

# Batee Jirat-Batu Aceh Islamic Gravestones in Sultanate Banten Building New Historiography Aceh and Banten Relationship

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## Keywords

*Sultanate Banten, Banten Kingdom, Aceh Sultanate, Islamic Gravestone, Spice Trade, Batee Jirat Batu Aceh.*

## ABSTRACT

Othman Yatim's research has provided a clear picture of the influence of Acehese stones, which are so abundant in the Malaysian peninsula, but on the other hand, there is still a need to carry out a more in-depth comparative study regarding the existence of similar tombstones in Indonesia, especially on the island of Java. On the island of Java itself, the Sultanate of Banten is the only kingdom whose sultans or kings have used Batee Jirat Batu Aceh typology tombstones for generations, from the beginning to the end of the Sultanate. Therefore, comparative research was carried out on similar tombstones in Aceh, and then an analysis of the reconstruction of past relations between Aceh and Banten, as the Big Spice City, which also played a major role in the spread of Islam in Indonesia, was carried out.

## INTRODUCTION

The graves of Islamic elites, i.e. Sultan or King or the Treasurer in Southeast Asia, between periods of Time between 14<sup>th</sup> -19<sup>th</sup> Century, gradually used tombstones which were referred to as the Batu Aceh typology (Siregar, 2023). The stone is considered to have originated from Aceh and then entered all places in Southeast Asia when the Acehese influence spread throughout Southeast Asia. Othman Yatim Scholar from Malaysia, then formulated 14 types of Acehese stone. Although they are considered to have the same type in fundamentals, the decoration may vary.

Even though they are called Batu Aceh, in Aceh itself, the tombstones are not known as Batu Aceh. In fact, it is known as Batee Jirat. The stone is made in a certain shape, either within the Aceh or outside the Aceh region, and in the period before or after the Aceh Darussalam Kingdom. The Sultan's graveyard is not the same as the tombs of other ordinary people. For example, this difference can be seen through their graves, which are placed in a higher place than the surrounding land, for example, on a hill. The Sultan's tomb complex also usually has rich decoration on the tombstones. This decoration is dominated, among other things, by floristic and anthropomorphic decorative patterns (Sirojuddin, 2014).

Because these gravestones are for Sultans, it is not surprising that the art of tomb design and decoration is an elitist artistic product. Its nature is very limited, symbolizing honor, dignity, power, and Spirituality, as well as the Sultan's charisma. The Sultan is not just a ruler but also a regulator and protector of religion, God's guardian for world and religious affairs, as well as a support and hope and a connector of Grace for the people (Sunandar, 2018).

One of the Islamic sultanates on the island of Java is the Banten sultanate, which was founded around 1552 with Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin as its ruler and ended with Sultan Muhammad Rafi'uddin in 1820 (Fadillah, 2023; Suhaedi, 2019). Even though there were many Islamic kingdoms in Java, neither the Demak, Mataram, Gresik nor Cirebon sultanates used the Batee Jirat Batu Aceh typology. Only the Sultanate of Banten uses it continuously (Ghaffar, 2015; Lambourn, 2004; Mukarrom, 2014).

Therefore, we want to reconstruct the relationship between Aceh and Banten in the past, through first we want to conduct a comparative study of the Sultanate Tombstone in Banten within Aceh, and then we will review the relationship between Aceh and Banten based on manuscripts and primary sources at that time.

## METHODS

This qualitative research method is based on grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin method) and the approach called by Prof. Dr. Muarif Ambary Indo Islamic archeology. In summary, instead of confirming the existing theory, the approach will produce a new one. The historical data to be produced can be very different from what has been circulated and taken root in society.

In doing research, this method includes five work stages: heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. Heuristics are searching and gathering sources. The first stage is sources obtained through a literature review. After that, in the second stage, multiple visits were also made to Pasai (Lhokseumawe), Aceh, and Banten within the period of 2019 to 2023.

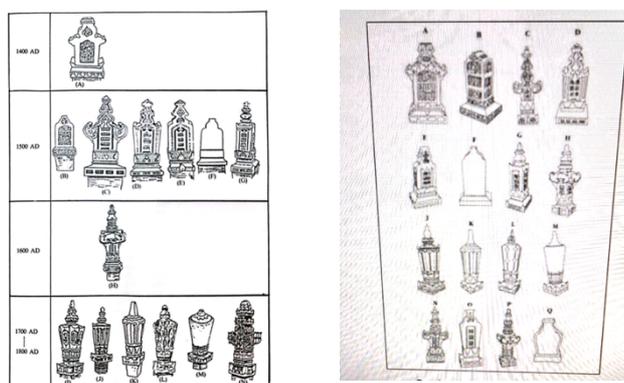
After taking documentation in the field, the criticism and re-interpretation were carried out. The final stage is the writing stage, based on findings in the field and a new effort to link and create a written history of the real relationship between Aceh dan Banten as part of one region of the country called Indonesia today. The study of the tombstones of the Banten Sultanate is limited to the period from Sultan Hasanuddin to Sultan Abu Nashr Abdul Kahhar - Sultan Haji. Period of 1552-1672C

## RESULTS

Many previous studies have confirmed the typology of tombstones in Banten is the Batee Jirat Batu Aceh typology. The first statement of comprehensive research was put forward by Dr Othman Yatim, which included a table of the distribution of Batu Aceh gravestones in Banten, with details of 9 types of stone in the Maulana Hasanuddin Complex, 14 Batu Aceh in Banten Prince Muhammad Complex, and in the Maulana Yusuf Complex in large quantities.

Othman did not mention the existence of other sultanates in Java that used the Nisan Aceh typology, including the Sultanate of Cirebon. This is also in line with the research results of Muhammad Iqbal Johansyah, who stated that of the 888 tombs in the *Sunan* Gunung Jati complex, basically, they consist of 6 separate types of their own headstone typology (Hernawan & Kusdiana, 2020).

This is also in line with our research in the field for 4 years in various regions of Java, which did not find any Islamic sultanates in Java that used the Batee jirat Batu Aceh Typology Headstones continuously; this indicates that there was actually a very special relationship between Banten and Aceh (Yatim, 1988). The typology classification used in previous research and this research uses the typology used by Othman Orphan and then developed by Perret, as follows and the discovery of new data based on research by Mapesa over the last 11 years:



**Figure 1. Progression of Othman Type**

In 2005, Fauzan Amril published various descriptions of the decorative gravestones of the Sultan of Banten, XVI-XIX centuries, which included various general descriptions of the tombs of the Sultans of Banten from the period of Sultan Hasanuddin to Sultan Syarifudin Ratu Wakil, the period 1552-1752, where various Typology and Ornament analyses and comparisons are also mentioned.

The latest research, which also includes the qualifications for the tombstones of the Sultan of Banten, was mentioned in research by Mohammad Ali Fadillah in 2023. In this research, Fadhilah Ali attempted to provide a more accurate picture of the tombstones in several places, especially in Lawang Abang, then also compared them with special places such as the Banten Lama, Kenari, Kasunyatan, and Pakalangan cemetery complexes.

The typological approach shows two groups of tombstones from different cultural units on the same site. The dominance of Acehnese stone in various regions in Banten is beyond doubt, with particularity being the Sultan's tombstones. Undoubtedly, the Acehnese stone in Banten is imported, but it is unknown whether it was imported directly from Aceh or through other ports, such as Melaka and Johor.



**Figure 2. Sultanate Hasanuddin Graveyard complex in Banten**



**Figure 3. Sultanate Maulana Yusuf complex in Pakalangan Gede, Margaluyu, Banten**



**Figure 4. Sultan Abu'l Mafakhir Abdul Qadir (Right) dan Abu'l Ma'ali Ahmad (Left) Sultan Kanari Complex in Banten**

**Comparison and Classification of Batee Jirat -Batu Aceh Typology for the Sultanate of Banten**

The first two rulers of the Sultanate of Banten were Maulana Hasanuddin and Maulana Yusuf. Their graves are in different locations, with characteristics that indicate authenticity, and are still in very good condition.



**Figure 5. Maulana Hasanuddin 1552-1570**



**Figure 6. Maulana Yusuf or Pangeran Pasareyan 1570-1585**

As for the tombstones with the Batee jirat Batu Aceh typology of the 2nd Sultan of Banten, they are compared with several tombstones found in 5 Islamic cemetery complexes in Banda Aceh, including:

1. 3 tombstones have the same typology as the two tombstones of the Sultan of Banten, which are in Lamteh village, Ulee Kareng sub-district, Banda Aceh city, inside the "Lem Bakri restaurant area." This type of tombstone model is intended for a man. These three tombstones have inscriptions but no epigraphy. The inscription reading is in the form of the sentence Tauhid. There are different variations in the head and the ornamentation of the body and lower parts.



**Figure 7. Tombstones**

2. There are 4 tombs with the same typology in the tomb complex of Prime Minister Seri Udahna (d. 968 AH/1560 AD) in Ilie village, Ulee Kareng sub-district, Banda Aceh city. Such a tombstone model is intended for a man, and one with crown-like wings is intended for a woman. The most important part of this complex is the epigraphic gravestone of Seri Udahna, the Minister who was primarily the Minister (Prime Minister) during the time of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah in 1560 AD or 20 Safar, Bada Ashar 968 Hijriah.



**Figure 8. Tombstones with the same typology**

3. 4 tombstones from the 3rd Complex of 'Abidatullah Al-Malik Al-Jali bin Firman in Lamteh village, Ulee Kareng sub-district, Banda city. Such a tombstone model is intended for a man.



**Figure 9. Tombstones from the 3rd Complex of 'Abidatullah Al-Malik Al-Jali bin Firman**

4. 1 headstone from the Putroe Ijo grave complex in Pande village, Kuta Raja sub-district, Banda Aceh city. The tombstone model is, for example, intended for a woman from the 16th century AD.



**Figure 10. Headstone from the Putroe Ijo grave complex**

5. 1 headstone in Lam Padang, Lam Teh Village, birthplace of Cut Nya Dien, Aceh Besar. This gravestone has an Epitaph with the reading of Al-Malik Azh-Zhahir who died on the night of Wednesday, 27 Safar 966 Hijriah (9 December 1558 AD)



**Figure 11. Headstone in Lam Padang, Lam Teh Village**

Of the various types compared with the tombstones in Banda Aceh, it turns out that the second tombstone of the Sultan of Banten is the most similar and identical to the tombstone in “Lem Bakri”, without the epigraphy. The two types of Sultan's tombstone, According to Othman Yatim then Perret , considered type D with the specifications as intended. In Mapesa's research, this type of tombstone usually began in 1550 and lasted until the 1570s.



**Figure 12. Maulana Muhammad atau Pangeran Sedangrana 1585-1596**

As for the tombstone of the 3rd Sultan of Banten, as a comparison, you can find it at:

- a. Tomb complex in Lambung village, Meuraxa sub-district, Banda Aceh city, period 18th to 19th century AD.



**Figure 13. Tombstone model intended for a man**

- b. The tomb complex of Shaikh 'Abdurrauf bin 'Aly Al-Fanshuri (Syiah Kuala). The tombstone model is, for example, intended for a man from the 18th to 19th centuries AD.



**Figure 14. Shaikh 'Abdurrauf bin 'Aly Al-Fanshuri**

- c. The Khoja Muhammad Tomb Complex is estimated from the 17th century AD. Located in Babah Jurong village, Krueng Barona Jaya sub-district, Aceh Besar district



**Figure 15. The Khoja Muhammad Tomb**

In Othman's research, this Batee Jirat Batu Aceh tombstone has not been classified, but in Perret's research, it is included in the classification with typology type o. In Mapesa's research, this O typology only appeared at the end of the 17th century, up to the 18th and 19th centuries. Based on comparisons, the gravestones of the three Sultans of Banten are included in the O typology between the 18th and 19th centuries. Determining which century this is based on the typical waist section clearly shows the typology of the 18th-19th centuries.

**Sultan Abu al-Mafakhir Mahmud Abdulkadir or also known by the title “Pangeran Ratu” or Sultan Agung Banten, was the 4th king of the Banten Sultanate who reigned from 1596 to 1651.**

For the 4th Sultanate, even though it is popularly well known located in the Banten Kenari complex, during data collection in 2023, upon Tombstone examination, the researcher team found a tombstone bearing the epigraphy of Sultan Mahmud. So, we prioritize this epigraphic gravestone for discussion.



**Figure 16. Maulana Yusuf Gravestone located in Pakalangan Gede Maulana Yusuf**

This tombstone is located on the outside of Pakalangan Gede Maulana Yusuf, with the top part having the following inscription: This tombstone is the most important of all the other tombstones because, based on physical examination, this tombstone is the tombstone that contains the epitaph of the sultan's name.

١ . لا اله الا الله  
سلطان محمود بن سلطان  
٢ . محمد بن سلطان يوسف  
٣ . بن سلطان حسن الدين  
٤ . غفر الله ذنوبه

"1. *La ilahaillah Muhammad rasulullah, Sulthan Mahmud bin Sulthan*  
2. *Muhammad bin Sulthan Yusuf*  
3. *bin Sulthan Hasanuddin*  
4. *ghafarallahu dzunubahu*"

Translation:

1. There is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is his Messenger. *Sultan Mahmud* son of *Sultan*
2. *Muhammad* son of *Sultan Yusuf*
3. son of *Sultan Hasanuddin*
4. May Allah Forgive him (for all his mistakes and sins).

Reading cannot be done easily, considering the tombstone is in poor condition and needs adequate care. This tombstone, as far as the 4 years of tombstone research data collected throughout Java, is the only tombstone that has the Sultan's epigraphy in all the tombstones on the island of Java. In Historical existence in Java, only this Tombstone is shown. Headstones with this typology can be found in 6 graveyard complexes in Banda Aceh as follows:

1. Tuan di Pakeh (Faqih) graveyard complex in Punge Blang Cut village, Jaya Baru sub-district, Banda Aceh city. 16th century AD tombstone model.



**Figure 17. Tuan di Pakeh (Faqih) graveyard**

2. The Khoja Muhammad Tomb Complex is estimated from the 17th century AD. Located in Babah Jurong village, Krueng Barona Jaya sub-district, Aceh Besar district.



**Figure 18. Khoja Muhammad Tombstone**

3. "Raja-raja gampong Pande" tomb complex in Pande village, Kuta Raja sub-district, Banda Aceh city. The tombstone model originates from the 16th century AD. The tombstone model is intended for a man.



**Figure 19. Raja-raja gampong Pande Tombstone**

4. Putroe Ijo tomb complex in Pande village, Kuta Raja sub-district, Banda Aceh city. The model of the tombstone is for a man from the 16th century AD.



**Figure 20. Putroe Ijo Tombstone**

5. 1 Tombstone in Punge Blang cut Village, Banda Aceh



**Figure 21. Tombstone in Punge Blang**

6. 1 gravestone in Lam Ujong Village, Baitussalam sub-district, Aceh Besar Regency



**Figure 22. Gravestone in Lam Ujong Village**

The 3rd gravestone of the Sultan of Banten is included in the type E category, with a time period between the early 1600s. In type E, the body shape is straight. However, the upper crown has several variations. The gravestone most similar and close to Sultan Mahmud's gravestone is located near Lam Ujong Village.

The epigraphy of the gravestone with this gravestone model is a carved gravestone, and its authenticity cannot be doubted, so this type of gravestone is completely from Aceh. In addition, the KTLIV documentation clearly mentions that this is the Sultan's tombstone. The addition of the information of Sultan Mahmud was mentioned by Titik Pudjiastuti as follows:

The sealing of the Sultan at this time corresponds to the stamp contained in Sultan Abul Fath's Letter to the King of England, Charles II, 1664, where this Letter is kept at the Public Record Office, London, with archive number PRO Ext 8/2, f.126r. Sultan Abul Fath, or his full name Abul Fath Abdul Fattah, was the son of Sultan Abulmaali; he ruled Banten from 1651-1682 (Guillot et al., 1990). Before becoming sultan, he was known as Pangeran Dipati and like his grandfather, Sultan Abulmafakhir, he was also known as Sultan Agung. Gallop's (2003) writings also show information regarding this letter.

This fairly large letter measures 45.5 x 32 cm. The text measures 24.5 x 23.5 cm with 14 lines per page. European paper letter material, a paper stamp that shows the image of a lily flower in a crowned shield. The distance between thick lines (laid lines) is 2.8 cm, and for thin lines (chain lines), there are 13 lines in one centimeter.

There are two stamps on this letter. The first is a black carbon circle in the upper right corner, slightly above the text. In it there is Arabic writing which reads: al-Wasiq billāh as-Sultan Abu al-Fath ibn as-Sultan Abū al-Ma'ali ibn as-Sultan Abi al-Mafakhir ibn Muhammad ibn Yūsuf ibn Hasan ad-Din (The very believer in Allah, Sultan Abu al Fath son of Sultan Abu al Maali son of Sultan Abu al Mafakhir son of Sultan Muhammad son of Yusuf son of Hasanuddin). According to Nasir Abdullah in Gallop, (Gallop, 2003, p. 56), the position of this stamp indicates that the sender and recipient of the letter is a king. The second seal is an oval-shaped British royal seal, located in the top margin, on the left, just above the text inside, which is written in Latin letters Her Majesty's state paper office.

The Stamp and this explanation it is aligned with the founding of the Epitaph of Sultan Agung Mahmud, which, before him, was no title of Sultan; it was only started in the Sultan Mahmud era. In 1638, Prince Abdullah Kadir and his son, Prince Anom, received the title of sultan from the Sultan of Mecca. Since then, his name has become Sultan Abulmafakhir Mahmud Abdulkadir, and his son is Sultan Abulmaali Ahmad.

Under the reign of Sultan Abulmafakhir Mahmud Abdulkadir, the Banten kingdom was very successful: strong troops, advanced economy, developing sports and arts, and bilateral relations with foreign kings, such as England, China, and Keling. Arabic, Dutch, etc., are very good. Mataram and the Dutch tried to control Banten during his reign but failed. Mataram failed because it was 'blocked' by the Dutch in Betawi, while the Dutch, due to continuous defeats, finally proposed peace.

Thus, the 4th Sultan of Banten is the Official Sultan who holds the title of Sultan with written evidence on Batee Jirat Batu Aceh. This reading also proves in Banten that this stone is one of the most famous Islamic artifacts related to maritime Southeast Asia (Wade, 2013). Acehese stone is widely spread throughout the region - from North Sumatra, the Malay Peninsula and Java, to the East to Brunei.



**Figure 23. The well-known gravestone is in the Kenari complex.**

st to the gravestones in the Pakalangan Gede complex, which are type E and contemporary up to the 1600s, on the other hand, this gravestone is not found in the Othman Yatim gravestone typology. Still, in Perret's study, it is found in type P, which was in circulation after the 1800s to 1900s era.



**Figure 24. Sultan Abu al-Ma'ali Ahmad 1647-1651 Tombstone located in the Kenari Complex**

The best reading of the scratched inscriptions on these two gravestones in Kenari complex is:

اللَّهُمَّ اغْفِرْ صَاحِبَ الْقَبْرِ ذُنُوبَهُ بِجَاهِ مُحَمَّدٍ

Which means: "O Allah, forgive the sins of the owner of this grave with the glory of the Prophet Muhammad"

Prayers like this are also commonly found on the Nisan Batee Jirat Batu Aceh during the Pasai Sultanate and Aceh Darussalam periods, with slight differences.

For comparison this type is compared with 4 tomb complexes in Banda Aceh as follows:

- a. Muhammad bin Ibrahim's graveyard complex in Lampaseh Kota village, Kuta Raja sub-district, Banda Aceh city. This gravestone belonging to Muhammad bin Ibrahim is estimated from the late 17th century to the 18th century AD.



**Figure 25.**

- b. The tomb complex dates to 1027 Hijriah (1618 AD) in Cot Peutano village, Kuta Baro subdistrict, Aceh Besar district.



**Figure 26.**

- c. Sultan 'Alauddin Ibrahim Manshur Syah's graveyard complex in Baru village, Baiturrahman subdistrict, Banda Aceh city.



**Figure 27. Sultan 'Alauddin Ibrahim Manshur Syah's graveyard**

- d. Tuan Di Kandang tomb complex in Pande village, Kuta Raja sub-district, Banda Aceh city. The gravestone in this picture belongs to Sultan 'Adilullah bin Sultan Munawar Syah bin Sultan Muhammad Syah Lamuri (d. 947 H/1540 AD).



**Figure 28. Tuan Di Kandang Tombstone**

The two Sultan tombstones in the Kenari Complex are included in Perret's categorization of O typology tombstones which only appeared in the period 1800-1900, not in 1600. The inscriptions on the two Tombstone heads do not show the name of the Sultan; it is only a prayer, which is commonly placed on the bate jirat Batu Aceh typology tombstones. Based on research in the field and after comparing with gravestones in Aceh, these two types of gravestones cannot be classified as Batee Jirat Batu Aceh. Considering the materials, sizes, and ornaments are different. There is a strong indication that unlike other tombstones made from imported materials from Aceh, this tombstone is made locally from Banten. Even though the tombstones made in Banten are similar in style to those in Aceh, they are different in our research in the field, we found the distribution of tombstones made in Banten in the Jakarta area as well.



**Figure 29. Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa or Sultan Abu al-Fath Abdul Fattah 1651-1682**



**Figure 30. Sultan Haji or Sultan Abu Nashar Abdul Qahar 1683-1687**

For comparison, gravestones with the typology of these two sultans are found in 6 places in Banda Aceh as follows:

- a. In Mapesa Headoffice



**Figure 31. Tombstone from Gampong Pango**

This Tombstone was taken from Gampong Pango, Banda Aceh, upon the owner selling the land and requesting Mapesa to remove the head Tombstone.

- b. Graveyard complex in Lambung village, Meuraxa sub-district, Banda Aceh city, period 18th to 19th century AD. Such a tombstone model is intended for a woman.



**Figure 32. Graveyard complex in Lambung village**

- c. Graveyard complex in Kampung Lambung, Meuraxa, Banda Aceh period of 18 s/d 19 AD.



**Figure 33. Graveyard complex in Kampung Lambung, Meuraxa**

- d. This gravestone complex is within the complex of Muhammad bin Ibrahim Kampung Lampaseh, Kuta Raja, Banda Aceh, and is estimated to be from the late 18th century to the 19th century AD. The gravestone model is intended for women.



**Figure 34. Gravestone complex of Muhammad bin Ibrahim**

- e. The tomb is inside the Shaikh 'Abdurrauf bin 'Aly Al-Fanshuri (Syiah Kuala) complex. The tombstone model is, for example, intended for a man from the 18th to 19th centuries AD.



**Figure 35. Shaikh 'Abdurrauf bin 'Aly Al-Fanshuri Tombstone**

- f. Sultan 'Alauddin Ibrahim Manshur Syah's tomb complex in Baru village, Baiturrahman subdistrict, Banda Aceh city. This gravestone belongs to the wife of Sultan Ibrahim Manshur Syah. Sultan Manshur Syah died in 1286 Hijriah/1869 AD.



**Figure 36. Sultan 'Alauddin Ibrahim Manshur Syah's tomb**

The two tombstones of the 6th and 7th Sultans of Banten use the Type N Batee Jirat Batu Aceh Typology by Perret, which appears only for the late 18th century and 19th century. By using Batee Jirat Batu Aceh typology tombstones consistently and continuously, from the beginning of Sultan Hasanudin's era to the time of Sultan Haji era, it shows the exclusive relationship between

Banten and Aceh over such a long period. This relationship is so exclusive, considering that no other Islamic sultanates in Java use a similar tombstone.

The historical records also show the similarly the end of both Sultanate. The Sultan of Banten exiled to Surabaya, was buried in the Surabaya cemetery. He died in 1899, while the last Sultan of Aceh was exiled to Batavia in 1903 to Ambon and was buried in Jakarta in 1939. Even though it is generally known in Aceh that winged gravestones are women's gravestones, there is a different categorization for areas outside Aceh. There are a large number of winged gravestones outside Aceh, especially Banten. More complete comparative research is still needed on this matter.

### Analyzing Manuscript and Prime sources

There wasn't any direct relationship between Aceh and Banten being written and investigated. However, few histories mentioned the relationship between Aceh and Banten in the Past, such as:

#### 1. The Relationship mentioned by Babad Banten

The chronicle of Banten describes a little about the existence of the Pasai people (part of Aceh now) who live in Banten as follows:

- a. Then immediately all the troops gathered, and all the sons, and the sons-in-law, and all the teachers on Mount Pulasari. As for the courtiers who attended, first the *mahapatih Utama Diradya*, and the senapati Demang Bolong, the dipati Gunung Batu, and the "kanduruan Pasé", the admiral and Gusti Kuion, and the katib Panyang, the king of Balo, and Jongjo, Dinurdara and the ngabéhi minister sahbandar Keling, and the retainer Lampung, he was the war chief, as was Maulana Yusuf's son and all his younger brothers. As for those who didn't participate.
- b. Before that, there was also Fatimah, who was called the queen of Gagabang, so she married Ratu Bagus; he came from people in Pasai, namely the White Blood people (Royal Blood Family).
- c. And so then from that, this is the story that begins when Prince Panjunan left the land of Baghdad for the land of Java. His father expelled him because he kept a dog. That's why he then went to the land of Pasaih [with] four brothers, three boys and one girl."

In the Banten chronicle, it is described that when Sultan Hasanudin carried out the Islamization of Banten, he was also supported by people from Aceh as soldiers who became war chiefs. Then in another story, it is also told that *Sunan* Gunung Jati's daughter, Fatimah, married a Pasai (Aceh) person. In another part, it is reported that the son-in-law of *Sunan* Gunung Jati, Prince Panjunan, has departed for the land of Aceh. This story provides a glimpse of the existence of the Pasai people, who are now part of Aceh and participated in establishing Islamic authority in Banten.

#### 2. The Beginning of how Banten Became under Islamic Ruler based on Joao Da Barros Decades in Asia

AJ Heuken made translations from 4 Portuguese related to the event in Banten as follows:

##### a. Barros

When Francisco de Sá departed from Bintan (Bintan), he was caught in a heavy storm, and because of this, Duarte Coelho decided to go first to Calapa. He lost one brigantine of the fleet, which ran ashore, where all perished at the hands of the Moors on the land. They had held it for only a few days after conquering the city from the heathen king, who was a friend of the King of Portugal and had granted him grounds for a fort. The Moor that conquered the city was a bad-mannered man named Faletehan, born on the island of Sumatra in the Kingdom of Pacem (Pasai) (Pudjiastuti, 2007).

When at the time of Jorge de Albuquerque, the city of Pacem was taken from the tyrant Geinal and handed to the crown prince, he (Fatahillah) departed on a ship going with spices to the (Straits of?) Mecca. He stayed there for two or three years, learning the teachings of Mohammed's sect. Upon returning to Pacem, he found our fortress completed under its Captain D. André Henriques. Because the place was not fit for one to spread the Mohammedan law due to the neighboring Portuguese fortress, he went by sea to the city of Japara, whereas a Moorish kadi, he got close to the king and made him a Moor with his sermons. And with his permission, he also (converted) many heathens. The king was so happy with the new law he had adopted to serve God.

As a reward to Faletehan for the good he had done for him, he gave him his sister in marriage. As he intended to convert many people to his sect, he asked permission from the king, his brother-in-law, to go to Bintam (Banten), a city of Sunda, to do so. He was received by a leader of the country, who converted and permitted him to go ahead with converting people. Faletehan, seeing that the city was ready for him to go ahead with his plans and that the king of the land lived in the jungle, asked the king, his brother-in-law, to send him his wife and some people to assist him. The king sent him his wife and her two thousand men to help him in his endeavor. When the leader who had sheltered him saw the two thousand men, he sent a message to his king (of the country). But Faletehan was so dedicated and worked towards this aim that he became the ruler of the city and the countryside. Thus, when Francisco de Sá arrived at the Sunda harbor, this tyrant Faletehan had such a hold on it that he did not allow Francisco to build the fort. He killed some of Francisco's men and defeated him in such a way that taking counsel with the fleet's leaders, given the inconveniences and how ill they were prepared to pursue the war, they returned to Malacca.

b. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda

When Francisco de Sá departed for Sunda, he was caught in such a heavy storm that the fleet ships were scattered. Francisco de Sá and the other three captains went their way. Still, Duarte Coelho, with his ship, a galley, and a brigantine that accompanying him, called for shelter and landed at Sunda, which is a city located at the end of the island of Sumatra, along a strait that separates the island of Sumatra from the island of Great Java. And there are large amounts of pepper around that city, as good as that from Malabar. This land is cool and abundant in victuals;

Moors populate it and have their own king, a Moor. When Duarte Coelho reached it, the king who had wished to have a fort was no longer the lord of the city, but the one with whom he was at war had taken it by force; and remained there to take control of it fully. And the new king had many soldiers and was an enemy of the Portuguese because he knew that the king from whom he had taken the city had sent them to help him and had granted them a fortress. And when Duarte Coelho arrived because of the storm, the brigantine that accompanied him ran ashore. The thirty Portuguese that were on board reached the shore but were immediately taken by the Moors and slaughtered because they considered the Portuguese enemies. The ship of Duarte Coelho and the galley would have been lost too, but for Our Lord who saved them. Duarte Coelho, having seen what happened to the crew of the brigantine, understood that the country was at war and, without Francisco de Sá considered it a waste of time to remain there longer. He left as soon as the weather permitted.

Because of Duarte Coelho's journey and what the (new) king knew about his predecessor, who had pledged to grant a fortress to the Portuguese, he feared that they would come back with a large fleet. Because of that, the (new) king gathered more people than he (previously) had and strengthened (his positions) as much as he could. Meanwhile, Francisco de Sá departed with his whole fleet, which he had gathered throughout the island of Java, where it arrived from Panarukan. Upon arrival in Sunda, he sent a message to the king to allow him to build the fort, as (already) permitted by his predecessor. But the king refused. Francisco de Sá went ashore with his people to force him to do so, and as the Moors were many and were well protected, they barred the Portuguese from disembarking, killing some of them. Francisco de Sá realized that he could not disembark and returned to his ships, knowing that with the few men he had, he could do nothing. He returned to Malacca, where he no longer found Pero Mascarenhas, who had left for India. So he could not secure more men for (another expedition to) Sunda, nor was Jorge Cabral able to spare any soldiers because he had too few. He had just sent Gonçalo Gomes de Azevedo with help to the Moluccas, as I will refer to later. Because of this, Francisco de Sá could not return to Sunda again and returned to India.

c. Diogo does Couto

We will leave the affairs between Lopo Vaz and Pêro Mascarenhas for a while to report the events that took place during the summer in the Moluccas. But first, we will turn to the journey of Francisco de Sá de Meneses, who, as we have said, left from Bintão (Bintang?) to build a fort in Sunda, as we have reported before. During the journey, he was caught in such a storm that the wind caught his sails, and so he was separated from his fleet, which was lost and scattered as the weather was adverse for many days. After many difficulties, Duarte Coelho had a big ship and a galley whose captain's name is unknown to us, and a pinnace arrived at the harbor of Sunda. But the storm threw the pinnace ashore, and the thirty Portuguese who were on board swam to shore, where they were immediately killed by the Moors of the land, who were their enemies. The king who had wanted a fort had died, and the enemy with whom he had been at war had taken his kingdom. The new ruler was then in Banten, the main city of the kingdom, with many people to finish subjugating it. As soon as he saw our fleet, he knew that his predecessor had offered a fort in that harbor to the Portuguese, and therefore he wanted to take revenge on our people. The ship and the galley would have also run ashore if not for being miraculously saved by God.

Duarte Coelho immediately learned what (they) had done to the people of the pinnace and that the land was divided. He thought it would be a waste of time to wait there any longer, for he did not know what had happened to the fleet commander. As soon as the storm calmed down, he sailed to Malacca; because of the storm, Francisco de Sá sailed the coast of (Central or East) Java, where he found his ships and gathered them in the harbour of Panarukan. Then he sailed to Banten and went ashore. He sent a man to the king to remind him of the Treaty. Francisco de Sá resolved to use force, but the resistance was strong. Four Portuguese were killed, and many were wounded. He returned to Malacca.

d. Gaspar Correa

When the governor had left from Bintão for Malacca, (and was still) on his way, he sent Francisco de Sá, who had fallen ill in Malacca because of the monsoon. On arrival in Malacca he (the governor) was very well received. He ordered Francisco de Sá to depart, because he had received all he needed and gave him three hundred men and his ship and one other to Duarte Coelho, who was appointed the commander of the planned fortress as well as captain of the sea, with one more galliot and two pinnaces. And de Sá immediately left. Whilst he was in Malacca, great confidence reflected on how the Portuguese had destroyed the great power of the king of Bintan. Many neighboring kings established peaceful relations with our people, and for a long time, Malacca was very prosperous.

The governor also dispatched Dom Jorge the Meneses to the Moluccas with one hundred men on two ships and many clothes and ammunition on a junk for the fortress. I will relay this later. But, on the way to Sunda, Francisco de Sá was caught in a heavy storm and separated from the company. Duarte Coelho, in his ship, together with the galliot and one pinnace, reached the harbor of Sunda, which is at the end of the island of Sumatra, but on a separate big island, where much and good pepper grows as its main commodity, exported from here for China. The land is abundant in victuals, very lush, and has good water, and is populated by Moors who have their own king.

When our people arrived, the king, who had been our friend, had already died. He had wanted a fort because he was at war with the king who now rules, having killed the former in battle. The new ruler had seized the island and many of its people who lived there. He is our enemy because we helped the king he killed, who had called on our people to build a fort.

When Duarte Coelho arrived during the storm, it happened that the pinnace had run ashore because its ropes were bad. The Moors immediately burned it, and all the Portuguese were killed. Having seen this from the ship and the galliot, they did not dare to go to shore and waited for the arrival of Francisco de Sá, who had gone to other (parts of the) island. He (Duarte) sent the skiff ashore under a white flag to discuss matters and to see if it was possible to establish peace

with the king and build the fortress. But as soon as the skiff arrived, it was attacked with arrows and bullets from shore, and so it turned back. As Francisco de Sá, after having taken counsel, had no strength to go ashore and to fight, and as many of his people were sick, he returned to Malacca.

Guillot and AJ Heuken provide different interpretations of this event (Heuken, 2002). Still, it can be concluded that the existence of Authoritative Islam in Banten is through the leadership of Fatahillah, who comes from Pasai (Aceh), with the blessing of Demak. The expulsion of Portuguese troops trying to control the Sunda Strait involved an alliance between Pasai (now in the Lhokseumawe region in Aceh) and Demak, which is in the Java region. With this information, the first Islamic Authority was established in the western region of Java, which at that time was known as the Sunda region.

### 3. Aceh and Banten Relationship under Mendez Pinto, Peregricao

Other sources used and translated by Aj Heuken as follows:

Departing from here (Malacca) for Sunda, in seventeen days, I arrived in the port of Bantam, which is where the Portuguese usually traded. But since the country was then suffering from a severe shortage of the pepper we were looking for, we were forced to spend the winter there that year, to go on to China by the following year.

When he had been in this port for nearly two months, peacefully going about our trading in the local market, a woman by the name of Nhay Pombaya arrived there on an embassy from the king of Demak, emperor of all the islands of Java, Kangean, Bali, Madura, and all the other islands in this archipelago. She was a widow, nearly sixty years old, whom he had sent to deliver a message on his behalf to the Tagaril, king of Sunda, who was also his vassal, as were all the other kings in this monarchy - to the effect that within a period of a month and a half he was to meet with him in person in the city of Japara, where he was then preparing to go to war against the kingdom of Pasuruan.

Pinto's story notes are very different from previous records such as Tome Pires in *Suma Oriental* and Joao De Barros *Decadas da Asia*; we could say that Pinto's notes are half a chronicle or saga where the character mentioned in the text is himself. In this case, it was discovered that he was also not where he claimed to be.

However, on this note, after the end of the Pasai Kingdom, the Portuguese again saw a movement of cooperation between Aceh, Banten, and Demak. The Pinto manuscript explains how Aceh, Banten and Demak faced the Pasuruan Kingdom together. In this phase, the story depicts the collaboration or alliance between the Blambangan Kingdom, which previously, in Joao Da Barros's notes, was said to be in alliance with the Portuguese, so now, the Portuguese, Blambangan, Aceh, and Demak are in alliance to attack the Pasuruan Kingdom. There has been no comprehensive research into this statement, but Portuguese historiography consistently returns cooperation between Banten and Aceh, especially in the Islamization of Java.

### 4. Notes on ship routes between Aceh and Banten

Aceh Darussalam in the 16th century developed into the largest city in Sumatra, whereas Banten in the 16th century also developed into the largest city in Java. Their markets became markets full of European villages or factories. The construction of the Aceh "Darud Dunya" Palace and the construction of the Banten "Surosuwan" Palace with new city planning were carried out at the same time (Saidah, 2021). No significant or surviving records are searching for traces of connection to these two major cities in the 16th century. Even though these two big cities also produce peppers and spices and are centers for the spread of Islam.

In old records, the city of Old Banten was visited by ships and foreign traders from Arab, Portuguese, Chinese, Persian, Syrian, Indian, Turkish, Japanese, and various nationalities. Indonesian traders from Maluku and Sumatra who traded in Old Banten. The Sunda Strait is, of course, strategic, so a lot of shipping comes in. The connection between Aceh and Banten is recorded using indirect and direct routes.

One of the 16th century records is from The Shunfeng Xiangsong (順風相送). This collection of Chinese sailing directions dates, in its extant form, from the 16th century, but appears to have been based on earlier materials – perhaps early 15th century sailing data collected during the Zheng He voyages. The sole manuscript of this work is held in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University, and this was given to the library by Archbishop Laud in 1639, apparently having been purchased from a Jesuit University in Europe. The text provides routes for 100 specific voyages, of which 27 relate to the Southeast Asian world. Some of these have been studied and translated by Mills. Those relating to Southeast Asia Describing routes including:

From Kreung Aceh to Barus, From Barus to Pariaman, From Pariaman to Banten

This route is a small record of the many records that show the exclusive relationship between Banten and Aceh. Relations between big Hub port certainly require coordination in matters of security. This route clearly shows the transfer of shipping routes from the East Coast Route of Sumatra, which was at high risk of being controlled by the Portuguese, to a new route using the New Route. Later this route became known as the spread of the Islamic Route in the 16th and 17th centuries.

## CONCLUSION

The historiography based on archaeological findings, epigraphic studies, and philosophical analyses strongly indicates a significant and intimate historical connection between Aceh and Banten. This is exemplified by the utilization of the Batee Jirat Batu Aceh gravestone as the royal graveyard of the Sultanate in Banten. The historical alignment with Joao Da Barros' account further reinforces the notion that Banten evolved into an Islamic Kingdom due to the influence of figures originating from Aceh, particularly Fatahillah from Pasai. Interestingly, the Portuguese historiography consistently highlights the interconnectedness of the Banten Sultanate with the movements of Aceh and Demak. In contrast, the Dutch period historiography either intentionally severs or neglects this connection. The typology classification reveals a divergence in tombstone production between Aceh and Banten, prompting the need for more comprehensive research and data collection on Banten's production itself. Consequently, there is a crucial requirement for collaborative efforts between historical activists in Banten and Aceh to delve deeper into this relationship, encompassing aspects such as world geopolitics, economics, security, social culture, and religion. Governments keen on remapping the Spice Route can play a pivotal role in facilitating and encouraging these tracing efforts. In doing so, a more nuanced and comprehensive understanding of the historical ties between Aceh and Banten can be unveiled.

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