

ISLAMIZATION OF BANTEN AND THE FALL OF THE KINGDOM OF PAJAJARAN

¹Didin Saepudin, ²Fahmi Irfani

¹UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, didin.saepudin@uinjkt.ac.id

²Universitas Ibn Khaldun Bogor, fahmiirfani@fai.uika-bogor.ac.id

Abstract

Banten is an area that is well known for its religious identity and local culture. Behind the strong teachings of Islam in Banten, this area has long historical roots related to the Islamization process. It is unique and very rich in historical resources because it lies between the two main traditions of the archipelago, standing between the Javanese tradition and the tradition of the Malay trading places. The purpose of writing this article is to describe the process of Islamization in Banten and the fall of the Sunda Kingdom of Pajajaran, which was later replaced by the Sultanate of Banten. The research method used in this research uses a qualitative-descriptive historical approach. Manuscripts, chronicles, archives and documents are the primary sources in reconstructing this research. The results of this research, among other things, prove that the Islamization process in Banten used a soft approach with the central figures Syarif Hidayatullah and Maulana Hasanuddin, besides that the fall of the Pajajaran Kingdom was motivated by the factor of the Banten Sultanate's attack on the Pajajaran Kingdom.

Keywords: Banten, Pajajaran, Islamization, Syarif Hidayatullah.

INTRODUCTION

A. Pre-Islamic era of Banten

Bantam, or Wahanten are other names of Banten that can be found in historical chronicles and ancient manuscripts. It is recorded in the Wangsakerta-Pustaka Rajya Wagaratta I Bhumi Nusantara manuscript that the Kingdom of Salakanagara (Negeri Perak) located in Banten, in the West Coast of Pandeglang to be precise is the oldest and earliest kingdom in the Archipelago. Long before the presence of the Sundanese Kingdom of Tarumanagara, Sriwijaya, Pajajaran or Majapahit, it was already present in managing the order of life and existed in enlivening trade and international politics. The existence of Banten as the oldest civilization in the Archipelago could be traced as far back as Nirleka Megalitikum era when statues, menhirs and pottery from the Megalithic era can be found. The megalithic remnants in Lebak Sidedug are in the form of four terrace buildings, menhirs of Pasir Peteuy in Cadasari Pandeglang, Arca Sanghiyangdengdek, Arca Domas in South Banten are archeological proofs that Banten is

one of the oldest civilizations that was present in history and still played its role in the dimension of time and space.

Revealing the history of Banten in the beginning of the century or pre-Islamic era is complicated. It requires authentic references. The historical sources can be obtained from archaeological relics in the form of inscriptions, temples, punden pottery and others. From historical trajectory, Banten once was controlled by three powerful kingdoms among others the Kingdom of Salakanagara, Tarumanagara and Sunda (Pajajaran). The identification of the kingdoms is based on archeological and historical facts. Written sources which recorded Tarumanagara is Chinese news, each of which originated from Fa-hsien year 414, Soui and Tang Dynasty.

The discovery of the inscription in the district of Munjul, Regency of Pandeglang, Banten, confirmed the information of the existence of Banten. The information proved that Banten at the time was subordinated under the Kingdom of Tarumanagara. Based on the findings of other inscriptions it can be predicted that the influence

of Tarumanagara rule under the reign of Purnawarman at least covered the Regency of Pandeglang, the Western part of Cisadane-Tangerang, the Southern part of the Regency of Bogor and the northern part of Jakarta, Bekasi and the Eastern part of Karawang. Banten in the Tarumanagara era became very strategic due to its closeness to the sea so that it provided an ease of access in trading. The second reason is due to its position among two large rivers which gave an upper hand in the field of farming. Banten became a fertile area for agricultural land for paddies, pepper, cloves or coffee at later times .

Being near the sea made Banten a strategic location for international shipping route which was indicated by the arrival of foreign nationalities such as the Indians, Chinese and Persians in Banten. In the 7th century, the port of Banten became more hectic by the arrival of traders and Islamic preachers, whether from Arab countries, India or China who then lived and settled there. In Tarumanagara era followed by the era of the Kingdom of Sunda, Banten was known as the city of port and trade.

The transfer of power from Tarumanagara to the Kingdom of Sunda which was located in the capital of Pakuan, Bogor, made Banten one of the busiest ports in the Archipelago . The Kingdom of Sunda itself which was established in the 8th century was a combination with the Kingdom of Sunda Galuh in Tatar Sunda Ciamis to be exact. It was in this Kingdom of Sunda that Banten became part of the Kingdom. This was revealed in the report from Tome Pires in his *Summa Oriental* which was written in 1511. Tome Pires was a tax inspector in Malaka who followed an expedition to Java.

The Kingdom of Sunda had ports cities along the Northern coast namely Banten, Pontang, Cigede, Tangerang, Kalapa, Cimanuk, and Cirebon. With the presence of the ports, people made a living as traders or work in shipping businesses and fisheries. According to Tome Pires the ports of Banten, Kalapa and Cirebon were quite good and large ports.

Commercial activities in the ports continued until the beginning of the reign of the Sultanate of Banten. Prior to the arrival of Islam, the region had been developed in terms of trade. Besides that, the city is more cosmopolitan compared to other cities. This fact is further

asserted by Claude Gulliot who said that Banten had its own heritage and had already established civilization long before the arrival of Islam . The region also had its own uniqueness as it is a meeting point of traditions from two powerful kingdoms namely traditions between the Malay Kingdom and the Kingdom of Java. Besides having a hectic port, the Kingdom of Sunda also possessed an important land trade route through Jasinga, Rangkas Bitung, and Serang with Pakuan Pajajaran as the center towards the East and the West .

In the 15th century, Banten was not an important port but was already mentioned as the second biggest port of the Kingdom of Sunda after Kalapa. At the time Banten was a port to export rice, foodstuffs and pepper. Banten was also known as a strategic port. The port that connected Asia and Europe at the time . Besides for trading, Banten also became a place for social interactions among the locals and the international community which eased multicultural contacts.

Economic activities in Banten developed into other sectors such as cultural interaction as it was the place where ships from numerous nations such as China, Myanmar Keling, Persia and other nations were anchored. The fall of the Malacca Kingdom in 1511 contributed to the economic acceleration in Banten. Hoessein Djajadiningrat, Banten only started to thrive after the Islam Dynasty came to power in 1527. Way before the arrival of Islam, the port was described as a village of no significance .

Research Methodology

Researching past events calls for the implementation of steps commonly known as historical research method. In general, a historical research is conducted in four steps namely sources gathering (heuristic), source criticism, interpretation and history writing (historiography). The research model used in this historical research is qualitative-descriptive. Research in history will rely heavily on the presentation of story line of a topic in a narrative and chronological way. What differentiates whether a story has gone through the phase of research or not lies on the analysis conveyed by historians or history writer or chronicler. In this paper, the writer will present a discussion in history which is not only narrative-

chronological but also accommodate interpretation so as to create novelty in history writing. Repetition in history writing is unequivocally not a goal, considering that this paper aims to reveal historical aspects of Banten which are still undisclosed to the public or has not been fully disclosed.

The first step of the method is data collecting or heuristic. The writer determines library research and field research as the two cores of this research. When discussing events in the past, researchers will almost definitely look for primary sources of data circulating within the chosen timeframe. Referring to Kuntowijoyo, written documents are materials which will later be used by historians to perform interpretations of history. Thus, for this research, the writer will focus on Banten in the 16th century and the writer will strive to collect various notes, treaties, manuscripts, chronicles originated from contemporaneous era which will be the trusted primary documents of the research.

DISCUSSION

A. Arrival and Development of Islam in Banten

It should be noted that there is a difference between the arrival of Islam and Islamization. The arrival of Islam indicates the presence of Muslims or Muslim community who arrived or stayed in the region of Banten, whereas Islamization was the process of the spreading of Islam marked by the massive conversion of the local population to Islam. The early arrival of Islam in Banten occurred far before the 15th century. The region of Banten which was located in the international trade route of Pepper Road is thought to have had interaction with the outside world since the beginning of the early AD. As aforementioned that before Islam arrived in Banten, the majority of Banten people embraced Hinduism. Around the 7th century, Banten had become a port frequented by foreign traders, even according to Gulliot, far before the Islam dynasty was in power, the port of Banten was already hectic with traders from East Asia, China or the Indochina peninsula.

In line with the rising trade volume in the Archipelago, it was most likely that traders from Arab, China, India and Perlak made a stopover in Banten to teach Islam there. In all probability,

Islamization in Banten had started before the 15th century. According to the notes of Tome Pires, the presence of Muslims in Banten had been recorded from 1512-1515. They occupy the vicinity of the port in Cimanuk. When Sunan Ampel Denta (Raden Rahmat) first arrived in Banten, he encountered Muslims there although at the time the rulers of Banten still embraced Hinduism.

When the Malacca Sultanate fell to the Portuguese in 1511, the diaspora of Muslim traders occurred. Some of them moved to Banten. Banten became more hectic with the arrival of Asian, Arabic and Indian traders, then followed by European traders. On the other hand, the port of Banten was traversed by merchant ships which came from and went towards the Northwest through the strait of Bangka.

The process of spreading of Islam or Islamization occurred in Banten implemented the soft approach, without confrontation with the local community or without force. Regional annexation was not even used in spreading Islam. The tasawuf approach was more used in the process of Islamization in Banten. It was through acculturation and vernacularization that made it easier for people to accept Islam as a religion. Eventually, the religious conversion in Banten from Hinduism to Islam became easier. The process of Islamization in Banten itself was initiated by Raden Rahmat or Sunan Ampel then followed by Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati. This is narrated in the script *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari* Pupuh XVII.

The Role of Syarif Hidayatullah and Hasanuddin

In *Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, it is narrated that Syarif Hidayatullah spread Islam in the Western part of Java including Banten which at the time was part of Pajajaran territory. Still according to the version of *Purwaka Caruban Nagari*, Syarif Hidayatullah later known as Sunan Gunung Jati with 98 of his students from Cirebon spread the teachings of Islam to Banten. Gradually, Islam can be accepted by the Banten community. Islamization process conducted using cultural character, persuasive and tasawuf approach is actually what made people interested to embrace Islam. In fact, a Pajajaran official was interested with the height of knowledge and character of Syarif Hidayatullah and even married his

younger sister named Nyai Kawunganten to the Sunan. From the marriage two children were born, the first Ratu Winahon and Hasanuddin. The spread of Islam in Banten was inseparable from the role of Syarif Hidayatullah and his son Maulana Hasanuddin.

After Syarif Hidayatullah returned to Cirebon the spread of Islam in Banten was handed over to Maulana Hasanuddin. This was narrated in *Sajarah Banten*, that Syarif Hidayatullah ordered Maulana Hasanuddin to continue to spread Islam assisted by two of his santri Mas Jong and Agus Ju. Assisted by two of his santri, Hasanuddin continued to try to Islamized the people of suburban Banten, that is Gunung Pulosari where 800 receipts meditated. After hearing the teachings of Islam delivered by Hasanuddin along with his supernatural powers, the 800 receipts declared their conversion to Islam and became the followers of Maulana Hasanuddin.

In *Babad Banten*, it was told that after Sunan Gunung Jati returned to Cirebon, Islamization was continued by Hasanuddin from all over Banten, including exploring the area of Gunung Pulosari, Gunung Karang, Pulau Panaitan and even to Ujung Kulon. After seven years of carrying out his duties, Syarif Hidayatullah returned to Banten invited Hasanuddin to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca. What is interesting about the process of Islamization in Banten is the emergence of myths on the supernatural powers of Syarif Hidayatullah and Maulana Hasanuddin in spreading Islam. The myths of their supernatural powers are told for instance in *Sajarah Banten*, when Maulana Hasanuddin defeated Prabu Pucuk Umun in a supernatural competition of cockfighting.

The role of Maulana Hasanuddin and his followers in spreading Islam to the indigenous population of Banten was very decisive. With his moral behavior and knowledge, Maulana Hasanuddin received a good reception. Several Pajajaran dignitaries in Banten slowly became his followers. Seeing the rapid development of Islam, both in the West and in the East (the Sultanate of Demak), raised concerns for the Pajajaran Kingdom about the penetration of Islam in its territory. The King of Pajajaran took policies, among others: first limiting Muslim traders from visiting ports under Pajajaran's supervision. secondly, make agreements and diplomatic cooperation, both in trade and

politics with the Portuguese who were based in Malacca

Portuguese sources stated that at the same time, Surawisesa serving as Prabu Anom (Crown Prince), had ever been sent by his father, Prabu Siliwangi (Jayadewata) to come to Malacca to meet Alfonso d 'Albuquerque to establish bilateral trade relations with the Portuguese in 1512. The first visit was more of an explorative visit. In 1513, this story was written by Tome Pires. Then there was the arrival of a Portuguese envoy led by Hendrique Leme (Alfonso's brother-in-law) in 1522 to the capital Pakuan. During the visit, an agreement between Pajajaran and the Portuguese regarding trade and security was agreed upon.

In 1522, Surawisesa ascended the throne. His coronation was attended by Portuguese envoys in Malacca. At the end of the visit, the Portuguese and Pakuan envoys signed an agreement with Pajajaran. The agreement was signed on August 21, 1522. The contents of the agreement, among others:

1. The King of Pajajaran in one year would provide as many as 1000 sacks of Pepper which were needed by the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Portuguese would also provide commodity goods in line with the needs of Pajajaran.
2. The Portuguese were granted permission to build a fort at the port of Sunda Kalapa.
3. The Portuguese were willing to help Pajajaran when attacked by Demak or any other troops.

Vlekke also informed that in 1522 there was an alliance between the Portuguese and the Sunda Pajajaran Kingdom, where in that year, the Portuguese visited Pakuan as the capital of the Sunda Pajajaran kingdom. According to Vlekke, at that time, the position of the Sunda Pajajaran Kingdom was being threatened by the massive current of Islamization. There had been a struggle between the rulers of the Javanese region, and the Portuguese interpreted the dispute as a religious war between supporters and opponents of the domination of Islam. The actions of King Pajajaran, Prabu Surawisesa, in relation to his agreement with the Portuguese, have further confused the situation. The majority of Pajajaran people who have embraced Islam

are not sympathetic. Thus, there was popular resistance in the coastal area led by Maulana Hasanuddin to oppose the agreement.

Upon hearing the friendship agreement between Pajajaran and the Portuguese, one of which was shown directed to Demak Kingdom, made the Demak kingdom angry and held a direct confrontation with the Portuguese, in order to destroy its power in the archipelago, along with Pajajaran who had dared to enter into an agreement. This incident became one of the momentums for expanding the influence of Islam in the West Java region. Before carrying out the attack on Pajajaran, the Demak troops led by Fatahillah, using a large ship, went to Cirebon to ask for input from Syarif Hidayatullah in planning a strategy to attack Pajajaran. As directed by Syarif Hidayatullah, the Demak and Cirebon joint forces led by Fatahillah, Dipati Kelling, Prince of Cirebon, and Dipati Cangkuang traveled to Banten, and without experiencing much difficulty, this meant that this joint force was able to control Banten in 1525.

The success of the joint forces between Demak and Cirebon in controlling the Banten region, was inseparable from the role of Maulana Hasanuddin. Thanks to the help of indigenous troops led by Maulana Hasanuddin, Banten was controlled. Furthermore, to stabilize security in the newly controlled areas, Maulana Hasanuddin was appointed as Adipati of Banten or Panembahan Banten with the center of government being in Banten Girang which was in accordance with the determination of the father of Maulana Hasanuddin, namely Sunan Gunung Jati Syarif Hidayatullah. The center of government in Banten Girang was then moved near the port which was later called Surosowan. The transfer of the capital of Banten itself occurred in 1526.

Hoesein Djayadiningrat, wrote in his book *Critical Review of the History of Banten*, that the conquest process of Banten Girang occurred between 1525 and 1527. Likewise, Hasanuddin did not move the capital from Banten Girang to the Surosowan area but by his father Syarif Hidayatullah. Although there is no definite date, it can be analogized with the glorious day, namely Muharrom the first day. 1 Syuro or one Muharrom is a good day to carry out an important event, which the local community believed at that time. According to Halwani

Michrob, it is likely that the relocation of the capital from Banten Girang to the coastal Banten Surosowan occurred on 1 Moharram 933 H. coincided in 1526 AD.

The Establishment of the Sultanate of Banten

The establishment of the Sultanate of Banten was inseparable from the role of Syarif Hidayatullah in building the foundation of government and preparing his son Maulana Hasanuddin as the first king of the Sultanate of Banten. After the signing of a diplomatic cooperation agreement between Pajajaran and the Portuguese, which was detrimental to Muslim traders and local residents, tensions started to occur in the Pajajaran area, including Banten. The local community protested and ended up with the release of the Banten region after the confrontation of the annexation of the attack by the joint forces between indigenous forces led by Maulana Hasanuddin, Cirebon troops and Demak troops.

After Banten was controlled by Cirebon and Demak troops in 1525, Syarif Hidayatullah instructed that the center of the government of Banten in Banten Girang to be moved to the coastal area of Banten port which was later named Surosowan. Maulana Hasanuddin was appointed as the Duke who ruled the Banten region. The choice of Surosowan as the capital city of Banten was seemingly based on several considerations, among others because Surosowan is more easily developed as a trading center. It was Syarif Hidayatullah who determined the position where the palace, square, mosque, market was built, which later became known as Surosowan.

Considering the rapidly growing development of Banten, in 1552 the region was upgraded from kadipaten to a kingdom under the supervision of Demak, or to be more precise to be a state in Demak. Hasanuddin who initially only served as adipate was then crowned as the king of the Banten kingdom with the title of Maulana Hasanuddin Panembahan Surosowan. In 1552, Banten was officially declared as a Kingdom with Maulana Hasanuddin as Panembahan Banten.

In the tradition of Banten folklore, as written in the *Sajarah Banten*, Hasanuddin is considered to be the founder of the Banten Kingdom. Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati is more considered as a father guiding his son to

establish and build his own kingdom. This is discernible from the lineage of the Sultan of Banten which began with the name Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin as the founder of the Sultanate of Banten. However, Syarif Hidayatullah had a very important role in designing and formulating the concepts of the Sultanate of Banten. It is evident from how Syarif Hidayatullah gave instructions to move the capital, which was originally located in Banten Girang to the coastal area. In addition, he also made the decision in choosing the area of the square, market, mosque and also the location of the palace to be built later.

In the Cirebon oral tradition, Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati's role as the founder of the Sultanate of Banten is very prominent. As stated earlier, the pioneering of the establishment of Banten as an Islamic kingdom began with the spread of Islam and the formation of a Muslim community. When the spread of Islam had been carried out and the majority of Banten people at that time had embraced Islam, then political control was exercised until finally a government was formed which was later called the Sultanate of Banten.

The time when Banten became a Sultanate was portrayed by J.de Barros where he described Banten as a large port in Java, parallel to Malacca. A river divided the city of Banten into two parts. The river can be traversed by junks and galen boats and along one side of the river lined up forts made of wood equipped with cannons. In the middle of the city there was a large field called the alun-alun which is used for royal interests as well as military parades and the interests of the people of Banten. The square also functions as a place for community arts parades and serves as a market in the morning.

The Surosowan palace or keraton is located south of the square. Next to it was a flat, elevated, roofed building called Srimanganti which functioned as the seat of the king facing the people. Meanwhile, on the west side of the square was built a great mosque.

When the port of Malacca was controlled by the Portuguese in 1511, many Arab and Chinese traders, Indians or other regional and foreign traders experienced difficulties in acquiring merchandise. The Portuguese government adopted a different policy from what was outlined by the Sultanate of Malacca. A strong

and sturdy fortress was built on the edge of the Malacca Strait as a symbol of Portuguese superpower as well as a defense against attacks by enemies, such as the Kingdoms of Aceh and Johor. Some Arab and Chinese traders still remained in Malacca, but others chose to look for other trading ports.

The Portuguese who controlled Goa, the center of international trade in India still found it necessary to take Malacca into their hands. The occupation of Goa was actually not the main objective of their wanderings to the spice-producing lands of the East. By controlling Malacca, the main market for spices in Europe could be grasped, and automatically Portugal would become the main supplier of spices in Europe. Another advantage of the Portuguese from the occupation of this port was the collection of import duties on ships and various other taxes imposed on traders or local residents.

Amidst the upset on the abolition of the Malacca Sultanate, some discouraged traders there acquired information that Banten was also a suitable area as it had an abundant pepper market. Even though it was located far to the South, some sailors and traders were willing to increase their voyage hours to reach this port. Sure enough, they found Banten as one of the pepper center entrepôts, and after making one and two voyages, some of these traders decided to make orders to Banten pepper sellers. Losing Malacca gradually became accepted as a political destiny. At the time, they regarded Banten as promising trade potential in which they can reap huge profits just as what they experienced in Malacca.

The fall of Malacca was conceived by Banten and other ports in Sumatra and Java as a landmark for the presence of a new trading map for those in power and those did trade activities there. Before the control of Malacca by the Portuguese then by the VOC 1641, Malacca presented itself as the busiest market in Southeast Asia. All of the highest quality merchandise from the Eastern or Southern parts of the archipelago, such as pepper, cloves, nutmeg, rice were shipped to Malacca. In other words, most traders from Asia and Europe prefer to do transactions in Malacca rather than having to go deep into other ports of Sumatra or Java.

Geopolitically, the Sultanate of Banten stood among the great powers of Java. In the early

years of its founding, Banten faced serious threats from the kingdom which happened to be its ancestor, namely Pajajaran. This critical period of time was overcome when the capital of Banten was settled on the coast with the power of Pajajaran was slowly subdued. In the beginning of the 17th century, Banten witnessed the emergence of two new powers, namely Batavia and Mataram in the East. These three forces competed for influence on the coast of Java.

The ties between Banten and Batavia was dynamic. VOC traders had an interest in transporting a variety of high-value commodities including pepper from the capital of Banten and the ports in Sumatra which were subordinate to Banten. However, the VOC had a hidden agenda to exert influence in Banten's trade so as to regulate and establish trade policies in a monolithic manner. On the other hand, this wish conceived as a threat to Banten. The intention was able to be detected early, so Banten was more convenient to cooperate with the British.

Apart from Banten, Batavia also had a strong enemy in the east, Mataram. During the reign of Sultan Agung, Mataram grew into an expansive kingdom which had the goal of expelling the Dutch from all over the Java coast. Similar to that in the West, in the East, the VOC also experienced difficulties in exercising its influence. Uniquely, Mataram did not have any interest in forming an alliance with Banten in expelling the VOC and controlling Batavia. The two of them were involved in a feud to become the real rulers of Java, even though they had never fought openly and mustered great strength to achieve this goal.

1. Cirebon-Pajajaran Agreement

Formally, in 1552 Maulana Hasanuddin was crowned the King of Banten, and Banten became a kingdom under the protectorate of the Kingdom of Demak. The establishment of Banten to become a kingdom became a threat to the Kingdom of Sunda Pajajaran. Therefore, the problem that was quite important during the leadership of Maulana Hasanuddin was maintaining domestic political stability and security from sporadic attacks and rebellions that occurred in the border area which was often associated with the Sunda Kingdom of Pajajaran.

From the beginning of the process of the release of Banten until it became a kingdom, regionally, it was considered very detrimental to Pajajaran. It is understandable as the two countries with opposing views were suspicious of one another. Prabu Surawisesa suspected that Maulana Hasanuddin's movement would attack Pakuan. On the other hand, the government in Banten felt that its security was threatened if the Pajajaran army troops were to reclaim the territory that had been occupied by Maulana Hasanuddin's forces. This suspicion was influenced by the number of skirmishes, especially in the border areas of the two countries, which were still ongoing for 5 years.

It is told in the Manuscript Carita Parahyangan Nyucruk Sajarah Pakuan Pajajaran, that the Pajajaran and Cirebon wars assisted by Banten and Demak lasted for 5 years, because the combined Cirebon forces did not dare to go ashore. On the other hand, Pajajaran did not have a strong marine fleet. Cirebon and Banten only succeeded in controlling the port city. The Pajajaran battle with Cirebon occurred 15 times, taking place from 1526-1531. On the East front, Cirebon troops moved further south. In 1528, the Cirebon troops were once beaten back by Galuh, but Galuh's troops were beaten back by Prabu Cakrabuana's troops. In the position of Timur Citarum controlled by Cirebon, the position is considered safe. Apart from that, the movement to Pakuan could always be blocked by Surawisesa's troops, so the two sides took the best course by making peace and acknowledging their respective positions.

It should be noted that the actually the war between Cirebon and Pajajaran was a battle between two siblings of Sri Baduga Maharaja, Prabu Siliwangi. The war that took place was actually based on who had the most right to inherit the leadership of Prabu Siliwangi. It was only in 1531 that a peace agreement was made between the Pajajaran Kingdom initiated by Prabu Anom Surawisesa and Cirebon which was initiated by Syarif Hidayatullah. Each party stands as an independent state, equal and one lineage as the heirs of Sri Baduga Maharaja Prabu Siliwangi Jaya Dewata. From the Cirebon side, those who signed the agreement were Prince Pasarean, Crown Prince of Cirebon, Fatahilah, and Hasanuddin as Adipati of Banten.

Within the Pajajaran Kingdom, after the peace treaty between Banten and Pajajaran was signed,

Prabu Surawisesa, the then King of Pajajaran, had the opportunity to quell rebellions in his territory. It is recorded that for 15 times Surawisesa fought to suppress the rebellion. After two years this rebellion was successfully crushed. In 1535, King Surawisesa died and was buried in Padaren. Prabu Surawisesa or also known as Ratu Sangiang is known in Carita Parahiyangan as Guru Gantang, while in the pantun he was called Mundinglaya Dikusuma. His successor was Dewata Buana, known as Raja Resi (rishi king) because he lived more in a hermitage, in seclusion and did not really take care of the government.

In Carita Parahiyangan, it is said that Prabu Dewata Buana should not have undertaken austerities and become a resi, because at that time Pajajaran needed a king who was able to rebuild Pajajaran's glory. The momentum to rebuild Pajajaran was very appropriate because at that time Demak's condition was weakening there was an internal conflict in the Demak Palace family. The position of the king to perform asceticism is when he has reached the peak of maturity after fulfilling his obligation to become king of Pajajaran, like Sri Baduga Maharaji Prabu Siliwangi who performed moksa at the height of the glory of his kingdom.

At that time, Banten suspected Pajajaran for attempts to cause riots in his subordinate territory. Therefore, Banten assembled a special force capable of moving quickly, without carrying the name of the Kingdom of Banten. The special forces led by Prince Maulana Yusuf as the Crown Prince of Banten and were assigned to deal with riots caused by Pajajaran soldiers or rebels on the border. However, for unclear reasons, these troops attacked and controlled several border areas, eventually even attacking the capital Pakuan. The strong position of the Pakuan fort, the result of the legacy of Sri Baduga Maharaja Prabu Siliwangi, was difficult to conquer, so that Maulana Yusuf's troops failed to attack the Pakuan capital.

2. Relations between Demak and Banten

The birth and establishment of the Kingdom of Banten was inseparable with the role of the Kingdoms of Demak and Cirebon. As previously explained, when the Sunda Pajajaran Kingdom entered into a cooperative tie with the Portuguese, Demak's position as one of the

kingdoms on the island of Java felt threatened by the loss of economic access and other needs. Therefore, the Demak and Cirebon Kingdoms joined in to fight against the Sunda Pajajaran Kingdom. The Banten region itself was captured thanks to the presence of a joint force from Demak and Cirebon. At that time Banten became the vassal area of the Demak Kingdom, with Hasanuddin as its superintendent. The status of Banten later changed to become a kingdom under the protectorate of Demak, and Maulana Hasanuddin was crowned King.

It should be noted that Demak was the first Islamic kingdom that was born on the island of Java, and became the legitimate heir of the Majapahit Kingdom. The influence of the Demak Kingdom in the archipelago at that time was very strong, as a large and strong Kingdom. Therefore, Demak's position in the archipelago is very much taken into account by its competitors.

The Demak Kingdom itself was founded in 1500, by Raden Fattah, or Prince Jin Bun, the son of King Bre Brawijaya V of Majapahit. After leading the Demak Kingdom for about 18 years, Raden Fattah passed away in 1518. Subsequently, the throne of the Demak Kingdom was replaced by Prince Muhammad Yunus. Not long after leading Demak, Prince Mahmud Yunus died in 1521 without leaving a son. Therefore, his younger brothers were entitled to replace his position as King of Demak. King Muhammad Yunus' two younger siblings, Prince Sekar Seda Lepen and Prince Trenggono both wanted to become kings. A power struggle broke out between the two. If ignored this condition raised concerns that a civil war would break out which would cause casualties and the decline of the Demak Kingdom itself. With this in mind, Prince Mu'min or known as Sunan Prawoto, the eldest son of Prince Trenggono killed his uncle (Prince Sekar Seda Lepen). Thus, Prince Trenggono was appointed King of Demak from 1521-1546.

During the reign of Prince Trenggono, the expansion of Islamic influence had experienced rapid progress in Java. In 1527, parts of West Java could be controlled. Then in 1546, there were attacks on Pasuruan, Panarukan, and Sapit Urang as important areas of the Blambangan Kingdom. In an effort to expand the influence of Islam in East Java, Banten sent 7000 selected soldiers who were directly led by Fatahillah to

help Demak troops. Although these three areas could be controlled by Demak, Sultan Trenggono himself died during this conquest expedition.

After the demise of Sultan Trenggono, the Demak throne was then held by Sunan Prawoto, the eldest son of Sultan Trenggono. But after only one year of ruling Demak, Sultan Sunan Prawoto was killed by his cousin Raden Arya Penangsang, the son of Prince Sekar Seda Lepen, as an act of revenge. Sunan Prawoto's son, Prince Pangiri, would also be killed, but was not successful because Prince Pangiri had already fled and took refuge with Prince Hadiri, Adipati Kalinyamat. Finally, Prince Hadiri was killed by Arya Penangsang's men.

The internal conflicts on leadership at the center of the Demak Kingdom lasted quite a long time, approximately 21 years (1547-1568). The absence of Demak's leadership only ended after Jaka Tingkir's son-in-law of Sultan Trenggono was able to kill Arya Penangsang, thus Jaka Tingkir was crowned the ruler of Demak with the title Sultan Adiwijoyo and moved the center of government to Pajang. Meanwhile, Demak was made a kadipaten with Arya Pangiri as regent. The lengthy turmoil that hit the center of power weakened Demak Kingdom in all sectors. This condition resulted in Demak losing its authority in the archipelago, while at the same time Banten experienced rapid progress in all sectors. This situation prompted Maulana Hasanuddin to take the decision of releasing itself from the protection of the protectorate of the Kingdom of Demak.

Banten became an independent kingdom, with Maulana Hasanuddin as its first king. The area of Banten continued to expand covering Banten, Jayakarta (Jakarta), Karawang, Lampung up to (Silebar) Sumatra. Hasanuddin's decision to break away from Demak protectorate was considered very significant. In addition to the progress of the Banten regional development area, it also means that Maulana Hasanuddin did not want to be involved in the commotion occurring within the royal family in the Kingdom of Demak who were still close relative. Maulana Hasanuddin was the son-in-law of Sultan Trenggono. Maulana Hasanuddin died in 1570, and was buried next to the Grand Mosque. After his death, Maulana Hasanuddin was known as Sultan Sedakingking. As his

successor, Prince Maulana Yusuf was crowned the second King of Banten.

Under the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin, Banten royal system was renewed. Even though Banten is located in West Java, where the people used the Sundanese language a lot, this kingdom adopted a governance like the Javanese kingdom in general. The language of instruction for the kingdom also used Javanese. This also emphasizes that the roots of Javanese culture in West Java recently came from the use of the government system and the Javanese language by the Sultanate of Banten.

B. The Fall of Pajajaran

1. Violation of Agreement

When King Ratu Dewata came to power (1535-1543) replacing his father, King Surawisesa, the peace agreement between Pajajaran and Cirebon was still considered valid. Prabu Ratu Dewata was very confident that the two parties would still comply to the peace treaty, so that there was no suspicion of a violation of the agreement by the other party. In addition, Prabu Ratu Dewata preferred to pursue religious matters rather than managing the state.

The viewpoint of Prabu Ratu Dewata on the peace treaty between Padajajaran and Cirebon turned out to be contrasting to that of Maulana Hasanuddin Banten, who at the time took part in the signing of the treaty. Maulana Hasanuddin signed due to his obedience towards his father Syarif Hidayatullah. Hasanuddin was of the opinion that the treaty between Cirebon and Pajajaran only benefited Cirebon and did not guarantee Banten's interests at all albeit its border's close proximity to Pajajaran.

Secretly, Hasanuddin formed a special force without official identity that was able to move rapidly. The ability of the Banten troops in terms of speed had been proven during the riots at the Surosowan Palace which forced the Duke of Banten at that time, before the establishment of Banten Kingdom fled to Pajajaran, which then made Hasanuddin the Duke of Banten under the Cirebon vassal. In Carita Parahiyangan, the Banten troops formed by Hasanuddin are called Tambuh Sangkane troops whose origins are unknown. Prabu Ratu Dewata was still lucky because of the warrior officers who have accompanied his father in 15 battles. As war veterans, these officers were still

able to repel enemy attacks. In addition, the toughness of the Pakuan fortress which was passed down by King Siliwangi made the Banten attack unable to penetrate the Pakuan capital.

In Batutulis Inscription, it is written that Sri Baduga Maharaja Prabu Siliwangi built a strong Pakuan fort. The position of Pakuan is very strategic for defense because it is located on a high surface or Duwur Valley (Weak) or Bovenvlakte . In this position, the keraton guards can freely monitor the palace's surroundings, so they can easily find out the maneuvers of the enemy's movements. Pakuan's location is Lemah Duwur land, which is open on one side facing Mount Pangrango with The Ciliwung, Cisadane and Cipaku cliffs as natural protectors.

After unsuccessfully taking Pakuan fortress, the Riot causing troops led by Maulana Yusuf moved north and destroyed the religious centers of Lemah Larangan (Kabuyutan) in Sumedang, Ciranjang, and Jayagiri. During the time of Prabu Siliwangi, this area was a Kawikwan village which was protected by the kingdom. There is a possibility that Maulana Yusuf's troops attacked the three areas, only to divert the attention of the Pajajaran army troops to come out to attack outside the Pakuan fort. The Carita Parahiyangan manuscript mentions the attack and murder of the pandita (priest), in the sentence: Hana pandita sakti diruksak di Sumedang. Sang pandita di Ciranjang pinejahan tanpa dosa, katiban ku tapak kikir. Pandita di Jayagiri linabuhkeun ring sagara, hana sang pandita sakti henteu dosana.

2. The attack of Maulana Yusuf

On the 12th day of the Badra month of 1490 Saka, which coincided with 19 September 1568, Syarif Hidayatullah passed away. The Cirebon government is represented by Fatahillah. Then two years later, in 1570, Fatahillah passed away. The throne of Cirebon is then passed to Panembahan Ratu. He concentrated more of his attention on Pajang, because he was one of the students as well as the son-in-law of Sultan Adiwijaya.

In 1570, Panembahan Surosowan Maulana Hasanuddin also died in Banten. The throne of Banten was passed on to his son, Maulana Yusuf, who was very instrumental in determining the next relationship with the

Pajajaran issue. This is because the signatories for the Cirebon-Pajajaran peace agreement had died. Therefore, he did not feel obliged to respect and obey the contents of the agreement.

Initially, Maulana Yusuf was interested in conquering Palembang, but he still had a burden because he had not been able to conquer the Pajajaran Kingdom. Although he had carried out attacks and sieges, Pakuan fortress was still impregnable. There was a version that says at that time, Pakuan was already abandoned by its king. The Pajajaran Royal family have moved to the slopes of Mount Pulosari, Pandeglang, but there were still residents with the royal troops assigned to defend Pakuan. To carry out the attack, Maulana Yusuf needed careful preparation, including preparing a complete army and spreading out intelligence to identify weaknesses in guarding the fort. The attack on the capital Pakuan was finally carried out on 1579, by combining two large troops, namely Banten and Cirebon.

According to Wangsekerta in Pustaka Rajyarajya Bhumi Nusantara, parwa III sarga I, it is stated that: Pajajaran sirna ing bhumi ing ekadaci cuklapaska Wesakhamasa saharsa Limangatus punjul siki ikanhg cakakala. (Pajajaran disappears from the face of the earth on the 11th part of the bright part of the month Wesaka 1501 Saka "coincides with the 11th Rabiul early 987 Hijriah, or May 8, 1579 AD) . The history of Banten reported the departure of the Banten troops when they were about to attack Pakuan, in Pupuh Kinanti it is stated that: Nalika kesah punika / ing sasih Muharam singgih/ wimbaning sasih laipsan/ dinten ahad tahun alif/ panikasakalanya/ bumi rusak rekeih iki (the time of departure / occurred in the month of Muharram /right at the beginning of the month / day of the week in the year of Alif / this is the only year / one five empty one). The fall of the Pakuan fort is revealed in the Banten script. The manuscript reported that the Pakuan city fortress could only be broken into after it was opened from the inside by the commander of the Pakuan fort guard who had resentments as he was not able to go up the rank. He was the brother of Ki Jongjo, a confidant of Panembahan Maulana Yusuf.

During the midnight attack, after the Pakuan gate was opened from the inside, Ki Jongjo and the special forces sneaked into the city. When they managed to enter the heart of Pakuan,

Maulana Yusuf's troops succeeded in conquering the Pakuan capital, as well as ending the Pajajaran Kingdom. After being destroyed by Banten and Cirebon, news on Pakuan and its inhabitants was never heard of including from old manuscripts. The expeditionary force led by Sgt Scipio, on September 1, 1687 found the remnants of the Pakuan Palace, especially the seat that was raised or *Stinggil* of King Pajajaran was still surrounded and guarded by a large number of tigers. This is possibly where the myth of the community's legends that the Pajajaran warriors turned into tigers emerged.

The end of the Pajajaran Kingdom (1482-1579), was marked by the confiscation of *Palaka Sriman Sriwacana Batu Gilang* from Pakuan to Surosowan in Banten by Maulana Yusuf's troops. The stone, where King Pakuan was usually crowned was brought to Banten as it was required by political tradition. Firstly, with the seizure of *Palaka*, it was no longer possible to have a new king. Second, by owning the *Palaka Batu Gilang*, Maulana Yusuf became the legitimate successor of Pajajaran's power, because his great-grandmother was the daughter of *Sri Baduga Maharaja Prabu Siliwangi*. In *Carita Parahyangan* it is told:

Sang Susuktunggal inyana nu nyieuna palangka
Sriman Sriwacana Sri Baduga Maharaja diraja
Ratu Hiji di I Pakwan Pajajaran nu mikadatwan
Sri Bima Punta Narayana Madura Suradapati,
inyana Pakwan Sanghiyang Sri Ratu Dewata .

Sang Susuktunggal is the one who made the throne *Sriman Sriwacana* to *Sri Baduga Maharaja* the ruling queen in Pakuan Pajajaran who resides in *Keraton Sri Bima Punta Narayana Madura Suradapati* namely the palace of *Sanghiyang Sri Ratu Dewata*.

The word *palaka* generally means seat of a *pangclai*, for a king it means the throne. In this case it is the seat of the coronation, which is a special seat used only at the coronation ceremony. It was on the *Palaka*, which was in *Kabuyutan* where a future king was blessed by the highest priest. According to tradition, the throne is made of stone and polished so that it is smooth and shiny. The stone of the throne is called *Batu Pangcali* or *Batu Ranjang*, if it is equipped with a cloth, it would be like any other common sleeping platform. *Palangka Sriman Sriwacana* itself can now be found in front of the former *Keraton Surosowan* Banten. Because of

its shiny shape, the people of Banten call it *Watu Gilang* which means a shiny or radiant stone as what the word *Sriman* means.

After the destruction of Pakuan, Panembahan Maulana Yusuf then launched his attack on *Pulosari*. King *Ragamulya Suryakencana* and his loyal soldiers tried their best to fight back, but in the end *Ragamulya Suryakencana* and his followers died in *Pulosari*. With the confiscation of *Palaka Sriman Sriwacana* and the death of King *Ragamulya Suryakencana*, the Kingdom of Pajajaran in the archipelago ended. .

After leaving Pajajaran, Banten is increasingly active with its economic development. The economic sector is being renewed, the distribution of goods from upstream to downstream is improved. City development rests on political, defense and economic strength. Of the many kings of Banten who had a big share, even considered the main one in Banten's economic development, was *Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa*. The policies he rolled out were not only centered on the city of Banten alone, but also on Banten's vassal areas. He has a vision that Banten should not only rely on revenue from sales of pepper, but also from other commodities. Therefore, he sponsored the construction of settlements outside the city of Banten which later became a new economic granary.

CONCLUSION

The process of Islamization that occurred in Banten was through a softly cultural and traditional approach so that it was easily accepted by the people of Banten. *Syarif Hidayatullah* and *Maulana Hasanuddin* played an important role in Islamization in Banten, thus establishing an independent Banten Sultanate. The collapse of the Pajajaran Kingdom was motivated by the attack of the Banten Sultanate due to the feeling of having the same rights as the heir of *Sri Baduga Maharaja Prabu Siliwangi*. In addition, Banten wants to invade the expansion of the annexation area in the Pajajaran, Lampung, Palembang and waters in the archipelago.

Reference

- [1] Abdurrahman. Pakuan Padjajaran, Bogor, Pustaka Amma, 2015.
- [2] Barentine, John C. *The Lost Constellation; A History of Obsolete, Extinct, or Forgotten Lore* Star, Berlin: Springer, 2017.
- [3] Burke, Peter. *The French Historical Revolution: The Annales School 1929-2014*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015.
- [4] Danasasmita, Saleh. *Nyukruk Sajarah Pakuan Pajajaran Jeung Prabu Siliwangi*, Giri Mukti, Bogor. 2003.
- [5] De Barros, Joao. *Decadas da Asia*, Vol. IV, Lisboa: Regia Officina Typografica, 1778.
- [6] De Graaf, H. J. *Puncak Kekuasaan Mataram*, Jakarta: Grafitipres, 1986.
- [7] De Haan, F. *Oud Batavia*, Batavia: Batavia Genoostchap, 1919.
- [8] Djajadiningrat, Hoesein. *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten Sumbangan Bagi Pengenalan Sifat-Sifat Sejarah Jawa*, Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan-KITLV, 1983.
- [9] Erwanto, Heru ed. *Kota dan Kabupaten Dalam Lintasan*, Banten, Lebak, Subang, Kuningan, Bandung: Departmen Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Bandung, 2006.
- [10] Gulliot. Claude. *Banten, Sejarah dan Peradaban Abad X-XVII* (Jakarta : Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2008) hal 12-16.
- [11] Hatmadji, Tri. *Ragam Pusaka Banten*, Serang: Dinas Pendidikan Provinsi Banten bekerjasama dengan Balai Pelestarian Peninggalan Purbakala, 2007.
- [12] Irfani, Fahmi. *Jawara Banten Sebuah Kajian Sosial, Politik dan Budaya*, Jakarta: YPM Press, 2011.
- [13] Irfani, Fahmi. *Kejayaan dan Kemunduran Perdagangan Banten di Abad 17*. Jakarta : PSP Press. 2020.
- [14] Iryana, Wahyu. *Historiografi Sejarah*, Bandung: Penerbit Humaniora, 2014.
- [15] Jinyu, Yang. "Ancient Tea-Horse Road and Caravan Culture From the Perspective of the Caravan Courier Route from Gongshan of Nujiang to Chavalon of Tibet," the article was presented in the fifth International Conference on Education, Language, Art and Inter-cultural Communication (ICELAIC), and published by Atlantis Press, 2018.
- [16] Johan, Irmawati M. *Laporan Penelitian Pemerintahan dan Kekuasaan Kesultanan Banten Abad XVI – XVII M*, Depok: Universitas Indonesia, 1992.
- [17] Knapp, Bernard dkk. *Mediterranean connections: maritime transport containers and seaborne trade in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages*, London: Routledge, 2016.
- [18] Koentjaraningrat. *Manusia dan Kebudayaan di Indonesia*, Jakarta: Djambatan, 2004.
- [19] KS, HS. Sutadji. *Carita Purwaka Caruban Nagari Rakean Walang Sungsang dan Syarif Hidayat, Para Pendiri Kerajaan Islam Cirebon Abad ke XV M* , Jakarta, Perum Percetakan Negara Republik Indonesia. 2003.
- [20] Kuntowijoyo. *Pengantar Ilmu Sejarah*. Benteng, Yogyakarta: Benteng, 1995.
- [21] Lubis, Nina H. *Banten dalam Pergumulan Sejarah; Sultan Ulama, Jawara*, Jakarta: LP3ES, 2003.
- [22] Michrob, Halwany dkk. *Catatan Masa Lalu Banten*, Serang: Saudara Serang, 199.
- [23] Munandar, Agus Aris. *Tatar Sunda Masa Silam*, Jakarta, Wedatama Widya Sastra, 2010.
- [24] Nederlandsch-Indie, *De ingenieurs van het Mijnwezen in. Onderzoek naar de Kolen, Gevonden Langs het Strand der Meeuwenbaai, Residentie Bantam, Geologische Kennis Nederlandsch Indie*, 1855.
- [25] Pudjiastuti, Titik. *Perang, Dagang dan Persahabatan; Surat-Surat Sultan Banten*, Jakarta: Yayasan Obor Indonesia, 2007.
- [26] _____. *Sajarah Banten, Suntingan dan Terjemahan Teks KGB 183*, Jakarta, Perpustakaan Nasional RI, 2010.
- [27] Ruhiat, Mamat. *Naskah Wangsakerta-Pustaka Rajya Rajya I Bhumi Nusantara, Transliterasi Teks dan Terjemahan*, Bandung: Dinas Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Jawa Barat Balai Pengelola Museum Negeri Sri Baduga Maharaja, 2009.
- [28] Sutjiatiningsih, Sri, peny. *Banten Kota Pelabuhan Jalur Sutra; Kunpulan Makalah Diskusi*, Jakarta: Departemen P dan K, 1995.
- [29] Tim Peneliti, *Sejarah Daerah Bengkulu*, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan Pusat Penelitian Sejarah dan Budaya Proyek Penelitian dan Pencatatan Kebudayaan daerah, 1978.

- [30] Van Leur, J. C. Indonesian Trade and Society; Essays in Asian Social and Economic History, USA: Foris Publication, 1983.
- [31] Vermeulen, Johannes Theodorus. *De Chinezen te Batavia en de Troeboelen van 1740*, Leiden: NV Boer en Steen drukkerij Eduard Ijdo, 1984.
- [32] Vlekke, Bernard H.M. Nusantara, Sejarah Indonesia (Jakarta: Kepustakaan Populer Gramedia, 2016) p. 102-103.
- [33] Bontham, Dinar. *The Sultanate Banten AD 1750 – 1808: A Social and Cultural History*, Tesis, England: University of Hull, 2003.
- [34] Irfani, Fahmi. *Jawara Banten: sebuah kajian sosial, politik dan budaya*, Tesis, Jakarta: UIN Syarif Hidayatullah Jakarta, 2011.
- [35] Andaya, Barbara Watson. "Women and economic change: The pepper trade in Pre-Modern Southeast Asia," dalam *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. 38, No. 2, 1995.
- [36] Azra, Azyumardi. "Islam di "Negeri Bawah Angin" dalam Masa Perdagangan," dalam *Studia Islamika*, Vol. 3, No. 2, 1996.
- [37] Boomgaard, Peter. "In The Shadow of Rice, Roots and Tubers in Indonesian History, 1500-1950", dalam *Journal Agricultural History*, 2003.
- [38] Burhanudin, Jajat. "The Triumph of Ruler: Islam and Statecraft in Pre-Colonial Malay-Archipelago," dalam *Al-Jami'ah: Journal of Islamic Studies*, Vol. 55, No. 1, 2017.
- [39] Cardon, F. R. "Portuguese Malacca", dalam *Journal of the Malayan Branch of*
- [40] De Graaf, Hermanus Johannes. "Titels en namen van Javaanse vorsten en groten uit de 16e en 17e eeuw," dalam *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 109, No.1, 1953.
- [41] De Josselin-De Jong, P. E. dkk. "The Malacca Sultanate", dalam *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1960.
- [42] De la Croix, David dkk. "Clans, guilds, and markets: Apprenticeship institutions and growth in the preindustrial economy," dalam *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, Vol. 133, No. 1, 2017.
- [43] De Rovere, Jonkhr J. "Beschrijving van de Bantam en de Lampongs," dalam *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1856.
- [44] Guillot, Claude dkk. *Banten Sebelum Zaman Islam; Kajian Arkeologi di Banten Girang 932 ? – 1526*, Jakarta: Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional, 1996.
- [45] Guillot, Claude. "Banten in 1678," dalam *Indonesia*, Vol. 57, 1993.
- [46] Guillot, Claude. "La nécessaire relecture de l'accord luso-soudanais de 1522," dalam *Archipel*, Vol. 42, No. 1, 1991.
- [47] Guillot, Claude. "La politique vivrière de Sultan Ageng (1651-1682)," dalam *Archipel*, Vol. 50, No. 1, 1995.
- [48] Guillot, Claude. "Libre entreprise contre économie dirigée: guerres civiles à Banten, 1580-1609," dalam *Archipel*, Vol. 43, No. 43, 1992.
- [49] Ichwandi, Iin dkk. "Indigenous practices for use of and managing tropical natural resources: A case study on Baduy community in Banten, Indonesia," dalam *Tropics*, Vol. 16, No. 2, 2007.
- [50] Imadudin, Iim. "Perdagangan Lada di Lampung Dalam Tiga Masa (1653-1930)," dalam *Patanjala*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 2017.
- [51] Kanumoyoso, Bondan. "Malay Maritime World in Southeast Asia," dalam *Journal of Maritime Studies and National Integration*, Vol. 2, No. 1, 2018.
- [52] Kehoe, Marsely L. "Dutch Batavia: Exposing the hierarchy of the Dutch colonial city," dalam *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 2015.
- [53] Knaap, Gerrit. "All About Money : Maritime Trade in Makassar and West Java, around 1775," dalam *Journal of The Economic of Social History of The Orient*, Vol. 49, Issue, 4, 2006.
- [54] Lobato, Manuel. "'Melaka is like a cropping field" Trade Management in the Strait of Melaka during the Sultanate and the Portuguese Period", *Journal of Asian History*. Vol 46, No. 2, 2012.
- [55] Lombard-Jourdan, Anne dkk. "La première expédition des Français à Banten (1617), d'après une lettre inédite du sieur de Saint-André," dalam *Archipel*, Vol. 51, No. 1, 1996.
- [56] Lubis, Nina Herlina dkk, "Islamization of the Sunda Kingdom." *International Information Institute (Tokyo)*, dalam *Information*, Vol. 21, No. 4, 2018.
- [57] Pigeaud, Th. "Afkondingen ban Soeltan Banten", dalam *Djawa*, No. 9, 1923.
- [58] Pudjiastuti, Titik. "Surat-Surat Sultan Banten Koleksi Arsip Nasional Republik

- Indonesia,” dalam Wacana, Vol. 6, No. 1, 2004.
- [59] Rokhman, M. Nur dkk, "The Emergence and Development History of Demak Bintoro Kingdom," dalam INTERNATIONAL (JSS), Vol. 12, No. 2, 2016.
- [60] Salmon, Claudine. "Le cimetière chinois de Kasunyatan à Banten Lama (fin XVIIe-début XVIIIe s.)", dalam Archipel, Vol. 50, No. 1, 1995.
- [61] Anonim, Sajarah Banten, Versi KBG 183, Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia, tanpa tahun.
- [62] ANRI, Daghregister 1641 – 1642.
- [63] _____, Daghregister 1656 – 1657.
- [64] _____, Map B 105, Peta Benteng Speelwijk Banten versi F. de Haan.
- [65] _____, Naskah Perjanjian Sultan Abu al-Nasr Abdul Qahar kepada Gubernur Jenderal Hindia Belanda, tanpa keterangan waktu.
- [66] _____, Naskah Perjanjian Sultan Abu Mahasin Zainul Abidin dengan Gubernur Jenderal Belanda, Johannes Camphuis, pada tahun 1691.
- [67] Naskah Carita Parahyangan, pupuh XXI.
- [68] Naskah Kinanti, pupuh XVI.
- [69] Purchas, Samuel. De Reys van Kapiteyn Johan Saris, behelsende sijne aanmerkingen van ‘t geene, ten tijde van zijn verblijft tot Bantam in Oost-Indien voorviel, van October 1605 – tot October 1609 (Leyden: Pieter Van der Aa Boekverkooper, tanpa tahun.