Pepper Diplomacy: Lampung International Network in the Bargaining Position of the Banten Sultanate

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Abstract. During the colonial period, Lampung had become the leading pepper supplier for the Sultanate of Banten, which made Banten develop into a prosperous area with the primary income of pepper. At the end of the 12th century, Zhao Rugua, a writer from China, already mentioned Sinto or Sunda, which is none other than Banten, as a pepper-producing area. Before becoming the Banten’s Sultanate, the Banten government’s center was in an inland area called Banten Girang, about 56 km from Old Banten. The Sultanate of Banten made pepper a diplomatic medium for defending its territory. It, of course, placed Lampung as an important area for the Sultanate of Banten because it was the leading supplier of Banten. Pepper commodity as a trading commodity has been widely studied. As a diplomatic medium, Pepper puts the bargaining position of the Sultanate of Banten into a strong position, which is still not widely studied. This historical research method includes the heuristic stage, criticism source, interpretation, and the last is historiography. Therefore, the target to be achieved through this research is the results of a historical study of Lampung pepper which was used as a diplomatic tool for the Sultanate of Banten and reflected for current policymakers in determining only commodities. This research focuses on studying how Lampung’s position became very strategic for the Sultanate of Banten, the pepper production process so that Lampung could produce world-class quality pepper and the impact of pepper as a diplomatic tool in the 17th century.

Keywords: component · formatting · style · styling

1 Introduction

Pepper is one of the leading trading commodities from the Archipelago region, besides cloves and nutmeg. The demand for pepper in the European and Middle Eastern markets is so high that pepper-producing regions can raise selling prices and their production areas expand. Spice search led European explorers to sail the oceans in the 16th century. Pepper is an expensive and most sought-after commodity in the European market [1]. Many spice brokers increase the price of spices by up to 1,000%. Pepper in the 15th-17th centuries had many functions, such as seasonings, preservatives, medicines, and oil were taken for fragrance and could be used as a medium of exchange like money.

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Banten cannot separate pepper which had developed as a prosperous area with the primary income of pepper, even long before Banten became a sultanate. At the end of the 12th century, Zhao Rugua, a writer from China, was already called Sinto or Sunda, which is none other than Banten, a pepper-producing area.

The story of the beginning of the pre-sultanate Banten pepper diplomacy was already apparent during the process of Demak’s seizure of Banten Girang. In the National archives of Lisabon 1522, the King of Banten Girang once asked the Portuguese to help resist the attack by Demak. As a consequence of the request, the Portuguese were allowed to build fortifications and would be given 1,000 sacks of pepper or about 160 bahars (11,200 kg) annually. However, this offer was not immediately responded to by the Portuguese until the seizure of Banten Girang by Demak forces in late 1526 [2].

Pepper in the history of Banten has a long story of travel. During the reign of Banten, the sultanate exercised strong control over pepper-producing areas, such as Lampung, Palembang, Bengkulu, and Jambi [3]. The last three regional names mentioned finally broke away from the influence of Banten. Meanwhile, Lampung, as part of the Banten Sultanate area for a long time, has given the Banten Sultanate an enormous surplus from its pepper commodities.

According to Glamann [4], the peppers originating from Banten are of the highest quality, so these peppers are the most desirable type of pepper in the European market. At the end of the 17th century, there was a tremendous demand for pepper originating in Banten from the European Market. Still, the rulers in Batavia were never able to fulfill it. It makes angered Heeren XVII. They ordered Batavia to limit market demand in Asia and supervise its sales [5].

The main commodity of the Banten Sultanate is pepper from the Lampung region, commonly referred to by local people as lado cawoor (Sic.), the best pepper in the entire southern Sumatra region. This type of pepper has larger fruits, better taste, and more extended durability so that it is maintained in quality when it arrives in the European market [6, 7].

For now, Lampung is still a pepper producer with a total land area of 45,000 hectares, with production reaching 14,860 tons in 2016. On the contrary, it is even more difficult in Banten to find large-scale pepper plantations. Until now, Lampung black pepper or Lampung Black Pepper is still very well known to the world spice market besides Muntok White Pepper. However, is Lampung black pepper still an “ambassador of diplomacy” on the international stage like in the era of the Banten Sultanate.

In the 17th century period, the Sultanate of Banten, through Sultanate Abul Fath, was recorded as sending several diplomatic letters to countries in Europe to be able to assist Banten in the field of military weapons in exchange for pepper as a gift [8]. It indicates that the Sultan of Banten then made pepper the primary commodity of trade and a crucial diplomatic tool of statehood.

Studies on the pepper trade in Lampung have been written by several authors before. Atsushi Ota [3] writes of piracy in the Sunda Strait in the 19th century. Masroh [5, 9] describes the development of pepper plantations and trade in Lampung from 1816 to 1942. Then, Imadudin [9] illustrates the relationship between Lampung and Banten from a historical perspective. This research has differences from previous research. First, this article examines a more specific view, not only about trade but also the political context
of foreign diplomacy and military defense carried out by the Sultanate of Banten through pepper commodities.

2 Method

A. Research Method

This research will use the historical method. The historical method is used because the object of study is an event that occurred in the past [10]. The Banten Sultanate, which had been successful in the field of trade, especially with its pepper commodity, was able to make pepper a bargaining tool with other countries for its domestic interests. Such a picture systematically investigates the development of society and humanity in the past and all forms of its occurrence to examine critically.

B. Data Gathering

In the heuristic stage, data collection was carried out in the form of archives of the colonial period related to pepper planting and archives of letters of the Sultan of Banten related to pepper. The relevant archives, documents and literatures are obtained through tracing in the National Archives of the Republic of Indonesia Jakarta, the National Library of the Republic of Indonesia Jakarta, and online searches through KITLV.

The relevant archives and documents are carried out in the internal and external criticism stages based on needs and continued with the interpretation of the data that has gone through the criticism stage to reconstruct related to the pepper commodity produced by Banten is pepper cultivated in the Lampung region.

Primary sources obtained from the National Library and the National Archives are studied in depth for authenticity as well as content, for the purpose of being interpreted in the form of a new historical narrative regarding pepper diplomacy and pepper production as a tool for diplomacy.

Data analysis is carried out qualitatively using a historical approach, reconstructing past events through objective historiography [11]. The last step is historiography to build an understanding of pepper produced in Lampung. In the 17th century, Lampung was an area taken into account by Banten and the VOC because Lampung, especially in the areas of Tulang Bawang and the Semaka Strait, was the main trading area for black pepper Lampung.

3 Result and Discussion

A. Banten in 17th Century

Pepper is Banten’s primary commodity, in addition to products such as fruits in the form of watermelon, cucumbers, coconut, vegetables, chickpeas, chilies, honey in jars, and sugar. In the period leading up to the XVI century, Banten was at least one of the ports of the Sunda Kingdom. During his visit to Banten (1513), Tomé Pires noted that
Banten was one of the ports in the Sunda Kingdom that became an exporter of rice and pepper. By 1522, Banten and Sunda Kelapa had grown into meaningful ports with a production of 1,000 bahars (1 bahar = 3 pikul) of pepper every year.

Pepper or pepper has proven to have given its own identity to the growth of the port city of Banten. Archaeological data from Pamarican toponymy at the coastal Banten site. It indicates that this location was once a center of activity related to pepper or pepper. The port of Banten also became a redistribution center for pepper to be marketed to China or Europe. Biological research conducted at the Pamarican site found some residuals of pepper pollen. Through a magnification of 400 times, the fossil shape of this pepper pollen is the same as the pepper pollen of several varieties found at the Pugung Raharjo Lampung site.

Since the Portuguese controlled Malacca in 1511, the Sultanate of Banten has been increasingly visited by traders. The Sultanate of Banten obtained import tax income and exports from traded goods from the trade results. Trading is carried out in markets in the Sultanate of Banten [12]. The Sultanate of Banten adheres to an open port system so that all traders from wherever can trade in the port of Banten. The Dutch and English were involved in the competition of pepper and spices from 1596, which resulted in high prices and greatly expanded production [13]. The amount of too many spices in the market decreases the selling price. The VOC continued to monitor shipping at sea by the local population due to the rampant smuggling of spices that continued to harm the VOC [14].

The Sultanate of Banten controlled the pepper trade in Banten. Based on a text in 1663, it is known that the Sultanate of Banten implemented a compulsory planting system for pepper plants which was very similar to the cultuurstelsel system forcibly implemented by Governor van den Bosch during the enactment of the Dutch colonization in 1830 [12]. When Banten controlled the Lampung area, the community was obliged to plant 500 pepper tree trunks. Planting pepper is carried out within the family sphere. Pepper is widely grown by the Pepadun community. The harvest of pepper that is ready to be sold is collected to Jenang, then sold to Jenang. The residents of Lampung should sell pepper and other produce in Banten, but on the other side, Banten strives to maintain security in the Lampung area [15].

B. Lampung Black Pepper

Pepper is one of the leading trading commodities from the Archipelago region. Pepper or pepper (pipernigrum) belongs to the vines belonging to the tribe Piperaceae. The leaves are oval green and grain-flowered. The fruit is red if ripe and black after drying. The fruits ripen after seven months. The spicy taste of pepper is due to the kasivin content in the fruit’s flesh. In addition, there is a content of paperin and piperidine alkaloids for manufacturing synthetic heliotropin and essential oil used to make fragrant oil. Indonesia’s most important pepper regions are Lampung (black pepper), Bangka (white pepper), Kalimantan, and Aceh [16].

Pepper plants belong to old plants that man once cultivated. Since 372 BC, the Greeks have known two types of pepper: black pepper and hot pepper (red pepper or long pepper). In the middle ages, pepper belonged to an important and valuable kind of spice. Even in Germany in the XIV–XV centuries, it was used as a medium of exchange...
and paid salaries and taxes. The pepper plant comes from the Western Ghat region, Malabar, India. It originally came from India but has been widespread in Indonesia since a century BC with intermediaries (Fig. 1).

The demand for pepper in the European and Middle Eastern markets is so high that pepper-producing regions can raise selling prices and their production areas expand. Spice search led European explorers to sail the oceans in the 16th century. Pepper is an expensive and most sought-after commodity in the European market [1]. Many spice brokers increase the price of spices by up to 1,000%. Pepper has many functions, such as seasonings, preservatives, medicines, and oil is taken for fragrance and can be used as a medium of exchange like money. At this time, pepper is widely used as a seasoning in cooking. The increase in demand for pepper has to do with the emergence of healthy living habits.

The main commodity of the Banten Sultanate is pepper from the Lampung region, commonly referred to by local people as lado cawoor (Sic.), the best pepper in the entire southern Sumatra region. This type of pepper has larger fruits, better taste, and more extended durability so that it is maintained in quality when it arrives in the European market [6, 7].

Pepper made Lampung and the Sultanate of Banten establish relations with other regions in the archipelago and attract rulers to come and control this region. Lampung pepper, known as black pepper, has been exported to various countries since the 16th century. For this reason, researchers need to examine how pepper can become a significant commodity and be used as a tool for diplomacy.

The condition of Lampung in the 16th century will also answer why many regions are trying to control pepper production in Lampung [17]. In the 16th and 17th centuries, Lampung came under the rule of the Banten Sultanate and eventually fell to the VOC. It needs to be studied to see the process of development of pepper plantations since, under the Banten Sultanate’s control, the VOC finally tried to monopolize the pepper trade in Lampung. In this case, We will explain the relationship between the heyday of Banten and the increase in pepper production in Lampung to the collapse of the Banten Sultanate, which led to the fall of the Lampung region into VOC rule. Researchers will also examine the policies taken during the Banten Sultanate and the VOC on Pepper plantations and trade in Lampung [18, 19].
Although pepper plantations in Lampung existed before Lampung was controlled by Banten, Lampung pepper is known to the world as inseparable from the role of the Banten Sultanate, which politically controlled Lampung in the 16th century. Under the rule of Banten, the Lampung people, who are more than 16 years old and non-disabled, must plant and maintain as many as 500 stems of pepper. The pepper products are needed to be sold and bought by the Sultanate of Banten. Although it is not taxed, the sultanate determines the selling price of pepper. As a result, the Sultanate of Banten could control the pepper trade in Java and Sumatra.

Since then, Lampung has become the primary supplier for the pepper trade in Banten. Along with controlling the pepper trade, Banten, whose territory reaches up to Lampung and South Sumatra, is crowded with merchant ships from China, Arabia, and Europe. The north coast of the Java Sea is also crowded with ship traffic carrying produce. Karangantu Market, located near the port, is an international trade center. Pepper, the main commodity of the Banten Sultanate, is a widely traded item in the market.

C. Black Pepper Production Center in Lampung

In the past, Lampung is known for its spices, especially pepper. It became the primary commodity of trade, so it has always been a contest between the centers of power in Sumatra and Java. If in classical times (Hindu-Buddhist), this area was contested by Sriwijaya and Majapahit, then in Islamic times, it was contested by the Sultanates of Palembang and Banten.

During the time of Sultan Hasanuddin his rule reached Lampung, Indrapura, Solebar, and Bengkulu. This territory in Sumatra produces a lot of pepper (pepper) which plays a vital role in trade in Banten, thus making Banten an important port city visited by merchant ships from China, India, and even Europe. Such a state of affairs lasted from the middle of the XVI century to the end of the XVIII century.

In this regard, several inscriptions in the Lampung area show the influence of the Banten Sultanate in the Lampung area. Including the Charter10/Kuripan Inscription, found in the Penengahan Subdistrict of South Lampung and contains a friendly agreement between Banten and Lampung during the reign of Sultan Hasanuddin and Keratuan Dara Putih.

In addition, the Bojong Charter/Dalung Bojong Charter was also found, which contained the regulations of the Sultan of Banten regarding shipping, government administration, and trade systems in Lampung. Studying this inscription became important to trace the traces of the Banten Sultanate in Lampung in the XVII century [17, 20–22].

Before the pepper-producing area was controlled, the Banten merchants’ road to locations across the ocean took the way to get as much pepper as possible by bringing merchandise of woven cloth made in Banten to be bartered with pepper. As a legitimacy and legality to control the pepper product, several Banten sultans issued inscriptions whose contents were related to the planting, buying, and selling of pepper. Also, sanctions for criminal and civil violations on the people and rulers in the Sumatra region, especially the Lampung and Solebar areas.

The policy of forced pepper planting, compulsory surrender, and submission of specific quotas (contingencies) has been the company’s policy since the early period of the company’s growth of power on Java Island. No wonder some Banten sultans, especially
after Sultan Haji, imposed forced planting orders, mainly pepper, the sale/handover of the proceeds to Banten or company parties, and the prohibition of their sale to other parties.

The Dalung Bojong Charter itself contains several articles relating to forced cultivation and the administration of the pepper trade:

- Pepper commodities to be brought to Sorosowan Palace in full must be supplemented with a letter of introduction from the courtier [Article 7].
- The Sultan ordered the courtiers and the people of Lampung to plant 500 productive pepper tree trunks [Article 11].

The ruler largely determined the pepper trade from Lampung that occurred in Banten. Producers rely on predetermined regulations, and the course of this commercial system is more likely to follow a political flow than an economic one. Even the government has the right to increase the excise price for the pepper trade, resulting in a high low price, which depends on the government’s calculations alone. Mangkubumi, an official of the sultanate, also has priority rights in buying and selling, namely buying and selling pepper at a low price and selling it to foreign traders at high prices. Javanese, Chinese, and European traders recognize the high cost of pepper in Banten because, in Palembang, Jambi, and Siak, the price of pepper is lower than the prevailing price in Banten.

The main producing centers of pepper on the island of Sumatra were first more to the south of its location, on its west coast. Parmentier in 1529, stopped at the port of Tiku to fill the hatch of his ship with that high-value spice. Said Beaulieu, “In Pasaman, pepper groves began to be discovered, situated at the foot of a very high mountain, which was visible from thirty miles away if the sky was clear, the pepper was nice and large, seven miles from there lay Tiku which was more abundant pepper; in those places, there is just the pepper” [23, 24].

The second group of plantations is found on the Malacca Peninsula, Langkawi Island, and Kedah. Upset by Sultan Iskandar paying too high the price of pepper, Beaulieu one morning dismantled the anchor and headed north in hopes of getting a better price than Sultan Kedah, a rival of the Sultan of Aceh. He stopped at Langkawi, whose pepper plantation “is at the foot of the mountain and in the lowlands 3 to 4 miles long, the plants are kept like vines high in branches, which care for no more than 100 captives” [23].

Pepper released from Banten port is produced not only from plantations in Banten itself but also in pepper plantations in Banten’s territory on the island of Sumatra, such as Lampung, Palembang, and Bengkulu [25]. In Banten itself, pepper is cultivated in the interior, but it is not stated precisely in which area it is located. Colenbrader [26] explained that many pepper farmers come by boat from the interior to Banten City on the coast during the rainy season. Every year they try to get as much pepper as possible so that pepper can transport it according to the ship’s capacity [25]. The merchants highly expected the arrival of these pepper farmers because they could buy and collect them before they were brought to their respective lands.

Banten’s active role in the fabric of foreign trade has made the Lampung region the leading supplier of pepper commodity needs for Banten. In 1663 Lampung provided almost 90% of the pepper needs for Banten. Banten, at that time, ordered every male resident in Lampung to plant 500 pepper trees. Envoys supervised the forced planting
Pepper planting centers in Lampung are in the area of Tulang Bawang, Seputih, Sekampung, Semaka, and Teluk Betung. The distribution and trade of pepper, especially in these regions, including Palembang’s interior, is very dependent on the role of the Tulang Bawang River [20]. The Tulang Bawang River, about 136 km long, has about six other tributaries more than 100 km long. This tributary of the Tulang Bawang river can be a link between the Tulang Bawang region and areas in the interior of Bengkulu and Palembang. Menggala City is the central port city on the banks of the Tulang Bawang River which is a stopover place for merchant ships originating from around the Lampung, Palembang, and Bengkulu areas [27, 29] (Fig. 2).

The Tulang Bawang River’s existence is not limited to its function as a pepper trade route. This river also has a role in irrigating pepper plantations around the edge of the Tulang Bawang River. Pepper plantations during the Banten to Colonial Sultanate were around the riverside area. Since pepper plants require an extensive supply of water, it is common for pepper plantations to be near streams. In addition, with its position near the river flow, during the harvest period, these peppers are also easy to distribute [30].

E.B. Kielstra [31] said that many migrants from Palembang also opened up land in Tulang Bawang to be used as plantations. At first, this matter received opposition from the Banten rulers, but due to the high need for pepper, these migrants were later given the right to own land and pepper plantations in this area. It also benefited Banten because they received a significant expansion of pepper plantations without having to mobilize envoys and enslaved people from Banten. Meanwhile, the Bugis people who inhabited this area were not only based on trade reasons but also caused by the opening of the entire Banten area at that time to residents from Bugis, Makassar. The beginning of the door of the Banten area to Lampung for the Bugis people was due to the sympathy of
the Banten Sultanate after the fall of the Makassar Sultanate in 1667 by the VOC, which caused the Makassar Bugis ethnic diaspora [27].

The presence of centers for the production of Lampung black pepper needed by the world market. Making Lampung an area with a strategic position as the bargaining power of the Banten Sultanate in the arena of international relations with sovereign states, kingdoms, and other traders from various countries. Lampung and Banten are not areas that control each other but two areas that need each other to have a strong political and cultural bond.

D. Pepper used as a Tool for Diplomacy

Peppers originating from villages around the Tulang Bawang River are usually collected in Menggala City. The collected peppers were then sold to traders with trade agreements with Banten. The distribution of pepper from villages around the river is usually carried out using small boats supervised by the Ponggawa. In addition to river transportation, the distribution of pepper from the interior of the Lampung area, such as from the Seputih area to Menggala, can also be done by road trip. Arriving at Menggala, the pepper was then traded to regions outside the Tulang Bawang [32, 33].

Banten’s main trading partners in selling this pepper are Chinese people. However, as the influence of European traders in Banten grew stronger, Ranamanggala ordered the closure of all ports abroad and concentrated pepper trade directly from the port of Banten. Therefore, peppers originating from Lampung are required to be sent directly to Banten.

This policy continued during Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (1651–1680), who provided a policy in the pepper trade only within the Banten port area. These restrictions on supply in the pepper trade later angered European traders, mainly the Dutch and The British. The effort made by the Dutch in taking over the dominance and monopoly of pepper by Banten was to build a new port city near Banten, namely Batavia. The development of Batavia became a thorn in the body of the Banten Sultanate. Several attempts to stop the Dutch’s expansion and development of trade in Batavia did not produce results. Even the attempts at conquest of Batavia by both Banten and Mataram became bullets that re-attacked these two influential kingdoms in Java.

The conflict between Banten and the VOC led to open war in seizing the influence of the pepper trade monopoly in the Sunda Strait. It impacted the Sultan of Banten, Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, conducting Defense diplomacy with the British and Danes using pepper commodities as a medium.

Banten’s contact with the international world was further strengthened by the discovery of fragments of Chinese ceramics from the Southern Song and Yuan Dynasties when the National Archaeological Research Center excavated at the Banten Girang Site in 1990–1993. Chinese ceramic fragment artifacts are abundantly buried at a depth of 5–7 m.

As Zhao noted, China constantly became the primary buyer of Banten quality pepper from the end of the 12th century to the beginning of the 17th century. Banten’s pepper trade to China receded when JP Coen forcibly banned Chinese junk boats from docking at Banten Port, as Claude Guillot wrote in his book Banten, History, and Civilization of the X–XVII Centuries [34] (Fig. 3).
The sketches of the Dutch scientist Serrurier in 1902 show how the Banten Sultanate was structured. The coastal city is divided into 33 very multicultural settlements, including Pakojan (a middle eastern settlement), Karangantu (a foreigner settlement), Kebalen (a Balinese settlement), and Karoya (an indigenous settlement).

The sultans who ruled Banten used pepper as a tool of diplomacy with foreign parties, such as the British and the Dutch. Some of the contents of the letter sent by the Sultan were accompanied by the delivery of black pepper as a thank you or in return. In the 17th century, there were approximately three letters relating to pepper diplomacy, namely in 1664, 1671, 1675.

**Diplomacy of 1664**

The request for the British to sell cannons, rifles, and istinggars (a type of rifle) to Banten. The Sultan of Banten sent black pepper and ginger to the King of England as a gift (Fig. 4).

**Diplomacy of 1671**

Reported that the request of the King of Denmark to obtain land in Banten for commercial purposes was allowed by the Sultan of Banten. In return, the Sultan wanted to buy weapons and gunpowder (Fig. 5).

**Diplomacy of 1675**

He was reminding that King Charles II should not break the friendship between Banten and England. The Sultan of Banten rewarded black pepper through the captain of the Banindal ship (Fig. 6).

VOC won the battle with Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa to fight pepper hegemony. However, the diplomacy carried out by the Sultan of Banten was deadlocked. Due to an alliance made by his son Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, namely Sultan Haji, with the VOC, which had an impact on the control of Lampung, which was part of Banten by the VOC so that the VOC continued all pepper production and supervision.

VOC built Valkenoog Fort on Bumi Agung close to the Tulang Bawang River and Petrus Albertus Fortress to supervise the pepper trade in the Lampung Area Menggala as a form of VOC control over pepper trading activities in the Lampung area.
The letters of the Sultan of Banten above show that Banten conducted defense diplomacy with other major kingdoms in Europe to defend against the hegemony that the VOC tried to carry out in Batavia. Lada was used as a diplomatic tool by the Sultanate.
of Banten to obtain defense assistance, especially military equipment in the context of defense and strengthening the military fleet of the Sultanate of Banten.

4 Conclusion

As the primary commodity of the Banten sultanate in the 17th century, Lampung black pepper made it an important and strategic position for Banten’s international relations in the face of economic hegemony by its most significant competitor then, the VOC. In the 17th century, pepper produced in Lampung contributed 90% of the pepper supply to the Banten sultanate.

The Sultanate of Banten made pepper a diplomatic medium to defend its territory. Lampung is an important area for the Banten Sultanate because it is Banten's leading supplier.

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