

The Maritime Network in the Indonesian Archipelago in the Fourteenth Century*

by A.B. Lapiian

Archaeological and linguistic evidences show that interinsular traffic in island Southeast Asia, including the Indonesian archipelago, has its roots in prehistoric times. About early Indonesian commerce, an exhaustive study has been made by Professor Wolters (1967). Its main problem revolves around the identification of toponyms as mentioned in Chinese sources. This study and other previous works have shown that knowledge about the area leaned heavily on the western part of the archipelago. For obvious reasons, the "favoured coast" (Wolters 1967, ch. 13) for Chinese shipping and trade was found in this region. It was a convenient meeting place for the India as well as for the China-bound traffic and the staple-market for products gathered from various parts of the archipelago.

Little is known, however, about "internal" relations within the re-

gion. But from the origin and frequency of missions sent to the Middle Kingdom, some glimpses can be caught of the local situation: at certain periods, embassies came from one particular place while other countries stopped sending missions to China — an indication that the region was being dominated by a particular country, as for example happened during the Srivijaya era (Wolters 1967:230 sqq.). Shipping to the eastern part of the Archipelago then was an indigenous affair. Spices from Maluku (mainly consisting of nutmeg and cloves) were gathered at ports in Java and Sumatra from where they were shipped further to the outside world. Cloves and nutmegs, according to Chinese and Arab sources, were said to be products of Java and Sumatra as the secret of the route to the Spice Islands was jealously kept (elaborated more in my article of 1965).

Indigenous sources covering a wider area of the Indonesian archipelago date from the middle of the fourteenth century. The Pararaton (from about 1350) mentions the names of Bali, Dampo, Seran, Gurun, Tanjungpura, Sunda, Palembang, Haru, Pahang, and Tumsaik. The Nagarakrtagama (1365) gives a

greater number of names, including those mentioned in the Pararaton most probably because Mpu Prapanca, the author of the Nagarakrtagama, had a better knowledge of the Archipelago than the writer of the Pararaton text. But it is also possible that the Pararaton was only concerned with places that still had to come under Majapahit. Only those still to be subjugated were named in the famous oath of Gajah Mada, whereas the places listed by Prapanca were already regarded as "tributaries". A remarkable fact is that Sunda, mentioned in the Pararaton, was not included in the Nagarakrtagama.

Let us now concentrate on the geographical names as listed by Prapanca. Although called by Professor Kern a "dorre opsomming" (dry enumeration) of names, he claims that it is "more expressive than any picture of the power of Java in the middle of the 14th century of our era" (Kern 1919: 13). Dr Pigeaud, however, writing in the wake of Professor Berg's demythologization of a "Greater Majapahit" (Berg 1951-52), doubts "whether Majapahit authority at any time has been of much consequence in most countries mentioned in the list" (Pigeaud IV, 1962: 29). He also

*This is a revised text of the paper discussed at the SPAFA Consultative Workshop on Research on Maritime Shipping and Trade Networks in Southeast Asia. Cisarua, Indonesia, 20-27 November 1984 — The author wishes to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions that enable him to improve the text.

The author works as Assistant Director of the National Institute for Cultural Studies in Jakarta, Indonesia.

observes that Prapanca's knowledge of geography "seems chaotic" as "there is not much order in the list" (*ibid.*). Lack of proper knowledge of geography is indeed a slip often shown by writers of the past as well as of the present. Professor Krom (1919: 261) also assumes that the poet's "limited geographical knowledge" partly accounts for the fact that "no fixed line" is observed in the sequence of place names. Partly, he says, the arrangement of names must be attributable to poetic requirements of metre.

Perhaps both explanations are valid. But to put "order" into a number of names depends on a specific "line" of thinking, and this should not necessarily be of a geographic nature. Besides a concern for rhythmic order as required by the metre, the arrangement can also be ruled by other considerations, for example, a listing based on chronological order: a more distant place may have established earlier contacts, commercially or politically. The list can also be made according to ranking of importance, political as well as economic, of the countries mentioned. Sometimes relative positions (like interdependencies) have also to be taken into consideration. In a later period, for example, the VOC had to deal with Sumbawa through the Sultan of Gowa, and with Banggai by way of Ternate. The sequence of names can also be due to commercial convenience: certain goods had to be delivered first to some distant place in exchange for products which are found in another market place, and so on. But for whatever reasons the poet had made up the list, at a glance we can recognize a certain order of groupings, suggesting perhaps particular relationships. In any case, this list of geographical names reveals that Majapahit established a wide range of overseas contacts. In other words, the list may hint at the existence of certain sea-routes.

There are four big groups as arranged by the poet Prapanca. The first is what he called "the country of Malayu" which is for us the island of Sumatra (Canto 13, stanza 1 and stanza 2 verse 1). The second group is called "the island of Tanjung-Nagara" or the present island of Kalimantan (Borneo), listed in Canto 13, stanza 2, verses 3 and 4; and Canto 14, stanza 1. The third one (Canto 14, stanza 2) is said to belong to Pahang ("sakahawan Pahang"), consisting of place names found in the Malay peninsula. The remainder is grouped together as those lying "to the east from the Javanese country" (*sawetan ikanang tanah Jawa*). Seen in retrospect, this fourth group seems to be an early precursor of the pre-war province of the "Grote Oost" (Great East).

The Sumatra Group

The Sumatra-group begins with Jambi, followed by Palembang, and not the other way round. Jambi, unlike Palembang, was not mentioned in the famous *palapa*-oath of Gajah Mada, so it can be assumed that by that time Jambi was already under the power of Majapahit. It stands to reason that in the list of Prapanca, Jambi takes precedence to Palembang. Closer ties between Jambi and kingdoms in Java have perhaps been started in earlier periods, especially seen in the context of Jambi's rivalry with Palembang (Srivijaya). The Pamalayu expedition of Kertanegara went to Jambi first. And in later times (Demak, Mataram) relations with Jambi were also significant.

Returning to the Majapahit era, the importance of Jambi is clearly evident as more place names point to this area: Karitang, Tebo, and Dharmacraya are places located further upstream in the present province of Jambi. The next name, Kandis, is still preserved in the

toponyms of Suak-kandis and Kota-kandis nearer the Jambi coast where old ceramic remains have been found (Bambang 1983).

After Kandis, the list of Prapanca mentions Kahwas and Manangkabwa (Minangkabau), also in the vicinity of Jambi. We can draw the conclusion that relations between Java and Minangkabau were established through the great rivers on the east coast of Sumatra.

The next sub-group lies to the north, *i.e.* Siak, Rokan, Kampar, and Pane (Panai). These names still exist today as names of rivers. In geographical order from south to north the arrangement should be: Kampar-Siak-Rokan-Panai. The following sub-groups also, consisting of Kampei-Haru-Mandailing, Tumiang (Tamiang)-Perlak-Barat (Seunjamborahat?), and Lwas-Sa-mudra-Lamuri present difficulties as they seem to be interspersed among each other. If the identification is right, then Mandailing is too far south from Kampei (Pulau Kampai) and Arun, Barat is much farther west from Perlak and Tamiang, while L(a) is again too far south from Samudra and Lamuri. Here perhaps the information gathered by Prapanca from merchants and travelers was not clear. But the possibility remains that the location of toponyms should be found elsewhere and that the combination of names represents certain forms of alliances.

The three remaining names of the Sumatra group: Batan, Lampung, and Barus, are too far apart from each other to form a separate sub-group. If Batan is correctly placed at present day Batam island, it must have been the major island port off the eastern coast, surpassing Bangka, Belitung, Bintan, and the Lingga archipelago which later became more important. It is interesting to note that the island of Bangka was not mentioned although it was already known in

the Srivijaya period (the inscription of Kota Kapur of 686). However, it must also be remembered that a river Batang is found in the island of Bangka, a Pulau Batang (or Betang) can be found near Belitung, while another Pulau Batang is part of the Lingga archipelago. That Lampung and Barus are mentioned together may be an indication that shipping to Barus (on the north-west coast of Sumatra) could have called first at the harbour(s) of Lampung.

Kingdoms rise and wane also in Sumatra. It is, therefore, not surprising that of the above-mentioned places only a few remained in the sixteenth century as reported by Tome Pires. These are, from north to south, Lamori, Aru, Rokan, Siak, Kampar, Minangkabau, Jambi and Palembang. On the west coast, the harbour place of Baros is still of importance. Lampung is now divided into Tuland Bawang and Sekampung, while Barat may be the same as "Melabah or Day". Instead of Samudra and Parlak the names of Pasai and Pidie are mentioned. But Prapanca's choice of the name Samudra instead of Pasai may have been dictated by the metre. In the sixteenth century, many kingdoms on the east coast were more or less in a subordinate position to Malaka.

The Island of Tanjung Nagara

The Kalimantan-group or "the island of Tanjung Nagara" starts with Kapuas and Katingan. Here the name Kapuas does not refer to the river of the same name in West Kalimantan, but rather to Kuala Kapuas in Central Kalimantan which is closer to Katingan (the Mendawai river). Then comes the sub-group consisting of Sampit, Kuta-Lingga, and Kuta-Waringin. Of the three, the middle one is identified with Lingga in Sarawak where the rivers Lingga and Batang Lupar

meet. The other two are still existing names in the present province of Central Kalimantan. Thus it is still to be solved why Kuta Lingga is mentioned in the same breath with Sampit and Kuta Waringin, unless the case is dismissed again as being mere geographical ignorance on the part of the poet. The next sub-group(s), *i.e.* Sambas-Lawai (Melawai), Kadandangan (Kendawangan)-Landa (Landak)-Samedang (Semandang)-Tirem (Peniraman) are to be found close together in West Kalimantan.

The following sub-group consisting of Sedu (Sadong) in Sarawak (Maludu Bay), Solot (Sulu), and Pasir, represents a sea-route circumnavigating the island. Then comes Baritu (Barito) and Sawaku (the island of Sebu) in South Kalimantan. The three last names are Tabalung, Tunjung-Kute, and Malano. Tabalung (Tabalong) is located in Amuntai, Tunjung-Kute is Kutai on the east coast, and Malano is present day Melanau in Sarawak (Pigeaud IV, 1962: 32). According to Uka Tjandrasmita, archaeological remains are found in the area of the Tabelong river, close to the town of Tanjung which is located on the confluence of the rivers Tabelong and Jaing. The bricks found at the site are identical in form and measurement with those of Trowulan, a major town of Majapahit. In the light of this discovery the name Tunjung-Kute should be read as two names: Tanjung which is on the Tabelong river, and Kutai on the east coast where early Hindu inscriptions dating from the fifth century A.D. have been found. Ma-

The bricks found close to Tanjung are identical in form and measurement with those of Trowulan.

lano with Tanjung Puri as principal town is mentioned separately (Canto 14, stanza 1, verse 4) and, instead of Melanau in Sarawak, should be identified with the present Telok-malano on the west coast in the bay of Sukadana. As we know, the later Javanese kingdoms of Demak and Mataram enjoyed good relations with Sukadana.

The Malay Peninsula Group

After Kalimantan, all the names listed in Canto 14, stanza 2, point to the Malay Peninsula. First Pahang which, according to the text, was the most important place: the others "belong" to Pahang, of which the principal is Hujung-Medini located in Johore. Then come Lengkasuka (in Patani), Sai, Kalantan, and Tringgano (Trengganu). These are, together with Pahang, places on the east coast. The following sub-group is made up of Pakamuwar, Dungun, Tumaski, and Sanghyang Hujung. Professor de Josselin de Jong locates the first two names, *i.e.* Paka and Muwar, near Kemaman, while Dungun is the North Cape in Kemaman. Tumaski is Singapura (according to Gerini) or Johore (according to Pelliot). Sanghyang Hujung (Sening Ujung) lies between Malaka and Selangor. The sub-group Kelang-Kedajera is, like the previous one, also on the west coast but farther north. For the two last names of Kanjap and Niran, as yet no satisfactory identification has been found. The text suggests that they are in one island and that the name Kanjap is

known in Arab sources (Kanjab). They are tentatively placed either in the Riau-Lingga archipelago or in Karimun (De Josselin de Jong 1956).

The route to the eastern region begins, naturally, with Bali (Canto 14, stanza 3). Here two principal places are mentioned: Badahulu and Lwa-Gajah (Lo-Gajah). The next name of Gurun, having the principal place of Sukun, is located (by Van Eerde) in the island of Nusa Penida. Van Fraassen (1976: 295), however, seems to prefer the identification made by Professor Teeuw, *viz.* that Sukun should be found in north-west Lombok (*i.e.* Tanjung whose old name was Sokong), while the two names of Gurun (Gorong=Gerung) stand for the whole island of Lombok including also the other islands of Nusatenggara.

Those that follow are further east: Taliwang, Dampo, Sapi, Sanghyang Api, Bhima, Seran, and Hutan Kadali. Except for Taliwang which is located in the western part of Sumbawa, the places of Dampo, Sapi, Sanghyang Api (*i.e.* Gunung Api or Sangeang), and Bima are all found in the eastern half of the island. Seran is the island of Seram in Central Maluku. For Hutan Kadali, an ingenious solution was found by Rouffaer (1915: 645 seq.) who places it in the island of Buru or the Sula island to the north of Seram. Thus the sequence of the list presents no difficulties. The next name of Gurun (not to be confused with the first homonym which stands for Nusa Penida or Lombok) has been identified as the Gorong archipelago to the east of Seram. Although mentioned in the first verse of the next stanza, this Gurun should be grouped together with the preceding names.

Of course, we must also take into account Teeuw's interpretation that both Gurun are to be identified with Lombok. In this case, we

Van Eerde's identification of Uda with the Talaud islands is based on Professor Kern's information that the indigenous name of Talaud is Tal-oda.

accept the assumption that the list is indeed chaotic, for in the next lines the names refer again to the same island, but whereas the former is still a matter of conjecture, the names (Lombok-Mirah and the Sak-sak country) are more convincingly connected with Lombok.

The fact, however, that Gurun is mentioned twice in different places suggests that we are dealing with two different names as in the case of Solot and Seran. Therefore, the identification of the second Gurun with the Gorong islands to the east of Seram should be accepted. Mentioned after Hutan Kadali (Buru or the Sula islands) and Seran, Gurun is not out of place. Those that follow from another sea-route, starting with Lombok-Mirah and the Sak-sak country (Sasak), in West and East Lombok respectively, that is, if we follow Rouffaer, or, if the interpretation of Van Eerde is preferred, both in East Lombok (Pigeaud IV, 1962: 34). Mentioned in the same stanza (4) after Lombok, are the countries of Bantayan, Luwuk, and Uda. The first two names are in Sulawesi, *Viz.* Bantaeng and Luwu to the north, in the gulf of Bone. The country (or countries) of Uda is placed by Van Eerde in the Talad archipelago. Although later other scholars have agreed with this identification, it must be remembered that it is still a matter of conjecture: the so-called "three major islands" can be placed elsewhere in this eastern part of the archipelago. Perhaps

the "trio" referred to here of which Uda is made, should include the two preceding names of Bantaeng and Luwu(k). But if we maintain the hypothesis as posed by Van Eerde by locating Uda in the Talaud archipelago, then Luwuk should preferably be identified with present day Luwuk, a small harbour on the east coast (122°7'E, 1°9'S). From here strong currents go in a northern direction, so that ships can reach the northeastern coast of Sulawesi and the Sangir-Talaud island rather easily. Perhaps, the hypothesis that the old kingdom of Luwu (the oldest in Bugis traditions) had its former seat on this coast before the Bugis moved to the gulf of Bone (personal communication by Professor Mattulada) has some validity. Another problem is whether the ships sailed from Lombok to Bantaeng, or whether a straight connexion between Majapahit and this port in Sulawesi exists. However, we know that in the later period, the Bugis had direct contacts with the island of Lombok.

Van Eerde's identification of Uda with the Talaud islands is based on Professor Kern's information that the indigenous name of Talaud is Tal-oda. However, the explanation that the name is derived from Tau(n)-laudé (Steller & Aebersold 1959: 485), meaning people (*tau*) of the sea (*laude*, the Indonesian *laut*) is most plausible. Curiously enough, the word *uda* (or *udaka*) in Old-Javanese and Sanskrit means "water" (Zoetmulder 1982: 2098),

thus supporting again the view that Uda should be placed in the Talaud archipelago.

The following three names represent another sea-route: Makasar-Butun-Banggawi. The places are easily identifiable. Butun or Butung was until recently the seat of a kingdom with the same name, and Banggawi is Banggai which in later times became a vassal of Ternate. Makasar is the name of an ethnic group in South Sulawesi. The present town of Ujung Pandang, formerly known as Makasar, was the harbour of the twin kingdom Gowa-Tallo. During the Majapahit era, however, the toponym Makasar could perhaps be identified with the old principality of Siyang which was the most important political power among the people of Makasar (Pelras 1973: 47). It is also interesting to note that the two major ethnic groups of South Sulawesi — Bugis and Makasar — are not mentioned at the same time. This may be an allusion to the fact that the kingdom of Majapahit had separate relations with each of them. Another interesting feature is the link made between Butung and Banggai. This will be elaborated below when we come to Maluku.

After Banggawi, the names of Kunir (Pulau Kunyit, south of Pulau Laut), Galiyao (Kangean), and Salaya(r) can be grouped together. Van Fraassen (1976:295) doubts whether Kunir should be located at Pulau Kunyit in the present province of South Kalimantan, especially as we are dealing here with places east of Java. But he could not give another alternative. There is, however, a Tanjung Kuning in the island of Komodo which is still in the neighbourhood of Kalao. Van Fraassen prefers to identify Galiyao in that place rather than in the island of Kangean. He also reminds us of the remarkable fact that "Gallejau" appeared in a 17th-century Dutch text; Barnes (1982)

adds that the name was found even in earlier sources of the early 16th century. Barnes, however, suggests that the name should refer to the island of Pantar lying between Lomblen (Lembata) and Alor (Barnes 1982: 409-410). In fact, Van Fraassen (1976: 296) did mention Kayan in Pantar as a probable location of Galiyao. Moreover, a very recent article by Dietrich (1984:317-326) confirms Barnes' suggestion.

The next names of Sumba and Solot (Solur) do not present problems for identification. This is not the case, however, with the name of Muar. Several places have been mentioned in connexion with it: the Kei islands, Honi-Moa, or Saparua, as is suggested by Rouffaer. But Van Fraassen offers a better solution by relating it to "Batachina de Muar" which frequently occurs in Portuguese texts and which should be identified with the peninsula of Hoamoal in the island of Seram (Van Fraassen 1976: 296, see also Dietrich 1984:320). He

...Maloko is correctly identified with... the proper Moluccas, the clove producing country...

rightly observes that Cortesao's explanation of geographical names mentioned in the Suma Oriental (Cortesao I, 1944: 209-210) was not correct. I also would like to add that in the original text of Tome Pires only three names, "Ambom, Ytagoay, Vulmicalao" are mentioned whereas Cortesao gives five names in his translation: "Amboina, Hitu, Haruku (Ytagoay), Honimoa, Nusa Laut (Vulmicalao)".

The list of eastern countries ends with the names of Wandan, Ambwan, Maloko, Wwanin, Seran, and Timur. The first three are easily recognizable as the famous spice is-

lands of Banda, Ambon, and Maluku. Nowadays, the name of Maluku is applied to the whole province of which Banda and Ambon are important parts. The name "Maloko" of the text is correctly identified with what is known as the "proper Moluccas", viz. the clove producing country in the northern part of the province. However, to locate it in Ternate (as has been done repeatedly by previous scholars) is somewhat anachronistic. Maluku stands for the collective unity of Maluku-Kie-Raha (the four Maluku mountains), comprising of Ternate, Tidore, Bacan, and Jailolo. Ternate became in the course of time the most important of the four, at least at the time when the first Portuguese ships arrived in the 16th century. But originally Bacan occupied the leading position as told by local tradition (discussed in my article, 1984). In the 17th century, the Sultan of Bacan was already referred to as "het onvermogende Coninkje van Batchian" (the poor little king of Bacan), though in the time of Majapahit, it was still the major power of Maluku. According to local belief, the original seat of Bacan was in the island of Makian whose importance as a clove producing island has been described by many writers.

In this context, the name "Batachina de Moro" which according to Portuguese and Dutch writings (including Valentyn's) was the old name for the island of Halmahera can easily be explained. As Bacan, in the old texts also spelled Batjan, Batchian, or Batschian, had dwindled into a small principality when the Portuguese arrived, its former role in the area had been forgotten so that folk etymology must have linked the island's name with the bigger power of China, hence "Batochina". With regard to "Batachina de Muar" which points to the island of Seram, the same link can be established with the old power

of Bacan. After all, Portuguese and early Dutch sources do mention Bacan's claims on several places in Seram.

Moro is the name of an old kingdom, probably the first, in Halmahera having its centre in the present district of Tobelo. According to local belief, the Moro people — who are regarded as the original inhabitants — are still wandering around although now invisible to the human eye. The historical existence of the people of Moro can be attested by Portuguese sources, and the name still survives in the island of Morotai ("Moro-of-the-sea", in contrast to Moro-tia, *i.e.* "Moro-of-the-land").

A Portuguese text from about 1544, most probably written by Antonio Galvao, has recorded an old legend about the origins of the kings of Bacan. They are said to be descendants of one of four eggs which was found being guarded by a serpent. The eggs gave birth to three boys and one girl. When they grew up, the boys became kings of, respectively, "Bachao" (Bacan), "dos Papuas", "Botum e Bemguay" (Butung and Banggai), while the girl became the wife of the king of Loloda in northern Halmahera (Jacobs 1971: 80-83). The legend — "crea quem quiser" — thus establishes a link between Bacan and the other Maluku powers through the female line, while placing Bacan on the same footing with Butung-Banggai and the Papua (*i.e.* the Raja Ampat) islands. It is a curious co-incidence that Butung and Banggai are again closely linked together as in the list of Prapanca (Canto 14, stanza 5). Or, perhaps, it is not a co-incidence at all but an evidence that in the past, at least until the 14th century, the two countries had more intimate relations (political, economic, or cultural?) than today.

Closer relations between Bacan and the land of Papua are recorded in Portuguese and Dutch sources

(more references are given in my article, 1984a). After the decline of Bacan, Tidore continued to have relations with Maluku and Raja Ampat.

In the list of Prapanca, neither the name of Papua nor that of Raja Ampat (or Kolano Fat) is found. Instead, we have Wwanin (Onin) which is located in the Bird's Head peninsula of Irian. The second

...Study of historical geography... supported by archaeological evidence may produce a more refined picture...

Seram is also placed by Rouffaer on the coast of Irian, *i.e.* in Kowiai, South New Guinea. This coast and the Bird's Head have had a long tradition of trade connexions with Maluku, especially with eastern Seram and the Gorong islands. We are fortunate to have a Spanish text by Miguel Rojo de Brito (1581-82) describing trade activities in these districts (Boxer and Manguin 1979). Although the *Relacion* dates from the 16th century, conditions might be the same in the Majapahit era. In fact they have not changed much in the 17th century and even later when the Dutch have established themselves in Banda and Ambon (Generale Missiven II, 1964: 679).

The last name in the list of Prapanca is Timur which is easily recognized as the island of Timor. The question remains, however, why Timor is mentioned after the places in Irian instead of in the group of Sumba and Solor. Commercially, Timor is important to several ethnic groups in Irian for they imported their much valued

In the Bird's Head area, the possession of Timor cloth is a most prestigious status symbol. In addition, "kain Timur" is also a valuable item in the exchange of bridal gifts. Seen in this context, a better familiarity with local conditions and a more detailed study of historical geography including wind patterns and sea currents, supported by archaeological evidences may hopefully produce a more refined picture than has been obtained until now. Also local legends and myths may serve as useful clues for further inquiry.

Bibliography

Boxer, C.R. and P.Y. Manguin Miguel Roxo de Brito's narrative of his voyage to the Raja Empat, May 1581 — November 1582." *Archipel* 18 (1979): 175-194.

Brandes, J.L.A. *Pararaton (Ken Arok) of het Boek der Koningen van Tumapel en van Majapahit*. Verh. Bat. Genootschap LXII, 1920.

Cortesao, Armando *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*. 2 Vols. London, The Hakluyt Society, 1944.

De Josselin de Jong, P.E. "Malayan and Sumatran place names in classical Malay literature." *Malayan Journal of Tropical Geography* IX (1956): 61-70.

Dietrich, Stefan "A note on Galiyao and the early history of the Solor. Alor islands" *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 140 (1984): 317-326.

Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, II. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1964.

Jacobs, Hubert Th. Th. M. *A treatise on the Moluccas (c. 1544)*... Rome, Jesuit Historical Institute, 1971.

Kern, H. "Een Oud Javaansch geschiedkundig gedicht uit het bloeitijdperk van Majapahit." *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII-VIII.

Krom, N.J. *Het Oud-Javaansche lofdicht Nagarakrtagama van Prapanca (1365 A.D.)*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1919.

Macknight, C.C. "The nature of early maritime trade: some points of analogy from the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago." *World Archaeology* 5 (2); October 1973: 198-209.

Meilink-Roelofs, M.A.P. *Asian trade and European influence in the Indonesian archipelago between 1500 and 1630*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1962.

Pelras, Christian "Les premieres donnees occidentales concernant Delebes-sud." *Bijdr. Kon. Inst.* 133 (1977): 277-260.

Pigeaud, Theodore G. Th. *Java in the 14th century, a study in cultural history*. The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1960 and 1962.

continued on page 49