

Malay Navigation and Maritime Trade: A Journey Through Anthropology and History

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Abstract: This paper attempts to explore the history of the Malay navigation and maritime trade which started during the third century. The goal of this paper is to identify the significant yet relatively not widely-known contribution of the Malays during ancient times in the history of navigation and maritime trade. This research is very important because it provides an insight into the trading mechanisms, ship construction, and maritime navigational skills of the Malays, which have been documented in ancient Chinese literary works. This paper focuses on the Malays, Malay navigation, and Malay maritime trade in ancient times. The method used for this research is secondary analysis of existing historical and anthropological data and sources. This study discovered that the Malays during ancient times possessed sophisticated navigational skills, were skilled at constructing large ships, and travelled and traded with countries as far away as the Middle East and Africa.

Keywords: Navigation, Maritime, Malay/Melayu, Malacca, Srivijaya, China, India.

Introduction

The Malays are made up of a huge racial group originally based in Sundaland (Benua Sunda), now normally referred to as the Malay Archipelago or Southeast Asia (Oppenheimer, 1998; Santos, 2005). Since the last Ice Age, they have been widely scattered within the Malayo-Polynesian World – to the north as far up as Taiwan, to the south until New Zealand, to the east until Easter Island, and to the west until Madagascar. Their socio-cultural activities and achievements,

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especially the core Malays in the Archipelago, have long been known and of interest to the outside world, though not much within the community itself.

Thematically, this paper will concentrate on Malay navigation and maritime trade as reflected in their socio-economic history and anthropological profiles. In the following discussion, the term “Malays/*Melayu*” refers mainly to the core group in the Malay Archipelago, but in certain cases includes those within the rest of the Malayo-Polynesian World.

The Malays

Historically, the Malays and their lands were known worldwide at least since the second century. The Greco-Egyptian scholar, Ptolemy (90-168 C.E.), for example, in his book *Geographia* (152 C.E.) referred to them as *Μαλειου Κόλον* (“Maleu-Kolon”). Specifically, the term refers to the western part of the Golden Chersonese, i.e. the Malay Peninsula. The name “Kunlun” has also been noted down in *Nanchouiwuchih* (南州異物志) by Wan Zhen (万震), a well-known Chinese historian of the third century (Wang, 1968, pp. 60-64). In both accounts, the Malays were highlighted for their navigational skills and trading abilities.

In terms of nation-building and foreign relations, by 535 B.C.E., there was Kedah Tua towards the north-western side of the Peninsula. The state was already engaged in export-oriented iron smelting activities. In the seventh century, there was a kingdom known by the name of *Melayu* near Jambi, in Sumatera. It was later incorporated into a bigger kingdom (then empire) called Srivijaya, based at nearby Palembang. Though based in Sumatera, the empire had tremendous influence on other islands in the Archipelago as well as on Champa and Funan, in what is now Indo-China. In Java, for example, its king, Dharamindra, built the famous Borobudur in 770 C.E.; King Samaratungga completed it in 825 C.E.

Srivijaya remained in power until the 14th century with a lasting unifying effect on the Malay Archipelago and part of Indo-China. Numerous groups in the region, including Champa, recognised their shared identity and referred to themselves as *Melayu* (Malays), with their homelands called *tanah Melayu* (Malay lands). In the Archipelago,

this includes Jambi, Palembang, Minangkabau, Siak, Kampar, Rokan, Pane, Kampe, Aru, Mandaileng, Tumiang, Perlak, Samudra, Lamuri/Aceh, and Barus in Sumatera, as well as Langkasuka, Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, etc. in the Malay Peninsula (Andaya, 2001, p. 32).



Figure 4.1. Map of the Srivijaya Empire between the 10th and 11th centuries (“Srivijaya Empire”, n.d.)

Srivijaya had a long history of mercantile, cultural, and religious ties with India, China, and the Islamic Caliphate in the Middle East. Around 860 C.E., for example, Sri Maharaja Balaputra built a monastery at Nalanda University, in Bihar, India. In 1006 C.E., Sri Vijaya Maravijayattungavarman constructed Chudamani Vihara in Nagapatinnam, Tamil Nadu. In fact, long before that, Srivijaya had been the stopping point for Chinese Buddhist pilgrims on their way to India. In 671 C.E., for example, a Tang Dynasty monk, I-Tsing, travelling in a Persian ship, stopped by Srivijaya and its vassal state, Kedah Tua, on his way to study Buddhism in Nalanda. In Srivijaya, he studied Sanskrit, Malay, and Buddhism for six months, before proceeding to India on a large ship belonging to the Raja of Srivijaya. Later, I-Tsing returned to Srivijaya and stayed from 689 C.E. to 695 C.E., studying and translating books on various aspects of Buddhism (I-Tsing, Muller, & Takakusu, 2006).

Like the third century Wan Zhen, I-Tsing referred to the Malays as “Kunlun”. Regarding their appearance, he noted that, “Kunlun people have curly hair, dark bodies, bare feet and they wear sarongs”. This description fits the famous 526-539 C.E. sketch of a Langkasuka Malay

diplomat to Liang Dynasty China shown below. Like I-Tsing, the Tang Dynasty Chinese were, in general, familiar with the Malay language and referred to it as Kunlun-yu.



Figure 4.2. A Chinese painting of a Langkasuka diplomat (“Portraits of Periodical Offering of Liang”, n.d.)

The Malay language has numerous branches and variants. Among them is the Ma’anyan language which was spread from the Malay Archipelago to faraway Madagascar by waves of incredible maritime migrations. One of the migrations specifically took place approximately 1200 years during the period of Srivijaya from the present region of Kalimantan in Indonesia in the ninth century, around 830 C.E. (Murray et al., 2012). In Madagascar, the Malays became the ancestors of the Malagasy people, with their well-known Merina Kingdom. Meanwhile, Ma’anyan developed into what is now referred to as the Malagasy language, which is still widely spoken in Madagascar (Otto, 1991).

Meanwhile, Islam came to the Archipelago as early as 674 C.E., with the establishment of a Muslim settlement in Sumatera headed by an Arab. However, intensive Islamic *da’wah* was started only in the early 12th century, by various *faqirs* and *shaykhs*. Thus, Hindu-Buddhism was slowly replaced by Islam. Local documents indicate that the first Malay states to accept Islam were Samudra and Perlak in Sumatera. The states were later merged as Pasai which ultimately became the first centre of Islamic learning in the Malay Archipelago.

The process of Islamisation was stepped up during the Sultanate of Malacca in the 15th century. Malacca soon replaced Sriwijaya which ceased to exist in the 14th century. Its entrepôt was, for a long time, a thriving trading centre, a meeting point between merchants from China,

India, Arabia, Persia, and even Europe. Along with the traders also came Islamic preachers. Thus, from Malacca, Islam and the Malay language (with the *Jawi* script) were quickly spread to the four corners of the Archipelago. Later, both Islam and the Malay language would become important indicators of Malay identity within the Malay Archipelago and parts of Indo-China, especially Champa.

Unfortunately, in 1511, Malacca was attacked, captured, and colonised by the Portuguese. It was later taken over by the Dutch, and finally colonised by the British until Malaya's (later Malaysia) independence in 1957. At the time of the Portuguese attack, Malacca was still a bubbling international commercial centre, a Venice of the East, with merchants coming from all over the world.



Figure 4.3. The Malacca Straits trade route between 1400-1511
(Image retrieved from Shu, 2017)

Malay Navigation

To discuss Malay navigation in the past, it is important to note that it was closely related to international maritime commerce going back at least to the third century B.C.E. During this time, there was already a network of maritime trade routes stretching all the way from Western Europe to East Asia and down the east coast of Africa. Within this very early and vast network, Malay traders and navigators were already very much in action. In discussing Chinese maritime commerce and shipping during the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. to 221 B.C.), Hill (2004), for example, points out that:

Roman and Arab ships dominated the Egypt to India trade, but most of the trade between India and China was carried by Malay, Indonesian and Indian ships. It seems it was only later that Chinese ships regularly travelled to India. It was rare, however, for Chinese or Roman citizens to make the complete round trip journey between China and Egypt.

Hill (2004) goes on to say that, “Some of these ships were very large for their day and are said to have carried up to a thousand passengers and cargoes of over a thousand tonnes.” This is in line with the observation made by a third century Chinese historian, Wan Zhen. According to the historian, the Kunlun were great ship builders, sailors, and traders. They built and sailed large vessels known as “Kunlun-po” (Malay ship), measuring 200 feet long, 20 feet high above water, with four sails, cargos of 900 tons, and 600-700 people (Wang, 1968).

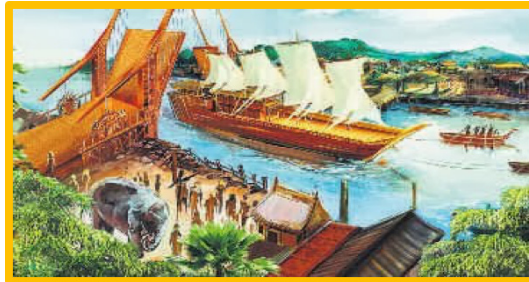


Figure 4.4. Possible image of a Kunlun-po (Google)

Indeed, the Malays were among the first people to be involved in giant-size shipbuilding, advanced navigation, and long-distance maritime trade. According to Shaffer (1996, p. 12), by at least the third century B.C.E, the Chinese had witnessed Malay sailors and traders approaching their shores in huge ocean-going vessels (*Kunlun-po, colandiophonta*) from the so-called Kunlun islands in the southern seas. They were also aware of the fact that the islanders were exceptional navigators. As sailors, they were not technically equipped with compasses, maps, or charts. Rather, they sailed and journeyed across oceans only with the aid of “celestial navigation”. As Shaffer puts it, quoting from Taylor (1976):

The Malay sailors were highly skilled navigators, sailing over the oceans for thousands of miles without a compass or written chart. They navigated by the winds and the stars, by the shape and colour of the clouds, by the colour of the water, and by swell and wave patterns on the ocean's surface. They could locate an island when they were still like 30 miles from its shores by analysing the behavior of various birds, the animal and the plant life in the water, and the patterns of swell and waves (Shaffer, 1996, pp. 11-12).

The Chinese at that time were also aware of the fact that the Malays were skilled and innovative builders of the large ocean-going vessels. In fact, they learnt a lot about shipbuilding technology from the latter. Again, as Shaffer puts it, quoting from Johnstone (1980):

The Chinese also knew these islanders as builders and as the crews of ocean-going vessels engaged in long-distance overseas trade. The Chinese, in fact, appear to have learnt much from these sailors. The Malays independently invented a sail, made from woven mats reinforced with bamboo, at least several hundred years B.C.E., and by the time of the Han dynasty (206 B.C.E. to 221 B.C.) the Chinese were using such sails (Shaffer, 1996, pp. 11-12).

Third century C.E. Chinese descriptions of the foreign vessels indicate that they were of the type called *jong* by the Malays, a local term later adopted by European languages as *junk*. A typical *jong* is a large vessel with multi-layered hulls. Quoting from Manguin (1980), Shaffer (1996) explained:

On average, the *jong* could carry four to five hundred metric tons, but at least one was large enough to carry a thousand tons. The planks of the ships were joined with dowels; no metal was used in their construction. On some of the smaller vessels, parts might be lashed together with vegetable fibres, but this was not typical of larger ships. The *jong* usually had from two to four masts plus a bowsprit, as well as two rudders mounted on its sides. Outrigger devices, designed to stabilise a vessel, were

used on many ships but probably were not characteristic of ships that sailed in rough oceans (p. 13).



Figure 4.5. A Srivijaya *jong* in the making (wacananusantara.org, n.d.)

Additionally, in the history of international navigation, Malay sailors were also the first to use the balance-lug sail for their *jongs* and *ghalis* (galleys). This has been recognised as an invention of global significance.

Balance-lugs are square sails set fore and aft and tilted down at the end. They can be pivoted sideways, which makes it possible to sail into the oncoming wind at an angle of to tack against the wind – to sail at an angle first one way and then the other, in a zigzag pattern, so as to go in the direction from which the wind is blowing. Because of the way the sides of the sail were tilted, from a distance it looked somewhat triangular (Shaffe, 1996, p. 13).

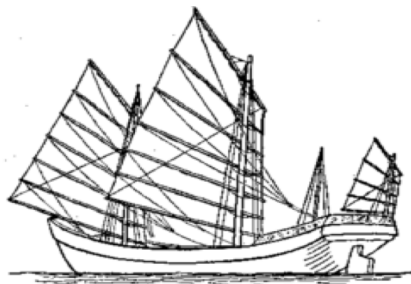


Figure 4.6. A *jong* with balance-lugs (“Kapal Jung (Jawa)”, n.d.)

The Malay square balance-lug is not only significant in that it could be used to sail into the oncoming wind. More than that, it has also given the inspiration to the triangular lateen sails later developed by sailors of other nations and regions.

Malay ingenuity in navigation was still observed during the Sultanate of Malacca in the 15th century. However, the size of the ships was slightly reduced. *Mendam Berahi* (Supressed Desire), the famous ocean-going *ghali* (galley) of Sultan Mahmud Shah, for example, was only 180 feet long, with three sails, 100 peddles, and a capacity for 400 crews and fighters.



Figure 4.7 Mendam Berahi (Google Image)

However, Malacca's *ghalis* and *jongs* were generally still bigger than contemporary Chinese ships. Thus, according to the Portuguese chronicler, Tomé Pires, in his *Suma Oriental* of 1515, in Canton, the vessels of Malacca were usually asked to anchor far from the harbour. This is because their big size could be dangerous to Chinese ships which were mostly smaller. In fact, Malacca's *ghalis* and *jongs* were also bigger compared to the Portuguese *galleon*. When he was in the midst of attacking Malacca, Afonso de Albuquerque, for example, was shocked to see them, and referred to them as "World Shakers".



Figure 4.8. Malacca's *jong* and the Portuguese *galleon* ("A sketch of the Malay *jong*", retrieved from Musa, Rodi, & Muhammad, 2014)

The historical discussion above has clearly shown the sophisticated navigational skills and great achievements of the Malays. At the same time, it has shown that during pre-Columbus times, they were the only people dispersed across the vast oceans. Thus, as Ishak (2007) aptly notes:

Today the Malays in very diverse ethnic and sub-ethnic groups are found in a vast world extending continuously from Madagascar off the east African coast in the west, through the vast Malay Archipelago in Southeast Asia, to the Hawaiian islands and Easter island in the far east of the Pacific Ocean and to New Zealand and the Chatham islands in the deep south of the Pacific Ocean and to Taiwan in the north, in all covering about 2/3 of the southern hemisphere (p. 33).

The following section will discuss the Malay maritime trading activities and their achievements.

Malay Maritime Trade

Malay maritime trade started in the third century B.C.E alongside with, and in close association with, Malay navigation. In fact, trade or commerce was the main motivation for the Malays to “navigate across seven oceans” and to travel as far away as China, India, the Islamic Caliphate states, and Madagascar. Generally, where ever they went, the Malay navigators and sailors carried with them local products from the Malay Archipelago, or those that were brought to their shores, and those which they purchased from overseas.

Historians indicate that in the first century C.E., vast fleets of Malay outrigger ships went back and forth to Aden in the Middle East, and some Malays even settled there (Shaffer, 1996, p. 16). They were supplying the Middle Eastern and Mediterranean markets mainly with cinnamon (*kayu manis*), a popular spice product among the people there.

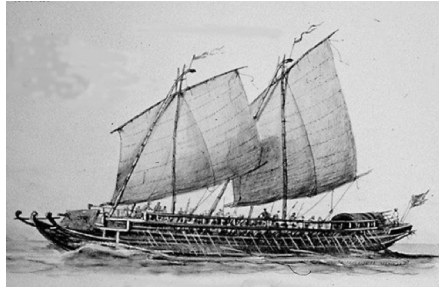


Figure 4.9. A sketch of a *lanong*, an outrigger ship used in the 18th century (Monleón, 1890)

At the same time, Malay sailors also travelled to as far as the East African coastal states, as well as to Madagascar, where many of them settled down. Aside from cinnamon, they always carried with them various other flora and fauna, including bananas, coconuts, cocoyams (*keladi*), and chicken, as well as the famous Malayo-Polynesian musical instrument - the xylophone. Aside from economic gains, the Malay trading activities had long lasting socio-cultural impacts, too. For example, *κavέλα* or *kanela*, the Greek word for cinnamon, is ultimately derived from the Malay word *kayu manis*, through Phoenician and Hebrew languages (Hill, 2004). Similarly, *edi* the Igbo word for cocoyam is derived from the Malay word *keladi*. As discussed earlier, Malay communities who settled in Madagascar contributed even more, socio-culturally, for they themselves became the ancestors of the present-day Malagasy people, who dominate the huge island nation. Additionally, the Malayo-Polynesian Ma'anyan language which they brought from the Borneo part of Srivijaya is still widely spoken.

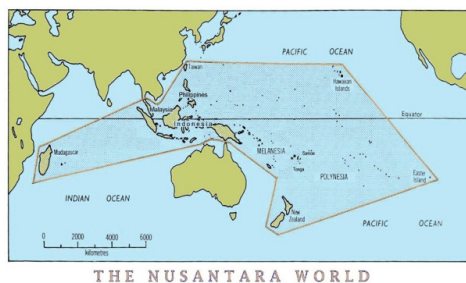


Figure 4.10. Madagascar and other parts of the Malayo-Polynesian world (Retrieved from Andriantefinanahary & Yanariak, 1997)

As indicated in the previous section, in East Asia, the Malays had long been trading with the Chinese. In fact, they were the first to initiate the shuttle trade with the East Asian giant, specifically in the third century C.E. In the long history of Malay commercial activities with China, among agricultural products exported to the country were rice and areca nut, including its palm, known in the Malay language as *pokok pinang*. Rice and its plant, *pokok padi*, were mostly exported to the southern region of China by the Champa Malays during the Song Dynasty (960-1279). The Champa variety of rice was very much favoured by the Chinese for various reasons. First, it was drought-resistant. Second, it ripened even faster than the existing local Chinese varieties. Third and finally, it could be cultivated on terraces around hilly slopes. Thus, by 1012, the Champa rice was introduced even in the lower Yangzi and Huai river regions (Embree, 2015, p. 839).

The other agricultural product exported by the Malay traders to China was the areca nut and its palm. The product was so well-received that the palm was extensively cultivated, especially in Guangdong, Yunnan, and Fujian (Kong, 2010, p. 60). In fact, even the Malay term, *pinang*, was adopted and became *bing lang* in Mandarin.

Malay maritime trade was at one of its heights during the Srivijaya period which in China, more or less, coincided with the Tang and Song dynasties. Srivijaya's power was based on its control of international sea trade of the day. Her main concern was to secure highly lucrative trade arrangements with China, and to a certain extent, India and Arabia, in order to serve their large markets. This was possible with natural products collected from Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the eastern islands, as well as those gathered at Srivijaya's entrepôts, such as Bhoga, the capital city, and Kadaram or Kedah Tua, from neighbouring countries.

Other than natural products, Srivijaya also exported human resources to China. These include labourers, household servants, and security guards cum martial arts experts, commonly referred to by the Chinese as Kunlun nu (Kunlun/Malay slaves). During the Tang Dynasty, numerous Kunluns/Malays from the Malay Archipelago travelled back and forth to China. Many resided there, especially in Guangdong. Among them, the martial arts experts and security guards were a special class of people. Their prowess impressed the Chinese and became the source of inspirations to amulet makers and, especially, literary authors of the

wuxia (chivalric romance) genre. An interesting example of the wuxia is the famous story of “The Kunlun Nu” (崑崙奴) by Pei Xing (825-880 C.E.) which portrays a Malay security guard cum martial arts expert named Mo Le who is invulnerable, capable of flying, and has other supernatural abilities Xing, Jue, & Roney, 2013). This literary piece had been a main source for other artistic pieces, and has been adapted into a movie, “The Promise” (2005), with Mo Le’s name changed to Kunlun.



Figure 4.11. Mo Le in Pei Xing’s chivalric romance flying from roof to roof with his master Cui and the master’s sweetheart.

Aside from China, the Malays also had strong commercial ties with India. In fact, Malay maritime trade with India goes back even further. As revealed by the recent findings of Universiti Sains Malaysia’s Global Archaeological Research Centre (GARC), it should have started at least approximately 1,900 years ago, especially involving the kingdom of Kedah Tua in the north of the Malay Peninsula. The kingdom was known as Kadaram to ancient Indians, Kalaha to ancient Arabs, and Cheh-Cha to ancient Chinese. Its name was mentioned early in Sanskrit literary works, such as the famous *Kathasaritsagara* (Ocean of Stories). Later, in the 12th century, it was also recorded by Al-Idirisi, an Arab traveller and geographer, in his book *Ar-Rujjar* (1154).

At around 535 B.C.E., Kedah Tua, located at present day Lembah Bujang, was already a cosmopolitan entrepôt, exporting iron, beads (*manik*, especially from Sungai Manik) rattan, resin, areca nuts, *sepang* wood, elephants, ivory, and other local products to India and the Middle East, and even Sofala (in modern-day Mozambique). Strategically located between India and China, Kedah Tua served merchants from both the East and the West. USM’s findings at the Sungai Batu archaeological site in Lembah Bujang from 2009 confirm vibrant iron

smelting and other metallurgical activities as well as maritime trading activities in the vicinity back to four centuries B.C.E. (Lee, 2016).

Sungai Batu is, so far, the oldest civilisation site in Southeast Asia. As explained by the GARC Director, Professor Dato' Dr. Mokhtar Saidin, various other ancient relics have been discovered in Lembah Bujang by using the Optically Stimulated Luminescence (OSL) technique. This includes those representing maritime activities, including administrative blocks, warehouses, jetties and sunken ships or barges, and even religious/ritual structures (Lee, 2016). Generally, the ancient ships or barges measure about 40 to 50 feet in length. It is believed that these are relics of some of the vessels used to transport commodities in the maritime trade with India, the Middle Eastern states, and China (Middleton, 2015).



Figure 4.12. Relics of trading ships at Sungai Batu

Apparently, the kingdom was populated by both locals as well as foreigners who arrived during different periods from India and the Middle East. In the seventh century, the kingdom was subjugated by Srivijaya. However, maritime trade went on uninterrupted for centuries. Kedah Tua benefitted not only from the normal maritime activities, but also from the trans-peninsular routeway developed along the Muda and Patani rivers. This enhanced the India-China trade.

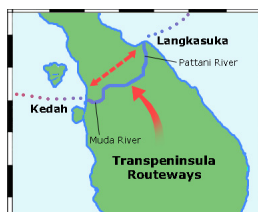


Figure 4.13. Map of the early Kedah Tua kingdom and the early trans peninsular routeway (Joo, 2006)



Figure 4.14. An artist's impression of trade activities in Kedah Tua
(Picture from the Bujang Valley Archaeological Museum)
(Retrieved from The Star Online, 2013)

In 1025 C.E., Rajendra Chola I of the Chola Dynasty from Tamil Nadu, India, launched naval raids on the ports of Srivijaya. The aggressive king and his forces managed to occupy Kedah Tua for some time. This weakened the Malay kingdom and finally led to the decline of its maritime trading activities. The main motive for the Chola king to attack Kedah and other Srivijaya ports was to forcefully gain control of their bubbling commercial activities.

Malay maritime trade was revived much later with the establishment of the Sultanate of Malacca in the 15th century. Beginning from around 1400 C.E., successive sultans of Malacca did their best to attract maritime traders from China, India, the Islamic Caliphates, and Europe to come over to Malacca. From time to time, entrepôt infrastructure and management were upgraded and maritime policies and laws were enhanced. Steps were taken to protect Malaccan waters from pirates and piracy. Diplomatic relations were strategically established with significant countries, such as China, Japan, India, Turkey, and the Islamic Caliphate states. Thus, Malacca quickly became an international maritime trading centre and Malay merchants carried their products near and far. Up to the beginning of the 16th century, maritime trading business at Malacca's entrepôt was always bubbling. Quoting Cortesao (1967; as cited in Elegant, 1999), Elegant says:

Five centuries ago, Malacca hosted 2,000 ships each day...
Cargoes of mace (*kulit buah pala*), nutmeg (*buah pala*),
cloves (*bunga cengkih*), sandalwood (*kayu cendana*),
tea, porcelains and silks passed through Malacca on their

way to Europe. From the islands of the Archipelago to the south came camphor, birds' nests, pepper (*lada hitam*), musk (*kesturi*), gold and ivory (*gading*). And from the West, mostly carried by traders from South Asia and the Middle East, came cotton, weapons, incense (*setanggi*), opium (*candu*), dyes, silver and medicinal drugs (Elegant, 1999, p. 45).

The description goes on to say:

It was a place where Gujratis, Tamils, and Bengalis from India lived and traded in secure harmony with Malays, Chinese and Arabs, a city of 100,000 where 84 languages could be heard in the markets. The Malay sultans who ruled Malacca ensured that the strait was free of pirates. Goods could be stored safely in hundreds of well-guarded godowns; the city's law were administered fairly to both Malaccans and foreigners (Elegant, 1999, p. 45).

Indeed, that was Malacca, the Malay maritime powerhouse in the 15th century. As such, it is not difficult to understand why the contemporary Portuguese chronicler, Tomé Pires, made it clear to his readers that, "Whoever is lord of Malacca shall have his hands on the throat of Venice" (Ludher, 2015). Similarly, it is not difficult to understand now why Afonso de Albuquerque, representing the Portuguese nation, attacked and conquered Malacca in 1511, resulting in the abrupt decline, or demise, of both Malay navigation and maritime trade.

Conclusion

The historical cum anthropological discussion above has clearly shown the sophisticated navigational skills and great achievements of the Malays in pre-modern times. They had extra-ordinary talent and skills not only in constructing large ships, but also in travelling across oceans ahead of most other peoples. The crossing over to Madagascar on outrigger ships via the perilous Indian Ocean, for example, was indeed a great feat difficult to surpass.

At the same time, the discussion had also shown the great accomplishment of the Malays in the past as maritime traders. They

were great maritime traders not only around their home waters, but also in faraway places, including China, India, Arabia, and even Madagascar. It is also amazing to discover that their navigational and trading activities did not only bring about monetary gains, but has also had anthropological, social, and cultural impacts on the places and peoples they interacted with. In fact, they had managed to change the demographic scenario of the world, with people of Malay stock now occupying approximately 60 per cent of the circumference of the earth. All of this was achieved without force or violence.

It is unfortunate that the marvellous Malay achievement as navigators and maritime traders are not much discussed or made known to the current generation of Malays. Even more unfortunate is the fact that the exceptional knowledge and skills both in navigation and maritime trade are now lost. It is imperative that immediate and strategic steps be taken collectively by Malay communities across the Malay world to recover or revive them.

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