

DEMAK-PASAI COLLABORATION IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JAKARTA: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF ACEH PASAI TOMBSTONES AT THE GREAT MOSQUE OF DEMAK

Sariat Arifia¹, Mizuar Mahdi², Aslim Akmal³, Munawir⁴, Jayanto A. Adi⁵

^{1,3,4,5}Institut Teknologi dan Bisnis Visi Nusantara Bogor, Indonesia,

²Masyarakat Peduli Sejarah Aceh, Indonesia

*e-mail: sariatarifia56@gmail.com * mapesa.aceh@gmail.com

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the presence and significance of the Pasai tombstone typology in the Great Mosque of Demak, highlighting its archaeological significance as evidence of historical collaboration between Pasay and Demak in the 16th century to resist Portuguese colonization and establish the city of Jakarta. From all areas studied, 13 tombstones were found with the characteristics of the typology. The existence of this headstone in the cemetery area of the Demak Grand Mosque shows the connection between Demak Raden Trenggono and Pasais Fatahillah Against the Portuguese and the establishment of Jakarta is indeed an alliance between the two groups. This research explores the cultural and religious impact of the Wali Songo's religious and cultural teachings during the period of resistance against colonization, particularly in relation to their influence on the socio-political landscape of Java. In addition, oral histories and local narratives are collected that may shed light on the perceptions and legacies of Wali songo in the context of the resistance against Portuguese colonialism. This work enhances our understanding of regional interactions and cultural exchanges during a critical period in Southeast Asian history.

INTRODUCTION

The Demak Kingdom, which was established at the end of the 15th century, is known as the first Islamic kingdom in Java. As the center of the spread of Islam, Demak plays an important role in the development of Islamic culture and art in the archipelago, especially Islamization on the northern coast of Java (Afandi, 2023; Afidah, 2021; Bistara & Mokodenseho, 2024; Hall, 2019; Pigeaud & de Graaf, 2022; Thahir, 2021). One interesting aspect of Demak's history is its relationship with the Sultanate of Pasai, which is located in the province of Aceh today. Demak and Pasai had a close relationship, especially in the context of the expulsion of the Portuguese from Banten and Jakarta (Rukayah et al., 2023). After the expulsion of the Portuguese, practically the entire northern coast of Java island was increasingly connected to the spread of Islam. This relationship shows the existence of a strategic alliance between the two kingdoms in the face of external threats (Heuken, 2002). However, the story of the expulsion of the Portuguese is not listed in the Babad Tanah Java, an important literary writing that is widely used to understand Javanese history. The Javanese chronicle itself is the mother or mother of all chronicles or chronicles in Java, which are often used as historical narratives without re-research. The writing of the Babad is still mostly shrouded in speculation and even the original manuscript cannot be found until now (Winter, 2022).

The absence of stories in the Javanese Chronicle raises the question of whether there was really a connection between Demak and Pasai in the past in the expulsion of the Portuguese and the establishment of the city of Jakarta given the absence of news from local sources. Therefore, to get

evidence to support the news from the Portuguese. Therefore, a study of the typology of tombstones was carried out in the area of the Great Mosque of Demak to obtain authentic evidence from the Demak and Pasai Cooperation.

This research examines the presence and significance of Pasai tombstone typology in the Great Mosque of Demak, providing archaeological evidence of the collaboration between Pasai and Demak in the 16th century to resist Portuguese colonization and establish the city of Jakarta. This study investigates the Pasai tombstone typology within the Great Mosque of Demak, highlighting its archaeological significance as evidence of historical collaboration between Pasai and Demak. It sheds light on the joint efforts of these regions in the 16th century to resist Portuguese colonization and contribute to the establishment of Jakarta. This work enhances our understanding of regional interactions and cultural exchanges during a critical period in Southeast Asian history.

METHODS

This qualitative field research adopts an approach known as Indo-Islamic archaeology. The main objective of the study was to conduct field investigations to uncover evidence that supports or contradicts Portuguese texts, such as the "*Suma Oriental*" and "*Decadas da Ásia*," which describe the collaboration between Demak and Pasai during the period 1514 to 1550. The historical data obtained from this study can provide new insights and perspectives that are different from the views traditionally held by society.

Primary research in the field by following four main stages:

- 1) Heuristic: This stage involves the search and gathering of sources. It starts with a comprehensive literature review to compile existing knowledge. The next stages are field visits and documentation in the field such as in Pasai (North Aceh), Aceh, and Demak which will be carried out between 2019 and 2024.
- 2) Criticism: After gathering field documentation, critical analysis and reinterpretation of the data are carried out to ensure accuracy and reliability.
- 3) Interpretation: The collected data is then interpreted to uncover new historical insights. This analysis involves how the field evidence harmonizes with Portuguese texts and where historical interpretations have arisen.
- 4) Historiography: The final stage involves writing and compiling research findings into a coherent narrative. This stage aims to create a new written history that connects and contextualizes the relationship between Pasai/Aceh and Demak and its relationship with the establishment of the city of Jakarta as we know it today

RESULTS

Aceh Stone/Batee Jirat Aceh Face Pasai type F

The study of tombstone typology is the study of the classification and analysis of the shape, ornamental variety, and material of tombstones. This research involves the identification of various types of tombstones based on their physical and artistic characteristics (Lambourn, 2008).

The humid natural environment conditions in Southeast Asia make the presence of limited archaeological evidence such as mosque buildings, manuscripts, items made of wood and even fabrics to be found. This makes tombstones a piece of archaeological evidence that is used because of its durable nature. That is why the study of stone tombstones has been used as a research tool for the history of the entry of Islam in the Southeast Asian region (Feener et al., 2021).

Research on tombstones, both in the form of texts and typologies, to reconstruct the history of the early entry of Islam has been carried out by previous researchers. Southeast Asian historical scholars have been paying attention to Arabic inscriptions on tombstones for more than a century. Pioneering studies by Winstedt in 1918, Moquette in 1921, Ravaisse in 1925, and Damais in 1957 have identified inscriptions that serve as standard references. Research on these Muslim tombstones entered a new phase in the 1980s with the emergence of works from scholars such as de Casparis in 1980, Ambary in 1984, Bougas in 1988, Chen in 1992, Montana in 1997, and Tjandrasasmita in 2009, which expanded the collection of known inscriptions and contributed to historiography (Feener et al., 2021). The research then continues until now, for example conducted by Elizabeth Lambourn and by the Aceh Historical Care Society (Mapesa) which has consistently and continuously conducted epigraphic studies in the Aceh region for the past 20 years.

Research on tombstones conducted by Elizabeth Lambourn in Samudra Pasai reveals that the Aceh region and the coast of North Java are very rich in early Islamic graves. Since the late nineteenth century, when these Islamic tombs began to be documented and studied systematically, tombstones have occupied a major role in discussions about the history of the Royal Port ports that existed in Sumatra and early Java (Lambourn, 2008). According to Mapesa's research, the existence of Acehnese tombstones was born from Islamic culture and the intellectuality that gave birth to them. Based on the reading of tombstones in the Aceh Region, Aceh's tombstones originated from Sumatra Pasai (North Aceh), Now) considering the findings of tombstones with early dating there (Muhammad, 2018).

The first model of Aceh's tombstones is very simple, without inscriptions, and is found in vast wetlands and abundant water flows. Most likely, this is a prototype of an Acehnese tombstone. The improvement in the quality and complexity of the tombstones was achieved after long practice and experience (Muhammad, 2018).

Othman Yatim, a well-known historian and archaeologist from Malaysia, has made a major contribution to the typology of tombstones in Southeast Asia, especially Acehnese stone tombstones. Yatim established a systematic methodology for examining the evolution of tombstones, which is important in recognizing regional differences and tracking the spread of artistic styles and cultural customs throughout Southeast Asia. One of his significant contributions was the discovery of 24 new types of Acehnese headstones spread throughout Southeast Asia, known as "Batu Aceh." His research also emphasizes the importance of this headstone in Islamic funerary monuments dating back to at least the 11th century AD. Yatim was the first to period the typology of Acehnese tombstones, offering a significant chronological structure to the field of archaeology. His typological method allows for the identification of the distribution of similar types of tombstones based on shape and motif, although without a specific date. This deepens the understanding of historical interactions and cultural exchanges among various peoples, as well as provides greater insight into the development of artistic expression in the region (Lambourn, 2008). With this, then we can recognize the period of a headstone based on its typology alone. More intensive research was then conducted by Mapesa in Aceh.

Othman Yatim has provided a comprehensive periodization of Acehnese tombstones, highlighting their evolution over the centuries. His research divides these headstones into two main eras (Lambourn, 2008):

1. Pasai Era (1400-1600s): This period was marked by the influence of the Pasai Sultanate, an important Islamic kingdom in the region. The headstones of this era often feature intricate carvings, Arabic inscriptions, and a blend of local and Islamic artistic elements. These tombstones reflect the cultural and religious values of the Pasai Sultanate and its role in spreading Islam in Southeast Asia.
2. Darussalam Era (1600-1800s): After the decline of the Pasai Sultanate, the Aceh Sultanate rose to become a major power. The tombstones of this period show the continuation and evolution of the previous style, with an increasing emphasis on local Acehnese characteristics. The Era Darussalam Tombstone also shows a higher level of artistic sophistication and reflects the socio-political changes that occurred in the region during that time.

Although Othman mentions it as an Acehnese stone, in Aceh itself the commonly used term is *batee jirat* to refer to the grave marker stone (Muhammad, 2018). Yatim has also classified the content of the inscriptions into several categories, including names, pedigrees of the deceased, dates of death, quotations from the Qur'an, Shahadas, Sufi poems, and verses. Yatim explained that the Shahada inscription has important significance as a statement of the Muslim faith. This inscription is mostly found on the specimens he studied. Shahada appears either in its complete form, namely *لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَّسُولُ اللَّهِ* which means "There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah," or just the first part of *"لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ"* which means "There is no God but Allah" (Muhammad, 2018).

Yatim classifies 14 recognizable subtypes of Acehnese stone, supporting his argument by including an image of each type in the text (Figure 5). Below is the periodization table provided by Othman Yatim (Muhammad, 2018).

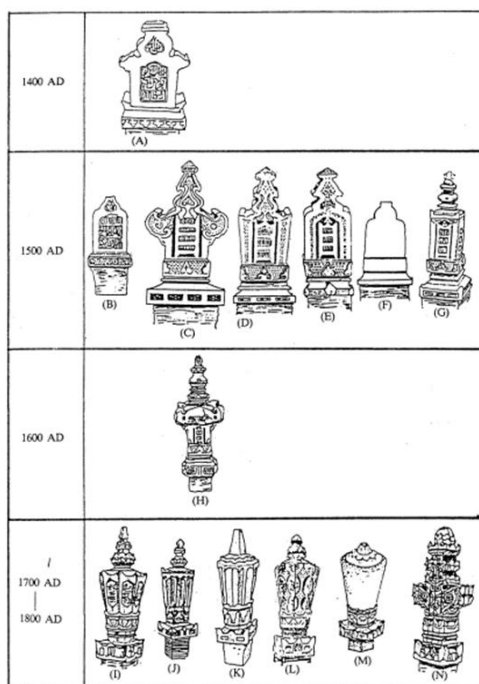


Figure 5: Current batu Aceh typology from Othman Mohd. Yatim (Figure 4, 1988).

Figure 1. The Periodization Table by Othman Yatim (Muhammad, 2018)

Referring to the figure in his book, the era of 1500 was the time of the Samudra Pasai Kingdom in Aceh where in the study concentrated on type F. In Malaysia, this type of tombstone can be found in Pahang and Perak (Muhammad, 2018). In contrast to the previous information, why this F type is simple, where the locals believe that the simplicity of this tombstone is caused by people's inability to meet the demand (Halim, personal communication, 1983), Mapesa is of the view that this tombstone is a period of transition to the era of the Kingdom of Aceh Darussalam. This is a tombstone that was widely circulated in the era of resistance against the Portuguese. In general, headstones of this type are in circulation for a period between 1500 and 1550.

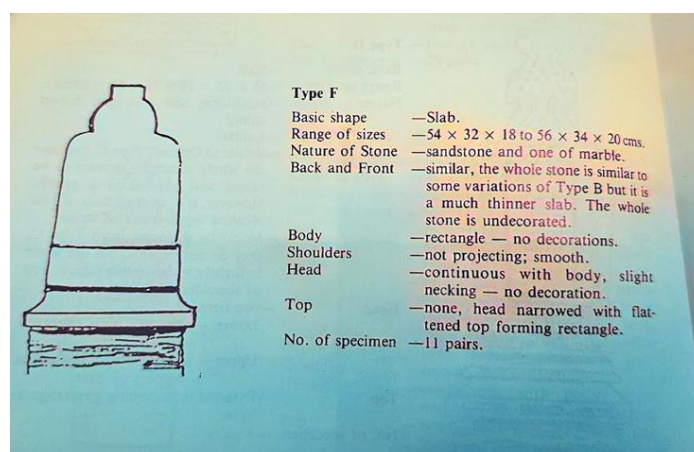


Figure 2. Type F Tombstone (Muhammad, 2018)

Aceh Tombstone Specimens/Batee Jirat Aceh during the Pasai period

1. The following are some examples of type F headstone typography in (North Aceh), Aceh where the Samudra Kingdom used to operate with the following classification and examples:
2. Plain typeface type F headstone without waist ornaments



Figure 3. Plain Typeface Type F Headstone

3. Type F typology headstone with waist ornament



Figure 4. Type F typology headstone with waist ornament

4. Type F tiplofi tombstone with Tawhid Sentence Insertion



Figure 5. Type F tiplofi tombstone with Tawhid Sentence Insertion

Research Findings in the Agund Demak Mosque Area

In our research in the Demak Grand Mosque area, we found the existence of the Aceh Pasai tombstone typology model F in the Demak Grand Mosque cemetery area which we divided into several zones. The following is a picture of the cemetery area of the Demak Grand Mosque which is divided into several zones.

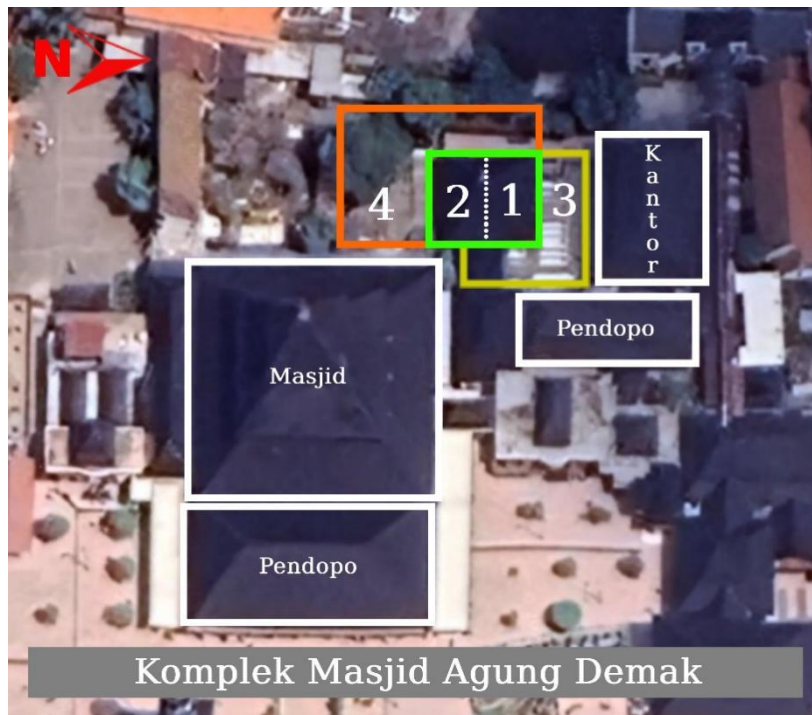


Figure 6. Image of the Demak Grand Mosque Cemetery Area Zone

The information from the division of the Zone is as follows:

1. The first inner core area, which is where Raden Trenggono is covered
2. The second core area, namely the place of Patih Mangkurat KA, Wanapolo
3. The first outer core area, i.e., the place where Raden Broken is exposed
4. The second outer core area, namely the Kanjeng Tomb of Prince Benowo

The results of the research are as follows:

1. The first inner core area: The tomb complex consists of the left and right wings. With a total of 5 tombs on the left wing and 3 right wings. There are a total of 7 tombstones.
The tombstones identified as having a plain F-type Pasai typology without waist ornaments are:
 - 1) The headstone given with the name of Nyi Ageng Pinatih
 - 2) The headstone given with the name of Nyi Ageng Wasi

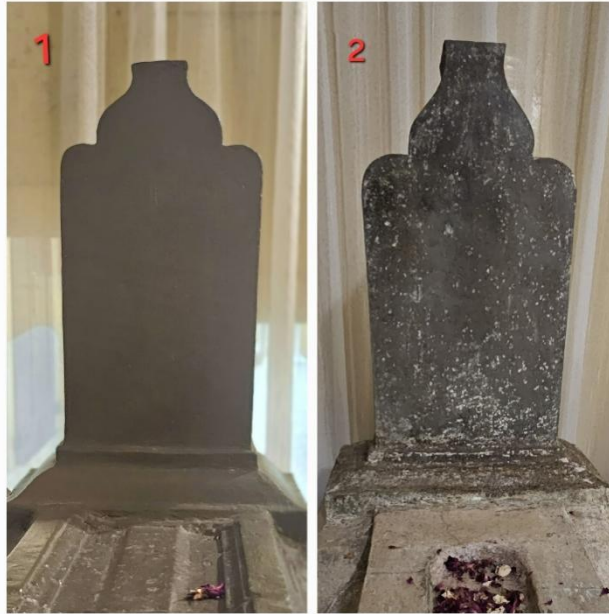


Figure 7. Plain F-type Pasai typology without waist ornaments

2. The inner core region of the second: Consists of 2 rows, lined up:
 - a. First row with a total of 5 headstones
 - b. Second row with a total of 9 headstones

The Aceh Pasai typological tombstone model F which was identified only 1 piece is located in the right corner without a name



Figure 8. The Aceh Pasai typological tombstone model F

3. The first outer core area, the Raden Patah tomb

The total number of gravestones is 16 tombstones, while the tombstones with the Acehese pasai typology model F without waist ornaments amounted to 3 pieces



Figure 9. Tombstones with the Acehese pasai typology model F without waist ornaments

4. Second outer core area: There are a total of 61 gravestones. As for this, 8 Aceh Pasai tombstones were identified with model F,

- a) Acehese typological headstones wear the F model with waist ornaments with the name of Prince Natas Angin.



Figure 10. Acehese typological headstones wear the F model with waist ornaments with the name of Prince Natas Angin

- b) Aceh Pasai typological tombstone model F with waist ornament with the name Arya Jenar, and next to it without a nameless waist ornament



Figure 11. Aceh Pasai typological tombstone model F with waist ornament with the name Arya Jenar, and next to it without a nameless waist ornament

c) Aceh Pasai typological headstone model F plain without nameless ornaments



Figure 12. Aceh Pasai typological headstone model F plain without nameless ornaments

5. Acehnese pasai typology headstone type F with waist ornaments and with monotheistic sentence inscriptions with the name of Sheikh Maulana Morocco. The uniqueness of this Acehnese pasai typology headstone is the medallion or circle model ornament. Which is not common in pasai typology tombstones.



Figure 13. Acehese pasai typology headstone type F with waist ornaments and with monotheistic sentence inscriptions with the name of Sheikh Maulana Morocco

Yatim emphasized that the meaning of the sentence monotheism contained on the tombstone is an expression of belief in the oneness of Allah (Tawhid). Traditionally, according to him, every newborn baby in the Malay community is whispered into their ear by the father, and every Muslim who is heading towards the realm of death must also be escorted by the Shahada to ensure that their soul has a good journey, safe to return to Allah. This inscription on the tombstone therefore serves as a constant reminder for the "wandering soul" to press forward until it reaches perfect unity with the Divine Being. In addition, the Shahada is also the first pillar of faith in Islam. In Islamic belief, only those who have said the Shahada will be lifted up from the fire of hell by Allah (Muhammad, 2018).

The Story of the Alliance of Demak Raden Trenggono and Pasai Fatahillah Against the Portuguese and the Establishment of the City of Jakarta

The existence of tombstones with Aceh Pasai typology model F in the core area of the Great Mosque of Demak shows the connection between Demak and Pasai, because the shape of the tombstones reflects the influence of Pasai culture. The range of the period, especially in the period in general, is 1500 to 1550. In historical records, this connection is closely related to the cooperation between Demak and Pasai in the expulsion of the Portuguese, where the key figure of Pasai is mentioned as Fatahillah, an important figure in the history of Demak and Pasai. Fatahillah, also known as Faletehan, was a warlord who played a key role in the expulsion of the Portuguese from Sunda Kelapa (present-day Jakarta). At that time, Fatahillah became the commander of the joint fleet of the Demak and Pasai alliance in blocking the Portuguese attempt to enter Java.

When Europeans began their search for spices in Asia, they tried hard to master all spices, including Sundanese pepper. In addition to Pasai, Sundanese pepper is a sought-after and needed commodity. The story of the Portuguese attempt to enter Java began with the journey of a Portuguese intelligence agent, as well as the cousin of the Portuguese king, Tome Pires. At that time, the Portuguese had captured Malacca and established a fort in Maluku. On January 6, 1514, Rui de Brito, Captain of Malacca, wrote a letter to King Manuel and Alfonso de Albuquerque informing them that in March 1513, he had sent a fleet of four ships to Java to collect spices. The fleet was under the command of Joao Lopes de Akvim. Three of his ships (navios) were Sao Cristovao, Santo Andre, and a caravel, led by Francisco de Melo, Martim Guedes, and Joao da Silveira, respectively. This ship sailed from Malacca on March 14 and returned on June 22, 1513 carrying approximately 1,200 quintals of cloves.

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When he arrived at Gresik Port, he faced Sunan Giri or Patih Zainal Abidin, as the oldest patih in Java. At that time, as mentioned in *Suma Oriental*, Sunan Giri with his authority and with simple clothes gave a clear answer to Tome Pires as a Portuguese representative who said that the new Ruler of Malacca, Captain Major Afonso Albuquerque, wanted to cooperate with the rulers in Java, "If Captain Major Afonso de Albuquerque makes peace with the ruler of Demak, then automatically all the rulers of Java will also follow him." Raden Trenggono firmly refused to cooperate with the Portuguese. Moreover, Raden Trenggono and his brother-in-law, Patih Unus from Jepara, had just attacked the Portuguese in Malacca (Huseini, 2024). With the blessing of Gresik, Demak led the resistance against the Portuguese occupation attempt.

In 1527, the Portuguese tried to control the Sunda royal ports in Sunda Kelapa and Banten under the pretext of cooperation. However, their efforts were marked by an intense occupation and eventually resistance. During that period, there was a significant political change in Sunda Kalapa towards the end of 1526. First, the troops led by Fatahillah, under the Sultan of Demak and supported by the spiritual leader of Cirebon, managed to capture Sunda Kalapa a few days before the arrival of three Portuguese ships led by D. Coelho. Second, a few days later, the new ruler, referred to as Faletehan by Barros, captured thirty Portuguese sailors whose ships were stranded in Kalapa. All of the sailors were executed immediately (Heuken, 2002).

With a contingent of troops from Sultan Trenggana and support from Cirebon, Fatahillah surprised Banten and a few months later seized Kalapa by force. He then controlled the entire coast of West Java. Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari, "The Story of the Beginning of Cirebon," tells that Fatahillah was born in Pasai and is of Arab-Gujarati blood. He had a close relationship with Sultan Trenggana and Sunan Gunung Jati through his first and second wives. Fatahillah became the commander of the Demak army, strengthened by a contingent from Cirebon (Heuken, 2002).

By leading 1,967 men, he managed to conquer Banten during a period of provoked chaos. A few months later, he also captured Kalapa, which was soon attacked from the sea by Bule Stamps, or "white Franks," referring to the Portuguese. Despite heavy artillery, the Portuguese were defeated and forced to retreat to their ships, suffering heavy casualties. *Si Bule*, "The White One," retreated to Malacca (Heuken, 2002).

Actually, the alliance between Demak and Pasai is not something that happened just like that, considering that after the collapse of Majapahit, the relationship between Pasai and Java also remained close, especially between the Sultanate of Demak and Pasai. This relationship is also basically due to the need for trade relations where rice from Java Island is still sold through Pasai, while pepper from Pasai is marketed to Java through Demak. In addition to trade relations, religious relations and the spread of Islam are also the reasons for the strength of this alliance (Afidah, 2021). This cooperation even before that, already existed in the Majapahit era, namely the cooperation between Gresik and Pasai 100 years ago. The construction of Gresik Port in 1425 was a joint investment between the Kingdom of Pasai, the Kingdom of Majapahit, Malacca, the Chinese Ming Dynasty of China and also the Kingdom of Cambayat Gujarat. In the next 100 years, the newly built Gresik Port developed into the largest and best Islamic port in Java (Arifia et al., 2023).

Previous research on tombstone typology has also confirmed that based on archaeological findings, epigraphic studies, and philosophical analysis show that there is a significant and close historical relationship between Demak, Aceh, and Banten (Arifia et al., 2024). In the context of the expulsion of the Portuguese in Sunda Kalapa, academic circles and also previous studies stated that the establishment of Jakarta which was carried out by the two great alliances, Pasai Aceh and also Demak Java was the reason for the establishment of a new city which is now called the city of Jakarta (Heuken, 2002).

Portuguese historiography consistently highlights the connection between the Sultanate of Banten, Demak and the Aceh movement. On the other hand, historiography found and compiled in the Dutch period, such as the Babad Tanah Java or the Islamic States in Java by Dr. H.J. de Graaf, omits

and ignores this connection. Therefore, the existence of the Aceh Pasai model F headstone in Demak fills the void and revives the unnoticed historical narrative based on concrete archaeological evidence that the establishment of the city of Jakarta is indeed an alliance between Demak and Pasai, where the existence of the influence of Pasai culture can be seen in the Aceh Pasai model F typological headstone in the cemetery area of the Demak Grand Mosque.

CONCLUSION

This study successfully identified and analyzed 13 tombstones with Pasai typology in the Demak Grand Mosque area, characterized by Arabic calligraphy and geometric patterns, reflecting local adaptations in materials and craftsmanship. These findings provide crucial evidence of Pasai's involvement in the spread of Islam and resistance against Portuguese colonization, addressing gaps in Javanese chronicles regarding Pasai's role in the rise of Demak and the establishment of Jakarta. Key figures such as Raden Trenggono and Fatahillah exemplify the strategic alliances formed during this period. Further research is recommended to explore the contributions of the Wali Songo, focusing on their historical context, collaborative strategies, cultural impact, archaeological evidence, and local narratives related to the resistance against colonialism.

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