

16th Century Sundanese Royal Trade

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Keywords

Trade, Economy, Sunda Kingdom, national trade. International Trade

ABSTRACT

This article aims to clarify the existence of the Sundanese scientifically in an authoritative form, namely a kingdom that has a clear scope of territory, power and authority so that the Sundanese have the ability to carry out trade, especially in the 16th century and apart from colonial historiographical architecture, that the Sundanese only did cultural activities, mystical, marginalized, have no trade records. The research method used is the historical method which includes five stages of work, namely heuristics, field visits, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Grounded Theory is also used as a research methodology approach. Research in the field is used as an effort to reconstruct historical architecture that is clean from the influence of stories of pitting against one another carried out by colonialism. The results of this study indicate that even though the Sundanese are known to have a strong culture, the strong Sundanese trading side was "darkened" along with the Mastery of Sunda Kelapa which had changed its name to "Jakarta" and was changed to "Batavia" for hundreds of years. Colonization uses a narrative of pitting one against the other, so that it is as if the Sunda Kingdom never existed, never had trade partners, and only existed culturally.

INTRODUCTION

Sundanese are known to have a strong cultural history, in fact Sundanese culture is a cultural root that has enormous potential in the formation of Indonesian civilization considering that in the course of its history, Sundanese and Sundanese traditions have contributed a treasure of nobility of adab to the integration of Indonesia but in addition to culture, it is necessary to know that the economy is also one of the main factors of power that directs and even determines the motion of history (Gunawan, 2021). Therefore, studying economic history is very important because it means also studying the directing and determining factors of historical motion (Tosh, 2015).

But unfortunately, history, especially economic history, almost never leaves a complete trace, especially for periods of hundreds of years that are very far away from today's life (Jones, 2019). These lost traces are mainly due to the influence of colonization for so long, that systemically the freedom of trade of the local population was revoked and removed from the original History, and replaced with the narrative that we are a lazy and stupid nation (Michalopoulos & Papaioannou, 2020).

In facing the future, with high population growth, in today's Indonesia, Bogor, which in the past was a major urban center and is now also a highly populated urban center within the framework of Indonesia, must have the same trading capabilities as in the past in order to embrace the future (Rustiadi et al., 2021). In the past, the Sunda Kingdom has had a balance between Spiritualism, Industrialization of trade and also synchronization of Supply Chain management from upstream to downstream (Pandey & Lucktong, 2020).

METHODS

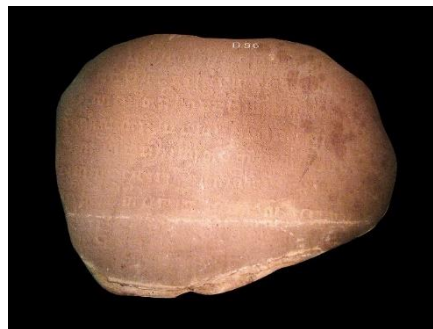
The historical method was used to conduct this research. This method includes five stages of work, namely: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Bakri, 2020). Heuristics is finding and collecting sources. Sources are obtained through literature review (Zhang et al., 2015). After that, in the second stage, field visits were also made to various locations mentioned in the literature review, including various Sunda regions which are now referred to as West Java and Banten. After that, criticism and reinterpretation were carried out. Finally, the writing stage is based on the findings in the field and is interpreted by the author to be free from the influence of colonialism, which for hundreds of years used the *devide et impera* methodology. In fact, in 16th-century Sundanese society there was already a government structure and bureaucracy, as well as various types of work. This means that in this society there is already a systemic and well-organized concept and theory of trade economy.

RESULTS

A. The Kingdom of Sunda, its King and Geographical Area

Tome Pires, a Portuguese intelligence agent disguised as an apothecary, in 1512 when crossing Java Island he gave a report to the Portuguese King about the existence of the famous Sunda Kingdom (Zurndorfer, 2023). Pires, described geographically the Sunda Kingdom with its clear boundaries, which was located on the opposite side of Sumatra Island, very close to the Kingdom of Tulang Bawang and Sekampung. Even from Way Sekampung this journey only crossed and took one day at that time. While from the Kingdom of Andalas it took a day and a night (Fadillah, 2021).

The area of the Sunda Kingdom in the 16th century stretched from the tip of Banten to Cimanuk on the island of Java. Pires, said that there were differences in information, for ordinary people who might not have seen the two kingdoms considered that the Sunda Kingdom controlled half of Java. Others, those in positions of authority, believed that the Sunda Kingdom occupied one-eighth of the island. They claimed that the circumference of the Sunda Kingdom was 300 leagues (900 miles) (Briggs, 2015).



Pires recounted a legend that in ancient times, God had created a river to separate Java from the Sunda Kingdom and vice versa. That is why the river is overgrown with trees along its course and reportedly, the trees on each side have branches that touch the ground and lean towards each country. These trees are large and towering beautifully.

The name "Sunda" itself, revealed by Pires in 1512, is written in the Kebonkopi II inscription found in Ciaruteun Ilir, Cibungbulang, Bogor, Bogor Regency, West Java today. F.D.K. Bosch revealed that this inscription is dated 932 AD:



Translation:

"This memorial stone is (to remark) the saying of Rakryan Juru Pangambat (Royal Hunter), in the year 458 Saka (read 854 Saka or 932 CE), that the authority (order) is returned to the king of Sunda." (Guillot et al., 1995).

Currently, the findings of written inscriptions with the oldest Sundanese word can be found, after which the description of the existence of the Sundanese king and his name is stated in the Sanghyang Tapak inscription (1030 AD). According to the Sanghyang Tapak inscription which is dated 1030 AD (952 Saka), it is known that the Sunda kingdom was led by Maharaja Sri Jayabhupati Jayamanahen Wisnumurti Samarawijaya Sakalabuwana Mandala Swaranindita Haro Gowardhana Wikramottunggadewa. The inscription consists of 40 lines written in Old Javanese script and language on 4 stones, found on the banks of the Cicitih river in Cibadak, Sukabumi.

The first three stones contain the following translation:

"Peace and well-being. In the year of Saka 952, Kartika month on the 12th day on the light part, Hariang day, Kaliwon, first day, Wuku Tambir. Today is the day that king of Sunda Maharaja Sri Jayabupati Jayamanahen Wisnumurti Samarawijaya Sakalabuwana mandaleswaranindita Haro Gowardhana Wikramottunggadewa, makes his marks on the Eastern part of Sanghiyang Tapak. Made by Sri Jayabupati King of Sunda. And may there be nobody allowed to break this law. In this part of river catching fish is forbidden, in the sacred area of Sanghyang Tapak near the source of the river. Up until the border of sacred Sanghyang Tapak marked by two big tree. So this inscriptions is made, enforced with an oath." (Danasasmita, 2022).

By linking the existence of this inscription which is much earlier than Tome Pires' records, the Sunda Kingdom is a kingdom that has existed for more than half a century.

B. The structure of the Sunda Kingdom, its power authority and leadership guided by the Almighty Godhead.

The highest pyramid of Sundanese arrangements is organized by the Sunda King. Pires described the King of Sunda as having power over the large city of Dayeuh (Dayo), the city, land and port of Banten (Bantam), Pontang Harbor (Pomdam), Ciaede Harbor (Cheguide), Tangerang Harbor (Tamgaram), Sunda Kelapa Harbor (Calapa), Cimanuk Harbor (Chemano) (Winstedt, 1947).

Under the King of Sunda, known as Sang Hyang (Samg Briamg), there was a deputy king called Susuhunan (cocunam). Under him again there was a Treasurer known as mangkubumi (macobumj). In Sunda, in addition to these important officials, there were also captains or rulers in charge of cities, regions and harbors (Winstedt, 1947).

Pires provides a detailed explanation of the comparative mention of terms when in Java, the rulers were called patih (pate) while in Sundanese they were known as prabu (paybou), for example: prabu A and prabu B the rulers of this area and that area.

Pires did not directly draw a comparative description between the Javanese and Sundanese kings. However, if we combine the descriptions, then we know that Sunda is led by Sang Hyang and his deputy is called Susuhunan, while Java is led by Batara and his deputy is called Gusti patih (pate).

Pires mentions that in the past there was a Sang aji (Sam Agy) known as "batara: which means 'holy king'. Batara at that time, reportedly rarely appeared in front of the people and the power was not in Batara's hands, but in the hands of his deputy. Even to eat Batara, it must be according to the orders of the "king" (Cortesao, 2015).

Tome Pires, on the other hand, described the hyang as the king was a talented athlete and hunter. In his land there were innumerable stags, pigs and bulls, They often spent time hunting.

In local beliefs, the stories of kings are revered because in the process of the final phase of life they leave materialism behind and move towards divinity. To reach that path, they usually live back to nature, abstaining from all forms of pleasure.

This is why as the inscription "sang hyang tapak" earlier, the area became an area prohibited from hunting.

When Pires described the power structure in the Sundanese Kingdom, the manuscript of Bujangga Manik included "Mangkubumi bakti di ratu, Ratu bakti di dewata, dewata submits to Hyang" which means that the Port rulers or city kings or treasurers or mangkubumi, are subject to the ruler or called the king of nature or called Prabu, and the king of nature submits to Sang Hyang, the spiritual who works under the guidance of God.

With this, the land area is essentially divided into three areas, the opean area, namely the Port, the area where the local ruler holds power called Dayeuh and then the sacred area, which is not allowed to carry out commercialism, purely only for worship activities.

With this divine leadership, Sundanese trade was carried out. Tome Pires described the Sunda Kingdom as being ruled justly by sincere people.

C. The Royal Capital and description of the Capital

In the 16th century, Pires described the large Dayeuh (Dayo) City as the place where the king lived. In general, according to Sundanese oral tradition, the king of Sunda always had a hermitage, living in the mountains and in caves. Pires' description differs from the beliefs of the Sundanese people (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990).

The Kebantenan inscription, which is thought to be contemporary with Tome Pires' manuscript (1482-1521), contains text inscriptions including "Om Avighnam as-tu, nihan- sakakala ra-hyam niskala vas-tu o kañcana pun-, down- ka ra-hyam niñrat- kañcana, ma^okañuni ka susuhunan-ayə-na ði pakuan- pajajaran- pun-, mulah mo mihape" (Gunawan & Griffiths, 2021).



Expresses that the one who is in the pakuan pajajaran is "Susuhunan". The one in Pakuan is "Susuhunan".

Susuhunan rules over Pakuan, and while there are other cities, none is as large as Dayo. This large city has well-built houses using coconut leaves and wood. This house was built in a row, which is why it was called "pajajaran" People said that the King had a very nice house, built using 330 wooden pillars as thick as wine barrels, 5 fathoms high and decorated with very beautiful carvings on the top.

To reach the town of Dayeuh, it took two days from the main port called Sunda Kelapa (Calapa). Current research suggests that Buitenzorg (Bogor) was the capital of Dayeuh Sunda because of the foundations of the palace, as well as many stone ruins and inscriptions (Adam, 2020).

D. The harbor of the Sundanese Kingdom

To be able to trade more in the 16th century era, where sea and river transportation is the main means, of course the Sunda Kingdom must have a port. The more ports that are managed, it shows the ability of a country to prosper each region of its society.

In the 16th century, the Sunda Kingdom had several ports. The ports under the Sunda Kingdom are: Banten Port (Bantam), Pontang Port (Pomdam), Ciaede Port (Cheguide), Tangerang Port (Tamgaram), Sunda Kelapa Port (Calapa), Cimanuk Port (Chemano) (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990).

1. Sunda Harbor: Banten (Bantam)

The first port is called Banten. Jung-jung docked at this port, which was a trading port. There was a nice town near the river. The town was led by the captain, a very important figure. Banten Harbor can be said to be an international harbor where trade is conducted with the Maldives Islands and with the Fansur region of Sumatra Island, among others. The river that flows in this area ends in the ocean.

2. Pontang Port (Pomdag)

The second port in the Sunda Kingdom was called Pontang, which was on the way to Jepara and smaller than Bantam. It had a good town. People who traded with Bantam also traded with Pontang. The harbor was located near a river that led to the ocean. It is rumored that junks docked at this port, which is said to be a trading port.

3. Cigede/Cisadane Port (Chegijde)

The third port, located in the direction already mentioned, is called Cigede. In this harbor there was also a good town, where the previously mentioned Jung-jung docked. There is a very important captain here.

4. Tangerang Port (Tamgara)- Muara Angke

The fourth port is called Tangerang. It is the same as the other ports mentioned above, with a nice city and trade. It has a captain and is a trading place like the three ports above.

5. Sunda Kelapa Harbor (Calapa)

Sunda Kelapa Harbor is an amazing harbor and the most important among other harbors. The journey to Sunda Kelapa Harbor took two days from Dayo City (Pakuan Pajajaran) where the King always stayed. Therefore, this port is considered as the most important one.

This port was almost merged with the Land of Java, but Cimanuk separated them. The journey from Cimanuk to this port took a day and a night with good winds. Trade commodities from all over the kingdom were brought to this port. It was well-run: with judges, courts and clerks. It is rumored that (the) regulations in this city have been (put) in writing, (for example) a person who commits act A will be subject to B and so on according to the laws of the kingdom. Many junks docked at this port.

6. Cimanuk Port (Chemano)

Cimanuk Harbor is the sixth harbor. This harbor is not a place for junks to dock, but only a port post, so the people are told, some "agree." Many Moors live here. The captain is a pagan. This harbor is under the rule of the King of Sunda. The boundary of the kingdom was at this place. Cimanuk carried on a good trade, with which Java also traded. This port has a large and good city,

7. Trade of the Sunda Kingdom

Trade is not new to the people in Sunda, besides the old age of the Kingdom, the Sundanese Kingdom is also accustomed to trade (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990). The countries that have had continuous trade relations include Malacca. Sundanese people often went to Malacca to trade. The Malacca Kingdom, regularly sent its ships to the Sunda Kingdom to trade.

Both the Pires Records and the Bujangga Manik Manuscript, record that Malacca Ships like to trade also to Sunda.

In addition, these were the Sunda kingdom's trading partners from other kingdoms

- a. From the Port of Banten: This port conducted trade activities with the Maldives Islands and with the Barus/Fansur region on Sumatra Island (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990). Meanwhile, archaeological evidence in Banten also shows that China or Chinese have been cooperating

with Sunda through Banten Port since the 9th-10th centuries. Guillot said that in his excavation, of all the ceramics found, most of them were from China, originated in China, especially South China; the oldest date from the 9th-10th centuries, but the bulk date from the 13th-14th centuries (Guillot et al., 1997).

Long before the 16th century, in the Chinese sailing manual Shun Jeng Xiangsong, compiled in approximately 1500 (Ii hat Mills 1979). Banten is named "Wan-tan" and "Shun-t'a" as the destination or departure point of various major shipping routes: Aur-Banten Island. Aceh-Banten. Banten-Banjarnasin. Banten-Demak. Banten-Timor (Guillot et al., 1997).

Then also at the end of the 15th century, Sulaiman b. Ahmad al-Mahri in Umdat a/-1\Jahriyahfi Dabt al- 'U/um al-Najmiyah recognized the Sundanese port at the western end of Java near "Djebel Sunda", meaning Mount Gede to the west of Banten Bay (West, 2021).

this shows that the international port of Sunda was open in the Banten region.

- b. The port of Cisadane (cigede): also traded in this place, for example Pariaman, Andalas, Tulang Bawang, Sekampung and other places.
- c. Sunda Kelapa port: This is where the biggest trade was carried out, where people came from Sumatra, Palembang, Laue, Tanjungpura (Tamjompura), Malacca, Makassar, Java, Madura and many more. These nations also conducted trade in other ports.

The trade relationship between Sunda and Minangkabau is a very old one, where the Ports used from Sunda are Banten, Cisadane and from Minangkabau are Pariaman and Barus. One of Pires' notes that stands out is that the Sundanese had 4,000 horses imported from Pariaman, the port of Minangkabau (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990).

8. Commodities of Sunda Kingdom

In conducting trade, of course, commodities are needed, as for the commodities of the Sunda Kingdom which are of high value besides pepper or pepper, are commodities that Chinese people like, namely rhino horn. Rhinos are found in large numbers in the southern part of the Banten region (Guillot et al., 1997).



While the low-value commodity is tamarind. The tamarind plant is widely found in the Malabar country. Tamarind and Bima Islands are also recorded this plant in very large quantities. It is a good merchandise in Sunda (Winstedt, 1947).

There are also other commodities from each port as follows:

- a. From the port of Banten: This region stored large quantities of rice, foodstuffs and pepper.
- b. From Pontang Port: . This place has rice, foodstuffs and peppercorns.
- c. From cigede Port: This place too - produces rice, vegetables, pepper and many foodstuffs.
- d. From Tangerang Port: Tangerang also produces goods that other ports have.

9. Trading ships

The Sunda Kingdom not only had a harbor, but also had its own ships with more than 6 types of junks and typical Sundanese lancharas which had "peacock" shaped masts and steps between each ship making it easy to steer (Winstedt, 1947). In trade, Sundanese people would board cargo lancharas, ships of 150 tons (Pires & Rodrigues, 1990).

10. Sundanese Characters Supporting Trade and the Language Spoken

No trade can succeed without honesty. This is why Tome Pires, wrote that Sundanese society is famous for its honesty. It was only with this value of honesty that international traders would come to trade.

The Sundanese were also praised by Pires as competitive, able to compete, including at the time being said to be able to compete with the Javanese. Not only that, Sundanese people are also known as seafaring warriors (Winstedt, 1947). Sundanese people are good people. Although the Sundanese and Javanese kingdoms are only separated by a river, the language spoken in Sunda is not Javanese, nor do people in Java use Sundanese (Winstedt, 1947).

11. Harmonious Sundanese and Javanese trade and the issue of the bubat war

In general, trade relations facilitate peace between countries. All parties understand that war means cost, with war it means that there will be no development, there will be no progress of civilization. economic relations have a great influence on whether or not the adjoining countries are involved in the war.

Military disputes, but not wars. According to research, rather than inhibiting conflict, extensive economic interdependence increases the likelihood of both parties engaging in military interstate disputes. Peace through trade is more likely to emerge between pairs of interdependent trading partners. However, the relationship between interdependence and conflict appears to be curvilinear, with low to moderate levels of interdependence reducing the likelihood of disputes and extensive economic ties increasing the likelihood of military disputes. Extreme interdependence, whether symmetrical or asymmetrical, has the greatest potential to increase the likelihood of conflict (Barbieri, 1996).

In the 16th century, Pires described the relationship between the Sundanese and Javanese. The people of Sundanese and Javanese are neither friends nor enemies. They keep themselves to themselves. They trade with one another, and also if they meet on the sea as pirates, whoever is better prepared attacks, and so they use here, but great the friendship or relationship between them. They traded with each other (Winstedt, 1947).

Pires, in his book, describes many wars that have occurred in the past, but he did not see any war between Sunda and Java. Sunda and Java were in reality interdependent, because they were on the same shipping route and in the same wind. If there was a war between Sunda and Java, then automatically the Javanese boats could no longer sail towards Sumatra, or vice versa from Sunda towards Bali.

The route from Tuban to Banten was a common route for a long time, although we cannot say that the dependency was symmetrical, rather it was complementary. Sunda and Java have relatively similar natural resources, but with different mountain typologies. Pires noted the large production of gold in Java, while the Sundanese excelled in the expensive commodity of pepper.

This harmony between Sunda and Java in trade relations is also recognized by the absence of Chinese records that explain the existence of a major war between Sunda and Java (Liang, 2012). According to archaeologist Hassan Djafar, of the 30 Sunda Kingdom inscriptions and 50 Majapahit Kingdom inscriptions there is no mention of the Bubad War, the source of the Sunda and Javanese dispute story only comes from manuscripts. This dispute appears in the Bubad War which is alluded to in one of the pupuhs of Pararaton, a Javanese chronicle from the 15th century. The identity of the author of the Pararaton is unknown. The Pararaton is organized as an account of events that took place around 1474-1486, while the literary part is organized as a historical description between 1500-1613. The manuscript was first published in 1896 by J.L.A. Brandes.

The manuscript copy of Desawarnana, widely known as Nagarakretagama, describes a Bubad square located in the northern area of Trowulan, the capital of Majapahit, probably in the vicinity of Wringin Lawang gate or Brahu temple. But in this copy of the Desawarnana, which is so long on Javanese history, there is no news of a conflict between Sunda and Java.

Another manuscript about the Bubad war is Kidung Sunda, published in the early 20th century by CC Berg, a Dutch historian. CC Berg found this manuscript in Bali. Thus, Tome Pires' account in Suma Oriental correctly and logically describes the relationship between Sunda and Java as one without warfare.

Pires' article, also about "Bubat", is not in the sense of war. Pires described the ruler of Surabaya, or the tip of Galuh where he came as "patih bubat". Who is patih bubat? Patih Bubad was the ruler of Surabaya. His opponent, Guste Pate of Balmbangan, gave Patih Bubad as the juru Palagan ing Terung. (Jurupa Galacam Imteram) Pires translated this phrase to mean "Outstanding Captain".

Patih bubat was a great warrior and ruler. He was more respected in matters of defense than anyone else who lived along the coast, whether Javanese or Muslim. Pires reveals that all Javanese relied on him, his personality and his advice. He ruled over a vast country, often at war with Guste Pate, but sometimes he and Gusti Pate were friends. He had many war calaluze boats in the ocean,

Patih Bubat was a warrior brother of the ruler of Gresik. Pires heard that his grandfather was a subordinate or patih who worked for Guste Pate's grandfather. In addition, some other people explained the origin of Patih Bubat's grandfather came from Sunda.

Pires appreciated patih bubat, with his high reputation, surely wherever patih bubat came from, he was still someone who was highly respected. He had at least 6,000-7,000 warriors in his country.

What was unique about Patih Bubat as a Sundanese and Muslim descendant, he only worked continuously at war and did nothing else. All his neighboring countries in Java received advice and help from him. He had a close relationship with the pate of the Muslims. Pate Bubat was therefore highly respected because he always fought continuously (Wink, 2004).

In the description of the Sundanese manuscripts, the only Sundanese person, who continuously fought and was never defeated and never saw his own blood, and was a Muslim was only one character, known as "Kian Santang". At the end of Galuh, the description of this figure is known as Patih Bubat, or more precisely what is meant by Juru Palagan ing Terung in language, juru is a clever person who gets his abilities with extensive training, Palagan means war or battle. Ing terung means in the Terung region, which is now in East Java. Therefore, this figure in the Majapait region is also known as the Duke of Terung.

Instead in Galuh, this figure is known as Kian Santang and in Cirebon is known as CakraBuana.

12. 16th century European and Asian trade struggles and the beginning of colonization.

Trade relations between Asian countries were intensive and had been going on for a very long time. The relationship between Sunda and China, for example through the Port of Banten, has been going on for a very long time. Pepper in the Sundarbans may have been exchanged for Chinese ceramics as early as the 10th century, intensifying from the 12th to the 16th century.

Chinese ships routinely went to Banten Harbor, picking up pepper and other goods. Chinese exchanges with Banten Girang were intensive and never ceased, except perhaps in the 15th century. Throughout the 16th century, until the early 17th century, Chinese junks visited Banten regularly in search of Jada.

When the Europeans began their quest for spices in Asia, they tried hard to gain control of all spices, including Sundanese pepper. Apart from Pasai, Sundanese pepper was a commodity that was sought after and needed.

In 1527, the Portuguese tried to acquire the Sundanese Royal Ports of Sunda Kelapa and Banten under the pretext of cooperation, but in reality, violent occupation efforts were tried with all their might.

Entering the 17th century, the Dutch succeeded in controlling all Sunda Ports starting with the control of Sunda Kelapa which had been renamed Jayakarta. The Dutch then monopolized the pepper trade so that China could no longer trade with Sunda.

The position of the inter-Asian trade that had involved India as a carrier of cloth, then, the Sunda producing rice and spices, then China producing kemarik, was disrupted. All these commodities could not be brought back. The only people who could carry and sell all these commodities were Europeans (Claude et al., 1996).

When the Dutch took over Sunda Kelapa, which had been renamed Jayakarta, it automatically meant that the most important port of the Sunda Kingdom had been taken and closed by the Dutch. Likewise, since the international port of the Kingdom of Sunda was taken, practically all trade in the Sundarbans and later even the whole of Java was under the control and in full control of the Dutch interests.

The Dutch covered up all these traces by providing a colonial apology that from the beginning the local ruling population had often fought and killed each other over trivial matters, such as women, feeling offended and also mystical reasons. The Sundanese trade trail has since been erased and never reopened.

CONCLUSION

The conclusions of this short research reveal that in the 16th century, the Sunda Kingdom operated as an authoritative realm with a well-defined power structure, territorial control, and an organized system for managing the kingdom, all guided by divine principles. Furthermore, the Sunda Kingdom maintained a significant capital integrated into international trade affairs, boasting a diverse range of trade commodities and a robust logistical supply chain consisting of ports, ships, and import-export networks. This kingdom also demonstrated a careful balance between upholding divine, natural, and human relationships. However, it is evident that the Sunda Kingdom's trade prowess was systematically downplayed and obscured in favor of mystical narratives, leading to disputes with neighboring regions such as Java and Banten, which were, in reality, part of Dutch colonial tactics employed through *Devide et Impera* politics.

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