

KOTA GEDE: AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE OF A CAPITAL CITY IN JAVA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

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ABSTRAK

Dalam penelitian arkeologi perkotaan masa sejarah, kajian atas artefak, toponim, serta data tertulis, penting untuk dilakukan. Penelitian arkeologis tentang Kota Gede pada abad XVII dengan menggunakan jenis-jenis data tersebut dapat mengungkap banyak aspek, di antaranya kehidupan masyarakat penghuni kota, komponen kota, tata ruang kota, sejarah perkembangannya, serta faktor konseptualnya.

Kata kunci : Kota Gede - arkeologi perkotaan - artefak - toponim - kota kerajaan

INTRODUCTION

Archaeology as a discipline which studies social and cultural life in the past through material remains aims to reconstruct the aspects of life in the past – including the mind behind the creator – as a means to answer the future (Fagan, 1957:7; Sharer & Wendy Ashmore, 1979:11). In this connection, there are several fields of study in archaeology. One of them is urban archaeology which comprises the study on urban components, the lay-out and its concepts, and the life of the urban population.

In South Asia – West Asia the presence of cities since prehistoric and proto historic periods could be proved archaeologically by the discovery of Jericho, Çatal Hüyük, and Mohenjo-Daro, which flourished around 9000 – 2500 B.C. (Hamblin, 1975:12, 29, 123). The archaeological data in those sites consist of clusters of buildings, or defense infrastructures. Besides, there are also archaeological data showing trade relationships with other

countries, various means of livelihood, religious life, and even recreational aspects.

In Indonesia the condition is different because up to now any archaeological data on prehistoric city have not be found yet. It is presumably because of the use of non-durable building materials, and the humidity of the tropical climate. Further, urban archaeological data from the Hindu period in Indonesia are still not enough to reconstruct the physical structure of the cities at that period. Therefore, old cities of the Islamic period in Indonesia such as Old Banten (West Java), Demak (Central Java), Banda Aceh (NAD), Makassar (South Sulawesi) are important for constructing the urban history of Indonesia.

It is interesting to note that in the Islamic period in Java many cities emerged and flourished on the north coast of Java such as Demak, Cirebon, and Banten, whereas in the previous period most of the cities were presumed to be located in the interior. There must be a connection between the location

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of the coastal cities and the way Islam spread in Indonesia, among others by traders sailing the trade routes in search of spices.

In the late 16th century the interior of Java reemerged, due to the birth of the Islamic Mataram kingdom and its seat of power. It is interesting that the core of the kingdom including the site of its capital city took place near the region which was the core of the Old Mataram kingdom. The site of the core of the Islamic Mataram kingdom was near the city of Yogyakarta, which is also an old city itself but from the younger period i.e. is the 18th century. In the core region stood the capital city, namely Kota Gede, about 6 km southeast of Yogyakarta.

As a new kingdom many things had to be done by the founding fathers, for example choosing the site for the new capital city and building its components, developing the bureaucracy and economic life. According to written data, the development of the capital city reached its peak in the 17th century when Sultan Agung ruled the kingdom. These all presumably left their traces as archaeological data, which are important to build the picture of a capital city of interior Java in the 17th century. This picture is important because there may be differences between coastal and interior cities of the same period. Besides, during that period the Dutch came to Indonesia, especially to Java, that might brought elements of culture influencing the Javanese culture. Another interesting point is that the Islamic Mataram kingdom was and is considered as one of the founders of the Javanese culture to be followed by the later generations. These all are the reasons why I take that period as the temporal aspect of this study.

Considering the above global explanation, the problems to be solved are:

1. What the components of the capital city and its lay-out are
2. What the concept behind those two is

Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, is an important region for studies of culture, because it is a stage for acculturation among the indigenous and the Hindu, Buddhist, Chinese, Islam, and Western cultures. An

important aspect of the study on acculturation in this region is among other the study on city development and urbanization (Lombard, 1976:51).

Factors on economic, politics, technology, and society are considered as bases for urban growth. In connection with it, in definitions of the city elements on area, population density, heterogeneous society, market and sources of living, administrative functions, and culture (Jones, 1966:1–8) are included. The sociologists usually consider a city as a permanent settlement which is wide, and dense with heterogeneous population (Sirjamaki, 1964:4–7), or a place made up of buildings and people (Kostof, 1991:40).

The urban population mostly earn their living by producing and exchanging goods with services. They also set up and develop social, economic, and political organizations, besides having their own way of life and activities. Even though there are differences between rural and urban physical components and way of life, both of them are inseparable as part of a greater system (Sjoberg, 1960:25). Here the concept of urban ecology includes relationship between urban inhabitants and their environment.

The complex urban life in the past could be traced by using archaeological data and its ecological context. The complexity creates population groupings and their settlements according to the ethnicity, economic background, and social status. Those groupings became an inseparable part of an urban life, and their placements could be traced in the lay-out of the city.

Weber (1968:66 – 67) thought that the main characteristic of a city is its function as a center of the economic activities. On the other side, in accordance with the function of the city and its social stratification, there are city types among other city of trade, city of religious activities, capital city (Jones, 1966:1–6).

Grunebaum (1955:142 – 145) said that an Islamic city had physical focuses, namely *jami'* mosque, palace, and marketplace. Further, Hourani (n.d.: 21–23) wrote that an Islamic city had 5 characteristics namely:

1. Having fortification,

2. Having residence for the authority,
3. Having a civic-center consisting of *jami'* mosque and marketplace,
4. Having quarters for the population grouped according to the ethnicity, religion, and profession,
5. Having cemetery and quarters for population with certain professions, both located outside the fortification.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The arrival of Islam to Indonesia brought many changes to many aspects in the life – spiritually and worldly – of the society which took place gradually. The Indonesian Muslims inherited many aspects of the old culture, and blended them with the new religion. So, a new era came. It bore many new products of material culture, such as mosques, graves on hilltops, palaces, gardens, and calligraphy. But, architecturally those new kinds of buildings had similarities as compared to buildings of the previous era. For instance: roof style of the old and traditional Indonesian mosques, architecture of the minaret of Kudus mosque in Central Java.

Meanwhile the role of Old Javanese language and characters were gradually replaced by those of New Javanese. In the second quarter of the 17th century Sultan Agung, the greatest king of the Islamic Mataram kingdom, even decided to begin using Javanese calendar which is a blending of Çaka – at that moment indicated the year 1555 — and Hijriyah calendars (Rouffaer, 1927:65, 71). This step had a great meaning since it denoted the cultural change in Java.

The spread of Islam especially in Java was attributed mainly to the nine saints, called *walis* in Javanese. They founded *pesantrens* which attracted many students from all over the country. Besides teaching Islam, the saints also had a role as the kings' advisers. Some of them are assumed to have a role in the shift of power from Majapahit to Demak in 1519 AD (Djafar, 1978:94). The conquest of Majapahit by Demak actually was a power struggle among the royal families. The king of Demak who was a descendant of Bhre Krêtabhumi felt that he also had a right to

the throne of Majapahit (Djafar, 1978:108). And so, a new kingdom, Demak, was born. Its capital city, also called Demak, was located in the north coastal area of Central Java.

The kingdom of Demak lived for about 62 years, because on 1581 AD the throne went to Sultan Hadiwijaya, the king of Pajang, a small kingdom in the interior. The site of the capital city was near Surakarta today, but very little remains were left. In the meantime there was a rebellion risen by a prince from the older House. Ki Pemanahan and his son – Sutawijaya – helped the sultan to suppress the rebellion. As a reward Sultan Hadiwijaya gave Mataram region to Ki Pemanahan and Sutawijaya. Besides, Sutawijaya was also adopted by the sultan as his eldest son (Olthof, 1941:92). Later, Ki Gede Pemanahan with his large family and retinues moved from the capital city to Mataram, and cleared the forest to make a settlement. This event occurred on the year 1578 AD (de Graaf, 1985:53).

Sutawijaya then became the first ruler of the Islamic Mataram kingdom by the blessing of Sunan Giri, one of the Nine Saints mentioned above. As a ruler he was called Panembahan Senapati. In about 10 years the small settlement founded by Ki Pemanahan became a city, named Kutha Gedhe (now it becomes Kota Gede) means "big city wall". Important buildings such as city wall, moat, palace, *jami'* mosque, royal cemetery, were built one by one, and the marketplace became a center for economic life of the whole country. That is why Kota Gede is also called Pasar Gede, meaning "big market" (Adrisijanti, 1997:52–53).

Begun by Panembahan Senapati, the sultans of Islamic Mataram kingdom widened their territory until it covered almost the whole Java Island, and built good diplomatic relationship with several kingdoms outside Java (de Graaf, 1986:27–53, 79–101). By the year 1596 AD the Dutch landed at the harbour of Banten in West Java. But the first contact with the Islamic Mataram kingdom just begun on 1613 AD, when the Dutch landed at Japara harbour in Central Java (Jonge, 1862–1875:6).

After Panembahan Senapati there were two rulers who ruled from the palace of Kota Gede. They were Senapati's son and grandson, namely Panembahan Anyakrawati, and Sultan Agung. Ricklefs (1978:15) in his dissertation said that Sultan Agung was one of the truly great figures of Javanese history. Meanwhile contacts with the Dutch were more frequented, among other by exchanging envoys. Their journals on Islamic Mataram are precious sources for studies on it.

By 1624 AD Sultan Agung saw that the presence of the Dutch East Indian Company threatened his hegemony. This started war between the two parties. The Islamic Mataram soldiers fought bravely, but the Dutch's firearms and diseases made them lose the war (de Graaf, 1986:149–158). Regardless of the defeat, Sultan Agung added many structures to the capital city, like dam, royal cemetery, etc. In 1633 AD (= 1555 Ç) he even ordered to make Javanese calendar, which is still used today.

In the year 1645 AD he died, and was succeeded by the crown prince, later called Susuhunan Amangkurat I. In the history of Java it is well known that the reign of Amangkurat I was a catastrophe (Ricklefs, 1974:18). Besides, he moved the capital city to a new site about 5 km southeast Kota Gede, because he did not want to rule from the old palace of his father (Olthof, 1941:141). The new capital city was called Plered.

Although Kota Gede did not function as a capital city anymore, it is still alive. In the distant past it was because of the short distance that the craftsmen of Kota Gede still supported the new capital city for daily requirements. Moreover, it keeps the graves of the venerated forefathers of Islamic Mataram kingdom (Adrisijanti, 1997:259).

After the partition of the kingdom into two by the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755, the territory of Kota Gede accordingly was divided into two, except the joint ancestral royal graves. It remains a joint territory for both sides (Mook, 1958: 290). During the colonization of the Dutch the situation was maintained. Neither Chinese nor European was even allowed to settle in the territory (Mook, 1958:286–287), so it has been pure

Javanese. When the Republic of Indonesia was born, the whole territory of Kota Gede comes into the Special Region of Yogyakarta. But, the management of the venerated royal graveyard has been held by both Houses up to the present time.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL DATA

By combining artifactual data with toponymic and written ones, together with old maps and aerial photographs, I found that Kota Gede had various components which consisted of:

1. Tax houses

The Dutch envoys reported that near the capital city they saw tax houses which were used to collect tax from people coming into or going out of the city. Those were at Opak and Kaliagir, whose names are still alive and used as village names today. The envoys also informed that along the main road from the harbour to the capital city there were also some tax houses (van Goens, 1856:312), whose names are also still alive as village names.

2. Outer moat

Kota Gede lies between two rivers, namely Gajahwong river in the west and Manggis river in the east. These rivers make natural boundaries, and also give fresh water supply either for the wells or for rice fields irrigations. I found out that in the past these two rivers also functioned as natural outer moat for the city. At places out of the reach of the rivers' flow, man-made moats were constructed. Besides outer moat surrounded the city on three sides, the west, the north, and the east side.

The existence of the moat is indicated by a belt of sunken earth about 15 – 25 m wide in straight line. The belt at certain places met the rivers mentioned above. The existence of the outer moat could also be observed from some aerial photographs made in 1981, by the scale 1 : 3000. *Babad Tanah Jawi*, a local historical manuscript, also mentioned that Senapati made city wall and very wide moat (Olthof, 1941:80). De Haen,

a Dutch envoy in 1623, reported on the existence of moat outside the city wall (de Graaf, 1985:118). About one hundred years later the moat was still in use (Leemans, 1855:7).

3. City wall

Inside the circle of the outer moat I found remains of the city wall consisting of bricks and blocks of limestone. The bricks' measurement on average is 30 x 16 x 8 cm, while the limestone blocks are 43 x 22 x 12 cm. Those bricks and limestone blocks were orderly piled without using mortar. The thickness of the wall is 120 cm, and its remaining height is 120 cm. The remains of the city wall can be seen at several sites around Kota Gede, but mostly are ruins at the ground level which are traceable only by careful observation. The area covered by the city wall is 200 ha. Although its plan is not quite symmetric, it shows an approximately quadrangle one.

4. Road network

de Haen on June 30th 1623 reported that the main road approaching the capital city from the north was wide and clean, and it had alleys going into the villages. He also described that inside the city the streets were wide and beautiful (de Graaf, 1985:117–118)

5. Marketplace

There is no artefactual trace of the old marketplace. It can be understood, since the materials used to built the kiosks were perishable ones, as it always be in the traditional marketplaces in Java, even until the present days. In accordance with it, it is assumed that the site of the marketplace occupied the place where the present marketplace stands.

6. *Jami'* mosque called Mesjid Agung

In the 200 ha wide area there is the old *jami'* mosque which has a typical Javanese mosque architecture. It can be observed from its tiered pointed roof, the existence of small moat around the building, a wide front veranda

called *serambi*, a special prayer room for women, a *mihrab* at the western wall. Mesjid Agung means *jami'* mosque owned and managed by the kingdom

7. *Alun-alun* (= city square)

In the east of the *jami'* mosque there is Alun-alun quarter which indicates that in the past this quarter was the city square. During the survey I did not find any artifact connected with a city square since a Javanese city square is usually just a square piece of land spread evenly with sand.

8. Inner moat

Not far to the south of the *jami'* mosque, there is a belt of sunken earth 1 – 3 m deep, and 20 – 30 m wide. It circles a piece of land in three sides, the west, the south, and the east ones. Now it is dry, except the west side in which a small stream still flows. I assume that this belt is the remains of the inner moat circling the site of the palace.

9. Palace wall

Inside the belt of the inner moat there is the remain of the palace wall. It was built of bricks and limestone blocks, which have similar measurement with the bricks and limestone blocks of the city wall. The plan of the city wall is also not quite quadrangular, and it surrounds an area of 6.5 ha wide.

10. Palace

The 6.5 ha wide area inside the palace wall is inhabited now, but it still retains the name *Kedaton* and *Dalem* as toponyms. The two toponyms indicate the inner parts of a Javanese palace. There is an empty space in the middle of the area which contains a small building which protects a block of andesite stone said to be ex-throne, 3 calcite stone balls, a large stone water jar. It is interesting that on the surface of the andesite block there are short inscriptions in Latin, French, Dutch, and Italian, all showing laments. The empty space is kept empty, no one dares to inhabit or cultivate that land, because they consider it a sacred place.

11. Royal garden and game preserve

Written local historical sources mentioned a royal garden built by the second king of the Islamic Mataram kingdom. It was called *Danalaya* which was completed in 1605 AD (Babad Momana, n.d.:244). It was also written that he created a game preservation 6 years later. He even died after hunting in the game preservation in 1613 AD. A letter written by the Dutch prisoners in 1620 AD mentioned that Sultan Agung told his servants to make a large pond in the palace yard to be used for swimming and riding boats for fun.

12. Residential area

The residents of the capital city – except the king and his direct family—lived in quarters grouped according to their professions, and social status. The indicator of the old residential areas is the toponyms which are still alive today, although the old houses were replaced by newer ones.

Toponyms indicating professions are among others Pandheyan (quarter for blacksmiths), Samakan (quarter for tanners), Jagalan (quarter for butchers), Mranggen (quarter for the makers of kris and spear sheaths and small carvings), Kauman (quarter for ulemas). Toponyms indicating social stratification are among other Prenggan (residence of Prince Pringgolaya, a son of Panembahan Senapati), Jagaragan (residence of Prince Jagaraga, a son of Panembahan Senapati), Singasaren (residence of Prince Singasari, a brother of Panembahan Senapati), Mandarakan (residence of Adipati Mandaraka, prime minister of Panembahan Senapati), Boharen (residence of Bohari, a famous religious leader)

13. Granary

In *Babad Momana* (n.d.:245) it was written that Panembahan Anyakrawati ordered his people to build granary at Gading, outside the city, in 1610 AD. He also ordered people to grow trees that yielded spices.

14. Royal cemetery

There were two royal cemeteries built at that period. The first cemetery, the older

one, is located in the backyard of the *jami* mosque. It was used to bury the forefathers of the House, the first and the second rulers, and also the other members of the royal family. The second is the Imagiri royal cemetery which is located on the top of Merak hill, about 11 km south of the capital city. This royal cemetery was constructed by the order of Sultan Agung. The construction began in 1632 AD, and was finished in 1645 AD. It was used firstly to bury Sultan Agung himself, and since then has been used to bury his royal descendants. The Dutch Resident of Palembang (South Sumatra) at that time reported that there were 3 ships full of wood for the Sultan sailed from Palembang to Mataram (de Graaf, 1986:300). The wood might be for making the wooden components of the grave building.

Actually there was another royal graveyard situated on the hilltop of Girilaya, not far from Imagiri. This graveyard was also built by Sultan Agung, but he stopped any further development. In connection with it, Girilaya cemetery contained only few graves of royal family members.

ANALYSIS

The above-mentioned data show that Kota Gede had several physical urban components that supported the function of the city as a center of political administration, economy, religion, social life and culture. The political functions, which consisted of administration aspect and defense, were reflected by the palace, moats, city wall, and road network. The economic function was reflected by the marketplace, road network, and various professions led by the urban population. Religious function was reflected by the mosque, cemetery, and religious profession. Social and cultural functions were reflected by the city square, royal garden, game preserve, quarters for the urban populations, and granary.

The 14 components of Kota Gede were laid out in a definite plan, with the palace facing the north, the city square placed in the north of the palace, the *jami* mosque placed in the west of the city square, and

the market placed in north of the city square. Considering the plan and the fact that the ruler in Javanese philosophy is the center of microcosm (Heine-Geldern, 1958:28) and the top in the hierarchy of the kingdom, he got the title *kalipatulah* (Moertono, 1968:28). Accordingly, it is concluded that the palace was the physical nucleus of the capital city. In accordance with it, the palace got the strongest protection that was shown by the city wall, the palace wall, the moats, and the distribution of the residential areas around the palace site.

It is interesting that Kota Gede had a large city wall. It is unlike many other old Javanese cities that had no city wall at all. The size of the city wall made the name of the capital city, because Kota Gede, originally Kuta Gede, means large city wall. It made a Dutch traveller in 17th century think that there were two cities in that very site (de Graaf, 1985:117–118).

The assumption that the palace of Kota Gede faced to the north is based upon the fact that the city square, the *jami'* mosque, and the market were situated in the north of the palace. It was impossible that the palace had its back to the above-mentioned components of the city. This lay-out is similar to the coastal capital cities of Cirebon and Banten (West Java) that came from slightly older period, and the later capital cities of Islamic Mataram kingdom. The palace as the nucleus of the capital city, the city square, the *jami'* mosque, and the market, composed the civic center as the center of the activities done by the urban population. The other components of the capital city were situated around the civic center, mostly in the north side.

What is the history of the lay-out of the civic center in Kota Gede? I think the idea was not adopted from the lay-out of the civic center of Majapahit's capital city as thought by some scholars (cf. Sumadio, 1990:235, f.n.237). Moreover, the lay-out of the civic center of Majapahit's capital city is not yet archaeologically clear, and there is the difference of religious background between Majapahit and Islamic Mataram kingdoms. It then caused some different needs, also. In

accordance with it, the embryo of the lay-out of the capital cities' civic center of the Islamic kingdoms in Java was Demak, the capital city of the first Islamic kingdom in Java. The lay-out of the civic center's components in Demak, show similarities with those of Kota Gede. Besides, the rulers of Islamic Mataram kingdom also admitted to be descendants of the Demak House.

By analyzing the archaeological and historical data in Kota Gede, its lay-out can be reconstructed as follows: the palace as the city's physical nucleus faced north. It was placed in the center of the capital city, and was reinforced by the palace wall and the inner moat. In the northern side of the palace there were the city square, the *jami'* mosque, and the marketplace. Those physical components composed the civic center. The residential areas were situated outside the civic center in the four points of the compass, but most of them were in the north side. The south side was used to accommodate the recreational function, and then further outside the city wall and the outer moat was the royal cemetery.

Parsons (1972:128) said that settlement pattern is how men settle themselves and how they arrange the buildings in their settlement. He further said that a settlement pattern is also a reflection of its environmental ecology, the level of technology, and the variety of the community's institutions. The application of this theory in the analysis is as follows.

The quadrangle plan of Kota Gede whose sides faced the four cardinal points, shows that the older concept of micro- and macrocosm (Heine-Geldern, 1958:3) was still alive. Nevertheless, by the introducing of Islam, shifts in the older micro- and macrocosm concept occurred. It can be seen among other by the placement of the *jami'* mosque in the west side of the city square, while according to the older concept the temple was placed in the center as a symbol of the celestial mountain (Heine-Geldern, 1958:3). In consequence, it was the city square — the empty space — that was placed in the center as a symbol of the Almighty, the One Beyond Imagination.

The study on toponyms in Kota Gede shows that there were clusters according to the populations' professions, social stratification, and place of origin. According to the data which have been found so far, this kind of residential clustering did not occur in the pre-Islamic cities in Java, but on the contrary it always presents in the old Islamic cities in Java. Similar cases also happened in the old Islamic cities in the Near East, where clusters were made according to the guilds, religion, and race (Lapidus, 1984:85–86). Therefore, this clustering can be assumed as a new model in Javanese city planning at that time.

Meanwhile, the architectural style of the buildings in the capital city was not very much different compared to the Old Javanese ones. It could be proved by the architectural style of the *jami'* mosque of Kota Gede. It is a wooden building which has three-tier pointed roof supported by rows of columns. In the interior it has a niche – *mihrab* – in the west wall as an indicator to the *qibla* direction, and a pulpit or *minbar*. There is also a special room for women to do the prayer, beside the main hall. It has ditch on three sides, and also some waterspouts for ablution. An interesting point about the mosque is that, like many other old mosques in Java, it has no minaret.

The roof style was common in Old Javanese architecture, and was used to cover worship buildings like the one in Bali nowadays. The difference is mainly on the size of the building, the Old Javanese and the Balinese ones are small, while the mosques are large. It is because the mosque must accommodate the worshippers during the common prayer on Fridays.

Based on the written data, presumably the first inhabitants of Kota Gede were homogeneous when viewed from profession and ethnicity aspects. They were family members and retainers of Ki Gede Pemanahan who worked together to open a new territory, so they were the pioneers of Islamic Mataram Kingdom. It can be assumed that they were mostly farmers, seen from the fact that the area around Kota Gede is fertile. The next

step taken by Ki Gede Pemanahan and Sutawijaya was to attract people to settle and to join their small vassal state. In the long run many people come to settle permanently or temporarily. So when Kota Gede reached its golden period the inhabitants and their life, either socially, politically, economically, or culturally were consequently more varied, as can be proved from toponymic, artifactual, and historical data.

Based on those data presumably there was not a strictly segregated society in Kota Gede, although their dwellings were clustered according to the social status, profession, and place of origin. But those clusters were mixed, except the dwelling of the king and his immediate family. Using Lapidus' (1984:85) concept I think those clusterings were based more on economic matters such as profession or origin uniformity which in its turn had consequence in tax collection.

The professions of the Kota Gedean consisted of craftsmen as blacksmith, butcher, kris-maker, royal servant, batik painter, ulema, trader, and the like, as has been proved by toponym analysis mentioned above. Unfortunately, this analysis cannot be confirmed by excavation finds, as it is impossible to be done since Kota Gede is still prosperously alive and densely populated.

Other social group of Kota Gede was royal relatives and bureaucrats, who lived in their own compounds surrounded by the dwellings of their retainers and the families. Such compounds are called *dalem* in Javanese, and their names are in accordance with the name of the royal relative who live in it. The toponyms indicating *dalems* in Kota Gede mostly occupy the northern part of Kota Gede. I assumed that it was deliberately distributed in that part of the capital city as a component of the defense system, because the open side of the city was the north one, while the other points of the compass were easier to defend since the city was flanked by two rivers, and has its back to a mountainous area. Accordingly the main road that led to other regions also headed to the north.

CONCLUSION

One of the major human needs is a place to live, which in micro scale means a space where he dwells with his family. In semi-macro scale it means a space where families join in a community complete with their infrastructures and means of living. To make them settle comfortably they try to adapt to the geographical ecology, to arrange their houses and the related infrastructures, and to adjust them to their believe and their social system.

Economic, political, technological, and social factors are the foundation of the birth and the development of a city. The sociologists usually consider a city as a permanent settlement which is wide, and has heterogeneous and dense population. Many scholars even require a city wall as a physical component of a city. But this requirement cannot fit in Indonesia, because city sites in Indonesia scarcely own a complete city wall although the sites already have city characteristics. Kota Gede and Old Banten, successively agrarian and maritime cities, are old cities that own such city wall.

Typologically Kota Gede was a capital city located in the interior. Its characteristics appeared in the existence of the palace, city square, *jami'* mosque, and toponyms indicating the names of high functionaries and professions. The absence of maritime toponyms indicates that Kota Gede was really an interior city. The Mesjid Agung and Islamic graveyard indicate the Islamic characteristics of Kota Gede as a capital city in the 17th century.

The main components of Kota Gede were: tax house, outer moat, city wall, road network, marketplace, *jami'* mosque, city square, inner moat, palace wall, palace, royal garden and game preserve, residential area, granary, and royal cemetery. The horizontal lay-out of those components are: the city square was in the center surrounded by the palace with its own fortification, the *jami'* mosque, and the market place. It made the nucleus of the city and also the civic center. In the outer side were placed the other components. If a spatial reconstruction is made, then the lay-out made a concentric

quadrangle plan. I assumed it to be an originally indigenous/pre-historic based concept, which was developed to meet the new needs in the Javanese-Islamic society in the 17th century.

Using archaeological analysis based on Sjoberg's theory on the components of Kota Gede, it could be concluded that the Kota Gede society was a pre- industrial one. During that period the way of thinking of the Javanese society – including the planning of city — was Islamic based; nevertheless, some pre-Islamic cultural aspects were still alive. The society put some Islamic “colour” in it, so a “new” culture was created such as the making of the Javanese calendar ordered by Sultan Agung, the third ruler who governed from the palace of Kota Gede.

Research on Kota Gede shows the importance of artefactual and toponymic data as a means to compile the history of the development of a city. Therefore, it is essential to conserve those data many of which are in danger due to physical development in that area.

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