

BANTENESE AUTHORS AND THEIR WORKS*

A GENERAL OVERVIEW

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Abstrak

Artikel ini menggambarkan kepengarangan di Banten dengan menganalisa penulis-penulis berikut: Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari; Syekh Nawawi Al-Bantani; Hoesein Djajadiningrat dan saudara-saudaranya; Gola Gong dan penulis-penulis lain dari generasi terbaru, dengan menyajikan biografi-biografi mereka (beberapa secara detail dan beberapa lainnya tidak), dan memberikan gambaran tentang karya-karya mereka. Informasi tentang keadaan-keadaan sosial yang mungkin telah mempengaruhi kepengarangan mereka juga disajikan.

Keywords : Banten, Syaikh Yusef al-Maqassari: Syekh Nawawi Al- Bantani: Hoesein Djajadiningrat dan Gola Gong

A. Introduction

Hoesein Djajadiningrat states that Babad Banten is the oldest chronicle in Java which emerged in the second period of the 17th century, or about in 1662 or 1663¹. In the history of Banten, it was the time when Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa ruled. Babad Banten, therefore, confirms that authorship in Banten has existed since hundred years ago. Bantenese manuscripts, even though they are not discussed here, substantiate the fact. Moreover, Banten had Syaikh Yusuf al- Maqassari, the friend and son-in-law of the sultan, who wrote a number of books on sufism. Even though he was born in Macassar, like Sri Lankans and South Africans, Bantenese people claim he was a Bantenese. Almost one-and-a-half centuries later, the very well-known ulama, Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani, was born in Tanara, who, according to Snouck Hurgronje, devoted his life to writing.

The statement of Hoesein Djajadiningwat is affirmed by his elder brother, Achmad Djajadiningrat. Through his memoir, *Herinnering*

van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, it is known that the descendants of the sultans always recorded important events in their families. The book also states that the Baduy tribe who in the present day disallow themselves to have formal education, used to read poems when they visited the rulers². Moreover, from the history of the press in Banten, the description of authorship in Banten becomes clearer.

The following paragraphs will discuss Bantenese authors and their works. They are grouped into three periods. Each period is marked by the dominance of certain types of works. They respectively cover the periods of religious, social and cultural, and fictional works. This categorization is not in a strict way, meaning that there are other kinds of work in each period. It is also marked by the languages which are utilized in the works. Most, not to say all, works in the first group are in the Arabic language and script, most of the works in the second group utilize Dutch, while a small number were in Indonesian and English, and most of the works in the last group use Indonesian. Besides such a categorization, academic authorship is also addressed in short. The first group is represented by Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari and Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani, the second by the children of Djajawinata, and the third by Gola Gong and some other writers. The word 'Banten' is understood in a loose manner.

B. The Authors and Their Works

1. Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari and Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani

1.a. Syaikh Yusef al-Maqassari

The first Bantenese man who can be proven to have been an author is Muhammad Yusuf b. 'Ab Allah 'Abu al-Mahasiin al-Taj al-Khalwati al-Maqassari, henceforth Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari, or al- Maqassari. He was a unique figure. As a man born in Makassar, he was Makassarese. Bantenese people claim he was Bantenese because he became the son-in-law of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa and lived in Banten for 18 years before he was exiled by the Dutch to Ceylon. Based on such a claim, I include him into the category of Bantenese authors. Moreover, Ceylonese and South Africans make the same claim as well. The former president of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, for example, declares that he is one of the Africa's greatest sons. The writers Farid Esack and Suleman Essop Dangor state that he is an important Muslim in the history of Islam in South Africa³.

Al-Maqassari was born on 3 July 1626 in Makassar, Sulawesi. From an early age he learned religion from Daeng ri Tasammang. More specifically he learned Arabic, fiqh, Islamic doctrine, and Sufism from Sayyid Ba 'Alwi b. 'Abd Allah Al-'Allamah Al-Thahir, an Arab who lived in Bontoala. When he was 15 years old, he continued his studies in Cikoang. There he was taught by Jalal Al-Din Al-Aydid, a religious teacher from Aceh who finally came to live there⁴. After leaving Cikoang, al-Maqassari married a daughter of Sultan Gowa, 'Ala' 'Al-din, who is also known in Makassar as Mangarangi Daeng Maurabiya. In Arabia he married twice. The first time was with a daughter of an imam of the syafi'i school of thought and the second was with a Sulawesi woman in Madina.⁵ Afterwards, on September 1644 he sailed to Arabia on a Malay ship, but before reaching the destination he stopped off in Banten. At the time Banten was ruled by 'Abu al-Mafakhir 'Abdul-Qadir (1626-1651). Besides being a centre of business, it was also a centre of Islamic studies. In Banten Yusuf al-Maqassari was close to Pangeran Surya, also known as 'Abd al-Fatah, or later as Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa.

From Banten he continued his travel to Arabia by way of Aceh. Azyumardi Azra assumes that Yusuf al-Maqassari followed his teacher al-Raniri, going to India, and was taught by the teacher of al-Raniri, 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah Ba Syayban. From the Gujarat seashore he resumed his journey to Yemen. Here he studied with Muhammad, b. 'Abd al-Baqi al-Naqsyabandi, Sayyid 'Ali al-Zabidi, and Muhammad, b. al-Wajih al-Sa'di al-Yamani. From Yemen he travelled to Haramayn. There he had teachers such as Ahmad Al-Qusyasy⁴ 'Ibrahim al-Kurani, and Hasan al-'Ajami. His other teachers were Muhammad al-Mazru (al-Madani), 'Abd al-Karim al-Lahuri, and Muhammad Muraz al-Syami. His quest for knowledge did not stop there. From Haramayn he went to Damascus to study under 'Ayub b. Ahmad b. 'Ayyub al-Dimasyqi (1586-1661). Afterwards, he studied in Istanbul.⁶

In his works Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari does not mention what kind of knowledge he was taught. Nevertheless, Azyumardi Azra is sure that besides studying sufism he also learnt hadiths, tafsir, fiqh, and other religious teachings. It is also not known how long he spent time to study in these countries. Van Bruinessen, as quoted by Azyumardi Azra, affirms that he returned to the archipelago in 1664 or 1672. However, he states that he does not have any data which supporting any of the opinions.

The different opinions also occur concerning the return of Yusuf al-Maqassari, whether or not he returned from his studies to Makassar. The

first states that from Arabia he went back to Gowa. Since he found the society was un-Islamic he left Gowa and returned to Banten. There he had students such as Nur al-Din, b. 'Abd al-Fattah, 'Abd al-Basyir al-Darir, and 'Abd al-Qadir Karaeng Jeno.⁷ Azyumardi Azra does not support this opinion. He is sure that Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari left Arabia for Banten and eventually decided to live here. As written earlier, before travelling to Arabia he stopped off in Banten. In this kingdom he formed a friendship with Pangeran Surya, who became the sultan of Banten when Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari was there for the second time. After returning from the

Middle East, by marrying Syarifah, he became the son-in-law of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa. He also became a member of the advisory board of the Sultan.⁸ Knowing that Al-Maqassari was in Banten, Sultan Gowa requested him to return to Gowa, but he did not fulfill the wish. As a solution, he sent his student al-Dharir. In the royal family his brother-in-law 'Abd Qohhar can be said to be his most prominent student. Azra even strongly assumes that the departure of 'Abd Qohhar to Mecca and Istanbul was based on his encouragement.⁹

In Banten Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari was not only involved in religious matters, but also in political ones. He, together with Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa, fought against the Dutch. After his father-in-law was caught by the Dutch and sent to Batavia, he was caught and exiled to Ceylon. He spent more or less one decade in this region. When he was there he wrote books based on requests of his friends, students, and Muslims in general. *Sylaniyyah* and *Saifinat al-Najah* are examples of these. It is also known that in Ceylon he got married and had descendants, and it is from them that people know the works of Al-Maqassari which were written there.¹⁰ The exile of Al-Maqassari from Banten to Ceylon, which was intended to prevent any further rebellions, did not disconnect the relationship between him and people outside Ceylon. Ceylon, as it is known, was a transit place for hajj pilgrims which enabled him to entrust his books to be brought to the archipelago. He still even was in contact with ulamas in India, such as Sidi Matilaya, 'Abu al-Ma'ani 'Ibrahim Minhan, and 'Abu al-Shiddiq, b. Muhammad Shadiq. In fact, besides the hajj pilgrims carrying the books from Ceylon to the archipelago, they carried books from the archipelago to Ceylon as well.

When he was banished to Ceylon, Sultan Gowa 'Abd Jalil (1677-1709) requested the governor of Macassar to bring him back to Makassar, but the

request was ignored. In 1693 Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari and 49 other people were exiled even further, namely to the Cape of Good Hope in South Africa, transported on *De Voetboog*. They arrived there on 2 April 1694 and lived in *Zandvliet*. Just as in Ceylon, here he also taught his students, but there is no information stating that he wrote a book in this region. More strictly than in Ceylon, in the new place they were forbidden to hold religious meetings. The Dutch also ordered to convert them to Christianity. On 22 May 1699 he died in Cape Town and was buried at Faure. His followers and descendants were finally permitted to return to Makassar. Some of them decided to stay on in Africa, while most chose to return. Those who returned to the archipelago voyaged by the ships *De Liefde* and *De Spiegel* in 1704. On request of Sultan Gowa, the body of Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari was shipped to Makassar, arriving on 5 April 1705, and on the day after he was buried in Lakiung.¹¹

1.b. His Works and Books on Him

As an author whose education came from the Middle East, it is not surprising that Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari wrote in Bugise, Javanese, and Arabic.¹² This is very possible, since he spent his life in Makassar, Banten, and the Middle East. Although he learned *fiqh*, *tafsir*, and Islamic doctrines, most of his books are about *sufism*.¹³ He wrote at least 25 books. *Al-Barakat al-Sailaniyya* (The Blessing of Ceylon) contains information about the way to follow the *sufistic* path, such as the kinds and times of *dzikir* (remembering), of *Syahadah* (confession), and *muraqabah* (the way to approach God). In his opinion, in this book, there are three ways to remember God: *dzikir al-nafi wa'l ithbat* by reciting "la illaha ilia Allah", *dzikir al-mudjarrad wa'l djalala*, by reciting "Allah", and *dzikir al-ishara wa'l anfas* by reciting "hu". Afterwards, he divides *syahadah* into two kinds: *al-syahadah al-mukhtassa* and *al-syahadah al-mutlaqa*. The first one is the words '*Asyhadu an la ilia ha ilia Allah wa asyhadu anna Muhammad ar-Rasulu Allah*': and the other is '*Asyhadu an la illaha ilia Allah wahdahu la sharika lahu wa asyhadu anna muhammad 'abduhu wa rasuluhu*'. He states that there are three reasons why people approach God. These three are because they fear God's torture, fear being apart from God, and know that God is closer than their own soul.¹⁴

AI-Fawa'id al-Yusufiyya fi Bayan Tahqiq al-Sufiyya was written as his answer to the people who asked him about a number of religious matters. He

suggested the people to read the Quran and strengthen their tauhid (the uniqueness of God), besides performing the practical religious obligations. Being patient, syukr (to thank God), being faithful, and being honest were also his recommendation to them. Like *Al-Fawa'ih al-Yusufiyya fi Bayan Tahqiq al-Sufiyya*, in his Hashiyya he also explains the meaning of syahadah, which means that any power is from God, none besides Him can give and take the power. It is almost the same as the previous books, *Kaifiyat al-Munghi wal Ithbat bil Hadit alQudsi*, written in Ceylon, explains that the people had to remember God (dzikir) at all times since the Prophet Muhammad had done so. In this book he provides information on how to repent.

The content of Matalib al-Salikin is similar to that of his other books. In this book he explains the Uniqueness of God as the foundation of becoming a Muslim. According to him, a Muslim must believe in the concept of tauhid (the Uniqueness of God) and *ma'rifa* (the knowledge on God), and perform *ibada* (worship). This order can be seen as a three: tauhid is the stem; *ma'rifa* is the branch and its leaves, while the *ibada* is its fruits. The teaching that Allah is different from others is restated by him in *Al-Nafahat al-Saylaniyaa*. Through this book he suggests the reader have a religious teacher who can advise and guide him. The teacher is like a prophet while he was still alive. After the prophet dies, the teacher succeeds him to guide the followers of the prophet. Moreover, he also teaches the ways of approaching himself to God. The same explanations about the Uniqueness of God, the ways to approach Him and how to repent are also present in his other books.¹⁵

As an ulama-writer who had studied overseas and made contributions to the dissemination of Islam in the archipelago, Ceylon, and South Africa, his life and works have been much studied by scholars. Tadjimah, in a seminar in Yogyakarta in 1970, presented his paper *Seh Yusef Makasar 1626-1699*. Afterwards, in 1987 he wrote the biographical book of Syaikh Yusuf, *Syekh Yusef Makasar: Riwayat Hidup, Karya dan Ajarannya*, published by Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan. To complete the writing of the book he utilised manuscripts as the source. Nonetheless, he seemed unserious in writing the book. He just picked any information and put it in his book. The way he managed the information is also confusing. Information on certain pages is often found on the other ones.

A Critical Biography of Sheykh Yusuf a thesis of Sulemao Essop

Dangor at the University of Durban-Westville in 1982. It fully discusses the life of Yusuf al-Maqassari from his birth and early life, his resistance to the Dutch when he was in Banten, his exile to and influence in the Cape Town, and his contributions. In 1983 Yayasan Lakipadada published a book of Daeng Rapi H.A. *Massiara Syekh Yusef Tuanta Salamaka Dari Gowa*. A year later, in 1984, Nabilah Lubis submitted her thesis to IAIN Jakarta entitled *Zubdat al Asraar Fi Tahqiq Ba'dh Masyarib al Ahya (Study Tentang Ajaran Syekh Yusuf Attaj)*. In the thesis, an analysis from the perspective of philology is given. However, she affirms that she used only one manuscript, for the lack of funds and time.

Although the dissertation of Azyumardi Azra, *The Transmission Islamic Reformism to Indonesia: Networks Middle Eastern and Malay-Indonesian 'Ulama in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*¹⁶, does not specifically deal with Syaikh Yusuf Al-Maqassari, it is said that he was one of the most important ulamas in the reform of Islam in the archipelago in the 17th century, besides Nur al-Din al-Raniri and 'Abd al-Ra'uf al-Sinkili. His biography and teachers are also presented.

Other works concerning Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari keep appearing. Syekh Yusef "Singa dari Gowa": Ulama Berkaliber Internasional of Solichin Salam was published in Jakarta in 1994, by Yayasan Pembina Generasi Penerus Indonesia. In the same year Abu Hamid's Syekh Yusef Makassar. Seorang Ulama, Stifi, dan Pr/uang was published by Yayasan Obor Indonesia. Moreover, a short biography of Syaikh Yusuf Al-Maqassari is present in *Jr/ak-jefak Pahlawan: Dari Sultan Agung Hingga Syekh Yusefof Y.B. Sudarmanto* which was published by Gramedia Widiasarana Indonesia (Grasindo) in 1996. Ten years later, *Jtak-Jefak Spiritual Syekh Yusuf Abu 1-Mahastn Hadfyatu I-Lah. Tqju 1- Khalwati: Tuan/a Salamaka, Stifi dan Pahlawan Gowa* of M. Sirajuddin Bantang was published by Pustaka Refleksi.

Syaikh Yusuf Al-Maqassarini, who was exiled to South Africa and regarded as having played important roles there, is discussed by Nabilah Lubis in *The Role Shqykh Yusef in Establishing the Muslim*

Community in Cape Town (2005). His role is also the topic of Azyumardi Azra's paper *Shqykh Yusuf His Role In Indonesia And South Africa* (2005). A year later Nabilah Lubis' thesis at IAIN Jakarta, somewhat edited, was published by Mizan in cooperation with Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia and Ecole Francaise d'Extreme-Orient, under the title,

Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makasari: Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia.

2.a. *Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani*

The second prominent author in the authorship of Banten is Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani who was born in Tanara, Serang, Banten, in 1815. As in the time of Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari, Banten in the period of Syaikh Nawawi was still Islamic. From what he experienced in Banten Achmad Djajadiningrat affirms Banten was Islamic and even the most religious among other regions in the archipelago. Syaikh Nawawi and Achmad Djajadiningrat lived in the same period although the first was much older than the latter.

Syaikh Nawawi is the popular name of Abu 'Abd al-Mu'ti Muhammad B. Umar B. 'Arabi al-Tanari al-Bantani Al-Jawi al- Nawawi, henceforth Syaikh Nawawi or Nawawi. He was born in 1814 (1230 H) in the village of Tanara, Tirtayasa, Serang, Banten, and died in Mecca, Saudi Arabia in 1897. He was the first of six children of the penghulu Umar and the native villager Jubaidah. Ahmad Syihabuddin, Sa'id, Tamin, Abdullah, Syakilah, and Syahriah were his brothers and sister. Umar died when Syaikh Nawawi was 13 years old.¹⁷

Pertaining to his education, he acquired his first education from his father, and further education from Hajji Sahalin in Banten and Raden Hajji Yusuf in Purwakarta, K arawang, West Java. Afterwards, he and his brothers travelled to Mecca to do hajj. After finishing his hajj, Nawawi remained there for approximately three years to study.¹⁸ The ulamas Sayid Ahmad Nahrawi, Sayid Ahmad Dimyati, Sayid Ahmad Zain Dahlan, Khatib Sambas, 'Abd al-Ghani Bima, and Yusuf Saumbulawini, Ahmad Nahrawi, and Yusuf al-Daghistani were his teachers. However, Hurgronje notes that his real teachers were the Egyptian Yusuf Sumbulaweni, Nahrawi and Abdel- Hamid Daghescini.¹⁹ In Madina he studied under Syaikh Mohammad Khatib Alhambali. Moreover, he also persuaded his education in Syria and Egypt.²⁰ In 1833 he returned to Banten, but then he decided to come back to Mecca. There is no exact reason why he did not live in Banten but chose Mecca as the place to spend his life. One opinion states that he could not bear the Dutch's pressure and another says that he felt comfortable with the educational system there.²¹

Furthermore, Hurgronje writes that "Every morning, 7.30 and 12 noon,

he gives about three lectures, calculated according to the requirements of his numerous pupils".²² Some of his students are from Jawah, whom then became leading ulamas such as KH Khalil Madura (East Java), KH Hasyim As'ari Jombang (East Java), KH Raden Asnawi Kudus (Central Jawa Tengah), KH Asy'ari of Bawean, KH Nahjun of Tangerang, KH Tubagus Mohammad Asnawi of Caringin (Banten), KH Ilyas of Serang, and KH 'Abd al-Ghaffar of Serang²³. His devotion to writing is described by Snouck by stating, "Personal ambition leads Nawawi only to activity in the literary."²⁴ Besides, he asserts, "The most highly esteemed leaders of the intellectual movement originate in most cases from Banten".²⁵ And one of them is Syaikh Nawawi.

2.b. *His Works and Books on Him*

It is said that Syaikh Nawawi has wide knowledge, not only in the field of religion, but also in that of war and governmental science. His books became important works of reference in educational institutions in Asia, especially in Indonesia and in the Middle East. Brockelmann classifies his works into tafsir, fiqh, dogma, mysticism, stories of the Prophet, Arabic grammar, and rhetoric.²⁶ In the field of tafsir includes *Marah Labid Ii Kashf Ma'na al-Qur'an al-Majid*, or as it also is called *Al-Tafsir al-Munir Ii Ma'alim al-Tanzil al-Musfir 'an Wujud Mahasin al-Ta'wil* which was published in Cairo in 1205 A.H. This book can be said to be the original work, while others are only his commentaries on other writers' books.

Tawshih or Qut al-Habib, Maraqqi al-Ubudiyya, Al-Fathul Mujib, Al-Iqd al-Thamin, and Kashifat al-Saja are his books on fiqh. In the field of dogma he wrote *Dhari'at al-Yaqin, Nur al-Zalam, Tijan al-Darari, Qatr al-Ghayth Sharh Masa'il Abi al-Layth, Hilyat al-Sinyan, Fath al-Majid, and Timar al-Yani'a*, while in the field of mysticism he wrote *Salim Fudhala, Qomi' al-Tughyan, and Misbah al-Zulam*. In the category of stories of the Prophet are *Fath al-Samad al-Alim 'ala Mawlid al-Shaykh Ahmad ibn al-Qasim wa al-Bulugh al-Fawzi Iil Bayan Alfaz mawlid ibn al-Jawzi, Targhib al-Mustaqin Ii Bayan Manzumat Zayn al-'Abidin al-Barzanji Al-Durar al-Bahiyya, and Al-Ibriz al-Dani fi Mawlid Sayyidina Muhammad al-Sayyid al-'Adnani*. Moreover, on Arabic grammar he wrote *Kashf al-Murutiyya 'an Sitar al-Jurumiyya and Al-Fusus al-Yaqutiyya*. Eventually, in the last category, rhetoric, he wrote *Lubab al-Bayan 'ilm al-Bayan, Tanqih al-Qawl al-Hathith, Nihayat al-Zayn, Nasaih al-Ibad, and Al-Futuhat al-Madaniyya*.

Furthermore, as a prominent author, many works on him have been published. These are, for instance, Chaidar's investigation which was written under the title *Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syech Nawawi Al banteni*, Indonesia, published by Sarana Utama in 1978. To get the data he visited the descendants of Nawawi in Surabaya, Banten, and Mecca. However, since this book refers only to one book, the data is not complete. In 1992 Sri Mulyati wrote *Sufism in Indonesia: An Analysis Nawawi Al-Banteni's "Salalim Al-Fudhala"*. It is her MA thesis submitted to McGill University.

As has been stated, most of Nawawi's works are his commentaries on other writers' books. Only *Marah Labid* can be said to be his original work. It seemingly attracted Alex Soesilo Wijoyo to make it the topic of his dissertation *Shaykh Nawawi Banten: Texts, Authority, and the Gloss Tradition*, which he submitted to Columbia University in 1997.

In 2003 there were at least two researchers who wrote about Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani. *Hermeneutika AlQur'an Di Indonesia: Suatu Kajian Terhadap Kitab al-Tafsir al-Munir Karya KH. Nawawi Banten* is Mamat S. Burhanuddin's dissertation at Universitas Islam Negeri Jakarta. It was then published as a book by UII Press Yogyakarta in 2006, entitled *Hermeneutika alQur'an ala Pesantren (Analisis Terhadap Tafsir Marah Labid karya KH Nawawi Banten)*. Asep Muhammad Iqbal, the student at Leiden University, wrote *Understanding Jews and Christians in The Qur'anic Commentary Syekh Nawawi Banten (1813-1897)* as his MA thesis. It was then published by Teraju in 2004 with the title *Yahudi & Nasrani dalam AlQur'an: Hubungan Antaragama Menurut Syaikh Nawawi Banten*. Besides the books, there are a lot of other books that do not specifically discuss him and his books. Nonetheless, they mention him.

2. The Children of Raden Bagoes Djajawinata and the Support of Snouck Hurgronje

The children of Raden Bagoes Djajawinata played very important roles in the literary tradition in Banten. Their father had a futuristic view that, in the words of his oldest son Pangerang Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat (henceforth, Achmad), such a view was only owned by a very pious man.²⁷ Djajawinata's belief in the future of East Indies urged him to give his children Dutch lessons and send them to western schools. In this case, Snouck Hurgronje was an indispensable figure in the development of their education. In his autobiography Achmad writes, "All of my family has moral

duty to him. He has influenced my mind and ideal until the end of my tenure. I have paid attention to and appreciated all of his instructions and advices".²⁸ Snouck Hurgronje's roles are apparent in the next paragraphs.

Before coming to the archipelago in 1889, Soouck Hurgrooje (Oosterhout, 8 February 1857 - Leiden, 26 June 1936) came to Mecca to conduct research for his Ph.D. dissertation on Mecca under the supervision of M.J. de Goeje (1836-1909). He first landed in Jeddah on 28 August 1884. To go to Mecca, he collected information about Mecca and made friendship with many people. Besides his 'compelling personality' and deep knowledge on Islam and languages; his camera, a new and rare device at that time, beofitted him very much in making a social relation. Afterwards, from the relation he had to choose a travel companion to accompany him to Mecca and guarantee his personal safety. The choice fell to Aboe Bakar Djajadiningrat (1854- 1914), a noble family member from Banteo who had lived and studied for five years in Mecca. lo his Mekka, Snouck Hurgronje writes that many Banteoese people studied in Mecca and even the most leading religious leaders were from the region. Nonetheless, he stayed in Arabia less than a full year "and less than half of that in Mecca proper". "He did not even participate in the pilgrimage at all, since he was forced to leave Mecca just before the season."²⁹

When he was in Arabia Witkam writes that Snouck Hurgrooje converted into Islam and made his conversion public on on 5 January 1885. The conversion was followed by his Islamic name 'Abd al- Ghaffar. A passage in his diary describing a process of circumcision is deemed to be his circumcision. Many consider that he may not have converted, but pretended to be a Muslim. However, Witkam believes that he is a Muslim but if he is a Mu'min, only God knows.³⁰

After no more than a year in Arabia, in early August 1885 Snouck Hurgronje had to leave Mecca and Arabia based on the order of the Turkish governor. A rumour was spreaded by the vise-consul of Franch in Jeddah that 'Abd al-Ghaffar was actually an archeologist who sought antiquities. With the help of Raden Aboe Bakar, P.N. van der Chijs and other friends he returned to Leiden. lo the city he started to annotate Meccan proverbs and sayings and write two volumes on Mecca The first one is "a historical study on the city of Mecca and its rulers" and the second one is "the account of the public and private life of the Meccans, of the traditional educational system in the Great Mosque, and, last but not least, of the life of the Jawa colony in Mecca, the Southeast Asians who had chosen to live in the Holy Gty for a

while."³¹ The way he performed and wrote the research, which is now called ethnography, was inspired by E.W. Lane (1801-1876).³² His final pages of *Mekka* made the Minister of Colonial Affairs, L.W.C. Keuchenius interested in choosing him as the governor advisor on indigenous, Arab and Islamic affairs. Snouck Hurgronje then voyaged to the Netherlands East Indies in 1889 and spent the next 17 years in the archipelago. He spent most of his time in Batavia, but he also visited some regions in Banten.

Achmad writes, "He has not lived here long yet, but he has been sure that a generation in Java that has enough sciences in all branches must be developed.... Tirelessly he seeks chances for the indigenous to pursue science and receive high education."³³ To acquire this goal, in 1890 Snouck Hurgronje for the first time fostered a son and educated him and sent him to a *Hoge Burgerlijke School*. The son was himself, Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat³⁴. Pertaining to Snouck Hurgronje's intention to better Javanese people's education, some give statements. Mohammad Hatta groups Snouck Hurgomje his colleagues such as Mr. Abendanon, Mr. Van Deventer, Prof. Hazeu etc. as the ethical group who supported Indonesian students to have high education.³⁵ Amoud Vrolijk asserts, "No colonial advisor was more eloquent and insistent in his appeal for better education and a large degree of self-government for the Indonesian people...."³⁶

Although Djajawinata's and Snouck Hurgomje's effort to send Achmad to Leiden University failed, he succeeded in educating Hoesein (Djajadiningrat) in Batavia and bringing him to the Netherlands. At Leiden University Snouck Hurgronje became his academic supervisor until he graduated from his doctoral degree. History then recognises him as the first doctor and professor in Indonesia. Djajawinata himself was a Regent of Serang. This son of Regent Pandeglang Raden Adipati Aria Natadiningrat and Raden Ajoë Wargakoesoema was born in Pandeglang in 1854, and died in 1899. His wife Ratoe Salehah, the daughter of Ratoe Bagoes Moehammad Isfak, was born in Cipete, Serang, in 1862, and died in 1903.³⁷

The patrilineal ancestor of Djajawinata is named Raden Wirasuta, the son of the leader of the Cibeo ethnic group in Kanekes, Baduy, who was employed by Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa to become a soldier. Since his skill in wars satisfied him, he was married to his daughter. In 1663 he died when he suppressed a rebellion in Lampung. His grandmother's father was a ngabehi in Banten kingdom who worked in Lebak, while his grandmother Raden Adipati Natadiningrat was a demang in Caringin, Pandeglang. From the marriage Djajawinata and Ratoe Salehah have Achmad (Ujang),

Muhammad (Apun), Hasan (Emong), Hoesein (Ace), Hadijah (Enjah), Lukman (Ujang), Sulasmi (Yayung), Hilman (Imang), clan Rifqi (Kikok). Achmad was born in Kabayan, Pandeglang, Banten, on 16 August 1877. He obtained his first religious lesson from a religious teacher in Kramatwatu. He taught him the Arabic alphabet and introduced him to Islamic obligations such as prayer and fasting in Ramadan.³⁸

In this period Banten remained religious. It is described by Achmad that Bantenese children commonly went to pesantrens to gain religious education. He was one of the students in the pesantrens. In Ramadan Bantenese people, from high to low levels, were enthusiastic about fasting. They thought that Ramadan was an opportunity to earn more merit and reduce sins which had been committed in the previous months. Every Ramadan the Muslims were diligent in performing prayer and reciting the Quran. The yard of governmental offices in Banten was often crowded, since the mosques did not have enough space. Van Bruinessen notes that Bantenese has had such a religious reputation for the past century.³⁹

After three months studying in a pesantren, Achmad felt that he did not make any development. He even had a problem with his teacher and friends. His teacher often hit his fingers with a rattan stick, and he himself once hit his friend with a small reading board. Therefore, his father then commenced to move him to Kaduhileud. He asked his brother Raden Djajaprana to give him religious lessons, especially teach him to read the Quran. Under very tight supervision, he succeeded in learning how to read Arabic sentences and read the whole Quran within five weeks. Besides with him, Achmad also studied under his cousin. From him he learned tajwiid, the knowledge of how to read the Quran. Within months he was able to memorize the content of the book entitled Nu[Jah. His achievement in learning the Quran made him popular in society. Religious leaders praised him. As a result, he was encouraged to decide on a future as a religious teacher, rather than as a governmental official.

He received further lessons from his other cousin, who had a pesantren in Karundang. The regulations in this pesantren were very strict. From one hour to another the activities of santri were determined by the kiyai. Life in the pesantren was very different from his life at home. In this pesantren he learnt religious obligations of Muslims from the book of Sittin, and Arabic grammar from the books of Tafsiran and Jurnm!Jah. Besides the lessons, the leader of the pesantren also taught the students martial arts. The filthy surroundings of the pesantren made him ill. He had to go home. When he

arrived in the house, his father got a letter from his brother Raden Adipati Soetadiningrat in Pandeglang asking him to send Achmad there. He said that he would open a school. There was a teacher from Batavia who was ready to teach Dutch to Achmad, his brothers, and other children of Soetadiningrat's relatives. However, this school had only existed for less than four months. Soetadiningrat then asked a clerk to teach the students. After a little progress, the teacher fell ill and it was stated that he needed more than six months for recovery.

The effort of Soetadiningrat to provide his relatives modern education did not stop there. He kept searching for a teacher. His attempts finally succeeded. He found a teacher who could speak English, Dutch, French, Malay and German. In addition, he intended the school to be open not only to indigenous people, but also to European and Chinese students. Under his teaching, Achmad's Dutch developed rapidly. But when he found his teacher drunk one morning in class, he lost his respect. He decided not to go to school any more. He felt afraid of a drunken man. Also, based on his knowledge from his religious teachers that being drunk was bad. A part from the problems, the school would be a very important part in the history of modern education in Banten.⁴⁰

His uncle asked him to not stop learning Dutch from him. Achmad could not reject his uncle's will. Nevertheless, after he found his teacher drunk for the second time, he gave up. Accordingly, the teacher was dismissed after the uncle found him drunk many times, and his behaviour was considered excessive. Achmad mentions that after the 1888 rebellion, it is not clear when, a second class school was established in Cilegon. He studied there. In this period he met Snouck Hurgronje who asked him to write his own name in Arabic script. On the 70th birthday of Snouck Hurgronje, Achmad wrote an article in "Djawa" stating that Snouck Hurgronje had a will to develop enough knowledge in all of its branches in Java and expected indigenous people could get higher education. Nonetheless, it was not easy because there was a barrier thrown up by European officials who thought that the people of Java were not clever enough to obtain education as high as that gained by Europeans. Snouck Hurgronje's choice to foster Achmad in 1890 was opposed by European officials. They even showed hostility.⁴¹

In 1890 Engelenberg, an aspirant controleur in Cilegon, invited Achmad to come to Batavia to school. In this city he lived in Kampschuur's house. He was a friend of Engelenberg and a teacher at a school in

Batutulis. Snouck Hurgronje, whose home was on Gang Sentiong asked Achmad to come to his house every Sunday to study. There he knew friends of Snouck Hurgronje such as Dr. Brandes, KF. Holle and Sayyid Uthman bin Abdullah bin Akil bin Yahya al- Alawi, Haji Hasan Mustafa, and Raden Aria Bratawidjaja.⁴²

Before being able to attend lessons in the school, he had to increase his ability in Dutch by practising with Kampschuur's children. Five months later, Kampschuur's family left the Dutch East Indies for the Netherlands for a vacation. He was entrusted by Engelberg to Meister. After the departure of Kampschuur, Achmad made less progress in his education. Consequently, Snouck Hurgronje moved him to a school in Kebon Sirih where Kruseman became the headmaster. After he finished his education at the school, he was offered by Kruseman to continue his studies at an HBS. As a preparation he taught Achmad French. In 1893 Achmad followed the examination to enter the HBS and succeeded. Feeling happy, Snouck Hurgronje bestowed him books of van Lennep. Because at a later time Achmad suffered from illness, he was asked by Snouck Hurgronje to live in Postman's house, where indigenous HBS students lived. In this period he had many problems with his education. Consequently, he had to repeat his study in the next one year.⁴³

A few months before he took the final examination for the HBS, he engaged to Raden Adjeng Lenggang Kentjana, a daughter of the Galuh regent. At this time he added "Djajadiningdat" as his family name which was followed by his brothers. In the same year his brother Moehamad graduated from an OSVIA in Bandung, Hassan continued to the second year of the HBS, and Hoesein entered an HBS. Influenced by Snouck Hurgomje's suggestion, Djajawinata intended to send Achmad to a university in the Netherlands. Based on the plan, he would have gone on 16 July 1899. But it never happened since his father died one day before he was to leave.⁴⁴ One of his descendants told me that one of the reasons why he fell sick is that he did not have enough money to send Achmad to the Netherlands. Therefore, he decided not to go to the Netherlands. Later he worked occupying the position of his later father and married his *fiancee*.

Furthermore, he became apprentice in the office of a district attorney. On 8 September 1899 he became a secretary of the Controleur. At another time he also became a member of Landraad in Serang and of the Mindere Welvaarl Commissie in 1902. When Snouck Hurgronje left the archipelago in 1907 Achmad was awarded the title "Aria" and "Adipati" in 1909.⁴⁵ On 18

May 1918 the Volksraad was established by General Governor Graaf J.P. van Limburg Stirum and led first by Dr. Koningsberger. It was the beginning of Achmad's involvement in politics. The leadership of the Volksraad was handled by Achmad in 1920 succeeding Schumann who took up a vocation in the Netherlands. Subsequently, he became the regent of Batavia from 28 March 1924.

In 1929 he had a chance to go to Europe, namely to Geneva. He and Haji Agus Salim became the representatives of the Netherlands for the 21st International Labour Conference in Switzerland. This opportunity was used to meet his teacher Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden and the queen of the Netherlands.⁴⁶ Besides attending the labour conference, he became a member of the second congress of anti-imperialism in Frankfurt in July 1929. His time in Europe was also spent to conduct research on the middle class in Europe. To this purpose, he went to Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the Netherlands. After eight months in Europe, he returned to the East Indies in November 1929. In the same year he became a member of Dewan Hindia Belanda. And eventually he died in Cikampek in 1942.⁴⁷

From his marriage with Raden Adjeng Lenggang Kencana in 1901 Achmad has two children: Rd. Nusrat Djajadiningrat and Rd. Adjeng Hisnat Djajadiningrat, while with his second wife Raden Adjeng Soewitaningrat, whom he married in 1910, he has eight children: Rd. Adjeng Fushat Ema Djajadiningrat, Rd. Adjeng Lutfiah Djajadiningrat, Rd. Bagus Kamikara Erlangga Djajadiningrat, Rd. Adjeng Margaretha Farida Djajadiningrat, Rd. Bagus Nasis Djajadiningrat, Rd. Adjeng Roswitha Tanis Djajadiningrat, Rd. Bagus Idrus Nazir Djajadiningrat, and Rd. Adj. Siti Rachmah Djajadiningrat.⁴⁸

Like Achmad, his brothers and sisters had obtained education from a very young age. When they were still in Pandeglang they were taught Dutch by the Dutch policeman Ruselar. The lessons were usually given in the evening. Recognizing that Hoesein, who was born in Kramatwatu on 8 December 1886, was intelligent, he suggested Djajawinta to send him to Serang or Batavia. Because his finance did not suffice, in 1893 he decided to send Hoesein to a Europese Lagere School (ELS) and Moehammad to an Opleidingsschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren (OSVIA). Both were in Serang.⁴⁹

After finishing his study in Serang, Hoesein went to school in Batavia

at Kok van Digglen. There he met someone who would be very important to his education. He was Snouck Hurgronje, the foster father of his brother, who taught him how to write compositions, discussed his works and gave him advice and guidance. In 1899 he graduated from the school and continued his studies at the HBS B (Willem III), in Salemba. Here he stayed in Postma's house, the headmaster of the school. When he was in the first year, coincident with when Achmad planned to go to the Netherlands, his father died.

The "failure" of Snouck Hurgronje and Djajawinata to send Achmad to the Netherlands was apparently changed by the emergence of Hoesein. Therefore, when he was in the third year, Snouck Hurgronje sent a letter to Achmad who had already become a regent in Serang, stating that he suggested Achmad to send Hoesein to Leiden University. He also asked a teacher at the school to teach him Latin and Greek in preparation. In 1904 he graduated from the HBS and, according to plan, he went to the Netherlands. In the first year he was still learning the languages at the Leidsche Gymnasium. A year later he became a student at Leiden University attending the lectures of A.C. Vreede and J.C.G. Jonker on Javanese, Ch. A. van Ophuysen on Malay, A.W. Niewenhuis on Ethnography, Speyer on Sanskrit and De Goeje on Arabian cultures. In 1907 Snouck Hurgronje gave the lecture on the Arabian cultures and he became Husein's supervisor as well.⁵⁰

He graduated from Leiden University in 1910 and received his doctoral degree three years later. Pertaining to the graduation of his brother, Achmad writes,

On 20 October 1910 the oldest son of my sister died, but at the same time I received a telegram from the Netherlands stating that my brother Hoesein graduated with cum laude for his doctoral examination in Eastern Literature.⁵¹

While Hoesein's wife affirms,

My husband completed his studies in Indonesian Literature at the University of Leiden in 1910 and earned his doctor's degree in 1913, defending his dissertation entitled "A Critical Study of History of Bantetl' with Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje as professor presenting him for his degree."⁵²

In 1920 Achmad proposed marriage to Raden Adjeng Partini, the daughter of Kanjeng Goesti Pangeran Adipati Ario Praboe Prangwadoooo, on behalf of his brother Hoesein. In the same year, one of Achmad's brothers, Hasan, who became the chief of Sarikat Islam Banten and member of the editorial board of *Mimbar*, died. Hoesein and Partioi themselves married in Pringgita on 9 January 1921. From this marriage their children were born: Husniah Pardaoi (15 October 1921), Pardewi Sulwah (9 September 1922), Amioah Patutri (18 May 1924), Ahmad Partomo (10 September 1925), Husein Wahyu (21 April 1928) and Husein Hidayat (21 April 1928). Later Ahmad Partomo became a student at the faculty of medicine in Amsterdam, Husein Wahyu at the faculty of psychology in Amsterdam, and Husein Yayat at the military academy in Breda.⁵³

In his life Hoesein occupied many positions, such as member of *Commissien Volkslectuur*, member of *Gementeraad of Batavia* (1915), chief of the Batavia Museum, Deputy Advisor for Native Affairs, chief of the Java Istituut, professor in Malay, Sundanese, Javanese and Islamic Law (1924), Director of the Department of Education and Religion (1935), member of the *Raad van Indie* (the Council of the Indies) (1941), president and curator of the Law School, Director of Education and Religion (1940-1941), member of the Council of the Indies (1941), head of the Office of Islamic Affairs, State Secretary of the Department of Education, Culture, and Science (1984), professor of Islamic Studies and Arabic in the faculty of Literature of the University of Indonesia (1952), and General Director of the Language and Literature Foundation (1957).⁵⁴

In 1957 he was troubled by heart illness and was taken care of at St. Carolus Hospital. He regained his health for three months. He became sick again and was nursed at Cikioi Hospital. There he died on 12 November 1960.⁵⁵ His wife has a special impression of her husband. She states,

"My husband's books-with what great care he handled them! He loved to read, and was always reading. His books helped him in his studies, his work, and his writing. During his life- time he wrote and compiled about 35 books, among others, an Achioese-Dutch Dictionary, published in 1934. I did not understand all of his writing, but I always at his sides, in addition to performing my duties as a housewife and mother."⁵⁶

Their Works

Achmad, Hoesein, Lukman, Partini, and Rd. Adjeng Roswitha Tanis Djajadiningrat were authors who wrote mostly in Dutch. It is unsurprising since they were born into aristocratic families in the colonial period. Their parents had given them Dutch lessons from an early age. In fact, not only could they speak Dutch, but also other languages, such as English, German, French, Latin, Greek, and Arabic. Unlike Hoesein, Achmad who was not a scholar, did not produce many works. *Herinnering van Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*, which he wrote in 1933, might be his only book. It was even written as his gift to subsequent regents. He hoped that from his book others - especially the regents - would be able to take advantage and learn lessons. He affirms that it was originally one thousand pages long. Because the publisher thought that it was too thick, the editor removed half, and it was eventually published in 1936 by Kolff. It was then translated into Indonesian and published in the same year by Balai Poestaka and Kolff-Buning, entitled *Kenang-kenangan Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*. Afterwards, it was republished by his descendants in 1996, entitled *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*. Besides writing this memoir, when he was a regent he wrote articles in Djawa and Koloniale Studien as well. The first edition of *Mimbar* even published an article of his. Moreover, his travels to Europe in 1929 were reported in this newspaper and made the headlines. Rd. Adjeng Roswitha Tanis Djajadiningrat, one of his children, is known as the author of *Herinneringen van een Vrijheidsstrijdster*, published in Den Haag by Nijhoff in 1974. The Indonesian version of this book, *Pengalamanku Di Daerah Pertempuran Malang Selatan*, was published by Balai Pustaka a year later. Loekman Djajadiningrat, Achmad's younger brother, who became the director of Education and Public Worship in the Dutch Indies, is also known as the author of *From Illiterate to University*.⁵⁷

Moreover, Hoesein, as his wife asserts, wrote approximately 35 books. Although she does not mention all the titles, the following are some of his works, most in the form of an article and written in Dutch. The articles were published in *Bahasa dan Budaya*, an *Universiteit Indonesia* magazine of which he became a member of the editorial board, besides in the *BKI*, *TBG*, and *Djawa*. *Critische Overzicht van de in Maleische Werken Veroatde Gegevens over de Geschiedenis van het Soeltanaat van Atjeh* was his article published in the *BKI* in 1911. This may have been his initial work, since the year of the publication is the earliest among all the others.

Afterwards, his dissertation *Critische Beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten: Bijdrage fer Kenschetsing van detavaansche Geschiedschrijving* at Leiden University was published in 1913. This book has become an important work of reference in the study of Bantenese history. It was translated into Indonesian entitled *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sajarah Banten: Sumbangan Bagi Pengenalan Sifat-Sifat Penulisan Sejarah Jawa*, and was published by Djambatan in 1983. After he finished his studies at Leiden University, he went to Aceh to write an Acehnese-Dutch dictionary. The research was conducted from April 1914 to May 1915. He named his two-volume dictionary *Ag'ehsche Nederlandsch Woordenboek*, which was published in 1934. To complete the dictionary he referred to the work of Snouck Hurgronje, *Woordenboek der Aijehsche Taal*.⁵⁸

Until now, to the best of my knowledge, there is only one book specifically devoted to the discussion of the biography of Hoesein, namely *Prof. Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat: Karya dan Pengabdiannya* by Drs. Sutopo Sutanto, and published by the Department of Education and Culture the Directorate of Historical and Traditional Values, Jakarta, in 1982 and 1984. The author states that the data are from *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat* and his interview with the descendants of Hoesein, besides some other references.

Partini, the wife of Hoesein, was also a writer. She recounted that when she was young she asked permission from her father to write a novel but her father did not allowed her. After her husband died, she began to write. *Widiawati* is her first work. It was firstly published in the Netherlands in 1948 and in Indonesia by Balai Pustaka in 1949. In 1982 it reached the fourth edition. *Widiawati* narrates the habit of Javanese women related to the way in which they had relations with their friends, families, and neighbours. Because of the encouragement of her friends and the director of Balai Pustaka, she wrote other works such as *Hasta Tj'erita* (another version is called *Hasta Cerita*), that was published by Pembangunan in 1964, *Sepasar Satu Malam* in 1971, 1974 and 1975, *Ande-Ande Lumut* by Balai Pustaka in 1976, and *Tunjung Biro* by the same publisher in 1985. She wrote all of her works under her pseudonym Arti Purbani. In addition, according to Sutopo Susanto, she also wrote *Herinnering aan Mijn man* in 1960.⁵⁹

3. Authors of Fictional Works

In the present day Banten, literary works are apparently more in number which impact to public's attention. Literary works in modern sense can be found at least in the beginning of the 20 century. As it has been addressed, if she can be called as a Bantenese, Partini (Arti Purbani) has written stories since 1948. Also Rd. Adjeng Roswitha Tanis Djajadiningrat who wrote *Herinneringen van een Vrijheidsstrijdsterin* 1974. Moreover, an advertisement on Pengharapan Banten om 16 February 1924 announced that the publisher of the newspaper, Drukkerij Klaarwater, had published a number of books. Most of them were fictional works, among others are "Hoa Tian Kim Giok Yan, Atawa PerdjodoanJang Loetjoe", "Saja Poenja Laki, Atawa Djodo Poenja Keras", "Lim Liong Tjay Atawa Satoe AnakJang Dapet Membales Moesoeh Ajahnja", "Njonja Tjan Hoei, Atawa Djadi Korbannja Goena-Goena", "Perempuan Jang Di Tjinta! Atawa Kahimatan!", etc. Nonetheless, we are not informed who the authors of the books are.

After that period, so far, there is no information about fictional works in Banten. According to Gola Gong, literary activities just emerged in the 1980s where there was a man who became the fourth winner in aJava-Bali poetry reading competition. This lends credence to the view that there was literary activity in Banten. The author, Tommy Didih, wrote and read his poem entitled "Ayam Jago" or "The Cock".

Gola Gong is another literary man who became popular in this period by the publication of his ten volume *Balada Si Roy*. Born in Purwakarta on 15 August 1963, Gola Gong (Heri Hendrayana Harris) and his parents moved to Banten in 1965. He grew in Banten with the impression that Banten was and is the city of black magic. In many of his articles he states that when he was very young he liked reading books. Some books which he often read were Tom Sawyer, Gulliver, Moby Dick, Huckleberry Finn, Oliver Twist, HC Andersen, Armyn Pane, Marah Roesli, and Sutan Takdir Alisyahbana. The books were present in his home library and he often invited his friends to come to his house to read them.

When he was eleven years old (1974), his right hand was amputated. An accident happened when he jumped down from a tree. The jump was performed because he wanted to become a leader among his friends. At the time, in a square where he usually played, there was an air force exercise. He told his friends that anyone who was eager to become the leader had to dare to jump down from the tree, like the military. Because he wanted to, he did it

first and the accident happened. When he was hospitalised his father told him that if he wanted to become somebody, he had to read many books.

Since the 1980s he has written poems for the teen magazine HAL. With his friends Iman Nur Rosyadi, Toto ST Radik, and Rys Revolta (Rahmat Yanto Suhatja), he deepened his understanding of the world of writing. After finishing his studies, Iman Nur Rosyadi took a journalistic course in Jakarta. After that he became a journalist in Kompas, in 1984 or thereabouts. Gola Gong entered Universitas Padjajaran, Bandung, and was followed by Rys Revolta, while Toto ST Radik enrolled at the Sekolah Tinggi Kesejahteraan Sosial (ST.KS, the Higher School for Social Welfare) in Bandung. When, after many years, Gola Gong left Banten, the condition of Banten, according to him, had not changed yet.

I become a writer or novelist because I look for money to build a place like a learning centre in Banten. I want Bantenese youths going forward and have a concept. I don't want young Bantenese in the future have similar destinies as I do. I want to make a change in Banten ... [by teaching them] literature, journalistic, art, theatre and film.⁶⁰

Until 2008 he has written many essays, more than 25 books and hundreds of screenplays. The most popular of his books are the ten series of *Balada Si Roy* which were published by Gramedia Pustaka Utama, from 1989 to 1994, of which over 100,000 copies were sold.⁶¹ Moreover, the publication of his books and his activities in the foundation and development of Rumah Dunia have attracted journalists to make reports about him. Also there are at least six undergraduate theses which discuss him and his works. Among them are *Proses Kreatif Gola Gong Dalam Serial Balada Si Roy* of Provita Niekhen Chrisdiyana which was submitted to the Faculty of Letters of Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta in 2000; *Konflik Tokoh-Tokoh Dalam Trilogi Novel "Pada-Mu Alm Bersimpuh", "Biarkan Aku Jadi Milik-Mu", Dan "Tempatku Di Sisi-Mu"* Karya Gola Gong (Pendekatan Psikologi Sastra) by Rianna Wati, which was submitted to Fakultas Sastra dan Seni Rupa of Universitas Sebelas Maret Surakarta in 2004; *Karakter Nurkhasanah Dalam Novel Pada-Mu Aku Bersimpuh* Karya Gola Gong (Aolalisis Pesan Dakwah) by Helmi Yuliana, which was submitted to the Faculty of Dakwah of Universitas Islam Negeri Yogyakarta in 2004; and *Pesan-Pesan Dakwah Dalam Cerpen Karya Gola Gong* by Suryani, which was submitted to the Faculty of Dakwah dan Komunikasi of UIN Syarifhidayatullah Jakarta in 2005.

The dominance of fictional works is even more obvious in the works of Fahri Asiza. He is the author of more than 25 books. Moreover, there are also Moh Wan Anwar, the writer of *Sepasang Maut* (Yogyakarta: Matahari, 2004), Chavchay Saefullah, of *P ayudara Oakarta: Melibas*, 2004), and Laila Juwita, who wrote *The Secret of Love Oakarta: Radjagrafindo Persada*, 2005). Toto ST Radik, who specialised in poetry, became the author of *Mencari dan Kehilangan* (Serang, 1996), *Indonesia Setengah Tiang* (fangerang, 1999), *Jus Tomat Rasa Pedas* (Serang, 2003), and *Pangeran [Lelaki yang Tak Menginginkan Sorga]* (Serang, 2005). His poems and short stories are also included in anthologies with other writers. He is distinctively known as a poet.

The fact that the works of Bantenese authors are more dominant in the form of fiction is affirmed by the works of Ahmadun Yose Herfanda, Fahri Asiza, Zainal Radar T, Qizink La Aziva, Ibnu Adam Aviciena, Firman Venayaksa, Aris Kurniawan, Endang Rukmana, Najwa Fadia, Bella, and many more. It is estimated that fictional books written by these contemporary authors are more than a hundred works. The existence of *Rumah Dunia* that has opened a writing course for more than ten years cannot be denied in rising them as authors in literary works. It should also be underlined that the titles mentioned here are only some of many.

4. Miscellaneous

Out of the categories, there were academic and non-academic works which are paid less attention by public. The limited number of volumes and circulation apparently have become the main factor. Some titles which can be mentioned in this category are the works of Halwany Michrob. He, with Hasan Muarif Ambary, wrote *Laporan Pemugaran Banten Lama* (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), *Laporan Studi Kelayakan Irian Jaya: di Situs-Situs Prasejarah Dayo Lama, Jayapura, Mesjid Kuno Patimburak, Fak-Fak, Gereja Tua Mansinam, Manokwari* (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984). In 1984 Michrob also wrote *Mengenal Situs Pemugaran di Banten Lama*. Moreover, he, together with Uka Tjandrasasmita and Hasan Muarif Ambary, is the author of *A Guide to Archaeological and Historical Monuments of Banten* (Directorate for the Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Heritage) and *Mengenal Peninggalan Sejarah & Purbakala Kota Banten Lama* (Yayasan Pembangunan Banten). *Catatan Masalalu Banten* (Penerbit Saudara Serang:

1993). In the same year he published his *Lebak Sibedug dan Arca Domas di Banten Selatan: Studi Banding dalam Konteks Kesamaan Akar Budaya Nusantara* (Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah clan Purbakala Provinsi Jawa Barat, DK.I Jakarta clan Lampung). *Sejarah Perkembangan Arsitektur Kota Islam Banten: Suatu Kajian Arsitektural Kota Lama Banten Menjelang Abad XVI Sampai Dengan Abad XX* is his work published by Yayasan Baluwarti.

Besides, there are also the works of Supardi Lee, Yaya Suhendar, Aniz Fauzi, Ilzamudin Ma'mur, Lukman Hakim and Mufti Ali. Supardi Lee wrote *The Rich Plan, Achiever, Opportunity Quotient*, and *Kerja Kecil As* a librarian, Yaya Suhendar focuses his work on the library management, such as *Pengantar Klasifikasi Bahan Pustaka* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1999); *Manajemen Perpustakaan Sekolah* (Bandung: Uninus Press Bandung, 2000), *Pedoman Penyelenggaraan Perpustakaan Sekolah* (Jakarta: Prenada, 2005); and *Cara Mudah Membuat Katalog Perpustakaan* (Jakarta: Prenada, 2005). He is also the author of *Dinamika Informasi dalam Era Global* (Bandung: Rosda Karya, 1997).

Other Bantenese works are a book by Khatib Mansur, *Profil Tubagus Chasan Sohib Beserta Komentar 100 Tokoh Masyarakat Seputar Pendekar Banten* (Antara Pustaka Utama, 2000); Abdul Malik's *Menjadi Orang Banten: Refleksi Seorang Wartawan tentang Banten* (Banten: Suhud Sentrautam.a, Rumah Dunia, 2004). This book has three big themes: politics, social matters and culture, and Banten, all intersecting. *Pijar- pijar Pemikiran Bahasa dan Budaya* (Jakarta: Diadit Media, 2006) of Ilzamudin Ma'mur, *Menyimak Fenomena Pendidikan di Banten* (Diadit Media, 2005) of Anis Fauzi, *Banten Dalam Peralanan Jurnalistik* (Banten Heritage, 2006) of Lukman Hakim and *Missionarisme di Banten* of Mufti Ali (Bantenologi, 2009) are other books in this category.

C. Concluding Remark

This paper does not try to cover every single work in every genre. In addition, I intentionally leave manuscripts in the dicussion. Besides, I also pay little attention to the publications of authors in Tangerang who sometimes claim themselves as the people of Jakarta. Undoubtedly, it cannot give a comprehensive description of authorship in Banten. However, some notes can be underlined here.

Like some Bantenese authors, Syaikh Yusuf al-Maqassari was not born in Banten. Because he married the daughter of the sultan of Banten and spent some years here, he is included in the category of Bantenese authors. Even, he can be said to be the marker of authorship in Banten followed by Syaikh Nawawi al-Bantani who wrote religious themes.

The second marker of authorship in Banten is the family of Djajawinata whose descendants obtained western education, even up to the top. From the family there were Achmad, Husein, Lukman, Hilman, Rd. Adjeng Roswitha Tanis and Partini (Arti Purbani). In the context of education in general, the family has a special significance.

Authorship in Banten in the contemporary time is eventually marked by literary works which are numerous in number of books and much in publication. This circumstance is in line with authorship in the national level. And the last one is the miscellaneous one. Academic books which are published by university presses include in this category. The limited number of volumes and their circulation seemingly have made the books unpopular.

Endnotes:

* This paper is a chapter of my thesis, Authorship in Banten, submitted to Leiden University. I thank Prof. van Dijk for the supervision when the thesis was written. This paper is the revised version of the chapter.

¹ Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Tinjauan Kritis Tentang Sejarah Banten*, (Jakarta: Djarnbatan-KTILV, 1983), p. 1, 10.

² PA Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat*, Jakarta: Paguyuban Keturunan P.A. Achmad Djajadiningrat, 1996), pp. 285, 330.

³ H.M. Siradjudin Banten, *Jejak-jejak Spiritual Syekh Yusuf Abu I-Mahasin Hadiyatu I-Lah TC!fu I-Khahvati*, (Makassar: Pustaka Refleksi, 2006), p. Vii. Nabilah Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar Fi Tahqiq Ba'dh Masyarib al Ahya* (Study Tentang Ajaran Syekh Yusuf Attaj), thesis, (Jakarta: IAIN Jakarta, 1984), p. 29. Such a statement is present in the preface to the Indonesian version of his *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism: An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity Against Oppression*, namely *Membebaskan yang Terlindas: Al Qur'an, Iiberalisme, Pluralisme*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2000), in Suleman Essop Dangor's *A Critical Biography of Shaikh Yusuf*, a thesis, (Durban: Durban University, 1982), p. vi-vii, and in Hamka's *Dari Perbendaharaan Lama*, (Jakarta: Pustaka Panjimas, 1982), p. 37-39.

⁴ Nabilah Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar....*, p. 9. Nabilah Lubis, *Syekh Yusuf Al-Taj Al-Makasari: Menyingkap Inisiasi Segala Rahasia*, (Jakarta: FSUI, EFEO, Mizan, 1996), p. 20, and Hamka, p. 41. They affirm that he was born in 1926, while Azyumardi Azra states that he was born a year before. See Azyumardi Azra, *The Origins of Islamic Reformism in Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesian and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the Seventeenth And Eighteenth Centuries*, (Leiden: KITV Press, 2004), pp. 87-88.

⁵ Azra, p. 94.; Dangor, pp. 5-6.

⁶ Azra, p. 88-92. According to Nabilah Lubis he left Makassar on 22 September 1645. Nabilah Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar*, p. 13-15; Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, pp. 21-24.

⁷ Azra, pp. 91-94. See Nabilah Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar*, p. 15-18.

⁸ Tudjimah CS, *Syekh Yusuf Riwayat Hidnp, Karya dan Ajarannya*, p. 8; Azra, pp. 95; Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar*, p. 19; Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, pp. 26; Dangor, p. 7.

⁹ Dangor, p. 9.

¹⁰ Tudjimah, p. 10; Azra, pp. 95-96; Lubis, p. 19.

¹¹ Azra, 99-103; Nabilah Lubis, *Zubdat al Asraar*, p. 20-29; Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, p. 27; Dangor, p. 32-52.

¹² Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, p. 29.

¹³ Lubis, p. 29-30.

¹⁴ Tudjimah, p. 29-33.

¹⁵ Tudjimah, p. 20-28; for the text and detailed explanation of *Zubdat al- Asrar fi Tahqiq ba'd Masharib al-Akhyar*, read chapter III of Nabilah Lubis' *Zubdat al Asraar Fi Tahqiq Ba'dh Masyarib al Ahya* (Study Tentang Ajaran Syekh Yusuf Attaj), thesis, (Jakarta: IAIN Jakarta, 1984), p. 31-373. Also read Nabilah Lubis, *Menyingkap Intisari Segala Rahasia*, p. 29-50. For the complete titles of his books, see Appendix 1.

¹⁶ The first till fourth editions were published in Indonesia by Mizan; the following edition in 2004 was published by Prenada Media entitled *Jaringan Ulama Timur Tengah dan Kepulauan Nusantara Abad XVII & XVIII. Akar Pembaruan Islam Indonesia*. It was also published in English by KITLV and Allen & Unwin in 2004, entitled '*The Origins of Islamic Reformist In Southeast Asia: Networks of Malay-Indonesia and Middle Eastern 'Ulama' in the seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*'.

¹⁷ Alex Soesilo Widjojo, *Shaikh Nawawi of Banten: Texts, Authority, and The Gloss Tradition, a dissertation*, (Columbia University, 1997), p. 69-70; Mamat S. Burhanduddin, *Hermeneutika al-Qur'an ala Pesantren (Analisis Terhadap Tafsir Marah Labid Karya KH. Nawawi Banten)*, (Jakarta: UII Press, 2006), p. 19-21. Scholars differ when the hijra calendar is converted into gregorian one. One states that he was born in 1813 and the other in 1814. See Samsul Munir Amin, *Sayyid Ulama Hijaz: Biografi Syaikh Nawawi Al-Bantani*, (Yogyakarta: LKiS, 2009), 9-11.

¹⁸ Sri Mulyati, *Sufism in Indonesia: An Anafysis of Nawawi al-Banteni's "Salalim Fudala"*: p. 28; Widjojo, p. 70-72 C. Snouck Hurgronje, 287.

¹⁹ C. Snouck Hurgronje, pp. 288-289.

²⁰ Chaidar, *Sejarah Pujangga Islam Syech Nawawi Albanteni Indonesia*. Jakarta: CV. Sarana

²¹ Chaidar P. 46., Sri Mulyati, p. 28, Alex Soesilo Widjojo, pp. 72-76.

²² C. Snouck Hurgronje, p. 289.

²³ Utang Ranuwitja, *Nawawi al-Jawi in Ensiklopedi Islam*. Jakarta: PT Ichtiar Baru Van Hoeve, 2005; Sri Mulyati, p. 35. Utama, 1978, pp. 5-6.

²⁴ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka In The Latter Part of the 19th Century: Daily life, Customs and Learning The Moslims of the East-Indian-Archipelago*, (Leyden: Late EJ. Brill Ltd, London: Luzac & Co., 1931), p. 268-273. Karel A. Steenbrink, *Beberapa Aspek Tentang Islam di Indonesia Abad ke-19*, (Jakarta: Bulan Bintang, 1984), pp. 117-122.

²⁵ C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka in the Latter Part of the 19th Century*, (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), p. 2B7.

²⁶ Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 1040-1041, Sri Mulyati, p. 43-48; Asep Muhamad Iqbal, Yahudi & Nasrani dalam Al-Quran: Hubungan Antaragama Menurut Syaikh Nawawi Banten, (Jakarta: Teraju, 2004), p. 62-67.

²⁷ Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, p. 88.

²⁸ "Seluruh keluargaku banyak berhutang budi kepadanya. Ia telah mempengaruhi alam pikiran dan cita-citaku sampai akhir masa kerjaku. Semua petunjuk dan nasihatnya telah kuperhatikan dan kuhargai." Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, p.74.

²⁹ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, p. 13, 17, 20.

³⁰ Jan Just Witkam, *Christian Snouck Hurgronje: a tour d'horizon of his life and work* in Snouck Hurgronje *Orientalist* (1857-1936), p. 21-23.

³¹ Snouck Hurgronje. *Orientalist*. P. 16-17, 25-26.

³² Snouck Hurgronje. *Orientalist*. P. 13.

³³ "Belum lama ia tinggal di negeri ini, namun ia sudah yakin bahwa di tanah Jawa harus dibangun satu generasi yang cukup berilmu dalam semua cabang i/mu pengetahuan. ... Dengan tidak jemu-jemunya beliau mencari kesempatan bagi para pribumi agar dapat menuntut ilmu dan menerima pendidikan tinggi", Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, p.74

³⁴ Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, pp.75-76.

³⁵ Mohammad Hatta, *Untuk Negeriku Sebuah Otobiografi: Bukittinggi-Rotterdam Lewat Betawi*, (Jakarta: Kompas, 2011), p.158.

³⁶ Amoud Vrolijk, *Preface*, in Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde, *Christiaan Snouck Hugronje (1857-1936) Orientalist*, (Leiden: Leiden University, 2007), pp.7-8.

³⁷ This information is from his grandfather, Ratoe Bagoes Moehammad Ishak. At the time, civil records were not available. But he is sure that this is correct because recording the dates of essential events was always conducted in his extended family. It was usually carried out by the oldest son in the family. The record itself was quite secret. No-one outside the members of the family was allowed to read it. Pangeran Aria Achmad Djajadiningrat, *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djayadiningrat*, 1996, p. 1-2. The habit of writing about events can also be seen on page 282-284. Something the same was also done in the royal family of the kings of Makassar, Tudjimah, Syekh Yusuf, p'. 9. It seems such an act is something common in other kingdoms. Read also Sutopo Sutanto, *Prof Dr. Hoesein Djayadiningrat: Karya dan Pengabdianannya*, (Jakarta: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1984), p. 1.

³⁸ P. *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djayadiningrat*, 8; Sutanto, p. 16.

³⁹ Martin van Bruinessen, *Shari'a court, tarekat and pesantren: Religious Institution in the Banten Sultanate*. In: *Archipel*. Volume 50, 1995. Banten. *Histoire d'une region*. p. 165.

⁴⁰ P. *Memoar Pangeran Aria Achmad Djayadiningrat*, 16-20, 53.

⁴¹ See footnote numbers 29 and 30; PAA. *Djayadiningrat*, pp. 75-76; Sutanto, pp. 15, 29.

⁴² PAA. *Djayadiningrat*, p. 81, 93. See also, Karel A. Steenbrink, p. 134-137.

⁴³ PAA. *Djayadiningrat*, p. 83-84, 93; Sutanto, p. 15.

⁴⁴ PAA. *Djayadiningrat*, p. 105; Sutanto, p. 22-23.

⁴⁵ PAA. *Djayadiningrat*, p. 102, 120, 142, 310, 317, 334.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 420-421, 439.

- ⁴⁷ Ibid.,p. 428,437.
- ⁴⁸ Ibid.,p.441-444.
- ⁴⁹ PAA. Djajadiningrat, p. p. 91; Sutanto,p. 16-18.
- ⁵¹ PAA. Djajadiningrat, p.423; Sutanto,p. 25-28.
- ⁵¹ "Pada tanggal 20 Oktober 1910 anak sulung saudara perempuanku meninggal dunia tetapi pada hari yang sama kuterima kawat dari negeri Belanda bahwa adikku Hoesein telah lulus dengan judisium cum laude untuk ujian doktoralnya dalam Sastra Timur"; Achmad, p. 335.
- ⁵² Roswita Pamoentjak Singgih, *Partini Tulisan Kehidupan Putri Mangkunagaran. Recollections of a Mangkunagaran Princess*, (Jakarta: Penerbit Djambatan, 1986), p. 91. See,Sutanto,p. 27.
- ⁵³ Achmad, p. 368, 371; Roswitha Pamoentjak Singgih,p. 67,70,73,88,100; Sutanto, p. 38-45.
- ⁵⁴ Roswitha Pamoentjak Singgih. p., 83-95,100; Sutanto,p. 31-35, 49-56;, In Memoriam Prof. Dr P.A. Hoesein Djajadiningrat in Bahasa dan Budaya No. 5/6 the year VIII,p. 175-178.
- ⁵⁵ Roswitha Pamoentjak Singgih, p. 102-103.
- ⁵⁶ Roswitha Pamoentjak Singgih, p. 91.
- ⁵⁷ Sutopo,p. 79-82.
- ⁵⁸ Sutanto,p. 31-32.
- ⁵⁹ Sutanto,p. 75. 62
- ⁶⁰ Interview in 2007.
- ⁶¹ His other famous novels are Pada-Mu Aku Bersimpuh, Biarkan Aku Jadi Milik-Mu,Tempatku Di Sisi-Mu (Dar! Mizan, 2001). Many of his short stories have also been included in a lot of anthologies.

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