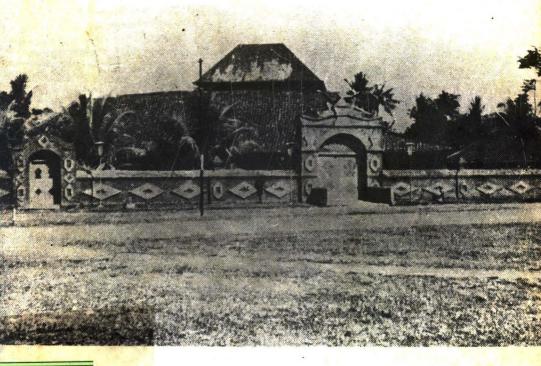


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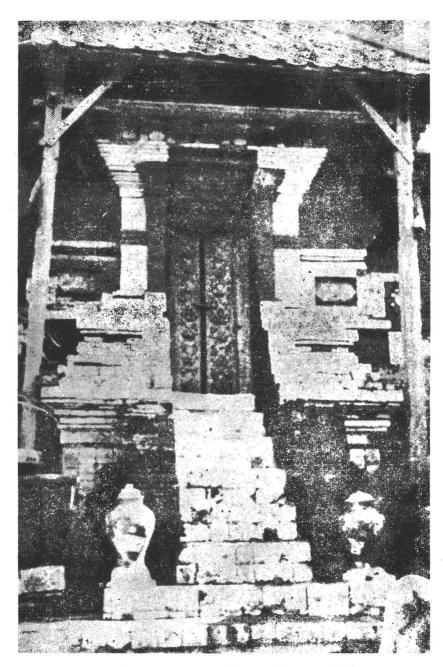
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E ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC RULE IN JAYAKARTA

by Hasan Muarif Ambary 959.822 HAS e

The Establishmant of Islamic Rule In Jakarta

Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembakala
Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala
NO INDUK
T G L.



Carved door to grave of Sunan Gunung Jati.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC RULE IN JAYAKARTA

Perpustakaan Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala

by Hasan Muarif Ambary

Proyek Penelitian Purbakala Jakarta Departemen P dan K 1983

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NOT FOR SALE

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC RULE IN JAYAKARTA*

INTRODUCTION

Jakarta, formerly Jayakarta, capital of the Republic of Indonesia has within approximately four centuries developed as a metropolitan city. On studying the map of Java, one notes that the island is divided by mountains and rivers into a number of natural areas of habitation. The north coast of Java extends from Banten to Banyuwangi, with ports situated there, such that the rulers could trade relations with other countries.

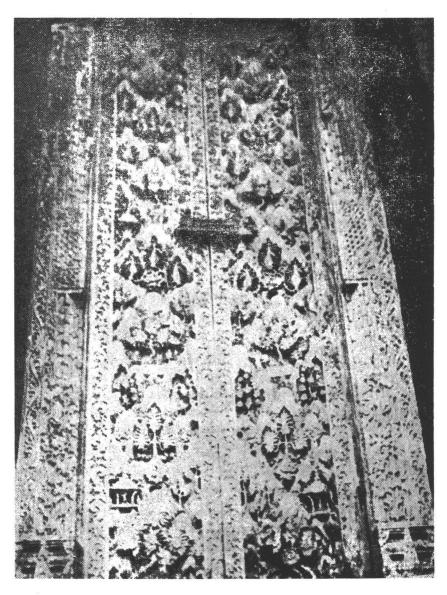
The current theory states that islamization in the archipelago can be accredited to Moslem traders. They have been present for centuries in the north-western part of the islands. Some of them undoubtedly have come down as far as Java, or perhaps a little farther. Despite this fact, little progress was made in the 16 th century. But afterwards, Islam spread rapidly. As a matter of fact, it has been rather difficult to understand the process of islamization, unless one takes into account the controversies between the Moslem traders and the Portuguese (Schrieke 1957: 233; Teile 1507–1515 (1876) III: 377–433). After the conquest of Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese made efforts to fight and undermine the Moslems and their trade in the archipelago. Even an alignment with the ruler of Pajajaran was sought, but the Moslems were ahead. The Moslem potentates of the coast, led by the Adipati of Demak brought about the fall of the Hindu Empire. Demak

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subjugated West Java to its power. Banten and Cirebon became centers of Islam, similar to Achin on the island of Sumatra, and Brunai in Borneo (Kern in Stapel 1938–1940. I:346).

Jayakarta at that time, can be put on the same level as other Moslem states of the north coast of Java, such as Cirebon and Banten. After the fall of the Hindu Javanese states, Demak took these islamized states under its patronage. According to the Portuguese sources as reported by Da Barros, the islamization of West Java, in particular of Jayakarta, was performed by order of Demak. Records relating to the expedition to convert West Java and the conquest of Sundakalapa, were obtained through local sources. In one of his studies, Djajadiningrat succeeded in identifying the figure of Faletehan.

In 1972, a manuscript came to light in Cirebon in which was found an account of the expedition to Sundakalapa. A fragment of this manuscript gave a quite different view with regard to the figure of Falatehan as had been mentioned by Djajadiningrat in his theories. The manuscripts found were: *Purwaka Caruban Nagari* and *Nagarakrtabhumi*. The Purwaka Caruban Nagari has been transcribed completely, the Nagarakrtabhumi only fragmentarily. This manuscript had been kept by people who were strongly against any kind of publication of this. ¹⁾ In my opinion, both manuscripts are valuable sources for the identification of Falatehan and other historical events corresponding with the establishment of Islamic power in Jayakarta. Djajadiningrat regarded these manuscripts as local traditions, similar to other local sources such as the Babad, Sajarah, Wawacan etc.



Carved door of "Bacem" gate on 9th terrace of tomb Compound of Sunan Gunung Jati. — Cirebon.

Djajadiningrat pointed out that the local sources as the Babad Cirebon, contained more legendary elements blended with factual data of historical value. This made it difficult to discern and to evaluate both elements properly. However the legendary elements can not be dismissed as worthless, and at the same time the historical data should be verified with available Western records, such as Portuguese and later Dutch records (Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1965: 76–79; Brandes dan Rinkes 1914: 144).

With regard to the local sources, in particular the Javanese, C.C. Berg doubted their value as historical records. Berg had been cautious in pointing out that the Babad Tanah Djawi as a historical record, should not be overestimated, since this record was meant to describe the king's grandeur and virtues. The literary elements were more important than the need to convey existing facts. Nonetheless, he thought these records to be useful for the supplement of Brandes's *Pararaton*, Djajadiningrat's *Sadjarah Banten* and Schrieke's *Ruler and Realm in Early Java*, even if there was no common agreement as to their reliability (Berg 1965: 117).

Kern had difficulties, too, in looking for particular facts in establishing the basis of the local sources. In the Malay chronicle, one may find some facts, burried deep under heaps of fantasy, historical facts, but in most cases, the chronicle was dismissed from further consideration (Kern 1965: 314). On the other hand, de Graaf has studied and analyzed critically texts which were local sources. He noted, after a through and careful scrutiny, that some parts of the Babad were elaborated more factually than are other parts. This might be due to the span of time between

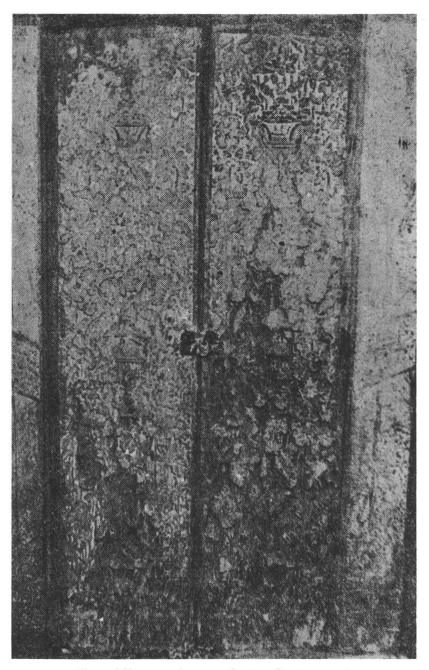
the occurrence of the event and its recording. A more recent event will be recorded in more detail than one which has taken place earlier, he argued. Based on this assumption, he stated that a realistic account could refer to a contemporary writing, shortly after the occurrence of the event (De Graaf 1965: 127).

In spite of the fact that local sources have been doubted as having any historical data, one has to admit that the recently found Purwaka Caruban Nagari and the Nagarakrtabhumi will be having any historical data, one has to admit that the recently found Purwaka Caruban Nagari and the Nagarakrtabhumi will be valuable in completing the existing records on the matter.

SUNDAKALAPA

Sundakalapa was situated on the estuary of Ciliwung and was one of the important ports of Pajajaran. The capital of Pajajaran was located 60 km to the south. Sundakalapa was used as the harbour of Sunda Pajajaran from the 12 th until the 16 th century. It is difficult to distinguish the ruins of both Sundakalapa and Jayakarta. We have only found the remains of Batavia built by the Dutch East Indies Company as the first settlement of its colonization in 1619. Records on Batavia, however, which are easier to obtain sources dating from the 17 th and 18 th century, can be found specially referring to the role of Sundakalapa as a big port of Pajajaran, there are also other accounts of the same period describing the political and religious aspects.²⁾

In his effort to define and locate the Pajajaran Kingdom, H. Ten Dam, a Dutch scholar, made use of other aspects of Pajajaran. He stated that Pajajaran was a particular name for the capital of the kingdom of Sunda which was located near the present city of Bogor. The existence of a royal city was mentioned, although the name of the kingdom was still unkown. He referred to the Portuguese sources which gave the name of this kingdom; Sunda (Qumda) and the king: "el roy de Qumda". On the other hand, Ten Dam did not agree with the Portuguese, who compared the Pajajaran king with" el roy de Portugal". The kingdoms in Europe and the ancient kingdoms of Indonesia have a quite different concept of its existence. The Sunda kingdom as reported by Barros, extended from Banten up to the Cimanuk River (Barros 1777–1778: 56).



Carved door to grave of Sunan Gunung Jati.

Ten Dam's assumption was that Pajajaran flourished by its trade relations. Systematic trade routes connecting the center of the capital with other areas of the country formed the basis of its economy. This system was so peculiar for its period, that even the Dutch East Indies Company in the 17 th century did not easily recognize it as such. A network of trade routes had its center in Pajajaran, going eastwards by way of Cileungsi, Cibarusa, turning to the north which finally would reach Krawang on the estuary of the Citarum, from which it continued to Karangsembung, near Cimanuk, the eastern border of this kingdom. Meanwhile the road going to the west ran through Jasinga to the north to Rangkasbitung and finally reached Banten Girang. Ten Dam mentioned that the port of Sundakalapa could not be reached by road, but by means of waterways in the Ciliwung. And the other rivers such as Cisadane, Cibanten, Cimanuk, and Bekasi were used as waterways from the coast to the capital or if possible to the inland regions.

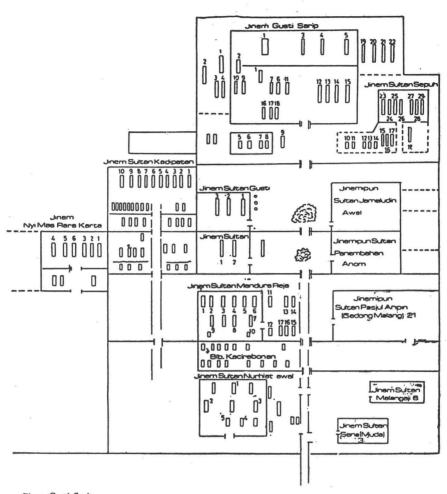
The local sources did not give much information on the trade in which Qumda was only a small place producing pepper (Hageman 1867:193–251). Another Portuguese writer, Tome Pires, mentioned that at the beginning of the 16 th century Sundakalapa was an important port for trade relations with foreign countries.

In his book, Tome Pires reported that the king of Sunda lived in a city called Dayo. On the north coast of West Java were ports such as Bantam, Pontang (Pondam), Chigede (Cheguide), Tamgaram, Calapa, Chimanuk. All these places mentioned above

are well known until the present as Banten, Pontang, Cikande (?), Tangerang, Pasar Ikan (Sundakalapa) and Cimanuk. Describing the king and his royal family, Pires noted that the king was called sang Briam, his viceroy Cocunum, his bendahara Macobumi. Other dignitaries were lords, captains of the towns and ports (Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1913).

Among the ports of the kingdom of Sunda, Pires noted that the port of Calapa was the one worth mentioning.

"It is the most important and best of all. This is where the trade is greatest whither they all sail from Sumatra and Palembang, Laue, Tomjompura, Malacca, Macassar, Java, and Madura and many other places" (Hoesein Diajadiningrat 1933: 401-404). He reported furthermore that Calapa is in two day's journey from the place where the king has his residence, a fact which is considered to be of importance. Probably, the last event in connection with Sunda's relationship with other realms, was a treaty between Sunda and the Portuguese. In 1522 the captain of Malacca Jorge d'Albuquerque sent a ship under the command of Henrique Leme to a port of Sunda with presents for the king and offers of friend-ship. The treaty was signed on the 21st of August and the Portuguese were allowed to build a fortress. A padrao or pillar was set up on the site chosen for this purpose. In 1918 when people started to build a store house on a site which is now known as Jalan Cengkeh (Prinsen Straat) in Jakarta-Kota or the old city, the padrao was unearthed and later moved to the National Museum (Fruin Mess 1920, II: 14).



Jinem Gusti Sarip :

- 1. G. S. Gummg Jati
- 2. Ny. Ratu Tepasa (Gr.1
- 8. Raja Paseh
- 4. Saripah Mudaim
- 5. Ny. Gedeng Sembung
- 6. Pang. Pasareyan
- 7. Jaka Lelana
- 8. Pang. Cerbon
- 9. Pang. Dipati Rotu

- 10. Ratu Wana Wati
- 11. Ratu Mas Nyawa
- 12. Ratu Raja Wulung Ayu
- 13. Ratu Agung
- 14. Ratu Raja Agung
- 15. Dipati Sedang Lemper
- 16. 17.

Putra-Putra Ratu Mas Ayu

18.

Perpustakaan Direktorat Perlindungan dan Pembinaan Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala

Considering the discovery, there was an assumption that at that time this very site was located on the coast line. Unfortunately the plan of building the fortress was never fulfilled because five years later Sundakalapa succumbed under the Moslem troops led by Falatehan.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JAYAKARTA

The first account of the expedition of Sundakalapa by the Moslems led by Falatehan was obtained from J.D. Barros. Barros reported that a man from Pasai, named Falatehan had upon his return from Mecca, found Pasai occupied by the Portuguese. He found this place not free to preach Islam undisturbedly. He had been honoured to be allowed to marry one of the sisters of the king. With the king's consent he moved from Demak to Banten to preach Islam. When he deemed the situation favourable for his purpose, assisted by the army from Demak, he attacked the port of Banten and Kalapa within a short time. Both ports were at that time still under the king of Sunda's power. Barros did not mention the year of this event precisely but from his report concerning the relationship between the king of Sunda and the Portuguese, it can be concluded that this must have taken place at the end of 1526 or the beginning of 1527 (Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1965: 29; Barros 1777-1778: 86).

In 1546 F. Mendez Pinto with his Portuguese friends went with Tagaril, the king of Sunda who ruled Banten, to Demak in response to a summons from the king of Demak, who planned an attack on Pasuruan which had not yet been converted to Islam.

However some incident occurred which resulted in the assasination of the king of Demak (Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1965:29).

Out of Barros' report Djajadiningrat tried to speculate on the theory that the name Falatehan was derived from a sentence uttered by the conqueror after the fall of Sundakalapa.

Falatehan grateful for his victory and inspired by the Prophet Mohammad's victory in Mecca as the Qur'an quoted, exclaimed: "Inna Fatahna laka fathan mubinan" and declared the new city to be named: Jayakarta (fathan mubinan-the proper victory) for Sundakalapa and took the name Fathan for himself. Djajadiningrat further assumed that the name Fathan is still in use in Java as a personal name, also Tagaril derived from Fachril, an abbreviation of Fachrillah (Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1913).

With regard to the name Falatehan or the person who led the conquest of Sundakalapa, Purwaka Caruban Nagari and Nagarakrtabhumi mentioned the name *Fadillah Khan*. Pangeran Arya Cerbon, the author of Purwaka, afterwards explained that Fadillah Khan was born in Pasai in 1490, as the son of Maulana Machdar Ibrahim (Arya Cirebon 1720: 226). The name Fadillah Khan seemed to be closer to Falatehan and rather similar to Fadhoel' allah as mentioned by Hageman.³⁾

By comparing the accounts of two Portuguese records cited in the *Sadjarah Banten*, Djajadiningrat claimed that Falatehan and Tagaril was one and the same person, the man who after his death was known as Sunan Gunung Jati, the founder of the House of Banten and Cirebon. Djajadiningrat has had difficulties in finding the sound or form of "Falatehan" or "Tagaril" among the names of Sunan Gunung Jati which were mentioned in the existing local tradition.⁴⁾

According to Djajadiningrat's assumption it has been declared that Falatehan or Tagaril is Sunan Gunung Jati. On the other hand Purwaka Caruban Nagari and Nagarakrtabhumi apparently gave a different account. In the Purwaka one can find some fragments recording the expedition to Banten and Sundakalapa. Furthermore it was mentioned that the troops consisted of 1967 men led by Fadillah. Fadillah and his army left for Banten and Kalapa from Demak but first they stopped at Cirebon and reported to Sunan Gunung Jati asking for additional forces. Sunan Gunung Jati granted this request and the troops were put under the command of Adipati Cirebon, Adipati Keling and Adipati Cangkuang to assist Fadillah Khan.⁵⁾

Nagarakrtabhumi and Purwaka clearly mentioned the birth and the death of both Fadillah Khan and Sunan Gunung Jati. Thus, it was easy to state that Fadillah Khan and Sunan Gunung Jati were two different persons. Furthermore Purwaka notes that Fadillah was one of Sunan Gunung Jati's sons-in law.⁶)

Studying the ruling systems of the north coast of Java with Demak at the summit, in 1527 some ports held key positions after Demak, the north coast was completely covered by Cirebon, Banten and Jayakarta. At the same time Purwaka explained that Cirebon, is specific to the islamization process of Java. Central Java was under the rule of Demak while West Java came under the rule of Cirebon. The kings of Demak one of which was the son-in-law-

CIREBON

O 500m

desa Astana

Gn.Sembung A tmbtmb tmb.

tmbtmb

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glan tmb

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jala

Peta Gunung Sembung dan Gunung Jati - Cirebon.

of Sunan Gunung Jati had great respect for Sunan Gunung Jati, not only because he was the ruler of the greater part of West Java but rather because of his position among the 9 leaders of the Moslems (Walisanga). Purwaka mentioned that Syarif Hidayatullah or Sunan Gunung Jati had been called the king-priest (raja-pandita) (Arya Cirebon 1720:168).

The courts of the Moslem states on the north coast of Java i.e. Demak, Cirebon, Jayakarta, and Banten had the same way and similar means to consolidate their power and its hegemony, according to Purwaka and many other local traditions.

Schrieke was of the opinion that hereditary succession could not be taken into account with regard to the succession to the throne in these kingdoms. The chronological sequences were not devoid of errors, which mostly contained legendary elements. Exceptional strength and powers were attributed to the king, so as to ensure his right to the throne. This explains the reason why the Babad and some other local traditions attempted to forge the genealogical data of the founder of Demak, Pajang, and Mataram and their link with the last ruler of Majapahit.

Furthermore Schrieke mentioned that Sunan Gunung Jati, the founder of the ruling houses of Banten and Cirebon was supposed to have as his mother and his wife princesses of the Pajajaran kingdom in West Java, thus ensuring his claims for Banten territory (Schrieke 1957:274–275).

After the conversion of Jayakarta into Islam, Fadillah Khan was then promoted as the first ruler of Jayakarta. He reigned as

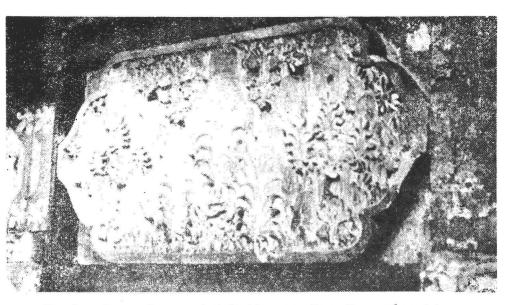
the governor or adhipati of Jayakarta from 1527 until 1570 (Arya Cirebon 1720 : 203 and 253).

The second governor of Jayakarta, according to the *Babad Banten* and Purwaka was Pangeran Tubagus angke, son of Maulana Abdurachman and son-in-law of both Pangeran Hasanuddin of Banten and Pangeran Pasarean of Cirebon (Uka Tjandrasasmita 1971: 4; Arya Cirebon 1720: 206).

From the 14th to the 16th of November, 1596, the Dutch, led by Cornelis de Houtman anchored in the port of Jayakarta. Uka Tjandrasasmita mentions that a report on Raja Jacattra found in the Dutch sources, could refer to Pangeran Tubagus Angke (Uka Tjandrasasmita 1971: 4).

It was possible that Tubagus Angke ruled Jayakarta from 1570 up to 1596 or later. Then his son, Pangeran Jakarta Wijayakrama took over the rule from his father as the third ruler. Meanwhile Uka Tjandrasasmita who has been analyzing some local sources has found many names referring to Pangeran Jakarta such as Jayawikarta, Sungarasa Jayawikarta (Arya Cirebon 1720: 206) and Kawis Adimarta. The names mentioned are similar to those in the reports of the Dutch Company who called him *Conick* or *regent van Jacarta* or king of Jacarta.

During the rule of Jayakarta Wijayakrama a conflict arose among members of the royal family of Banten. In 1604 Pangeran Jakarta sent a 2500 man force to Banten to subdue these conflicts. Therefore in 1605, as a vassal of Banten, Pangeran Jakarta went to Banten to attend the circumcision ceremony of Sultan Abdul Mu-



Tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati (inside mosquito net) - and next to it the tomb of Fadillah Khan (Falatchan) and Pangeran Pasarean



Split gate to Sitinggil, keraton Kasepuhan.

fachir Mahmud Abdulkadir. Fruin-Mess mentioned that Pangeran Jakarta on that occasion had offerred his tribute to Sultan Abdulmafachir Mahmud Abdulkadir (Fruin Mees 1920: 65).

In 1608 again another revolt among the royal family of the Sultan of Banten was reported. Dipati Yudanegara, protected by Pangeran Aria Rana Manggala was confronted with Pangeran Aria Mandalika. Pangeran Jakarta succeeded again in subduing the incident. Some of the revolting princess like Pangeran Kulon, Pangeran Singaraja, and Tubagus Prabangsa went along with Pangeran Jakarta to Jayakarta. Four years later the revolting princes were returned to Banten (Uka Tjandrasasmita 1971: 6; Hoesein Djajadiningrat 1919: 43, 162).

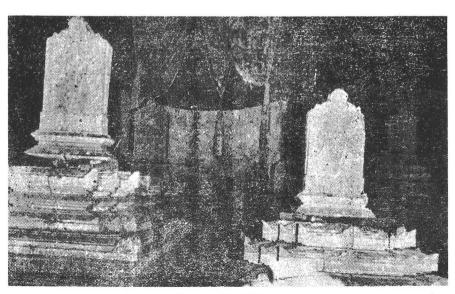
On the 10th to the 13th November, 1610, Pangeran Jakarta Wijayakrama signed a treaty with the Dutch Company which was attended by L'Hermite as the representative of the Dutch Company In this treaty it was stated a.o. that the Dutch East Indies Company was allowed to establish an office for the trading company on a site measuring 50 fathom (94 metres) for which the Dutch had to pay 1.200 *real* for the purchase of this land (de Jonge 1765: 352–354).

This is one step farther of Pangeran Jakarta to promote Jayakarta as an international port. Actually after the signing of the treaty, Pieter Both, Governor General of the Dutch East Indies Company wanted to change some phases of the treaty that had already been signed by his deputy, Jaques L'Hermite. Due to his event, the relationship between Pangeran Jakarta Wijayakrama and the Dutch Company became bad and grew even worse after J.P.



Singa Barong carriage made by Prince Losari (17th century)

Keraton Kasepuhan Cirebon.



Panel carved with leaf motif on wall of 9th terrace-tomb Gunung Jati.

Coen was appointed Governor General. The Dutch East Indies Company had to divide its power to face Jakarta and Banten. The Sultan of Banten was offended by theact of Pangeran Jakarta who as vassal of Banten had taken measures without consulting Banten.

Finally on the 15th of February 1619, Pangeran Jakarta Wijayakrama was recalled as governor of Jayakarta by the Sultan of Banten (Uka Tjandrasasmita 1971: 14). Afterwards Jayakarta lost its power and Batavia under the rule of the Dutch spread its power in the archipelago.

Actually, the Dutch Company had intervened with most of Java's kingdoms. Schrieke noted that in 1680 the crown prince of Mataram was installed as Mangkurat II (1677–1703) under the patronage of the Dutch. In 1681 Cirebon was annexed as a state under Dutch rule. In 1687 the crown of Banten was restored with Dutch assistance (Schrieke 1957: 274).

By the end of the 18th century all parts of Java were either under the direct control or within the sphere of influence of the Dutch and their system of monopoly. The independent power of the Javanese Princes seemed to be receding while the Dutch became more and more powerful.

NOTES

- The manuscript is written in Old Javanese on paper, and has by the character-1 istics of the style of the of 18th century. It consists of 303 lines, written in prose. At present the manuscript is in the possession of P.S. Sulendraningrat who bought it from the previous owner in Indramayu. P.S. Sulendraningrat further related that in 1806 the Keraton Circbon revolted, led by Ki Arsitem, Ki Bagus Scrit, and Ki Bagus Rangin, so that the Purwaka had to be carried away from Keraton Kesepuhan. With the help of P.S. Sulendraningrat and the National Committee for Indonesian History, the manuscript was allowed to be copied, one copy of which the LPPN (The National Archaeological Institute of Indonesia) has been able to secure. Later on P.S. Sulendraningrat published the manuscript, which has been translated into Indonesian. Meanwhile Atja has transcribed and published it with some comments (IKAM, 1972). The Nagarakrtabhumi was elaborated upon by Pangeran Wangsakarta, better known as Panembahan Agung Gusti Caruban, the brother of both Sultan Sepuh I (Syamsuddin Martawijaya) and Sultan Anom I (Badruddin Kartawijaya), According to the fragment transcribed by P.S. Sulendraningrat, Nagarakrtabhumi was written in Palgunamasa, 11th, 1614 Caka (about 1692 A.D.). Furthermore P.S. Sulendraningrat, commented that the original manuscript belongs to a person living in Circbon. Publication of the manuscript has not been granted, but P.S. Sulendraningrat is allowed to transcribe it though fragmentarily (Arya Cirebon 1720).
- Articles on the study of ancient Western Java, refferring to inscriptions found have been discussed a.o. by C.M. Pleyte, "Uit Sunda's voortijd (1911), Bijdragen tot de kennis van het Oude Sunda" (1915), and R.Ng. Poerbatjaraka in "De Batoctoelis bij Buitenzorg", T.B.G., LIX, 1919.
- Cited as follows: "die Hadji Falatehan of Fadhoel'allah eerst en Passe als leeraar optrad, daarna te Japara, in 1524 of 1525, en als op te Japara de leer van den profeet nog niet was ingevoerd" (Hageman 1867: 221).
- 4. "De Naam van den eersten Mohammedaansche vorst in West Java" (Hosein Djajadiningrat 1933 : 401-404), "Hari Lahirnya Djakarta" (Djajadiningrat 1956-1957 : 3-11), notes under Soekanto's answers Tentang karangan Hoesein Djajadiningrat, while R.A. Kern in his article : "Het Javaansche Rijk Tjerbon in de eerste Eeuwen van zijn Bestaan", B.K.I., CXIII (1957), did not agree with the opinion that Falatehan and Tagaril were the same person.

- The expedition of Sundakalapa and Banten led by Falatehan was mentioned completely in *Purwaka*. Two expeditions had been sent to Banten and Sundakalapa, the first in 1526 led by Falatehan with 1967 men and the second to Sundakalapa, also under Falatehan with 1452 troops.
- 6. Nagarakrtabhumi, mentioned that Syarif Hidayatullah died on Kresnapaksa 11th, month of Badramasa, 1490 Caka (about 1568 A.D.), and was buried in Girinurciptarengga (known as the cemetery at Gunung Jati on the hill named Bukit Sembung). Then two years later Fadillah died on Cuklapaksa, 9th, month of Margacira, 1492 Caka (about 1570 A.D.). According to Purwaka, Fadillah was burried on the east side of Syarif Hidayat's tomb.
- Babad Banten (MS), under the no 236 code BR 625 in the National Museum, Jakarta.
- The name Kawis Adimarta has been mentioned in the Babad Banten from Gogo Sandjadirdja sources (MS), dated 1206 H.
- It was mentioned in Dutch sources such as "De Eerste Schip-vaart der Hollanders Naar Oost Indie" (1936), De Eerste Boeck van Willem Lodewycke (1915) and other sources such as mentioned by Edmund Scot, Lancaster etc.

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Abbreviations

B.K.I. : Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van

Nederlandsch Indie.

M.S. : Manuscript

T.B.G. : Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land en Volken-

kunde van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van

Kunsten en Wetenschappen

V.B.G. : Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap

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