

Chapter I

Imagined Link, Domesticated Religion: The State and the Outside Islamic Network in Banten, West Java, c. 1520–1813

ŌTA Atsushi

Introduction

As Azyumardi Azra effectively demonstrated, a network of Islamic intellectuals played an important role in the development of Islamic knowledge and learning in Southeast Asia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹ However, the impact of the Islamic network reached beyond the confines of religion and extended to the politics of Islamic states in Southeast Asia. This paper is an attempt to explore how a particular state in Southeast Asia dealt with Islam, which was constantly influenced by external Islamic knowledge through the Islamic network. I focus on the kingdom of Banten in West Java because it was one of the most powerful Islamic states and because its capital was recognized as an important center of Islam in early modern Southeast Asia. The Islamic network is defined broadly in this study as the network in which knowledge, ideas, and people related to Islam were exchanged.

Islam in Banten has been discussed with special emphasis on its strong “orthodox” traditions, such as its implementation of *shari‘a* (Islamic law).² However, a careful examination of the policies in Banten reveals that Islam also functioned as a tool to enhance the royal authority, notwithstanding its importance to religious life. The sultan and the court circle made use of the Islamic network not only to ensure the “purity” of their type of Islam, but also to create a suitable form of worship by combining knowledge from the Middle East and the local practices. This paper aims to discuss how the sultan and the court circle of Banten

¹ Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern ‘Ulamā’ in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin; Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2004).

² C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936*, ed. Emile Gobée and Cornelis Adriaanse (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957–1965), vol. 2,

utilized the Islamic network to reinforce their legitimacy and authority.

Foundation of the Kingdom and Legitimization of the Dynasty

It should be noted that the kingdom of Banten³ (1522~27?–1813) was founded as the first Islamic kingdom in West Java in a region that had a long Hindu-Buddhist cultural history. Islam was an important source of the legitimacy of the dynasty; however, at the same time, the claim of legitimacy had to be understood by the local Hindu-Buddhist population.

Before the establishment of the kingdom of Banten, West Java was controlled by the Hindu kingdom of Pajajaran. The center of the Banten region, on the western tip of Java, was situated in the inland area until the fourteenth century. Archaeological research has revealed that a river port located approximately thirteen kilometers upstream of Ci [River] Banten flourished through trade with China, beginning in the tenth century.⁴ As the Italian Odorico da Pordenone noted the river port town as Panten, it is believed that the area was first referred to as Banten.⁵

1246–1247; G. W. J. Drewes, ed., *The Admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16th Century Javanese Muslim Text, Attributed to the Saint of Bonan* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969), 11–12; H. J. de Graaf and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud, *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java: studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974), 117–122; B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies*, 2 vols. (The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955–1957), vol. 2, 241; H. J. de Graaf, “South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2, *The Further Islamic Lands, Islamic Society and Civilization*, ed. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 140–144; A. C. Milner, “Islam and the Muslim State,” in *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1983), 27; Barbara Watson Andaya and Ishii Yoneo, “Religious Developments in Southeast Asia c. 1500–1800,” in *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 541; Anthony Reid, “Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550–1650,” in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 177–179; Halwany Michrob and A. Mudjahid Chudari, *Catatan Masalalu Banten* [Notes about the past of Banten] (Serang: Saudara, 1993), 50–65, 75–76; Herman Fauzi, *Banten dalam Peralihan: Sebuah Konstruksi Pemikiran tentang Paradigma Baru Pembangunan Daerah* [Banten in transition: A construction of thought about a new paradigm for the development of the region] (Tangerang: YASF, 2000), 38–52.

³ It was in 1638 that the ruler of Banten adopted the title of sultan. Therefore, this paper, which covers the pre-1638 period, does not use its conventional name, “the sultanate of Banten.”

⁴ Claude Guillot, “Banten in 1678,” *Indonesia* 57 (1993): 63–71.

⁵ Kawahara Masahiro, “Odorico no Panten koku ni tsuite [The kingdom of Panten mentioned by Odorico],” *Shigaku zasshi* 64 (1955), 1031–1039.

Later, it was called Banten Girang (“upstream Banten” in Sundanese), which is the name that first appeared in the dynastic chronicle *Sajarah Banten* (History of Banten) in its narration of the establishment of the kingdom. This probably means that the river port town Banten was renamed Banten Girang when another town, Banten Hilir (downstream Banten), appeared at the mouth of Ci Banten. A seventeenth-century Chinese source called *Dong Xi Yang Kao* 東西洋考 mentioned a port town called Xia Gang 下港, which is likely the translation of Banten Hilir.⁶ While the significance of Banten Girang as a port town declined in the fifteenth century,⁷ Banten Hilir became the principle port in the Banten region by the early sixteenth century. In 1515, the Portuguese Tomé Pires recorded that “Bautan” (this is considered a misspelling of “Banten,” and should be referred to as Banten Hilir) was a brisk trading port that exported a great deal of rice, other provisions, and pepper.⁸

Islam first reached Java in the port towns on the northeast coast. As trade across the Indian Ocean developed during the Age of Commerce and especially after the Portuguese conquest of Malacca in 1511, an increasing number of Asian traders came to Java seeking alternative trading ports. The port towns on the northeast coast of Java exploited this opportunity, and with the new economic power gained from trade, they started to claim independence from the Hindu kingdom of Majapahit. Some of the local rulers of the ports converted to Islam, and among them, the king of Demak claimed power over the others. By the time Tomé Pires arrived from Malacca, the Muslim influence had expanded to the west of Java, and was penetrating Pajajaran. Pires noted that foreign Muslims (Moors) resided in Ci Manuk, a port town under the rule of Pajajaran on the border of Majapahit, and this port town had a close trade link with the ports on the northeast coast of Java. The king of Sunda (Pajajaran) strongly feared the permeation of Islam into his territory, as was the case in Majapahit.⁹ Under these circumstances, Islam reached Banten in the 1520s.

Da Asia, a corpus of Portuguese accounts of overseas expedition compiled by João de Barros in the 1550s and 1560s, is the only nearly contemporary source that narrates the introduction of Islam and the establishment of the kingdom of Banten. Barros states that the founder Faletehan was an Islamic teacher from Pasai in northwest Sumatra. Returning from his pilgrimage to Mecca, Faletehan went to Demak

⁶ Iwao Seiichi, “Gekō no Shina-machi ni tsuite [Chinese town in Bantam],” *Tōyō gaku* 31, no. 4 (1948): 30–31.

⁷ Claude Guillot, et al., *Banten sebelum Zaman Islam: Kajian Arkeologi di Banten Girang 932?–1526* [Banten before the age of Islam: Archeological studies of Banten Girang, 932?–1526] (Jakarta: Bentang, 1996), 66–67.

⁸ Tomé Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, ed. Armando Cortesão (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), vol. 1, 170.

⁹ Pires, vol. 1, 173.

on the north coast of Central Java¹⁰ because he saw his hometown under Portuguese occupation (1521–1524). In Demak, he obtained protection and the permission to propagate Islam from the king. Satisfied with Faletehan's achievements, the king offered his sister to him in marriage. The king sent Faletehan to Banten (Banten Hilir), which was then under the control of the king who lived in the mountains (i.e., the king of Pajajaran), for the further propagation of Islam. An "important" man (whose name is unknown) of the town welcomed Faletehan, accepted his teachings, and treated him as a consultant for the administration. Recognizing the attractiveness of this town, Faletehan requested the king of Demak to send his wife and soldiers, and the king dispatched two thousand armed soldiers. After observing Faletehan's diligent work, the "important" man accorded him the position of ruler of the town. In 1527, when a Portuguese ship docked at the eastern part of Banten (because Portuguese delegate Henrique de Leme had obtained permission from the king of Pajajaran to build a fortress there in 1522), Faletehan attacked the fleet and drove the Portuguese back to Malacca.¹¹

This is a very well-known story, but a careful reading of the text still allows a new interpretation. In his standard book *A History of Modern Indonesia*, M. C. Ricklefs explains that the local ruler of Banten sought an anti-Demak alliance with the Portuguese to resist Islamization, but Faletehan repelled him and established a new kingdom.¹² However, another part of *Da Asia* clearly states that it was King Samian, that is, the king of Pajajaran Ratu Samian, who sought an anti-Demak alliance,¹³ and the abovementioned text indicates that the person who welcomed Faletehan in Banten Hilir—who should logically be the local ruler of the town—and the king of Pajajaran were not the same person. In other words, the local ruler of Banten Hilir dared to ally with the new Islamic power, in spite of the anti-Muslim policy of Pajajaran.

This decision made by the local ruler of Banten Hilir should be understood in the context of the political and economic circumstances of early sixteenth-century Java. The local ruler must have wanted to promote trade; specifically, pepper, the major trade commodity from Banten Hilir, would have brought the necessary wealth and power to pursue more autonomy from Pajajaran. It must have been favorable for him to accept an Islamic teacher as a leading administrator because it would have attracted more Muslim traders. *Da Asia* mentions the peaceful ces-

¹⁰ The original text states that Faletehan went to Jepara, but when comparing it with the information from other parts of the same source, it should read as Demak.

¹¹ João de Barros, *Staat zugtige scheeps-togte en krygs-bedryven ter handhaving van der Portugyzen Opper-bestuur in Oost-Indien, door Don Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, gedaan in 't Jaar 1526 [...]* (Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1707), 62, 65–66.

¹² M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia: Since c. 1200*, 4th ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 40.

¹³ Barros, 62.

sion of authority to Faletahan; however, the presence of the two thousand Demak soldiers must have enabled Banten Hilir to maintain its autonomy in light of the possible pressure from Pajajaran. This source does not mention whether Faletahan successfully propagated Islam in Banten, apart from the acceptance of Islamic teachings by the ruler of Banten Hilir (his conversion is still not clear). At least as far as the Portuguese were aware, it was not the religious motivation but Banten Hilir's economy-driven strategy and Demak's geopolitical strategy that enabled Faletahan's successful control of Banten Hilir.

The oldest local source that recounts the establishment of the kingdom was *Sajarah Banten*, a series of dynastic chronicles of Banten, composed first in 1662/1663, of which the oldest existing version was created in 1732.¹⁴ In this study, I refer to *Sajarah Banten* Text G with the colophon of 1732.¹⁵ *Sajarah Banten* is full of mystic legends, similar to other Javanese chronicles; however, it still provides valuable information regarding the local views around the time when it was compiled.¹⁶

¹⁴ Titik Pudjiastuti, "Sadjarah Banten: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan Disertai Tinjauan Aksara dan Amanat [Sadjarah Banten: Editing of the texts and translation, with consideration of the characters and the messages]" (Ph.D. diss., Universitas Indonesia, 2000), 13, 39.

¹⁵ For a long time, the philological study of *Sajarah Banten* by Hoesein Djajadiningrat was the only authoritative reference (Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantèn: Bijdrage ter Kenschetsing van de Javaansche Geschiedschrijving* [Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913]). However, the recent work of Titik Pudjiastuti (2000), which examined thirty one versions of the text and Romanized four of them with an Indonesian translation, has remarkably facilitated the reference to this series of sources. In fact, the original texts reveal interesting (cross)cultural aspects of the history of the kingdom, which the summarized texts of Djajadiningrat do not always convey.

¹⁶ The Cirebon chronicles *Purwaka Caruban Nagari* and *Nagarakretabhumi* (allegedly compiled in the eighteenth century), to which some scholars have referred as historical sources, are not used in this study because of serious questions regarding their authenticity. The Romanized texts and the published photos clearly show a particular style that is not characteristic of eighteenth-century texts. Apart from their extraordinarily clear and legible handwriting, the sentences are divided into words, and the texts indicate the dates of the events in detail. These characteristics are never seen in other eighteenth-century Javanese texts. M. C. Ricklefs strongly expressed his doubt on the authenticity of these sources as early as the beginning of the 1980s. Experts such as Edi S. Ekajati, Titik Pudjiastuti, and Ben Alps also have negative views on the reliability of these sources. I appreciate their personal advice, but I bear the responsibility of evaluating the sources. Atja, *Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari: Sedjarah Muladjadi Tjirebon* [Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari: A history of the establishment of Cirebon] (Jakarta: Ikatan Karyawan Museum, 1972); Atja, *Beberapa Catatan yang Bertalian dengan Muladjadi Cirebon* [Some stories related to the establishment of Cirebon] (Bandung: Lembaga Kebudayaan, Universitas

In contrast to *Da Asia*, *Sajarah Banten* emphasizes that the propagation of Islam was the main purpose of the arrival of the founders in Banten, and that the local population enthusiastically welcomed the new religion. It narrates that a man in Pasai who wanted to have a child dove into the sea, as per a dream that he had, and found a chest on the shore. In the chest lay a baby with a radiant *cahya* (halo). He took the baby and raised him as his son. Later, he brought his adopted son to a venerable teacher of Islam in Pasai. After having learned Islamic knowledge from him, he went to Java with his teacher's blessings. He settled in Cirebon, where he attracted many people who wanted to receive his teachings of Islam. Impressed with his knowledge, the king decided to hand over his kingdom. The man accepted this offer and became the king of Cirebon (*jumeneng Cirebon*) under the name of Makhdum. Later, he had two sons (his wife's identity is unknown),¹⁷ and enthroned the older son as the king of Cirebon, and the younger son as the king of Banten.¹⁸

Another part of the same source tells a slightly different story. A holy person (*Susunan waliullah*) came to Java (not clear from where) to bless the land with God's mercy (*rahmating Allah*). His father was Yemeni (*Yamani*) and his mother was Jewish (*Banisrail*)¹⁹ and a descendant of Mandarsah (unknown clan). The holy man landed in Pakwati (unknown) in Java, where he had two children, the younger of which was the son Molana Hasanuddin (identity of his mother is unknown). The holy man and Hasanuddin then moved westward to Banten Girang. Hasanuddin further went to Gunung (Ukir) Pulosari, where the Hindu priests conducted religious practices.²⁰ Hasanuddin found a deserted hermitage in the mountains, where he stayed for ten years. Later, his father visited him in Gunung Pulosari, taught him about the Islamic faith (*imaning Islam*) and knowledge (*ilmu*). Hasanuddin then met eight hundred Hindu priests whose leader had just disappeared. The Hindu priests, who were dismayed by the deprivation of their leader's guidance, decided to follow Hasanuddin and converted to Islam, seeing the *cahya* (halo) glowing around Hasanuddin's head. After this event, he spent the next seven years meditating in Gunung Pulosari and the nearby mountains in order to obtain divine inspira-

Padjadjaran, 1973); Atja and Ayatrohaedi, *Nagarakretabhumi 1.5: Karya Kelompok Kerja di bawah Tanggungjawab Pangeran Wangsakerta Panembahan Cirebon* [Nagarakretabhumi 1.5: Works under the supervision of Pangeran Wangsakerta Panembahan Cirebon] (Bandung: Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda [...], 1986); M. C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia: c. 1300 to the Present* (London etc.: Macmillan, 1981), 43.

¹⁷ Although *Sajarah Banten* does not state this, some later sources mention his two wives from Majapahit and Pajajaran (Djajadiningrat, 84).

¹⁸ *Sajarah Banten* Text G XIII 11–16 (Pudjiastuti, 313–314).

¹⁹ *Banisrael* might be a corrupted form of *Banī Isrā'īl*, which means “the children of Israel” (literally “sons of Israel”), a Qur'anic term for the Jews.

²⁰ *Gunung* and *ukir* are interchangeably used in the text. Both words mean a mountain in Malay and Javanese, respectively.

tion from God. Then, his father, now called Susuhunan Ukir (Gunung Jati), visited Hasanuddin, and they went on pilgrimage together to Mecca. After having learned Islamic knowledge in the holy place, he returned to Banten Girang while his father went to Ukir Jati (Cirebon). Hasanuddin now occupied Banten Girang, and taught the residents the regulations of Islam.²¹

It is well known that the Indonesian philologist Hoesein Djajadiningrat identified Faletehan in *Da Asia* with Makhdum and Susuhunan Gunung Jati (later commonly known as Sunan Gunung Jati) in *Sajarah Banten*.²² In spite of many differences between the two sources, it is still possible to assume that an Islamic teacher from Pasai took control of Banten and spread Islam there.

It is obvious that the writer of *Sajarah Banten* attempted to claim the legitimacy of the dynasty by emphasizing the “orthodoxy” of its origin. It claims that the parents of Sunan Gunung Jati were both of Middle Eastern origin. It is impossible to prove this, but the important thing is that the court circle where the text was created perpetuated this imagined genealogical link with the Middle East. Likewise, it claims that not only Sunan Gunung Jati but his son Hasanuddin made a pilgrimage to Mecca. It was for this reason that their knowledge of Islam was proclaimed “orthodox.” The chronicle writer also used many words of Arabic origin for Islam-related terms such as *waliullah* (Arabic *walīy Allāh* for a saint or holy person), *rahmating Allah* (*rahmat Allāh* for God’s mercy), *imaning* (*īmān* for faith), and *ilmu* (*‘ilm* for knowledge). The chronicle writer seems to have emphasized that the court circle was familiar with these concepts in Arabic. This is how *Sajarah Banten* emphasized the dynasty’s link with the Middle East, that is, through the existence of a genealogical link and the Islamic knowledge that the dynasty possessed. The link with the Middle East was associated with the “orthodoxy” of the dynasty in Banten, and thereby guaranteed the legitimacy of the dynasty.

On the other hand, the chronicle writer used Javanese concepts to indicate that the founders possessed the required qualities and legitimacy to rule the kingdom. The key concept is *cahya* (halo). The text states that Sunang Gunung Jati exhibited *cahya* when his stepfather first found him, and that the Hindu priests on Gunung Pulosari decided to convert to Islam once he observed the *cahya* radiating from Hasanuddin. The *cahya* was an undeniable symbol of the ruler’s supernatural virtue in the Hindu-Javanese tradition, earning him the admiration of the people.²³ The chronicle writer legitimized the founders due to their possession of the *cahya*, which was a very Hindu-Javanese concept.

²¹ *Sajarah Banten* Text G XVI 22–XVII 36 (Pudjiastuti, 325–333).

²² Djajadiningrat, 73–87.

²³ Moertono Soemarsaid, *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century* (Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project, 1968), 40, 45, 56–58; Miyazaki Kōji, “The King and the People: The Conceptual Structure of a Javanese Kingdom” (Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 1988), 152–153.

The titles of the founders are a mixture of pre-Islamic and Islamic concepts. Those of Gunung Jati, *jumeneng*, *Susunan*, and *Susuhunan*, are all Javanese, respectively referring to a king, a holy person, and a ruler or king (his later title *Sunan* came from *Susunan*). On the other hand, the title of Hasanuddin, *Molana*, in all likelihood, originated from the Arabic *mawlānā*, which means “our lord” or “a ruler” and is, thus, used to address a ruler. *Molana*, or *Maulana* in Javanese, is a title for a very learned Islamic scholar; however, in Banten, it was adopted by the first three rulers, Molana Hasanuddin, Molana Yusuf, and Molana Muhammad. Here, it is important to note their deliberate strategy. First, foreign origin Gunung Jati took Javanese titles, probably to help acquire the acceptance of the local people. However, later, the following local born rulers adopted an Arabic title, stressing their Islamic character. Such a mixture of Islamic (or Arabic) and pre-Islamic elements in *Sajarah Banten* reveals the difficult attempt of the court circle to compromise the Islamic orthodoxy as well as the perceptions of the local people.

Sajarah Banten Text G further explains the foundation of the kingdom as follows. On the suggestion of Pangerang Kali Jaga (he might have been Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine saints in Java), Sunan Gunung Jati decided that Hasanuddin should be married to one of the daughters of the king of Demak. After the wedding ceremonies were complete in Demak, the king accompanied the young couple to Cirebon. Then, he suggested to Sunan Gunung Jati and the other saints and lords who were present there that Hasanuddin be elevated to a ruler of Java (*bupati angreya Jawa*) under his guidance. There was unanimous agreement, but in fact, they pronounced him king (*jumeneng Pangerang*) under the name of Panembahan Molana Hasanuddin.²⁴

Interestingly, the chronicle writer wrote that the king of Demak appointed Hasanuddin to the position of *bupati*, local elite and/or appointed administrator in Java. This clearly shows the strong influence of Demak upon the establishment of the kingdom of Banten, and the chronicle does not explicitly mention this influence in other places. However, the writer explains that other saints and lords nevertheless agreed to crown Hasanuddin king (Pangerang) with the new title of Panembahan. What is emphasized here is that the kingship of Banten was established with the blessing of the Islamic saints and local lords, and that their support assisted in Banten’s movement toward gaining independence from Demak. The titles of the new king were not Islamic but local: Pangerang (Javanese) and Panembahan (Javanese and Sundanese).²⁵ Here again, the court circle created a subtle balance between Islamic and pre-Islamic elements.

It is also worth noting a difference between the Portuguese and Javanese

²⁴ *Sajarah Banten* Text G XVIII 1–4, 38–46 (Pudjiastuti, 334–335, 339–341).

²⁵ Panembahan is derived from the Sundanese/Javanese *sembah*, which means to kneel to salute.

sources. *Da Asia* explicitly states that the Islamic teacher Faletahan took control of Banten Hilir, while in *Sajarah Banten*, the first ruler of the kingdom was not Sunan Gunung Jati but his son Molana Hasanuddin, although Gunung Jati's strong influence was obvious in the early period of Hasanuddin's rule. Hasanuddin, the Java born ruler, may have seemed a more appropriate founder than the foreign born and more Islamic Sunan Gunung Jati in the eyes of their contemporaries.

Rulers and Islamic Network

In spite of the pre-Islamic elements in the dynastic chronicle, Kota Banten—formerly Banten Hilir and now the capital of the new kingdom—soon developed into a center of Islam in the Archipelago during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Mesjid Agung, the largest mosque in the kingdom, was built near the royal square in 1559, according to local folklore.²⁶ The Kasunyatan, a mosque for worship and religious instruction, was founded before the end of the sixteenth century.²⁷ According to Willem Lodewycksz., a Dutch crew on board the Dutch fleet that visited Java in 1596 observed that the people in the coastal regions of Banten were pious Muslims who strictly observed their religious duties such as praying at the mosque several times a day and fasting during the month of Ramadan.²⁸ Edmund Scott, an Englishman who visited Kota Banten in 1606, however, stated that only the most important people in the capital were pious Muslims, while the ordinary people had very little knowledge of any religion.²⁹ Likewise, in the inland region, the influence of Islam was much weaker prior to the eighteenth century.³⁰ In any case, it seems certain that Islam firmly took root in the upper strata of Kota Banten in the course of the sixteenth century.

The establishment of Islam in Kota Banten went hand in hand with the establishment of intellectual and political networks with the greater Muslim world

²⁶ Guillot, "Banten in 1678," 97.

²⁷ *Sajarah Banten* mentions the existence of a mosque in Kasunyatan during the reign of the third ruler Molana (Maulana) Muhammad (r. 1580?–1596). *Sajarah Banten* Text G XXII 9–10 (Pudjiastuti, 352).

²⁸ Willem Lodewycksz., *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595–1597: journalen, documenten en andere bescheiden*, ed. G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman, 3 vols. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915–1929 [1598]), vol. 1, 114.

²⁹ Edmund Scott, "An English Man in Banten," in *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Tineke Hellwig and Eric Tagliacozzo (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 90–91.

³⁰ Ota Atsushi, *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State, and the Outer World of Banten, 1750–1830* (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006), 32–34.

outside. The fourth ruler Abu al-Mafakhir Abdul Kadir (r. 1596–1651) had a special interest in Islam. He sent inquiries about religious matters to famous scholars in Aceh, Mecca, and Medina, which culminated in special texts written by those scholars in response to his questions.³¹ He also sent a mission to the Grand Sharif of Mecca, and was granted the title of sultan in 1638, which was the first time a ruler adopted this title in the history of the kingdom.³² With respect to this event, Snouck Hurgronje and some others have pointed out the ignorance on their part regarding the position of Grand Sharif.³³ However, considering Abdul Kadir's zeal for Islamic knowledge and contacts with foreign scholars, it is difficult to assume that he was completely ignorant of the position. It seems more reasonable that it was his strategy to make use of an outside authority when he adopted this title, which even the ruler of more powerful Mataram in Central Java did not use.

His successor Sultan Abd al-Fattah or Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa (r. 1651–1683) further strengthened the relationship with the outside Muslim world by sending missions to the Sharifs of Mecca and the authorities in Istanbul, Surat, and Muslim kingdoms on the coastal region of the Indian subcontinent. A number of scholars came to Banten from these countries, sometimes by request, to teach Islam. Students also came to learn from various places in the Archipelago. Among such scholars, the most famous was Yusuf al-Maqassari from Gowa in South Sulawesi (1627–1699). After traveling in the Middle East for more than 20 years in pursuit of knowledge, he came to Banten in 1664 or 1672, as his hometown was at war with the Dutch. Sultan Ageng offered his daughter in marriage to Yusuf al-Maqassari. While he continued to teach and write in Banten, he also rose to one of the highest positions among the court elite.³⁴ The establishment of a network with Muslim kingdoms in the Middle East and South Asia was partly the result of the religious zeal of the sultan to facilitate the exchange of scholars and knowledge. He must also have expected that such an Islamic network in the Muslim world, in which he obtained a recognized position, would enhance his legitimacy and authority among his subordinates and also among the neighboring kingdoms.

The following rulers also consistently showed a strong interest in Islam, and maintained the network with the Muslim world. Sultan Abul Nazar Abdul Kahar (r. 1676?–1687) was a student of Yusuf al-Maqassari when he was the crown prince, and went on the hajj to Mecca twice from 1669 to 1671 and 1674 to 1676, as a result of which, he was called Sultan Haji. He seems to have been strongly attracted to Middle Eastern cultures, as is known in his appeal to the Bantenese to wear

³¹ Azyumardi, 88–89.

³² Anonymous, "Nog iets over de oudste Mohammedaansche vorsten op Java," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Third Series 5, no. 2 (1871): 447.

³³ Martin van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate," *Archipel* 50 (1995): 167.

³⁴ Azyumardi, 95–96; Van Bruinessen, "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren," 173.

Arabic style clothing.³⁵ Islamic scholars from the Middle East continued to come to Banten, and those who bore the Sayid title were given a special welcome in the court circle. For example, during the reign of Sultan Abulmahasin Mohammad Zainul Abidin (r. 1690–1733), the Arab *ulama* (a learned scholar) Sayid Ahmad was respected in the court for his profound knowledge of Islamic law.³⁶ The Dutch East India Company assisted the Bantenese *ulama* to go to Mecca using their ship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.³⁷

It is difficult to know what sort of Islamic knowledge was conveyed to Banten at that time, but Martin van Bruinessen provided evidence of this in his analysis of *Sajarah Banten ranté-ranté*, a variant of *Sajarah Banten*, compiled in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. The source includes a *silsila* (spiritual genealogy) of the “teachers” of Sunan Gunung Jati in Medina and the names of his twenty-seven “fellow students.” The genealogy includes scholars from different periods and places, but interestingly, it is virtually the same as a *silsila* in a work of the well-known seventeenth-century Medinan mystic Ahmad al-Qushashi. The list of “fellow students” also consists of those from different periods and places, but quite precisely constitutes the *silsila* of two distinct branches of leading shaikhs in the mystical order Kubrawiyya, which was influential in the seventeenth-century Muslim world. These documents show that the court circle of Banten had become considerably acquainted with the contemporary works of Ahmad al-Qushashi and the Kubrawiyya order in the course of the seventeenth century.³⁸

Tarekat also developed in close connection with the rulers and their Islamic network. *Sajarah Banten* Text G states that Hasanuddin was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya *tarekat* in Medina. This is a posthumous attribution, but it may indicate that the Naqshbandiyya *tarekat* enjoyed prestige around the time when the source was created, in addition to the abovementioned Kubrawiyya order. Abdullah bin Abdul Qahhar, who studied Islamic mysticism and metaphysics under the protection of Sultan Abun Nazr Zainul Asikin (1753–1777), was a scholar of

³⁵ Azyumardi, 95–96.

³⁶ Memorie van Overgave from Commander J. V. Stein van Gollonnesse to J. Roman, Banten, Aug. 28, 1734, quoted in P. J. B. C. Robidé van der Aa, “De groote Bantamsche opstand in het midden der vorige eeuw, bewerkt naar merendeels onuitgegeven bescheiden uit het oud-koloniaal archief met drie officiele documenten als bijlagen,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Fourth Series 5 (1881): 70.

³⁷ Johan Talens, *Een Feodale Samenleving in Koloniaal Vaarwater: Staatvorming, Koloniale Expansie en Economische Onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java 1600–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 157; Generale Missiven, Dec. 31, 1784, VOC 3655, 793r–793v.

³⁸ Martin van Bruinessen, “Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 150 (1994): 306–308.

mixed Arab and Bantenese origin. He was a teacher of the Naqshbandiyya and the Shattariyya orders, and he was also associated with the Rifa'iyya order.³⁹ This is how the link with the Middle East and the reception of Islamic knowledge through the Islamic network was obviously significant in the development of Islamic learning and organizations in Kota Banten. However, it was not until the late eighteenth century that the network of *tarekat* expanded into the local society beyond the small circles around the sultan and court members.

The early establishment of the *shari'a* court in Banten had been assumed to indicate its strong and orthodox Islamic tradition; however, recent works have reconsidered this assumption. Van Bruinessen discussed that the office of *Pakih Najmuddin* also known as *qadi* (*kadi*, another title of the *Kyai Faqih*), or supreme judge, played prominent roles since the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries; however, executions and systematic punishments based on *shari'a* were rather rare. The early *kadi* were of foreign origin, but the locals gradually replaced them.⁴⁰ Johan Talens has argued that the *shari'a* was put into practice only in restricted fields and only when it did not conflict with the interests of the court.⁴¹ Later eighteenth-century Dutch sources that I examined rarely mention any important role of the *shari'a* court and the *Kyai Faqih*. For example, in 1789, a Dutch official recorded that the sultan appointed the high priest Kyai Fokkee [Faqih] Naca Mudin the prosecutor or the settler of disputes. The official stated that he was a modest man and a friend of Europeans but not expedient for that position, with many disputes unsolved for a long time.⁴² This depiction does not show any strong influence of the *Kyai Faqih*. His role seems to have diminished considerably after the early seventeenth century.

The foreign *ulama* did not exercise strong power in Banten politics either. The abovementioned Arab *ulama* Sayid Ahmad was a renowned scholar, and his daughter Ratu Sharia Fatimah was married to crown prince Pangeran Ranamanggala, later Sultan Abulfath Mohammad Sjafi Zainul Arifin (r. 1733–1748).⁴³ However, in the events in which Ratu Sharia Fatimah finally became the *de facto* ruler by expelling her husband, her Arab family does not seem to have exerted influence. Rather, it was the strong support of the Dutch, who relied on her more than on her husband, which enabled her to obtain the exceptionally high position of the *regentesse* (female regent). Except for Ratu Sharia Fatima, none of the members

³⁹ Van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar," 177–185.

⁴⁰ Van Bruinessen, "*Shari'a* Court, *Tarekat* and *Pesantren*," 170–171.

⁴¹ Talens, *Een Feodale Samenleving in Koloniaal Vaarwater*, 134–148, 174–175.

⁴² Memorie van Overgave, Commander Willem Christoffel Engert, Nov. 7, 1789, ADB 18: 21.

⁴³ Memorie van Overgave from Commander J. V. Stein van Gollonnesse to J. Roman, Banten, Aug. 28, 1734, quoted in Robidé van der Aa, 70.

or families of the Arab *ulama* had a strong political influence during the eighteenth century. The sultan limited the influence of Islamic scholars, either foreign or local, to intellectual affairs, and did not allow them to intervene in political affairs in the eighteenth century.

Genealogy, Genesis, and Sultan Veneration

While the sultan and the court circle excluded Islamic intellectuals from their politics, they still attempted to utilize Islam and the Islamic network to sustain and enhance the royal legitimacy. The royal genealogy and the genesis of the kingdom were two important ideological tools for such a purpose, as they were common in Java.

Sajarah Banten Text G shows that the royal genealogy consisted of forty-six ancestors, starting from Nabi (Prophet) Adam, including the Prophet Muhammad, and down to Sunan Gunung Jati (Genealogy A).⁴⁴ Between Muhammad and Gunung Jati, the genealogy includes the following historical figures: Fatimah (Patimah), the daughter of Muhammad; Husain, a son of Fatimah and her husband Ali (Ali is a cousin of Muhammad); and Ali Zain al-Abidin (Zainulabidin), a grandson of Ali. A different version of the royal genealogy appears in slightly variant forms in two chronicles from Banten and Cirebon, *Sajarah Banten ranté-ranté* and *Babad Cirebon*, both compiled in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century. This version (Genealogy B) covers only the ancestry from the Prophet Muhammad to Gunung Jati. It places Ali and Fatimah in line as the direct descendants of Muhammad.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ The complete genealogy is as follows: Nabi Adam–Nabi Esyis–Nabi Yunus–Kinayah–Malik–Pasir–Nabi Idris–Saleh–Lamak–Nahuda–Hasyim–Paseh–Palih–Runi–Saro–Paqir (Pakir)–Najur–Nabi Ibrahim–Nabi Ismail–Sabit–Sejar–Yurad–Jarad–Japar–Manawi–Udad–Malab–Malah–Ud–Al Muhar–Ghalib–Asim–Abdulmanap–Asim–Abdul Mutalib–Abdullah–Nabi Muhammad–Patimah–Husen–Zainulabidin–Zainulkubra–Jumadilkubra–Jumadilkabir–Sultan Banisyraail–Madhum Gunung Jatya. *Sajarah Banten* Text G III 1–16 (Pudjiastuti, 249–252). Apart from its Javanese spelling, this genealogy is the same as the one presented by Djajadiningrat in the Dutch spelling (Djajadiningrat, 17).

⁴⁵ Van Bruinessen, “Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar,” 319. The complete list amended by Van Bruinessen is: The Prophet Muhammad–Ali and Fatimah–Imam Husain–Imam Zainal Abidin–Imam Ja’far Sadiq–Seh Zainal Kubra (or Zainal Kabir)–Seh Jumadil Kubra–Seh Jumadil Kabir–Sultan Bani Israil–Sultan Hut and Queen Fatimah–Muhammad Nuruddin (the later Sunan Gunung Jati) (Van Bruinessen, “Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar,” 318). No source shows factors behind the similarity between the names of Sultan Bani Israil in this genealogy and the fact that the mother of Sunan Gunung Jati was mentioned as Banisrail (Jewish) in the *Sajarah Banten*.

The inclusion of historical figures in the Middle East would mean that the court circle emphasized that the sultan was a direct descendant of the Prophet. However, the inclusion of Muhammad's early descendants in the genealogies of important people is a common practice in the Muslim world, and the justification for the selection of particular figures is not clear.

More interesting is the revision of the genealogy when Genealogy B was created. It indicates Muhammad first, and Fatimah and Ali next, followed by others. This is a very common form in the genealogies of important people in the Muslim world. The revision in Genealogy B, therefore, was likely an attempt of the court circle to adjust the royal genealogy in accordance with the common form in the Muslim world. Out of the five names added in Genealogy B, two were Muhammad's close descendants: Ali and the sixth Shi'i Imam, Ja'far al-Sadiq (his father, the fifth Imam Muhammad al-Baqir, is not mentioned).⁴⁶ The court circle was refining its knowledge, and this was reflected in the new version of the chronicle.

Interestingly, however, both versions of the genealogies also maintain a Javanese element. The two names, Jumadil Kubra and Jumadil Kabir, appear in both genealogies. Jumadil Kubra is, according to Van Bruinessen, a Javanized form of the name Najmuddin al-Kubra, a famous thirteenth-century Islamic scholar in Central Asia; however, Jumadil Kabir is only a hyper-corrected form of the same person, the name that hardly appears with Jumadil Kubra in the same text.⁴⁷ Najmuddin al-Kubra was a popular figure in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Java, with his name (in its Javanized forms) inserted in several chronicles. The court circle of Banten was aware not only of Islamic knowledge in the Middle East, but also in other parts of Java. Their Islamic network was extended to Java as well, although the knowledge gained from other places was not profound, evinced by the fact that two different names of one person appeared as if they referred to two different people in one genealogy.

The royal genealogy was publicized before an audience in important court rituals such as the inauguration ceremony of the sultan and the crown prince. The highlight of the ceremony was the proclamation of the Kyai Faqih to grant legitimacy to the new nominee. In this part of the proceedings, the Kyai Faqih recited the royal genealogy in Arabic, and added the name of the new sultan or the crown prince at the end of the genealogy. In the inauguration of Panegeran Ranamanggala as the crown prince in 1731, the Kyai Faqih Shams'uddin explained that Adam was the first ruler on earth, chosen by God.⁴⁸ The recitation in rituals

⁴⁶ Van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar," 319.

⁴⁷ Van Bruinessen, "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar," 319.

⁴⁸ Talens intensively examined the inauguration ceremonies in 1691 and 1731. Johan Talens, "Ritual Power: The Installation of a King in Banten, West Java, in 1691,"

clearly shows that the court circle intended to emphasize the legitimacy of the rulers by placing them in the genealogical line from Adam or Muhammad, as was common in Java and other parts of the Muslim world. The recitation in Arabic implies that the court circle attempted to impress their Islamic traditions as “orthodox,” and to be linked to the Middle East.

While Muhammad and other historical figures in the Middle East were referred to in the genealogy, the real “holy” man of the kingdom was Sunan Gunung Jati. Sultan Abulmahasin Mohammad Zainul Abidin (r. 1690–1733) assigned Sayid Umar, an *ulama* of Arab origin, to maintain the relationship between the Bantenese dynasty and Sunan Gunung Jati’s holy grave in Cirebon.⁴⁹ Although the brief explanation by Talens does not clearly show what he precisely did, it must have been related to the emergence of the local worship of the *wali sanga* (nine saints), the legendary propagators of Islam in Java, one of whom was Sunan Gunung Jati. The worship of the graves of their ancestors and Islamic saints was a common practice in the Middle East. The sultan would have expected Sayid Umar to apply his knowledge from his homeland to consolidate the worship of the holy grave. Although the worship of *wali sanga* is a localized Islamic practice in Java, in Banten, the sultan attempted to strengthen it by utilizing the “orthodox” knowledge of an *ulama* from the Middle East.

The importance of Sunan Gunung Jati is obvious in the genesis of the kingdom, which was repeatedly recreated with considerable modifications in the court traditions throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The four traditions in Table 1 indicate (1) that an Islamic saint of Arab origin (later called Sunan Gunung Jati) successfully propagated Islam in Java (except for Tradition B); (2) that Sunan Gunung Jati first reigned over a large territory in Java, and later ceded Banten to one of his sons (except for Tradition B), and (3) that the son, Hasanuddin, became the first ruler of Banten (except for Tradition D). The first two features are very different from those in *Sajarah Banten* Text G. This text states that Hasanuddin was the key player in the conversion of locals, and does not mention that Sunan Gunung Jati placed a large territory under his influence beyond Cirebon. Gunung Jati’s achievements are maximized in Traditions B and C, which state that his influence covered the whole of Java. Such emphasis on Sunan Gunung Jati’s achievements in the court traditions was surely related to the emergence of the worship of the *wali sanga*. In spite of his asserted Arab origin, Sunan Gunung Jati in the *wali sanga* worship was a local saint in a localized form of Islam. The

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië 149 (1993): 333–355; Talens, *Een Feodale Samenleving in Koloniaal Vaarwater*, 146. For those in 1777 and 1802, see diary of Commissioner H. Breton, Banten, Sep. 1–5, 1777, ADB 25, 172–203; diary of Commissioner Van IJseldijk, Banten, Sep. 13–15, 1802, ADB 26: 41–83.

⁴⁹ Johan Talens, “Ritual power,” 345–346.

court circle in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries increasingly came to rely on the local saint, rather than its link with the Middle East, to legitimize its authority.

The consolidation of the worship of Sunan Gunung Jati, the direct ancestor of the royal family, meant the strengthening of the veneration of his descendants, the following rulers. At the end of the inauguration ceremony, the sultan and his entourage visited the graves of his ancestors in the capital (note that Gunung Jati's grave was not among them), and this is similar to the way in which people worshipped the graves of Islamic saints.⁵⁰ Through these efforts, in fact, the sultans' graves were publicly venerated in the late eighteenth century.⁵¹ The rulers and the court circle created the sultan veneration by making use of *wali sanga* worship.

Conclusion

In the early days of the kingdom of Banten, Islam was the most effective ideological tool to legitimize the kingship, being that it was the first Islamic kingdom in West Java. The court circle emphasized the link between the founders and the Middle East. To a great extent, this link was an "imagined link," including mystic claims of the Middle East origin of Sunan Gunung Jati's parents, and Hasanuddin's pilgrimage to Mecca. The court circle also emphasized its familiarity with "orthodox" Islamic knowledge of the Middle Eastern origin. The link with the Middle East had such importance in terms of its legitimization of the dynasty. Nevertheless, the court circle also used pre-Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist concepts to make its legitimacy easily understandable for people. The pre-Islamic concept of *cahya*—divine halo radiating from the ruler—explained the qualification of the founders to rule the kingdom. The early rulers strategically used Javanese and Islamic titles. They had to strike a balance between the emphasis on their Islamic character and their compromise with the local pre-Islamic culture.

Many of the rulers had a strong interest in Islam, and strengthened the network with Muslim kingdoms in the Middle East and South Asia. Such network-making was partly driven by their religious zeal, but it was also driven by their political attempts to enhance their authority. In fact, the network facilitated the exchange of knowledge and Islamic intellectuals, and it further contributed to the development of Islamic study and learning in the capital of Banten. Nevertheless, the influence

⁵⁰ This practice is mentioned in the inaugurations in 1777 and 1802, but not in the ceremony in 1691, which Talens described in detail. Diary of Commissioner H. Breton, Banten, Sep. 1–5, 1777, ADB 25, 172–203; diary of Commissioner Van IJseldijk, Banten, Sep. 13–15, 1802, ADB 26, 41–83.

⁵¹ Johan Splinter Stavorinus, *Reize van Zeeland over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Batavia, Bantam, Bengalen, enz.: gedaan in de jaaren 1768 tot 1771* (Leiden: A. en J. Honkoop, 1793), 50–51.

of foreign intellectuals was limited in matters that did not affect the authority of the sultan. Apart from early *kadi* and *ulama* such as Yusuf al-Maqassari, the influence of foreign intellectuals did not reach political affairs in the kingdom. The Banten rulers considerably “domesticated” Islam.

The “domestication” of Islam was most obviously demonstrated in the strengthening of the worship of Sunan Gunung Jati. The worship itself appeared from local practice, but the sultan attempted to consolidate it even by using the knowledge of an *ulama* of Arab origin. The consolidation of the Sunan Gunung Jati worship resulted in the local veneration of the subsequent rulers of Banten, the direct descendants of Sunan Gunung Jati. The rulers of Banten—although several had strong religious interests and zeal—successfully utilized Islam and the Islamic network to a considerable extent for political purposes.

Table 1. Summary of the Genesis of the Kingdom of Banten, Narrated in *Sajarah Banten* (SB) and the Four Court Traditions (Tradition A, B, C, and D)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
SB	1662/ 1663	A holy person (later called Makhдум or Susuhunan Gunung Jati)	SGJ: Cirebon; his son Hasanuddin: Gunung Pulosari and Banten Girang	Banten	Demak king appointed Hasanuddin a <i>bupati</i> ; Islamic saints and lords elevated him to the king
A	1724 –26	Sjeich Ibn Moelana or Ibn Israel (Arabic, later called Susuhunan Gunung Jati)	Pajajaran and Banten Girang	Pajajaran, Banten Girang, Lampung, and Southwest Sumatra	SGJ assigned Banten to his son Hasanuddin, 1406 or 1407
B	1780s	Sheik Bani Israel (Arabic) via China and Demak to Cirebon	Susuhunan Gunung Jati, a son of (2), whole of Java	Cirebon	Assanuddin or Dipatti Surosouan, a son of SGJ, became the sultan of Banten
C	1811 –16	Said Molana or Sheik Ibun Molana (Arabic, later buried on Mt. Jati)	Cirebon in the fourteenth century	Whole of Java	SGJ assigned Banten to his son Hasanuddin or Adipati Surasowan
D	1820	Shekh Maulana (Arabic, later called Susuhunan Gunung-Jati, the sultan of Cirebon), 1334	Cirebon	Kingdom of Pajajaran	SGJ sent his son (name unknown) to Banten and named him sultan

- (1) Year when the tradition was collected
- (2) Propagator of Islam
- (3) Regions where the propagator (or specified person) spread Islam
- (4) Territory that the propagator placed under his influence
- (5) Foundation of the kingdom of Banten

Sources

- Sajarah Banten: Sajarah Banten* Text G XIII 11–16, XVI 22–XVII 36, XVIII 1–4, 38–46 (Pudjiastuti, 313–314, 325–333, 334–335, 339–341).
- Tradition A: Francois Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën [...]* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2002 [1724–1726]), vol. 4-A, 216.
- Tradition B: J. de Rovere van Breugel, “Beschrijving van het Koninkrijk Bantam,” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, New Series 1 (1856): 317–318.
- Tradition C: MCM 81 (10): 211–212, a court tradition, translated by H. Baud, n.d.
- Tradition D: J. F. R. S. Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of Its Inhabitants*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Constable and London: Hurs, Robinson and Co, 1820), vol. 2, 315–317.

Bibliography

Archival Materials

- Leiden University Library, Leiden
 Oriental Collection (LOr)
- Nationaal Archief, The Hague
 Archieven van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC)
- British Library, London
 Mackenzie Collections: Miscellaneous (MCM)
- Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, Jakarta
 Arsip Daerah Banten (ADB)

Books and Articles

- Andaya, Barbara Watson, and Ishii Yoneo. “Religious Developments in Southeast Asia c. 1500–1800.” In *The Cambridge History of Southeast Asia*, vol. 1, *From Early Times to c. 1800*, ed. Nicholas Tarling, 508–571. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Anonymous. “Nog iets over de oudste Mohammedaansche vorsten op Java.” *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, Third Series 5, no. 2 (1871): 444–447.
- Atja. *Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari: Sedjarah Muladjadi Tjirebon* [Tjarita Purwaka Tjaruban Nagari: A history of the establishment of Cirebon]. Jakarta: Ikatan Karyawan

- Museum, 1972.
- . *Beberapa Catatan yang Bertalian dengan Mulajadi Cirebon* [Some stories related to the establishment of Cirebon]. Bandung: Lembaga Kebudayaan, Universitas Padjadjaran, 1973.
- Atja, and Ayatrohaedi. *Nagarakretabhumi 1.5: Karya Kelompok Kerja di bawah Tanggungjawab Pangeran Wangsakerta Panembahan Cirebon* [Nagarakretabhumi 1.5: Works under the supervision of Pangeran Wangsakerta Panembahan Cirebon]. Bandung: Bagian Proyek Penelitian dan Pengkajian Kebudayaan Sunda (Sundanologi), Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1986.
- Azra, Azyumardi. *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulamā' in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*. Crows Nest: Allen & Unwin; Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2004.
- Barros, João de. *Staat-zugtige scheeps-togten en krygs-bedryven ter handhaving van der Portugyzen Opper-bestuur in Oost-Indien, door Don Lopo Vaz de Sampayo, gedaan in 't Jaar 1526: verhaalende (behalven de geschillen over 't Gouvernement aldaar, tusschen gemelden Lopo Vaz en Pero Mascarenhas op de dood van Don Henrique de Menezee voorgevallen,) verscheide Scheeps-Togten en wedervaringen op Zee en te Land: beneffens een Beschryving van 't Koninkryk ZUNDA en 't Eiland JAVA, met de zelve Inwoonderen en Zeden*. Leiden: Pieter van der Aa, 1707.
- Bruinessen, Martin van. "Najmuddin al-Kubra, Jumadil Kubra and Jumaladdin al-Akbar: Traces of Kubrawiyya Influence in Early Indonesian Islam." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 150 (1994): 305–329.
- . "Shari'a Court, Tarekat and Pesantren: Religious Institutions in the Banten Sultanate." *Achipel* 50 (1995): 165–199.
- Crawfurd, J. F. R. S. *History of the Indian Archipelago: Containing an Account of the Manners, Arts, Languages, Religions, Institutions, and Commerce of Its Inhabitants*. 3 vols. Edinburgh: Constable and London: Hurs, Robinson and Co., 1820.
- Djajadiningrat, Hoesein. *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Bantèn: Bijdrage ter Kenschetsing van de Javaansche Geschiedschrijving*. Haarlem: Joh. Enschedé en Zonen, 1913.
- Drewes, G. W. J., ed. *The Admonitions of Seh Bari: A 16th Century Javanese Muslim Text, Attributed to the Saint of Bonan*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1969.
- Fauzi, Herman. *Banten dalam Peralihan: Sebuah Konstruksi Pemikiran tentang Paradigma Baru Pembangunan Daerah* [Banten in transition: A construction of thought about a new paradigm for the development of the region]. Tangerang: YASF, 2000.
- Graaf, H. J. de. "South-East Asian Islam to the Eighteenth Century." In *The Cambridge History of Islam*, vol. 2, *The Further Islamic Lands, Islamic Society and Civilization*, ed. P. M. Holt, Ann K. S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, 123–154. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970.
- Graaf, H. J. de, and Th. G. Th. Pigeaud. *De eerste moslimse vorstendommen op Java: studiën over de staatkundige geschiedenis van de 15de en 16de eeuw*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1974.
- Guillot, Claude. "Banten in 1678." *Indonesia* 57 (1993): 89–113.
- , et al. *Banten sebelum Zaman Islam: Kajian Arkeologi di Banten Girang 932? –1526* [Banten before the age of Islam: Archeological studies of Banten Girang,

- 932?–1526]. Jakarta: Bentang, 1996.
- Iwao Seiichi. “Gekō no Shina-machi ni tsuite [Chinese town in Bantam].” *Tōyō gaku* 31, no. 4 (1948): 24–55.
- Kawahara Masahiro. “Odorico no Panten koku ni tsuite [The kingdom of Panten mentioned by Odorico].” *Shigaku zasshi* 64 (1955): 1031–1039.
- Lodewycksz., Willem. *De eerste schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houtman, 1595–1597: journalen, documenten, en andere bescheiden*, ed. G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman. 3 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1915–1929.
- Michrob, Halwany, and A. Mudjahid Chudari. *Catatan Masalalu Banten* [Notes about the past of Banten]. Serang: Saudara, 1993.
- Milner, A. C. “Islam and the Muslim State.” In *Islam in South-East Asia*, ed. M. B. Hooker, 23–49. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 1983.
- Miyazaki Kōji. “The King and the People: The Conceptual Structure of a Javanese Kingdom.” Ph.D. diss., Leiden University, 1988.
- Ota Atsushi. *Changes of Regime and Social Dynamics in West Java: Society, State, and the Outer World of Banten, 1750–1830*. Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2006.
- Pires, Tomé. *The Suma Oriental of Tomé Pires: An Account of the East, from the Red Sea to Japan, Written in Malacca and India in 1512–1515*, ed. Armando Cortesão. 2 vols. London: Hakluyt Society, 1944 [1515].
- Pudjiastuti, Titik. “Sadjarah Banten: Suntingan Teks dan Terjemahan Disertai Tinjauan Aksara dan Amanat [Sadjarah Banten: Editing of the texts and translation, with consideration of the characters and the messages].” Ph.D. diss., Universitas Indonesia, 2000.
- Reid, Anthony. “Islamization and Christianization in Southeast Asia: The Critical Phase, 1550–1650.” In *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power, and Belief*, ed. Anthony Reid, 151–179. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.
- Ricklefs, M. C. *A History of Modern Indonesia: c. 1300 to the Present*. London etc.: Macmillan, 1981.
- . *A History of Modern Indonesia: Since c. 1200*. 4th ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008.
- Robidé van der Aa, P. J. B. C. “De groote Bantamsche opstand in het midden der vorige eeuw, bewerkt naar merendeels onuitgegeven bescheiden uit het oud-koloniaal archief met drie officiële documenten als bijlagen.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Fourth Series 5 (1881): 1–127.
- Rovere van Breugel, J. de. “Beschrijving van het Koninkrijk Bantam.” *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, New Series 1 (1856): 309–362.
- Schrieke, B. *Indonesian Sociological Studies*. 2 vols. The Hague and Bandung: W. van Hoeve, 1955–1957.
- Scott, Edmund. “An English Man in Banten.” In *The Indonesia Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, ed. Tineke Hellwig and Eric Tagliacozzo, 87–91. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Snouck Hurgronje, C. *Ambtelijke adviezen van C. Snouck Hurgronje 1889–1936*, ed. Emile Gobée and Cornelis Adriaanse. 3 vols. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1957–1965.
- Soemarsaid, Moertono. *State and Statecraft in Old Java: A Study of the Later Mataram Period, 16th to 19th Century*. Ithaca: Cornell University Modern Indonesia Project,

1968.

Stavorinus, Johan Splinter. *Reize van Zeeland over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, naar Batavia, Bantam, Bengalen, enz.: gedaan in de jaaren 1763 tot 1771*. Leiden: A. en J. Honkoop, 1793.

Talens, Johan. "Ritual Power: The Installation of a King in Banten, West Java, in 1691." *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 149 (1993): 333–355.

———. *Een Feodale Samenleving in Koloniaal Vaarwater: Staatvorming, Koloniale Expansie en Economische Onderontwikkeling in Banten, West-Java 1600–1750*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1999.

Valentyn, Francois. *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën, vervattende een naaukeurige en uitvoerige verhandeling van Nederlands mogentheyd in die gewesten, benevens eene wydlystige beschryvinge der Moluccos, Amboina, Banda, Timor, en Solor, Java, en alle de eylanden onder dezelve landbestieringen behoorende; het Nederlands comptoir op Suratte, en de levens der Groote Mogols; als ook een keurlyke verhandeling van 't wezentlykste, dat men behoort te weten van Choromandel, Pegu, Arracan, Bengale, Mocha, Persien, Malacca, Sumatra, Ceylon, Malabar, Celebes of Macassar, China, Japan, Tayouan of Formosa, Tonkin, Cambodia, Siam, Borneo, Bali, Kaap der Goede Hoop en van Mauritius*. 5 vols. Franeker: Van Wijnen, 2002.