



The Dynamics of Lampung Pepper Trade Network in 16th-18th Century

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Abstract

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to analyze the dynamics of Lampung's pepper trade in regional and international networks in the 16th to 18th centuries with three focuses: Lampung's position in the Nusantara shipping routes, the pepper production system in Lampung, and Lampung's pepper trade network.

Method

This study used the historical method, which consists of four stages: heuristics (collecting historical sources), external and internal source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (writing history). The data sources used were local and foreign sources to explain the focus of the study.

Results/Findings

The results found that Lampung had an important role in developing the maritime trade network due to its strategic location on the Nusantara shipping route, especially after the Portuguese controlled the port of Malacca in 1511. Following this situation, Banten became a major international pepper port city in the Sunda Strait. The primary source of pepper was from Lampung. This activity formed four trade networks between Lampung and Banten, Palembang, Batavia (Netherlands) and Bengkulu (UK). Before the second half of the 17th century, the network was stronger with Banten and Palembang, but afterward, it shifted under the influence of Batavia and Bengkulu. All parties used all possible ways to get the Lampung pepper.

Conclusion

This study shows that Lampung pepper was a significant factor driving Lampung's history and contribution to regional and international trade networks over two centuries.

Keywords

Lampung, Pepper, Trade Network, Shipping Routes

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Abstrak

Tujuan

Tujuan penelitian ini untuk menganalisis dinamika perdagangan lada Lampung dalam jaringan regional dan internasional pada abad 16 hingga 18 dengan tiga fokus: posisi Lampung dalam jalur pelayaran Nusantara, sistem produksi lada di Lampung, dan jaringan perdagangan lada Lampung.

Metode

Studi ini menggunakan metode penelitian sejarah yang terdiri dari empat tahapan: heuristik (mengumpulkan sumber sejarah), kritik sumber eksternal dan internal, interpretasi, dan historiografi (penulisan sejarah). Sumber data yang digunakan adalah sumber lokal dan luar negeri untuk menjelaskan fokus studi.

Hasil/Temuan

Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa Lampung mempunyai peranan penting dalam mengembangkan jaringan perdagangan maritim karena letaknya yang strategis di jalur pelayaran Nusantara, terutama setelah Portugis menguasai pelabuhan Malaka tahun 1511. Menyusul situasi tersebut, Banten menjadi kota pelabuhan lada internasional yang besar di Selat Sunda. Sumber utama lada berasal dari Lampung. Kegiatan ini membentuk empat jaringan perdagangan antara Lampung dan Banten, Palembang, Batavia (Belanda) dan Bengkulu (Inggris). Sebelum paruh kedua abad ke-17, jaringan ini lebih kuat dengan Banten dan Palembang, namun setelahnya, jaringan ini bergeser di bawah pengaruh Batavia dan Bengkulu. Semua pihak menggunakan segala cara untuk mendapatkan lada Lampung.

Kesimpulan

Kajian ini menunjukkan bahwa lada Lampung merupakan faktor penting pendorong sejarah dan kontribusi Lampung terhadap jaringan perdagangan regional dan internasional selama dua abad.

Kata Kunci

Lampung, Lada, Jaringan Perdagangan, Jalur Pelayaran

المخلص

الهدف

الهدف من هذا البحث هو تحليل ديناميكيات تجارة فلفل لامبونج في الشبكات الإقليمية والدولية في القرنين السادس عشر والثامن عشر مع ثلاثة محاور: موقع لامبونج في ممرات الشحن الإندونيسية، ونظام إنتاج الفلفل في لامبونج، وتجارة فلفل لامبونج شبكة.

الطريقة

تستخدم هذه الدراسة منهج البحث التاريخي الذي يتكون من أربع مراحل: الاستدلال (جمع المصادر التاريخية)، ونقد المصادر الخارجية والداخلية، والتفسير، والتاريخ (كتابة التاريخ). أما مصادر البيانات المستخدمة فهي مصادر محلية وخارجية لشرح محور الدراسة.

النتائج

وتظهر نتائج البحث أن لامبونج لها دور مهم في تطوير شبكات التجارة البحرية بسبب موقعها الاستراتيجي في الممرات الملاحية الإندونيسية، خاصة بعد سيطرة البرتغاليين على ميناء ملقا عام 1511. و أصبحت بانتن ميناءً دولياً كبيراً و مدينة ساحلية في مضيق سوندا. أما المصدر الرئيسي للفلفل فيأتي من لامبونج. و إن شكل هذا النشاط أربع شبكات تجارية بين لامبونج وبانتين وباليمبانج وباتافيا (هولندا) وبنجكولو (إنجلترا). و قبل النصف الثاني من القرن السابع عشر كانت هذه الشبكة أقوى مع بانتن وباليمبانج. ولكن بعد ذلك، تحولت هذه الشبكة تحت تأثير باتافيا وبنجكولو. وتستخدم جميع الأطراف كافة الوسائل للحصول على فلفل لامبونج.

الخلاصة

توضح هذه الدراسة أن فلفل لامبونج يعد عاملاً مهماً في دفع تاريخ لامبونج ومساهمته في شبكات التجارة الإقليمية والدولية لمدة قرنين من الزمن.

الكلمات الرئيسية

لامبونج؛ لادا؛ شبكة التجارة؛ طرق الشحن

INTRODUCTION

The most valuable and historically significant spice is Pepper, says Jack Turner in his book *Sejarah Rempah* (Turner, 2011, p. xxv), unlike cloves and nutmeg (Moluccan spices) created by God for the Moluccas (Pires, 2014). Pepper does not originate from the archipelago. Pepper came from the Malabar coast of southern India (Crawford, 2017) and was brought by Indian traders to the archipelago via Samudera Pasai and Pidie in the late 13th century and then planted in Lampung in the late 15th or early 16th century (Hamid, 2021).

The production control of Moluccan spices is different from Lampung. Spice trees grow lush and wild in Maluku. In the 16th century, the Dutch conducted *hong*i voyages to destroy the spice trees (Hamid, 2018, p. 189). In contrast, the production process of Lampung spices was through forced cultivation by locals under the control of Banten officials to increase production in the 17th-18th centuries. Thus, the colonial power (Dutch) was more exploitative in the spice trade in Maluku, while the local authority (Banten) was dominant in the Lampung spice trade.

Lampung supplied the major pepper demand of Banten's international harbor. According to the *Dagh-register* of 14 January 1682, 755 boats arrived in Banten in 1681, and 382 boats carried pepper from Lampung (11,600 bahar), Silebar (3,310 bahar), and Sukadana (100 bahar), respectively. In other words, 77% of Banten's pepper came from Lampung (Fadillah et al., 2022, p. 41). Guilot (2008, p. 204) found that approximately 90% of Banten's pepper in the 17th century came from Lampung. In the following century, Lampung supplied 80% of Banten's pepper (Ota, 2008, p. 139).

People are more familiar with Banten as an international pepper port in Java. Yet, Lampung, as the main production area of the commodity, has been neglected in the history of pepper trading. Lampung is often seen as a periphery of Banten (Ariwibowo, 2021; Karsiwan et al., 2022; Kingston, 1990). There is even a study by (Ali, 2021) that completely ignores the contribution of Lampung pepper in the formation of Banten's international trade network with Manila in the 17th century. Banten was seen as a provider of cultural authority through the various titles given to Lampungese during *seba* (visit) to Banten and also a carrier of Islamic propagation for Lampungese (Wibowo, 2022).

There have been three studies on the Lampung pepper trade. The first study, (Imadudin, 2016) focuses on the dynamics and monopoly of the pepper trade by the Sultanate of Banten, the Dutch VOC, and the Dutch East Indies government. The second study (Ariwibowo, 2017) focused on the role of the Tulang Bawang River in the pepper trade network. The last work (Ariwibowo, 2018) identified pepper as one of three commodities (coffee, tobacco, and rubber) that sustained Lampung's economy from the 19th to the early 20th century. The study neglected the role of Palembang and Bangkulu (British) in Lampung's pepper trade.

This article delves into the dynamics of Lampung's pepper trade within regional and international networks from the 16th to the 18th centuries. It does so by posing three key research questions: What role did Lampung play in the maritime network of the archipelago? How was the pepper production system in Lampung structured? And what kinds of patterns emerged in the pepper trade networks between Lampung and local as well as global economic forces?

METHOD

This article's research process and writing used the historical method, which consists of four stages: heuristics (collecting historical sources), external and internal source criticism, interpretation, and historiography (writing history). The sources used include Tome Pires' travel record *Suma Oriental* written between 1512-1515 (Pires, 2014), British ship captain and trader Thomas Forrest's records in the archipelago in 1774-1776 (Forrest, 1969), the saga of the Minangkabau captains and pepper trader in Teluk Semangka by Encik Laudin in the 18th century (Drewes, 1961; Marsden, 1830), the saga of Hasanuddin (Edel, 1938), the letters of the Sultans of Banten from the 17th to 19th centuries

(Pudjiastuti, 2007), the early 19th-century history of Sumatra (Marsden 1999), and the 1691 Bojong and 1695 Sukau charters (Bukri et al., 1998). In addition, various 19th-century Dutch reports and notes were published in BKI, TNI, and TBG magazines. The sources were processed and analyzed to answer the three questions formulated in the introduction and assembled into a chronological, causal, and imaginative narrative (Renier, 1997, pp. 194–204).

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

The Position of Lampung in the Archipelago Maritime Network

The waters of the Sunda Strait, which connects the island of Sumatra (*Swarnadvipa*) with the island of Java (*Jawadvipa*), cover the southern Lampung region. The strait is 15 miles long on the Sumatran side and 20 miles long on the Javanese side. At the mouth of the strait is the island of Prince, which is six leagues (1 league = 3 miles) from Sumatra and 1.5 leagues from Java. The existence of the island forms two shipping lanes. The first is formed by a large canal (*het groote gat*), which sometimes serves as an entrance to the Sunda Strait during the Southeast season (April - October). This route is challenging to traverse, as it requires overcoming the southeast winds and the currents. It takes five or six days to pass through. The sailing time in the Western season (November - March) is sometimes twice as long as the first passage. However, when the winds and currents were opposite, all ships from the west coast of Sumatra were forced to take this route because it was almost impossible to reach the coast of Java during the mid-southeast season. The second route runs between Prince Island and Java. This route is navigable by ships during the southeast monsoon, when the ocean currents are moving westwards, and is known as the safe route (*behouden*) (Stockdale, 2014, pp. 2–4, 21–22).

Lampung serves as the entrance and exit of the island of Sumatra. It has two broad and deep bays (Lampung and Semangka) that provide good anchorages. The bays were at the entrance to the Sunda Strait, near the southern tip of Sumatra Island, almost facing Banten. According to Tome Pires, the voyage by Blanchard boat from Lampung to Java took two days. The area produced pepper, gold, and other goods. The people of Tulang Bawang traded more frequently to Java than other areas of Lampung (Pires, 2014, p. 224).

The Sunda Strait became increasingly important in the Nusantara's maritime network after the Portuguese controlled the port of Melaka in 1511. The shipping route changed from the Indian Ocean across the Strait of Melaka, then along the southeast coast of Sumatra to the Java Sea, from the Indian Ocean along the west coast of Sumatra, and then across the Sunda Strait to the Java Sea. This change stimulated the growth of ports on the route, especially Banten at the western tip of Java (Sulistiyono and Rochwulaningsih 2013, p.120; Kathirithamby-Wells 1990, pp.108–10).

Initially, the Kingdom of Banten, established in the 9th century, was agrarian-orientated, with the capital at Girang (Banten Girang). Six centuries later, after Sunan Gunung Jati and his son Maulana Hasanuddin conquered Banten and Islamised the society, the center of government was moved to the coast to Surosowan (Old Banten) by developing a maritime trade network (Edel, 1938, p. 40; Wibowo, 2022, pp. 107–108). Banten had a reasonably large anchorage. The bay was 18 km x 10 km. The waters were quiet, protected by the small islands in front of it. The river flowing through it formed a natural harbor and a route to and from the agriculturally rich hinterland. Banten harbor was visited by commercial ships from China, India, and Europe (de Graaf & Pigeaud, 2001, p. 137; Guillot, 2008, pp. 18–20, 66–68).

The development of Banten as a major spice port (entrepot) received support from Lampung as the main source of pepper production. Lampung pepper is one of the best in the world, second only to pepper from Kerala in southern India (Stockdale, 2014, p. 24). To strengthen the relationship between the two sides, Sultan Banten Hasanuddin (1527–1570), accompanied by the king of Tulang Bawang, Pangeran Balu, spread religion in

Lampung by peaceful means. During the journey from Tulang Bawang to Indrapura, Hasanuddin never let the merchant out of his sheath. Upon his return to Banten, he brought many adult men from Lampung and Palembang as soldiers to conquer the kingdom of Pakuan Pajajaran, whose king and people still adhered to the old beliefs. After the conquest, some people embraced Islam, while others retained their old beliefs (Kathirithamby-Wells, 1990, p. 110; Raffles, 2014, pp. 474–475).

Apart from natural factors (winds and ocean currents), shipping challenges in the Sunda Strait also come from people who use violence to achieve their goals. In this context, it draws an argument from Adrian B. Lopian that violence correlates with prosperity level in a water area. The higher the volume of goods traded, the more piracy activities will increase. On the other hand, if the trade is slow, there will be less potential for piracy and, hence, fewer pirate expeditions in the region (Lopian, 2009, p.228).

Lampung Bay is a pirate hotbed in the Sunda Strait region. It was difficult for the Dutch to establish settlements there because of rampant pirate activity and because they needed more resources to achieve this goal. The Dutch often sent armed ships to burn down pirate villages, but as soon as the task was completed and the ships left, pirate villages were re-established (Stockdale, 2014: 395–96). The Dutch stationed a post on Legundi Island to monitor illicit voyages through the Sunda Strait (JDRVB, 1856, p. 139).

The pirates in Lampung Bay came from the southern Philippine Islands, the Lanun (in KBBI, synonymous with pirates), who are related to the Lanun group based in Reteh, between the mouths of the Jambi and Indragiri Rivers (Lopian, 2009, p.145). Their actions made the Lampung coast unsafe. They acted far inland. It had a major impact on the pepper trade. The Lampungese hardly looked after their pepper (TNI, 1847, p.128). In November 1769, pirates attacked the Dutch cruiser *Zeeleeuw* in Lampung Bay. They killed all of its crew (Stockdale, 2014, p.223).

Pepper Production System

Pepper (*piper nigrum*) is a vine brought to Sumatra by Indian traders. It is grown in many parts of the archipelago closest to India. Pepper was first planted in Samudera Pasai and Pidie and then expanded to the interior of Minangkabau, southern Sumatra, western Java, and South Kalimantan between the 15th and 17th centuries (Hamid, 2021, p.272; Crauwfurd, 2017, pp.343–344). According to Tome Pires' records, pepper began to grow in the Tulang Bawang area of Lampung towards the end of the 15th century or the beginning of the 16th century (Pires, 2014, p.224). The hot and humid climate of Lampung is ideal for growing pepper. The Abung area, adjacent to Sungkai and Besai, is the best pepper growing area, as are the hilly areas in the west. The land in the north and east functioned for growing rice (Broesma, 1916, p.167).

People of Sumatra distinguish three types of pepper: *lado kawur*, *lado manna*, and *lado jambi*. The first is the most robust type with the largest leaves and fruit but is slower to grow whole fruit than *lado manna*. *Lado manna* has several specialties, such as early fruiting and abundant fruit, although it rarely goes past the third or fourth year of harvest. The *Jambi lado* is generally short-branched and challenging to manage up to the top of the cengkering tree (Marsden, 1999, pp.99–100).

The pepper is planted with a dadap tree, which directs the pepper buds. In certain parts of Lampung, especially around the Tulang Bawang River, another tree (called *selodong* in Batavia) with short but very sharp thorns on its trunk is often used so that the pepper buds are easily protected and attached without ties. The distance between pepper trees ranges from 2 ½ to 4 feet. After a year's growth of pepper buds along the trunk of the dadap, which is tied with palm fiber rope, it is sometimes carefully untied and placed on the ground. One can weed it while being careful not to cut it until several months later when it is looped and tied along the stem again. The shoots bear fruit in small numbers in the third year. In the seventh year, the pepper fruits ripen to a weight of sometimes five cat-

ties, fruitful until ten years. After that, the fruit begins to decline until age 16, although it can last until age 20 (TNI, 1862b, pp. 146–147). For more details, see the following table.

Table 1. Production period of Pepper in Lampung

Age (years)	Production (cattie)
1 – 2	None
3	Flower without fruit
4	$\frac{1}{4}$
5	2
7 – 10	5
11 – 12	2
13 – 14	1
15 – 16	$\frac{1}{4}$
17 – 20	None

White pepper is processed from black. The process involves immersing the ripest and best grains for eight or ten days in water or a running stream (Crauwfurd, 2017, pp. 345–346). The people harvested pepper twice a year. The first harvest is for a bigger or grand harvest between October and March. Then, the second harvest is smaller between April and September (Marsden, 1999, pp.97–98).

To increase pepper production in Lampung, the Sultan of Banten ordered every married Lampung man to plant 1,000 trees and the unmarried 500 trees. The Sultanate of Banten monopolized the pepper trade. Four Banten officials called *jinjem* (from the word *jenang* used in Java) were stationed in Menggala (Tulang Bawang), Semangka, Seputih, and Teluk Betung to collect the pepper. Their job was to ensure that the people cared for the pepper and that no to other parties. The people of Lampung were obliged to sell all pepper to Banten at a fixed and very low price (Canne, 1862, p.514; TNI, 1862, pp.170–171). The Sultan of Banten ordered the Lampung leaders to actively control their people to grow pepper. If someone did not carry out the order, they were summoned to the Banten palace to be held accountable (Talens, 2004, p. 117).

Banten used a cultural approach to get more pepper by granting titles to the Lampungese. The titles were *pangeran*, *kyai arya*, *tumenggung* and *ngabehi*. The title degree depended on the amount of pepper given to the Sultan of Banten, namely 15 piculs for *pangeran*, ten piculs for *kyai Arya*, nine piculs for *tumenggung*, and eight piculs for *ngabehi* (TNI, 1862b, p. 150). The titles *tumenggung* and *ngabehi* soon fell out of favor. People preferred the title *Pangeran*. One had to pay the *penyimbang megou* (clan leader) to obtain titles and positions in Lampung adat. The level and title of position in adat depend on the amount of money paid to the *prowatin* (leader) of adat. The person who gets the title would do anything to maintain his power. This title is only sometimes obtained because of one's merit, but also sometimes by bribery and money. In short, a person would have a title if they could provide pepper to Banten (Julia, 1993, p.19; Kohler, 1874, p.125).

Kamong chiefs who have yet to receive the title feel superior and refuse to follow the orders of those with the new title. The granting of titles comes with a *piagem* carved on a bronze plate for the clan leader and gifts such as *keris*, *kopiyah*, clothes, umbrellas, and spears for everyone. Under certain conditions, *piagem* becomes a traded item. When the position of clan leader was vacant, the matter passed to the sultan or his representative. The candidate for clan leader who provides the most pepper is the winner. However, if all candidates offer an equal amount of pepper, they will only receive a *piagem*. Regarding disputes over titles, the conflicting parties attempted to produce much pepper because that was the only way to achieve their goal (Canne, 1862, pp. 515–516).

The above pepper production system requires the parties to produce and collect as much pepper as possible. This system had two implications. On one side, it boosted the amount of pepper production for Banten, but on the other side, it sowed the seeds of conflict for the people of Lampung. The system benefited the Sultanate of Banten by gaining more pepper for its harbor and the Lampungese by receiving new titles and protection

from the Sultan of Banten.

Pepper production areas expanded to eight regions: Kalianda, Teluk Betung, Seputih, Semangka, Pamet, Sekampung, Niebung, and Tulang Bawang. Based on data on the amount of pepper production in 1780 - 1786, the area that produced the most was Kalianda, and the least was Tulang Bawang (Broersma, 1916, p.169), as shown in figure 1.

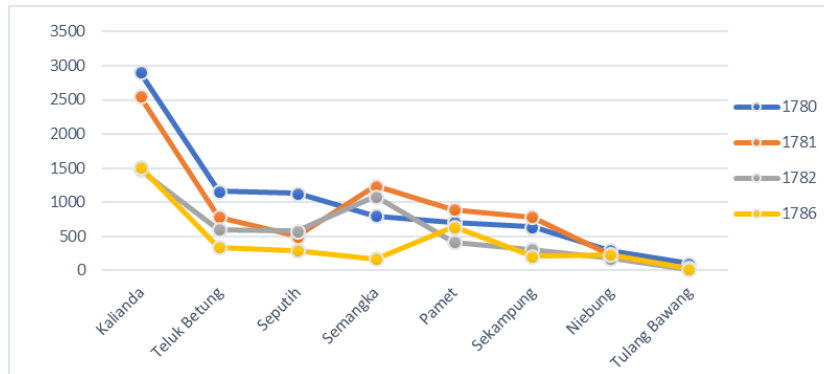


Fig. 1 Distribution and quantity of pepper production (in bahar) in Lampung 1780-1786

Patterns of Lampung's Pepper Trade Networks

Pepper production provided a means of prestige and power for Lampung's leaders, as well as an extensive maritime trade network. The pepper trade contributed to developing regional and international networks in the Sunda Strait region centered on the four ports of Banten, Palembang, Batavia (Dutch), and Bengkulu (British) in the 16th to the 18th centuries. Each port power tried various approaches to obtain pepper and build its network with Lampung.

Lampung's network with Banten

Lampung's network with Banten is based on cultural and religious factors. Cultural factors live in the oral traditions of the Abung tribe. This tribe originated from the Palembang inland. Around the end of the 15th century, they established a settlement near Way Rarem (Lampung), Kampung Gedong Nyapah. One of its leaders, Onyanyi, and its followers moved along the Rarem and established the village of Canggih Gejah on the banks of the Abung River in the early 16th century. When strife broke out in their village, Menak Paduka and Menak Kemala Bumi asked Banten Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin (1550-1570) for help by offering supreme power and rule over Tulang Bawang. However, Hasanuddin disapproved of the offer, as Raja Balau's rule was still in place. Kemala Bumi then married the daughter of Raja Balau. After the king of Balau died, his wife and children left for Hasanuddin. Hasanuddin Islamised Lampung, Indrapura, Sulebar and Bengkulu. He gave the title *Patih Prajurit* to Kemala Bumi and the title *Patih Jurumbang* to Menak Paduka. These two figures embraced Islam in Banten. After his pilgrimage to Mecca, Patih Prajurit actively preached in Lampung (Djajadiningrat, 1983, pp. 130–131; Funke, 2018, p. 116,156; Pudjiastuti, 2007, p. 252).

The network developed further once Banten became a major pepper port. The commodity came from West Java and southern Sumatra (Lampung, Palembang, Jambi and Bengkulu). The pepper trade led Banten to a golden age for several centuries. Banten built harbors, markets, warehouses, and forts to attract foreign sailors and traders. Due to the Makassar War (1666-1669), many traders from Makassar moved to Banten. Europeans opened trading offices there. Banten grew into a cosmopolitan international harbor town (Untoro, 2006, pp. 74–77; Kathirithamby-Wells, 1990).

The Lampung-Banten network appears in the *Bojong* Charter (1691 AD) and *Sukau* Charter (1695 AD), both created during the reign of Banten Sultan Abdul Mahasin Muhammad Zainal Abidin (1690-1733). The first charter was found in Bojong Gedong Wani, Central Lampung Regency. The second charter was found in Sukau, North Lam-

pung Regency. The two charters regulated the shipping and trading of Lampung pepper under Banten's control.

Piagam Bojong mentioned:

“Dan lagi kalau ada orang Lampung yang membawa perahu kecil memuat muatan tidak membawa surat izin perahu yang punggawa mengajukan pertanyaan surat cap stempel tidak usah ke sana ke mari akan minta perintah sehingga seperti ini lagi dari perahu yang diperintah itu jangan sekali-kali melewati orang lain. Dan lagi siapa yang melewati tempat ini kena denda rampas perahu serta muatannya... Dan lagi punggawa Lampung membawa lada dari perintahnya atau perintahnya itu yang aturan surat ini dari Kanjeng Sultan [Banten] sebagai lada yang dibawa ini dan seperti demikianlah lagi sebanyak orang jahil yang membawa lada dari yang diperintah itu maka lada harus ada surat dari Sultan” (Bukri et al., 1998, p.51).

Piagam Sukau stated:

Dan lagi barang siapa bepergian ke Lampung baik memakai kapal atau jung atau yang lain dari pada itu hendak membeli lada, sedang ia tidak membawa cap yang ujudnya seperti ini, maka hendaknya betul-betul dicegah dan jangan sekali-kali diijinkan membeli lada. Jika tidak dapat dicegah hendaklah dirampas segala hartanya dan perahunya sekalian. ... Dan jika ada pedagang membeli lada di Lampung dengan membawa cap yang ujudnya seperti cap (yang disebutkan di atas itu), hendaklah dipercaya berilah ijin membeli lada dan jagalah baik-baik orang itu. Dan lagi semua orang yang berdagang merica, hendaklah memberi bea satu tulen (25 sen) setiap seratus juta kepada punggawa... dan jika ada orang Lampung hendak bepergian dengan perahu baik membawa muatan atau tidak, hendaklah diminta cap perahu kepada punggawa dengan membayar satu talen (Bukri et al., 1998, pp. 53–54).

The Lampung-Banten network was disrupted by the Kiai Tapa movement in Banten (1750-1752). The movement spread to Lampung. The movement's leader in Tulang Bawang was Prince Abu Bakar, a courtier in the Bekonang area. They succeeded in capturing the *Verkenoog* fort at Bumi Agung, located on the banks of the Tulang Bawang River. Bumi Agung was a center for pepper collecting and trading. The fort was built to control the pepper trade route to Palembang. This movement was overcome with the help of the Dutch VOC. Since then, Banten's authority in Lampung was handed over to the Dutch (Ariwibowo, 2017, p. 261).

In 1759, 8.760 *bahar* (=26.280 *pikul*) into Banten harbor came from Banten, Lampung, and Bengkulu. Of this amount, Lampung supplied 8,017 *bahar* (91.5%) of pepper, and the rest from Banten 627 *bahar* (7.2%) and *Silebu/Silabar* (Bengkulu) as much as 207 *bahar* (2,4%) (TNI, 1862b, p. 149), as figure 2 below.

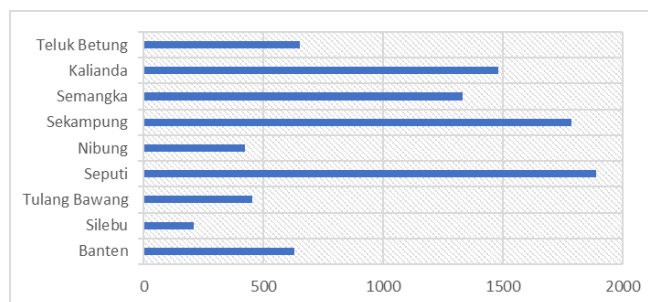


Fig. 2 Pepper amount (in *bahar*) came into Banten Harbor in 1759

This network moved with the help of Minangkabau sailors and captains, such as Nakhoda Mangkuta and his son Entjik Tajan Nakhoda Muda (Marsden, 1830). Mangkuta was originally from Bajang, Minangkabau, who often traded to Java and eventually settled on Karimata Island. There were many Malays who were keen to trade. The islanders were very rich. However, Bugis pirates led by Tuasah attacked the island (Noorduyn,

1955, pp. 127–128). As a result, Mangkuta moved to Tajan, Banjar. After the birth of his son, Entjik Tajan, they moved to Piabung Lampung. There were many Malays who were trading pepper. Prince Surabawa welcomed the Mangkuta family. The prince crowned Mangkuta as the Datuk of all Malay children and the head of the trade in Piabung. Mangkuta sold pepper to Banten. Pepper was bought in Piabung at six real/ bahar and sold to the Sultan of Banten for 12 real/ bahar (1 bahar=180 kg). The Sultan sold it again to the Dutch at 20 real/ bahar. According to Banten customs, people could only sell Lampung pepper to the Sultan of Banten. Whoever disobeyed the custom would be punished by the Sultan (Drewes, 1961, pp. 103–105).

After Mangkuta died in Piabung, his son-Nakhoda Muda continued the business. After Muda married a Semangka princess, he moved from Piabung to Semangka because there was a lot of pepper. Thus, many Malays from Piabung also moved to Semangka and established a Malay village. Early on, Muda was told by pepper farmers that the Abung people who lived in the mountains often disturbed them, making it difficult to cultivate the pepper. In response, Muda led 400 villagers to attack the Abung villages. As a result, the Abung people moved to the sea near Palembang. After that, pepper farmers cultivated pepper safely. The harvest also increased. Muda and the captains at Semangka were busy selling pepper to the Sultan of Banten. The business gave the sultan much profit. Muda received the *Kiyai Demang Purwasedana* honorary title from the Sultan of Banten. The sultan entrusted him to monitor the trade and transport of Lampung pepper to Banten (Drewes, 1961, pp. 121–127).

Lampung's network with Palembang

Cultural factors underpin the Lampung-Palembang network. In the collective memory of the Lampung people, their ancestors are connected to Palembang through the story of *Sabatang*, a descendant of a guardian of Raja Iskandar who settled in Bukit Si Guntang Palembang. Returning from Java, Sabatang's ship was stranded near Palembang. Sabatang stayed there. He had seven children, including *Serunting*. He is considered the ancestor of Sekala Berak. Serunting had five children, the eldest named Indor Gajah (Indra Gajah), who ascended the throne with the title Ratu Di Puncak. One of his daughters, Bulan, formed descendants and new tribes along Way Tulang Bawang until *Megou Pak Tulang Bawang* was formed, consisting of *Buay Bulan*, *Suwai Umpu*, *Buay Tegamoan* and *Buay Aji*. All were centered in Menggala. This area grew into a pepper town from various regions of central and northern Lampung via the river (Andaya, 2016, p. 341; Julia, 1993, pp. 8–10).

The Lampung-Palembang network was under the shadow of Mataram, Banten, and the Dutch. In 1626 Palembang allied with Mataram against Banten. Dutch ship *Negaparnam* seized a ship from Palembang carrying an extraordinary delegation to Mataram at the western tip of Banten at the insistence of Banten, which was unhappy with Palembang's alliance with Mataram. Mataram sent 150 warships to Palembang in March, April, and May to protect Palembang. From August to November, Mataram envoys with two warships and eight smaller ships appeared on the Musi River. Mataram was over-dominant toward Palembang in the relationship between the two sides. Thus, Palembang could reduce the pressure on Banten and the Netherlands. In 1638, Palembang attacked Banten's conquered area in Lampung on Mataram's orders. The incident triggered Palembang's conflict with Banten (de Graaf 1986, 4:283–85; Djajadiningrat, 1983, p. 180).

The relationship between Lampung and Palembang is inseparable from the Banten's oppression of the people along the Tulang Bawang River. Banten officials pressured the people to plant pepper and sell the produce to Banten. In 1735, the chiefs of Belambangan and Pakuan, representing 2,000 people, asked for protection from Sultan Mahmud. Their arrival was significant for Palembang because the area was a pepper production area at the junction of the Wai Umpu, Wai Besai, and Wai Kanan. Palembang helped them dig a canal to unite Wai Umpu with Tulang Bawang, facilitating the pepper traders to avoid Banten's trading posts. The traders built rest houses along the forest path

to facilitate the transport of pepper to Palembang (Andaya, 2016, pp. 333–334).

In 1736, Banten sent 70 ships to strengthen its position in Tulang Bawang. The troops drove people from their villages, burned houses, and imprisoned tribal chiefs who were not loyal to Banten. On their way to the Palembang border, the Komerling (Palembang) troops, under the leadership of Pangeran Ratu, attacked them. To obtain pepper from Tulang Bawang, the Sultan of Palembang gave titles to 100 leaders of Pakuan, Pagar Dewa, and Menggala. The titles were "Gunung" as *Raja Alam*, "Gommo" as *Aria*, and "*Anak Gajah*" as *Pengeran Kasumadinata* (Andaya, 2016, p. 335).

The Dutch were in the middle of the pepper struggle between Palembang and Banten in Tulang Bawang. At the end of 1737, the Dutch took firm action against Palembang. The control of Tulang Bawang was vital to guarantee the pepper needs for Banten's po. Pepper became a medium of exchange for the most desirable Chinese tea. Lampung appeared as the pearl in Banten's crown, the source of all revenue. Sultan Mahmud yielded to the Dutch. In September 1738, Banten was renowned as the ruler of Tulang Bawang. The Dutch tried to limit Palembang to pepper. However, the Lampungese preferred to sell pepper to Palembang because the price was higher than Banten at eight real per picul. In addition, the Lampungese viewed the Sultan of Palembang as their protector (Andaya, 2016, pp. 336–337).

The people of Tulang Bawang resented Bantenese trading agents who imposed a huge kulak of 30 pounds in 100 surplus weight. Violence against Bantenese agents sparked a significant clash between Palembang and Bantenese forces in 1741. The situation became further complex with the discovery of gold in several districts along tributaries in the upper reaches of the Tulang Bawang River (JDRVB, 1856, p. 167). The Bugis and Makasarese came there to trade, joined the local leaders, and established small plantations. Later, they formed a Bugis village in Menggala. Some traveled on behalf of the Palembang rulers to obtain pepper and gold in Tulang Bawang (Andaya, 2016, p. 340; Julia, 1993, p. 9).

Lampung's network with Batavia (VOC-Dutch)

The port city of Batavia was established by Jan Pieterszoon Coen in 1619 as a trading center. Commercial ships were free to dock and receive repairs among the wharves on the city's western side. On the eastern side, the quays were open to lighter vessels that came in and out of the city with cargo sh (Stockdale, 2014, pp. 44–47). From this city, the Dutch established relations with Bante. Broersma (1916, p. 24) wrote that, "*was het de peper, die de Bantamsche vorsten begeerig had gemaakt tot bemoeienis met de Lampongsche aangelegenheden, het was eveneens de peper die de Oost Indische Compagnie tot inmenging bracht in de Bantamsche zaken*" (If pepper made Banten's princes interfere in Lampung's affairs, it was pepper that made the VOC interfere in Banten's affairs.).

The Dutch tried to collect pepper in Lampung. Two ships from Batavia surveyed Teluk Semangka from 22 June to 10 July 1661 to explore business opportunities but were unsuccessful as the population was loyal to the sultan of Banten (Bukri et al., 1998, p. 65). Therefore, the Dutch turned their attention to Banten. They took advantage of the Banten Sultanate's internal conflict in 1682 between Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651-1682) and Sultan Haji (1672-1687). Haji asked the VOC in Batavia for help. The request received a favorable response from the Dutch, who were displeased with Ageng Tirtayasa's act of attacking and taking all the contents of his lodge in Jambi in 1681. Sultan Haji sent a letter (12 March 1682) to the admiral of a VOC ship, Major Issac de Saint Martin, who was docked in Banten at the time. He asked for help in exchange for giving Banten pepper areas in Lampung. On 17 April, the Dutch fleet arrived in Banten. They defeated Tirtayasa's army and appointed Haji as sultan. The help left Banten in debt to the Dutch 600,000 ringgit. This debt would remain unpaid if the sultan could maintain the monopoly on pepper exports and manufacturing imports in the Sultanate of Banten, and his colony in Sumatra was given to the Dutch (Kielstra 1916, pp. 96–97; Bukri et al. 1998, p.65).

On 6 August 1682, J.P. Coen gave four important instructions to the VOC superior in

Banten: *firstly*, after Sultan Haji gained power, the VOC was obliged to protect Banten in Sumatra, Lampung, and Selebar located between the Kingdom of Palembang, and the area from Mayuta to Indrapura; *secondly*, to control the pepper trade or explore the possibility of dominating the pepper trade; *thirdly*, if the acceptance of the Lampungese was good, van der Schuur was to find an excellent place to supervise the pepper trade in Selebar and Ketahun; *fourthly*, to expel the British in Lampung kindly, but if necessary by force (Bukri et al., 1998, p. 66).

The van der Schuur expedition headed from Banten to Lampung on 24 August 1682 comprised three Dutch ships (De Alexander, Odijk, and De Schmit) carrying two military companies and other people, four ships of the Banten Sultanate led by Pangeran Natanegara and Arya Wangsayudha. The Banten leaders brought 23 letters to Banten officials and captains in Lampung informing the VOC of the monopoly on the pepper trade. After five days (29 August), the troops arrived at Tanjung Tiran, went to Teluk Semangka, and docked at Kandang, a Banten customs post. The locals did not welcome their arrival. The VOC sent an ulama, Tuang Mansyur, to persuade the people of Lampung and Silebar to sell pepper to the Dutch. The Dutch managed to buy pepper from the locals at 11 *ringgits per bahar*. On 21 November 1682, the VOC ships returned to Batavia with 744,188 tonnes of pepper (Bukri et al., 1998, pp. 67–69).

To prevent the British from embezzling deposits and smuggling pepper, the Dutch decided to occupy Lampung in 1738. The Sultan of Banten was responsible for building two forts and a house for the residents. Fort *Valkenburg* was built in Menggala Tulang Bawang and Fort *Petrus Albertus* in Burnai Teluk Semangka. These forts aimed to monitor British movements in the Bengkulu region and the threat of pirates in the Sunda Strait. Lampung coast under Dutch protection (Ariwibowo, 2017, p. 262; Canne, 1862, p. 516; JDRVB, 1856, p. 115).

After the Banten vs Netherlands war (1750-1751), Lampung reverted as a loan to the Sultan of Banten. Eleven years later, the Dutch stationed a resident (Mr A.J. van Werb) in Tulang Bawang. Then, in 1774, they appointed two residents, Jan van Aachem in Tulangbawang and Jacob Heigelmeyer in Semangka. Like *jinjem* in the Banten scheme, the resident's task was to receive and encourage pepper cultivation. Dutch agents in Menggala, Bumi Agung, and Semangka documented local pepper production (Canne, 1862, p. 517; Kohler, 1874, p. 126).

The total amount of pepper from Lampung and Banten exceeded all the pepper production areas in the archipelago received by the VOC in Batavia and Onrust in 1776-1777, i.e., 3,714,000 pounds of black pepper and 15,000 pounds of white pepper. Kalimantan shipped 1,117,375 pounds of black pepper and 16,250 pounds of white pepper. Palembang shipped 497,507 pounds of black pepper. Black pepper from the west coast of Sumatra 1,119,436 pounds. Black pepper from Jakarta 1,900 pounds (Stockdale, 2014, pp. 204–205). Of all the pepper production areas, only Lampung, Banten, and Kalimantan shipped white pepper to Batavia.

Lampung's network with Banten and Bengkulu (EIC-British)

Bengkulu was the Pepper collection post of the British East India Company (EIC) on the southwest coast of Sumatra, established in 1685 (Kathirithamby-Wells 1973, 240). The post was built after an internal conflict in the Sultanate of Banten between Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa and Sultan Haji in 1682. Tirtayasa received help from the British, while Haji received support from the Dutch. The conflict ended with Haji winning. As a result, the British had to leave Banten in 1684. The British chose Bengkulu as a trading post and established Fort *Malborough* (Kielstra, 1916, p. 97; Pudjiastuti, 2007, pp. 69–78). Next to Fort Marlborough was a Malay settlement on the riverbank of 700 or 800 houses. On the other side of the fort near the sea was a small village of 300 EIC enslaved people. The Chinese lived in an area separate from the other settlements, Pasar Cina, led by a Chinese Captain. Bengalis worked as craftsmen and servants. Almost all Bengalis were Muslims and married Malays (Reid, 2010, pp. 155, 161).

The existence of Malays and British in Bengkulu attracted Lampung traders as they struggled with the Dutch domination of the pepper trade in Lampung. Two incidents triggered this situation in the 1770s. Firstly, two Malay traders from Semangka (Captain Setia and Captain Dugam) sold pepper to Banten. When they returned to Lampung, they bought goods and sailed to Bengkulu. Then, they traveled to Semangka to load pepper and ship it to Bengkulu. The Malay chief of Semangka, Captain Muda, disapproved of their departure for Bengkulu. Once the incident was reported to the Dutch in Banten, Muda was considered incapable of controlling the pepper trade. As a result, he had to pay a fine of 200 *reals* to the Dutch. After the incident, the VOC sent 15 Dutchmen to monitor the activities of Captain Muda in Semangka (Marsden, 1830).

In the second incident, two years later, an English *Tartar Galley* from Bengkulu under Captain Thomas Forrest docked at Semangka. Captain Muda welcomed them. A Banten merchant reported to the Dutch that Muda had sold pepper to Forrest. Consequently, the Dutch took Muda and his children to Batavia. While on the way to Batavia, they fought back and managed to kill all the Dutch people on the boat. Afterwards, the boat sailed back to Semangka.

After this incident, the Malays were uncomfortable living in Semangka as they could be the target of Dutch anger at any time. Four hundred Malays led by Captain Muda moved to Kerui. From there, they sought security protection from the British in Bengkulu through their representative, Captain Lela, son of Captain Muda. Forrest was there then, before returning to London on the Hampshire on 26 July 1776 (Forrest, 1969: 386–388). He knew the Malay representatives well. With Forrest's suggestions and information on their condition, the British commander, Mr Carter, said:

“Adapun Nachoda Lela pulanglah ke Kerui bawak surat hamba kepada Kjai Demang. Tentangan kamu orang Semangka, dimana suka kamu diam tiada mengapa. Kalau hendak diam di Kerui, hamba suka; kalau hendak datang di Bengkahulu ini, hamba suka pulak. Kalau datang suruhan Holanda mentjari kamu, boleh kami bilang tiada kami tahu. Dan lagi, kalau Holanda tahu djuga pada kamu, kalau kamu takut kami kasihkan pada Holanda, tiada adat Kompeni Inggris begitu. Djangan kamu takut. Pertjajalah kamu kepada Kompeni Inggris” (Drewes, 1961, p. 152).

After receiving safety assurances from the British, Captain Lela returned to Kerui to convey his meeting results with Mr Carter to his father, Captain Muda. However, when he arrived at the harbor, his father died in 1776. From then on, Captain Muda's children pursued a life on Perca, Bali, and Java islands, especially in areas outside of Dutch territory.

The description above shows that before 1682, Lampung's pepper trade network was established with Banten and later with Bengkulu under British rule. The latter network provoked tense relations between Lampung and the Netherlands due to the competition between the Dutch VOC and the English EIC in the pepper trade. Thus, Lampung's relationship with Bengkulu aimed to avoid Batavia's domination.

CONCLUSION

Lampung's significance within Indonesia's maritime network is intricately tied to shifts in the global political economy and the region's abundant resources. Following the Portuguese takeover of Malacca in 1511, trade routes shifted from the Malacca Strait to the west coast of Sumatra through the Sunda Strait. This change led to the rise of Banten as the primary pepper port in the area, with Lampung emerging as the main source of pepper supply. The pepper production system not only sustained the local economy but also determined the region's strategic importance. The international demand for pepper as a trade commodity sparked competition among Banten, Palembang, Batavia (under Dutch control), and Bengkulu (under British control). Each party employed a combination of cultural, religious, and political strategies to gain control of the pepper trade. For the people of

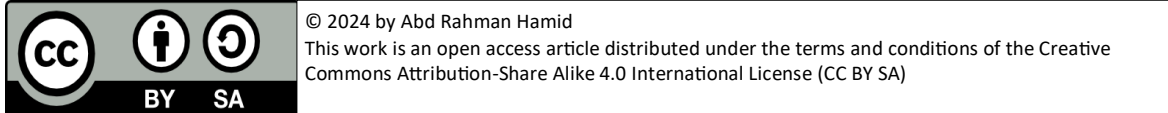
Lampung, pepper production became a source of authority and bolstered their position in local social and political dynamics. The pepper trade connected the region to local and global trading systems for over two centuries, shaped by the interests of both local rulers and European powers.

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