From the Iranun point of view, Datu Laut, an Iranun leader of the west coast Borneo during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, once said that whatever things done by

his ethnic was "...the most honorable of professions, the only one which a gentleman and a chief could pursue, and would be deeply offended if told they were but robbers on a larger scale...Notwithstanding his profession, Laut was a gentleman".<sup>22</sup> In the Malay traditional ruling system, the act of raiding the wealth and the rights of other people, be it on sea or land, will only be regarded as robbing and it will only commit by a robber.

Datu Bandira Datu Alang said that the Iranun are not pirates as pictured by the West. This is because Iranun means 'loving each other', and this is clearly opposite from what is meant by 'terrorists or bandits of the sea'.<sup>23</sup> In conclusion, the maritime raiding activities practiced by the Iranun who are called pirates (*lanun*) from the Western point of view, should be reevaluated based on worldview, history of civilization and local culture and not based on the perspective of the Western who is deeply rooted in "political and economic interest". It could be said that moral judgment and the reality of Southeast Asia history during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century should be taken into account in evaluating the involvement of the Iranun in the development of the history of maritime civilization in Borneo, whether or not their involvement should be classified as pirates, or whether or not these ethnics should be recognized as the only Malay heroes who had ever captured European as their prisoners and slaves in the history of the world.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> J.F. Warren, *The Sulu Zone 1768-1898: The Dynamic of External Trade, Slavery and Ethnicity in the Transformation of A Southeast Asian Maritime State*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, 1981, p. vii.
- <sup>2</sup> Owen Rutter, *The Pirate Wind: Talse of the Sea-Robbers of Malaya*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 10.
- <sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. 19.
- <sup>4</sup> R. Braddel, "A Study of Ancient Times in the Malay Peninsula and the Straits of Malacca", *JMBRAS*, 1980, p. 6.
- <sup>5</sup> A.P. Rubin, *Piracy, Paramontey and Protectorates*, Kuala Lumpur: Penerbit Universiti Malaya, 1974, p. 10.
- <sup>6</sup> Joan Rawlins, *Sarawak 1839-1968*, London: MacMillan, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, 1969, p. 38.
- <sup>7</sup> Nicholas Tarling, *Piracy and Politics in the Malay World*, Singapore: Donald Moore Gallery, 1963, p. 37.
- <sup>8</sup> J. F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi: Globalization, Maritime Raiding and the Birth of Ethnicity*, Quezon City: New Day Publishers, 2002, p. 43.
- <sup>9</sup> Anne Reber Lindsey, *The Sulu World in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: A Historiographical Problem in British Writings on Malay Piracy*, Ithaca: Cornell University, 1966.
- <sup>10</sup> C.A. Majul, *Muslim in the Philippines*, Quezon: Saint Mary's Publishing, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition, 1978, p. 47.
- <sup>11</sup> Datu Bandira Datu Alang, *Iranun: Sejarah dan Adat Tradisi*, Kuala Lumpur: Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka, 1992, p. 1.
- <sup>12</sup> Robert Nicholl, *Raja Bongsu of Sulu. A Brunei Hero In His Times*, Selangor: Anaceme Art & Printing Sdn. Bhd., 1996, p. 24.
- <sup>13</sup> J. F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 54.
- <sup>14</sup> Datu Bandira Datu Alang, *Iranun: Sejarah dan Adat Tradisi*, p. 34.
- <sup>15</sup> J. Hunt, "Some Particular Relating to Sulo in the Archipelago of Felicia" in J.H. Moore, *Notices of the Indian Archipelago and Adjecant Countries*, London, 1967, p. 17-29.
- <sup>16</sup> J. F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 156.
- <sup>17</sup> Robert Nicholl, *Raja Bongsu of Sulu*, p. 17.
- <sup>18</sup> J. F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 103.
- <sup>19</sup> Thomas Forrest, *A Voyage from Calcutta to the Mergui Archipelago Lyngon the East Side of the Bay of Bengal*, London: G. Scott, 1779, pp. 192-193.
- <sup>20</sup> J. F. Warren, *Iranun and Balangingi*, p. 130.
- <sup>21</sup> Ibid., p.13.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 41.
- <sup>23</sup> Datu Bandira Datu Alang, *Iranun: Sejarah dan Adat Tradisi*, p. 1.