

BANTEN IN 1678*

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Cities undergo a continual change under the action of men, especially when they grow into successful centers of trade and communication where new ideas flow as well as gold and silver. And the passing of time does not diminish this truth—which explains the precise date given in the title above. Banten in 1678 was no longer the town that the Company of Cornelis de Houtman had discovered eighty years before, as modern Jakarta is no longer the ancient city that it was at the turn of this century. Though it may seem an arbitrary choice, the year 1676 meets four requirements: Banten was still independent; the 1670s definitely were the most prosperous period in the history of this kingdom which was able to adapt itself to a new political and economic situation, with the growing participation of Westerners in the Asian seaborne trade; Sultan Ageng—the old sultan, according to the accurate translation of his contemporaries—had not yet given full authority to his eldest son, who already was his heir and viceroy and would later be known as Sultan Haji, but was still called the young sultan—*sultan anom*—at this time; and this transfer of power would modify even the appearance of the town; furthermore, in 1678, the conflict with Batavia about Cirebon broke out, conflict that would end with the fall of the Javanese kingdom.

Banten on a map looked the ideal port. The city was located on the confluence of two great international seaways, the Malacca and Sunda straits, which were kept under almost total control by Bantenese possessions in the south of Sumatra. It had a large roadstead—18 kms wide and 10 kms deep—with calm waters protected from the open sea by a number of islets and islands. The river that watered this area not only created a natural port, but also offered a convenient way to the plain under cultivation which formed the hinterland.

The river Cibanten, which took its source from the Gunung Karang, about thirty kilometers south of Banten, divided into two arms before reaching the sea. Both mouths formed ports, the “international” port in the west, and the local port, called Karangantu, in the east. The city had developed around them and was thus divided into three main areas: inside the delta, the town itself; in the west, the Chinese district, so large in size that it was often called the Chinese town; and in the east, the great market and the suburbs. For a complete description, one should add the agricultural suburbs in the south, which stretched along the river

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for about ten kilometers to the half-rural, half-urban complex sited on the outskirts of the former capital, Banten Girang (upstream Banten).

Port cities have an ambiguous identity—no one knows whether they belong to the sea which brings them life or to the land of which they are a part. Thus, Banten was described by foreign witnesses as an essentially cosmopolitan trading post, while the Bantenese records depicted it as the capital of a Javanese kingdom where foreigners played but a subordinate part. A description of the city and of each district should help the reader to understand the real nature of Banten behind these two conflicting accounts, and to bring to light the structure of a Javanese port city in the 17th century as well as the mental structures which ruled it.

The Inner City

To describe the principal part of the city is far from easy. A royal city? But the king no longer resided here. A town in itself? But can a port city be deprived of its ports and still keep its identity? However accurate these qualifiers may be, they hardly describe the essential nature of the largest area of the Javanese capital. For a proper description, it seems wiser to start with a physical and unquestionable reality: the town walls. This part of the city was located between two arms of the river forming a delta; a third arm diagonally crossing the delta joined together the first two. Unlike the other Bantenese districts, the inner city was totally surrounded by walls, the importance of which we shall discuss later.

One well knows that urban structures are the product of geographic and economic requirements, as well as the reflection of social and religious concepts. On this last point, it seems that at the beginning, Banten for the most part had taken for itself the concept of space and royalty from which had developed Javanese urbanism, without the influence of emerging and victorious Islam. With respect to this evolution, one notes two significant elements: the center and the orientation.

The Center

In the 17th century, Western travelers all agreed that the town center was the royal square, which they called *paseban* though it had in the *Sajarah Banten* (SB) the peculiar name of *darparagi*—and which correlated with the well-known *alun-alun* of modern Javanese towns—but this was a mere geographic observation and the foreign visitors did not grasp its cultural meaning. The foundation of the city as related in the SB did not consist, as in the Western tradition, in the delimitation of an urban space—one recalls Romulus's famous furrow, or, closer to Banten in time and space, the Portuguese leather lace in Malacca—but in the designation of an essentially sacred center, where were somehow concentrated the supernatural powers with which the sovereign invested himself. The Bantenese records (pupuh 18 and 19) recount how Hasanudin took possession of the old capital, Banten Girang, in the name of the new faith, Islam, and how his father, Sunan Gunug Jati, ordered him to build the new town at the edge of the sea.

There, Betara Guru Jampang used to meditate on a flat, rectangular stone called *watu gigilang* (the luminous stone), so motionless that birds came and nested in his *ketu* (the religious men's head-dress in pre-Muslim times). After Hasanudin overcame the infidels, Betara Guru Jampang became converted to Islam and disappeared. Sunan Gunung Jati warned his son that in no case should the sacred stone be displaced, this sacrilegious action

being susceptible to bringing about the fall of the kingdom. The *watu gigilang* then became the throne of Hasanudin and his successors.

The antiquity of such stones is certified. They are referred to in a mandala in the *Rajapatigundala*—a Javanese text that could go back to the second half of the 13th century.¹ We see that, much later, these same stones were being used as thrones under the name of *sela gilang* by the sovereigns of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, *sela* being the *kromo* of *watu*. In these late palaces, these stones were often incorporated into the part of the kraton called *pagelaran*. Two elements help to explain their nature as well as their importance. The *sela gilang* of Surakarta was supposed to be the former throne of the last king of Mahapahit; and one very well knows that the court records of Central Java desperately tried to represent the Mataram sovereigns as the legitimate heirs of the kingdom of Majapahit. It seems that the possession of such a stone was enough to justify this legitimacy. As a matter of fact, in 1746, when the capital was officially transferred from Kartasura to Jakarta, a long procession abandoned the former palace, soiled and ransacked by rebel troops, to reach the new royal site which was only a few kilometers further off. A striking fact is that in the description we have of this procession,² the only element from the old kraton that the king's people carried off with them was the *bangsal pangrawit*, which was used as a sort of canopy for the *sela gilang*—so that we assume that the sacred stone too was carried away—and that it was following two *waringin* which would be set on the north square of the future palace. The location of this stone inside the palace in Central Javanese principalities did not correlate with the ancient tradition. On the location of Panembahan Senopati's kraton in Kota Gede—the oldest in Mataram—one can still see nowadays, in the shadow of an imposing *waringin* and supposedly set there during the reign of this sovereign, a little edifice sheltering the *sela gilang*, Senopati's throne, which remains the object of a popular cult. It is even said that the angle of this stone could have been broken by the king when he smashed upon it the head of Ki Ageng Mangir, a prince who was opposed to the authority he had just established over this area. According to tradition, this same stone and tree remain where they were in Senopati's time, on the former royal square.³ From this we infer that at the beginning of the 16th century in Banten, as in Kota Gede at the end of the same century, the *sela gilang* was always set on the royal square.

It seems that this stone was much more significant than the other regalia. On this very *watu gigilang*, Hasanudin took Betara Guru Jampang's place; there, as did the latter, he meditated and then established his throne. All information points to the fact that the stone itself gave him supreme authority over the city, the palace being but a functional building. Are we to believe, as some say,⁴ that this stone was a reminiscence of Mount Meru, Shiwa's seat? As Betara Guru is one of Shiwa's appellations this hypothesis may very well be true. One may justly wonder, though, if this unpolished seat did not refer to an older aboriginal past, to the time when the function of these stones was to express the sacred, as they still do in some Indonesian regions. A growing number of megalithic sites discovered during recent decades are obvious proofs that Java had amply participated in this system. Together with this stone, a second element determined the center of the city: a *waringin*, the trunk of which

¹ Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, 4 vols. (The Hague, 1963), 3: 132.

² Soepomo Poedjoedarmo & M.C. Ricklefs, "The Establishment of Surakarta: A Translation from the Babad Giyanti," *Indonesia* 4 (October 1967): 101, 102.

³ M. Mardjana, *Jogjakarta, Kota Pusaka* (Jakarta, n.d.), pp. 91–93.

⁴ T. Behrend, "Kraton and Cosmos in Traditional Java" (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1983), p. 216.

was surrounded by a barrier from which came its name of *waringin kurung*. It actually seemed to be associated with the *watu gigilang* in the description of the royal complex given by the SB (pupuh 44). One knows the *waringin kurung* which rise nowadays on the squares of Central Java principalities, but these go in pairs, or rather in couples, since one of them is meant to be a male and the other, a female. In their case, again, we assume that this pairing off was the product of a late evolution, as only one *waringin kurung* is to be seen in Banten, and in Mataram tradition recalls but one of them on the *alun-alun* of Kota Gede, set like the Bantenese *waringin kurung* near the *sela gilang*. The fact that new trees were planted when Surakarta was founded show that they did not have a sacred nature in themselves. As a matter of fact, according to the Rajapatigundala,⁵ the *waringin* was one of the three species of trees that were likely to be the seat of the sacred spirits (*kayangan*). Unfortunately, its significance remains obscure. Did it give shelter to the supernatural power of the throne or to the *baureksa*, the local spirit? Seeing it alone on the deserted *alun-alun*, one may wonder if it could not represent the Center Tree⁶ which was somehow the axis uniting the chthonian and ouranian worlds. We must note, however, that these two elements remained untouched for a long time, and kept their sacred character despite the vicissitudes of time. At the end of the 18th century, Stavorinius⁷ wrote a beautiful description of them, lingering over the majesty of the tree and the coolness of its shadow... and taking the stone for the tomb of an ancient king. But we know that to assimilate some sacred place, a stone all the more, with the tomb of a great figure, is quite usual in Java. Still closer to us, in 1920, a topographer⁸ published in a short essay about the vestiges of Banten a picture, which had been taken the year before, of the stone and the tree enclosing it inside its trunk. In this text too he noted the name that was given at this time to the *waringin*: "*purwadinata*," "the ancient king."

In the Dutch First Voyage—a precious testimony—we see that in 1596, the Bantenese did not take this "center" for an empty symbol, since the king, or the regent-governor who at this time acted as a sovereign, used to convene his cabinet outside, on the royal square, under a tree which in all probability was the *waringin*, as appears on a splendid etching inserted in the book. But we will come back to this aspect.

The Orientation

According to the SB, Sunan Gunung Jati, after having chosen a site for the city, told his son where he was to build the market, the royal square, and the palace. These three elements, which appeared as fundamental in a royal city, found themselves in the same order, forming a north-south axis, in Banten as in Majapahit,⁹ and in Surabaya at the beginning of the 17th century¹⁰ as in Yogyakarta at the end of the 18th century. Once again, one notes this orientation according to the cardinal points in the layout of the four main streets, which all started from the square, and would have formed a perfect cross throughout the town if the southward street had not shifted from the northward one to bypass the palace. Moreover, until the middle of the 17th century, the walls formed a rather regular rectangle (square?); all sides of this polygon were correlated with a cardinal point, and in each of them a door

⁵ Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, 3: 132.

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, 4: 202.

⁷ J.S. Stavorinus, *Voyage par le Cap de Bonne-Espérance Batavia, Bantam et au Bengale . . .* (Paris, 1798), 1: 54.

⁸ G.P. Groenhof, "Enkele Geschiedkundige plaatsen in Bantam, *Jaarverslag van den Topographischen Dienst in Ned. Indie over 1919*, vol. 2 (Batavia, 1920), pl. 4b.

⁹ Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, 5: plan 1.

¹⁰ H.J. de Graaf, *De Regering van Sultan Agung VKI 23* (The Hague, 1958), p. 14.

was made. The center and cardinal points obviously remained lively concepts under Sultan Ageng, since one finds among his closest counsellors four of the Sultan's brothers whose names respectively were: Pangeran Kidul, Lor, Wetan, and Kulon, which means Prince of the South, the North, the East, and the West.

Can we say, then, that Banten is some sort of mandala, like the Mandalay—the name of which is evocative—that was built in the 19th century by the Burman king Minton? The prophylactic circumambulation executed by the king with the sacred flags—a rite which is still found today in Central Java—is an extra argument supporting this idea. It is probably wiser to note that one could find throughout eastern and southern Asia the same conception of the royal city which integrated into its plan the sacred and the profane, its arrangement reflecting the cosmic order with the king as its center.¹¹

Now, after this rather lengthy but necessary survey of the symbolic world, we shall go back to the more solid world of reality.

The Palace

Strangely enough, but few descriptions of the palace are found in the bulk of documentation about Banten that we possess. Van der Chijs¹² quoted a text by Steven Verhalge, dating from the 16th century, which described the square as included in the royal complex and possessing guarded doors and a *pendapa*. With the SB (pupuh 44), one can more precisely imagine the palace before 1651, that is at the end of the reign of Sultan Abulmafakhir, Sultan Ageng's grandfather and predecessor. The *sri manganti* pavilion, where the sovereign's visitors were kept waiting, was built to the south of the square; next to it was found the palace itself, which included a number of yards and pavilions called *madé*, one kampung known under the name of *candi raras*, the treasury, the king's private mosque with its minaret, the famous Ki Jimat cannon, the stables, and guardrooms all over the place. Tavernier,¹³ invited by the sovereign in 1648, was received under a *pendapa*, the four pillars of which were 40 feet apart. Very likely, this *pendapa* where the king was sitting "in a manner of armchair made of wood gilded with powdered gold like the frame of our pictures," and which was located on a square where guards and servants were sitting in the shadow of some trees, was the audience hall belonging to the public part of the palace. In short, we are told too little to be able to make a complete description of the place, but we certainly know enough to identify a traditional Javanese palace.

Considering the situation in 1678, one realizes that a significant evolution had taken place in comparison with the previous years. In 1673, a Danish surgeon, whose name was Germanized into Cortemünde, stoppod at Banten and visited the king with the crew of his ship. He enjoyed drawing, and left several sketches to illustrate his travel diary. One of them represents the arrival of the Danish delegation at the court. One recognizes the royal square with, at the bottom, a pavilion which must be *sri manganti*, and behind it, a wall surrounding the palace itself. One catches a glimpse above this wall of two buildings made of durable material, one of which possesses a roof in typical Chinese style. Despite the unlikely smoking chimney surmounting it, this obvious proof of Chinese influence on the palace building is certainly to be taken into consideration. On the one hand, we know that in 1668,

¹¹ Cf. B. Smith and H.B. Reynolds, ed., *The City as a Sacred Center* (Leiden, 1987).

¹² J. van der Chijs, *Oud Bantam*, TBG 26 (1882): 30.

¹³ J.B. Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean-Baptiste Tabernier*, vol 2 (Paris, 1681), p. 435.

the Sultan had a new dwelling built.¹⁴ Moreover, this sketch we refer to was drawn by Cortemünde himself and not by an engraver working in Europe, as was often the case. One knows, too, that Sultan Ageng had always been very partial to the Chinese,¹⁵ so much so that this favoritism greatly annoyed his son, the young Sultan.¹⁶ Time and again, the old sultan hired two Chinese, the former chabandar Kaytsu and the current one and former customs director, Kiayi Ngabèhi Cakradana, to build edifices in durable material, such as walls, bridges, houses, etc. This Sultan also had a village built near his new residence of Tirtayasa, where the houses were made of bricks, which was quite unusual in Java. More prosaically, these buildings built with durable materials inside the palace not only were safe from the ever present risk of fire but were even more suitable to the new lifestyle of the sovereigns, who lived among foreign curiosities, from Japanese cabinets to European mirrors and clocks. Two years later, in 1680, the young Sultan was to have a new palace built on this very site by the famous Dutch "renegade" Cardeel, this time in the European style and in the shape of a fortress.

Another innovation is that in 1678, Sultan Ageng definitively left the palace, where he hardly resided any more, to settle his court in Tirtayasa. The palace, no longer regal, was currently occupied by his elder son. Here is a further instance of the "instability" of the Javanese courts. In about 150 years, the palace went from Banten Girang to Banten, then from Banten to Tirtayasa. In a more or less similar lapse of time, the Mataram capital rambled from Pajang to Kota Gede, from Karta to Plered, and from Kartasura to Surakarta!

Power itself had evolved with time. One has seen that in 1596, the king used to take decisions among his counsellors on the *darparagi* near the *watu gigilang*. But the political situation had changed a lot since that time, with the settling of Europeans in Banten and above all, with the Dutch presence in Batavia.

Taking into consideration this new deal, Banten benefitted greatly from the new economic networks set up by the Europeans. However, because all of them maintained spies at the court, the great public councils of the government were no longer adequate to the situation. Following his ascension to the throne, Sultan Ageng solved this problem by slowly abandoning the custom of holding these large councils with the dignitaries of the kingdom and made his decisions by himself, relying only on his closest advisors. This was not appreciated either by the dignitaries or the Europeans who accused him of absolutism.¹⁷ At the beginning of 1674 in an attempt to further increase security, he decided to hold these councils at the former court of Banten Girang from then on.¹⁸ Then, he abolished the open air councils which were thereafter held "inside the palace, in a secure place that could only be approached by children between ten and twelve years of age."¹⁹ Finally, after 1678, the councils, now always secret, were held at Tirtayasa where no foreigners lived. Thus, under the pressure of events, a method of ancient governing, somewhat primitive, disappeared, and the royal square lost one of its principal functions.

¹⁴ *Dagh Register gehouden int casteel Batavia* . . . (31 vols.; Batavia/The Hague, 1886–1931), 18.10.1688.

¹⁵ India Office Records (IOR), London, E/3/32, 29.12.1671.

¹⁶ *Dagh Register*, 23.1.1674.

¹⁷ IOR, E/3/24, 31.12.1654 and E/3/31, 29.12.1671.

¹⁸ *Dagh Register*, 23.1.1674.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 27.8.1675.

It seems that the *watu gigilang* lost its religious and official nature in the minds of the leaders due to political pragmatism and that the stone was no longer more than a symbol and a souvenir of former times.

The description of a Javanese palace would not be complete without its two complements: the animal reserve (*krapyak*) and the water palace (*taman sari*). The latter was first mentioned in the SB (pupuh 44). It can be located in a place known as Pupungkuran near Kenari. It can be identified as the compound known today as Tasikardi. At that time it was called *Kebon alas* (the wild garden) and included a basin with an island at its center which was used, according to SB, to store powder! A structure which is well known elsewhere can be recognized here. During the following reign, another *taman sari* seems to have been constructed by Sultan Ageng, in Banten itself, to the south (?) of the palace. Cortemünde said that the "sultan owns in the part of the city that gives out to the countryside, a beautiful and large garden, richly planted with every fruit imaginable and rare plants" and where he had "just on the side, a bath house."²⁰ This compound must have disappeared during the construction of the fortress in 1680. In 1706, when passing through Banten, Cornelis De Bruijn was received by the Sultan in his country house at Tasikardi which for three years, he said, served as a water reservoir for the palace,²¹ to which it was linked by a stone conduit and a lead pipe that can still be seen today.

Near Kenari, Sultan Abulmafakhir, according to SB (pupuh 44), had an animal reserve built, where deer and male and female water buffalo could be found. No other text dating from the 17th century seems to make allusion to this place. On the other hand, Heydt's map, dating from 1739, indicated a road leading toward the south "in the direction of Grobiak." And Stavorinus called "Grobbezak" a place that clearly corresponded to the *taman sari* of Tasikardi. Van der Chijs, who cited these two sources, admitted not understanding the meaning of these two words that he qualified, correctly, as barbarian.²² They both must be interpreted as deformations of the same word *krapyak*, which, due to the proximity of the animal reserve at Tasikardi, served probably as a toponym for the entire country estate of the kings of Banten. It must be also mentioned, to be complete, that the toponym of Krapyak can be found at the foot of Gunung Pinang, on the present road that links Serang to Cilegon, at approximately five kilometers to the east of Banten. Unfortunately its ties to the Banten court still remain obscure.

The Royal Square

The royal square, *darparagi*, was located to the north of the palace and extended northward to the river. The trees surrounding the square gave it the pleasant aspect that was noted by Schouten in 1661, as well as Cortemünde in 1673.²³ A certain number of official buildings built along its perimeter helped make it an administrative and political center. It was above all the place where the king appeared to his people, located half-way between the market place, meeting point of the people, and the palace, the sovereign's residence. This had already been noted with the throne that had been installed on the square. The

²⁰ J. P. Cortemünde, *Dagbog fra en Ostiendiefart, 1672–1675* (Sohistoriske Skrifter V, Kronborg, 1953), p. 126.

²¹ C. de Bruijn, *Voyages de Corneille Le Bruijn*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1725), p. 53.

²² van der Chijs, *Oud Banten*, pp. 18–19.

²³ W. Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten aux Indes Orientales*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam, 1707), p. 302; Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 126.

court of justice, whose supreme judge was the king, held its session also on this square.²⁴ It was also in front of the palace where the dignitaries had to appear (ng. *séba*; kr. *sowan*), regardless of whether the king appeared or not. Here, after the sounding of gongs or the firing of cannons, the sovereign or one of his representatives announced the important decisions made by the government to the population.²⁵ The large celebrations given in honor of events relating to the royal family took place there also, such as marriages, circumcisions, etc.²⁶ The royal palace, for several days, indeed for several weeks, was thus transformed into an immense place of amusement which can be compared to the *sekaten* found today in the principalities of Central Java and of Cirebon. There again the king could be seen when going to the mosque for Friday prayers or to attend the burial of a dignitary in the nearby necropolis.²⁷ It was here also that the entire population came to pay him homage and offer him presents—obligatory—at the end of the month of fasting.²⁸ Finally, the king and the dignitaries could also be seen jousting with each other during the Saturday tournaments (*sasapton*), of which the Sultan Ageng was very fond.²⁹ The SB (pupuh 54) described him in great detail at one of these jousting contests, still young, before his ascension to the throne, and we know that at age 50, he was still participating.³⁰ The royal animals were displayed on this same square. Occasionally tigers were seen, when one of them had been captured. A German surgeon who lived in Banten from 1682 to 1685, recounted that any tiger caught had to be brought to the palace and merry making was then organized.³¹ Scott in 1605 had already described a caged tiger found on the square during the festivities celebrating the circumcision of the king, the future Abulmafakhir.³² The other royal animal was the elephant. It is known that for all the countries influenced by Indian civilization, this animal represented military power as well as royal grandeur through its strength. It was remarkable that this tradition was followed on Java, where the animal did not exist in the wild. The Negarakertagama (18-1)³³ already mentioned the presence of these animals at the Majapahit court in the 14th century and van Neck, passing through Tuban in 1599, was greatly impressed by those owned by the king of that city. The view of Banten, published by Valentijn, in the first half of the 17th century showed an elephant standing under a shelter on the square of Banten. The SB (pupuh 44) even had a name for it: Rara Kawi. Tavernier³⁴ had counted sixteen of them inside the palace during the same era, but had added that the king owned an even greater number. Sources no longer mentioned these animals during the reign of Sultan Ageng. Aware that the courts of Central Java maintained the tradition of owning elephants until early in the 20th century, one could think that it had not been abandoned in Banten, even if this sultan was more trusting of modern weapons. In fact, it can be noted that when Cornelis Speelman was nominated to the post of Governor General, in

²⁴ F. Valentijn, "View of Banten," in his *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën*, vol. 4 (Dordrecht-Amsterdam, 1724–1726), pp. 214–15.

²⁵ See, for example, *Dagh Register*, 6.5.1672 and 7.2.1678.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1.9.1672, and E. Scott, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to the Moluccas, 1604–1606* (London, 1943), pp. 152–62.

²⁷ *Dagh Register*, 10.6.1674.

²⁸ IOR, G/21/3 III, 13.5.1659

²⁹ *Dagh Register*, 3.12.1659.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.1.1674.

³¹ *The Barbarous Cruelties and Massacres Committed by the Dutch in the East Indies* (London, 1712), pp. 117–18.

³² Scott, *The Voyage*, p. 161.

³³ Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, 3: 23.

³⁴ Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, 2: 435.

November 1681, which was equal to the crowning of a king, the Banten government sent him an elephant as a present.³⁵ Several months earlier, in January 1681, the first Siamese ambassadors to the king of France arrived in Banten for a “technical” stop, which stretched into eight months. In the ship were two elephants that the king of Siam wanted to offer to the king of France, Louis XIV.³⁶

The mosque was located on the west side of the square. Tradition credited its construction to the son and successor of Hasanudin, Maulana Yusuf, in 966 of the Hegira (AD 1559),³⁷ a year which would correspond, according to Hoesein Djajadiningrat, with the beginning of Hasanudin’s reign. In any case, the mosque that one could see in 1678 could not have dated further back than 1615. In fact, an Englishman, Th. Elkington mentioned that it had collapsed during the night of August 13 to 14, of that year due to lightning.³⁸ The best description of this mosque at the end of the 17th century is Bogaert’s.³⁹

The temple is almost square and built with large beams that are found in abundance on Java. Its roof is in the shape of a tower . . . It has five roofs, one on top of another; the first and largest one covering the body of the temple; the next ones are smaller and smaller so that the last one almost comes to a point. In its center, is raised a high [construction] which forms a real peak.

This description is echoed by Stavorinus one century later (1769):⁴⁰

This building, shaped almost in a square, is flanked on two sides by a high wall. The covering rises up like a tower, with five roofs one on top of the other of which the second is smaller than the first, the third smaller than the second, etc. and whose fifth one ends up in a point while the lowest one extends quite a bit beyond the walls of the temple.

This corresponds fairly well to the structure in existence today. All the Western witnesses insisted on the fact that Christians could not enter it. It is possible to imagine that, like today, the compound of the mosque was used for all sorts of popular secular activities as well as religious ceremonies, and that one would come to idle one’s time away there under the *serambi* spoken of by Stavorinus. Schouten—for Jepara, it is true—recounted that women came to bathe in the basins of the mosque, and Cortemünde described a group of men playing cards in the interior of the compound.⁴¹

The Banten minaret, which today is the very symbol of the city, curiously did not seem to attract much attention on the part of Western travelers. This omission and a bad interpretation of the word “tower” induced van der Chijs in his essay, however excellent on the reconstitution of old Banten, to confuse several buildings and to date the minaret from the 18th century, which did not match reality.⁴² It is true that Stavorinus was the first to describe it clearly: “there is, near the mosque, a narrow tower but quite high which serves

³⁵ See Archives des Missions Étrangères de Paris (AMEP), Vachet II, 390.

³⁶ C222, f° 38, 25.1.1681. Archives Nationales, Paris (AN).

³⁷ Ismail Muhamad, *Banten, Penunjuk jalan dan keterangan bekas kerajaan kesultanan Banten dsb* (Serang, 1956), p. 6.

³⁸ Purchas, *His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), 1: 515.

³⁹ A. Bogaert, *Historische Reizen door d'oostersche Deelen van Asia* (Amsterdam, 1711), p. 134.

⁴⁰ Stavorinus, *Voyage par le Cap*, 1: 55.

⁴¹ Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 1: 64–67; Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 125.

⁴² van der Chijs, *Oud Bantam*, pp. 44–45.

the same function as the minarets in Turkey."⁴³ But older sources are not lacking. Tradition, which is not always right, attributed its construction, around 1620, to an Islamic Mongol (Mandchou?) by the name of Cek Ban Cut.⁴⁴ This minaret did not appear on older maps of Banten. However, in the legend of one from 1659,⁴⁵ one can read: "their Misquijt or church near which is located a white and straight tower which rises higher than the trees." On the view of Banten in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Cartes et plans, SH 193/4/1) which dates probably from the beginning of the 1670s, one can clearly see a minaret near the mosque. In 1694, while passing through Banten, Valentijn mentioned a "stone tower seen from far and wide."⁴⁶ It is manifestly the same minaret described thereafter by Stavorinus. The minaret, quite uncommon in Java, seems to have been largely adopted in Banten where numerous foreign ulamas had passed through. There was one built before 1650, near the king's mosque inside the palace (SB, pupuh 44). The mosque of Kasunyatan, surely very old and located outside the walls to the south of the city, also had a square-shaped minaret, which brings to mind the more enigmatic one, known as Pacinan-Tinggi that can still be seen in the former Chinese sector. The city's rice warehouse was located to the north of the mosque. One wonders, when one understands the importance and meaning accorded to rice by the Javanese, if construction of the warehouse close to this sacred site, was pure chance. Banten sovereigns have always worried about supplying this city with foodstuffs and were trying, through large irrigation works built throughout the kingdom, to increase cultivatable areas. Even more so because plantations of products for export, pepper, sugar, ginger, etc., thereby had a tendency to reduce food-producing areas. The building of a granary was ordered by Sultan Abulmafakhir, probably at the end of the 1640s (SB, pupuh 56); in 1659, it still had not been finished.⁴⁷ It was finished in 1668 because in that year Sultan Ageng had it filled with rice. The Dutch, who reckoned that the quantity stocked corresponded to a year's worth of consumption, wondered if it was not a harbinger of a war with Batavia.⁴⁸ One understands these wise precautions taken by the Sultan when one realizes that in 1677, and even at the beginning of 1678,⁴⁹ rice had become scarce not only because of wars but also because of disastrous climatic conditions affecting, it seems, a large part of Southeast Asia,⁵⁰ and therefore fetched considerable prices. However, it must be noted that this was a rare case, if not the only time when Banten lacked rice.

Near the mosque is the cemetery, known as Sebakingking. In 1678, only two kings were buried there, Hasanudin and his grandson, Maulana Muhamad, killed in the war against Palembang and thus named Seda-ing-rana, "dead far away." The tomb of Maulana Yusuf is located in Pakalangan, to the south of the city, and those of the father and grandfather of Sultan Ageng are in Kenari, near the *taman sari*. Several personalities whom the king wanted to honor, like the former Chinese shabandar Kaytsu,⁵¹ were also buried inside the mosque complex. Nothing here brings to mind the funeral hills like the one of Sultan Agung at Imogiri, and one finds no mention of any cult thus rendered to the tomb of Hasanudin, as is the

⁴³ Stavorinus, *Voyage par le Cap*, 1: 55.

⁴⁴ Ismael, *Banten*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ J. W. Ijzerman, ed., *Cornelis Buijsero te Bantam, 1616–1618* (The Hague, 1923), XXIII.

⁴⁶ Valentijn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indiën*, 4: 215.

⁴⁷ Ijzerman, *Cornelis Buijsero*, XXIII.

⁴⁸ *Dagh Register*, 6.11.1668.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 18.3.1678.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 24.1.1677.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 10.6.1674.

case today. This does not mean, however, that tomb cults were unknown in Banten. To the west of the harbor and on top of a sugar loaf hill, the tomb of a friend of Hasanudin, Kiayi Santri, the object of an ancient cult and visited by Stavorinus in 1769, can be found. And the *kramat* tombs were, it seems, numerous in Banten in the 17th century. Tavernier spoke mockingly of these tombs and of their *juru kunci*: "often, there was a beggar dressed as a Dervich, he builds a hut near the tomb which he is supposed to keep clean and on which he throws flowers. Every time some homage is paid, some ornament is added because the more beautiful a tomb is, the more devotion and saintliness there are and that much more in alms."⁵² But the great sacred place remained the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati at Cirebon where the Banten dignitaries made pilgrimages on several different occasions.

Finally, near the mosque were dwellings for the religious leaders⁵³ in particular for the Cadi, who had the title of Kiayi Fekih (ar. *fiqh*). This person played an important role because, in some ways, he was the minister of justice,⁵⁴ as was explained in the text, doubtlessly a later one: "The high priest, Khay Fokkée Natja Moedin was named by the king as *fiscaal*, that is judge of disputes arising among the Bantenese."⁵⁵

The map of 1659 showed that to the south of the square, the king's palace was surrounded by the dwellings of his closest advisors, particularly those of his two principal ministers, the Mangkubumi and the Kiayi Arya, thus forming a real administrative compound where all sorts of clerks, writers, interpreters, etc. worked. But in that year, 1678, when the Sultan left for Tirtayasa, these notables dismantled their residences, probably pavilions, and had them moved near the new court.⁵⁶ Not far from the palace was the arsenal, closely guarded, where cannons, firearms, and blade weapons were kept in sufficient quantity to equip the army.⁵⁷ It was topped with a great drum (*bedug*) eight feet high "whose sound could be heard as far as several leagues into the mountains."⁵⁸ Schouten—and then, Hesse who was clearly influenced by his text—described this arsenal as a "tower."⁵⁹ Cortemünde on the other hand, simply mentioned a "house for munitions." Unlike van der Chijs, we must consider the word "tower" in its broadest sense, of a building higher than the others. That was the reason mosques were often described as "towers"—Javanese *tempels of toorens*, found, for example, in a text dating from 1686.⁶⁰ Another administrative building on the square was the prison,⁶¹ already mentioned in the First Voyage. This habit of placing the prison on the public square would be maintained until colonial times and it is not uncommon even today to see an old prison on the edge of the *alun-alun*.

Finally, along the edge of the square, near the river and arranged under a shelter, were the king's boats, more ceremonial than war ships; however, there is no material source on this subject for the reign of Sultan Ageng.

⁵² Tavernier, *Les six voyages*, 2: 439–40.

⁵³ Bogaert, *Historische Reizen*, p. 134.

⁵⁴ VOC 1440, f° 2440, 20.1.1688, Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague (ARA).

⁵⁵ Banten 14/3, 7.10.1789, Arsip Nasional, Jakarta (Ars.Nas.)

⁵⁶ *Dagh Register*, 27.7.1678.

⁵⁷ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 126.

⁵⁸ Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 2: 302.

⁵⁹ E. Hesse, *Gold-Bergwerke in Sumatra, 1680–1683*. Reisebeschreibungen von Deutschen Beamten und Kriegsheuten im Dienst der Nied. W- und O-Ind. Komp., vol. 10 (The Hague, 1931), p. 129.

⁶⁰ VOC 1409, f° 1418, 15.2.1686 (ARA).

⁶¹ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 126.

The Market

Located between the mosque and the river, the market, known as Kapalembangan was according to the SB the primary market in Banten (SB, pupuh 26). However, it seems to have suffered from a lack of space in which to enlarge and answer to the needs of an increasing population and growing trade activities of the city. With the arrival of the Dutch in 1596, the principal market was located already outside the city walls, on the east side. The mosque's market was open every day at the end of the morning. In 1596, it seemed quite important and pepper was still sold there. In 1661, according to Schouten, only "essential items" were sold there.⁶² In 1673, Cortemünde did not even mention it, citing only the large *passar* to the east and the *kitjill* of the Chinese section, to the west. It is impossible to know if it only lost its importance or if it completely disappeared. Hesse's mention of it in 1684⁶³ is not to be taken seriously because, as we have already noted, he largely took over Schouten's text.

The Residential Areas

Information on the rest of the city inside the walls is, of course, much less detailed. The first Dutch voyage gives an idea of its structure that is, however, quite clear:⁶⁴

Moreover the city is divided into several parts and for each one a gentleman is designated to guard it in times of war, of fire, or anything else and each one is walled and separated from the others and in each part hangs a great drum . . . which is beaten . . . when they see some fire or battle; the same for noon and dawn and late evening when the day is over.

Some seventy years later, the situation had hardly changed. In speaking of Javanese cities in general, Schouten wrote that they "were divided into several sections, of which each one was committed to the care of a notable or gentleman of standing who made inspections and then reported precisely what was happening there to the sovereign or to those designated by him. When there was something to fear or fire broke out somewhere, one beats the drums with a large mallet," and he added concerning Banten itself, "the city is divided into several sections where each one has a guard and they are closed with gates..."⁶⁵ Bogaert noted: ". . . the city is divided into sections which are closed each night with gates and are guarded against all bad things."⁶⁶ These closed and guarded compounds remind us, of course, of today's *kampung* with the *gardu* and *ronda*, words curiously borrowed from the West, and their decorated *gapura* which replaced the gates, still present, however, in the mind, as testified by the expression *masuk kampung*.

These areas are miniature copies of the city's structure. As all its inhabitants belonged to the king, all those of the *kampung* belonged to a dignitary whose palace was located there. This is a situation that has long survived in the principalities of Central Java, where some neighborhoods still carry the names of the prince. The dignitary's residence reflected the royal palace through its arrangement. It was surrounded by a wall which protected it from fire; one then entered into a guarded courtyard which was also called the *paseban*, where

⁶² Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 2: 304.

⁶³ Hesse, *Gold-Bergwerke*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ G.P. Rouffaer and J. W. Ijzerman, eds., *De eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder C. de Houtman* (1598: The Hague, 1915), p. 107 (Fr. Trans.: Premier livre de l'histoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales par les Hollandais et des Choses à eux advenues, p. 26).

⁶⁵ Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 2: 328–29, 303.

⁶⁶ Bogaert, *Historische Reizen*, p. 133.

local affairs were taken care of and where the private oratory, the *langgar*, was located, that Pallu compared to "small barns all open from the front";⁶⁷ the house itself was made of carved wood and gold elements and was decorated with "tapestries and curtains of silk cloth or cotton material that was well painted."⁶⁸ These dignitaries had their own ulamas and guards, their musicians and dancers, in short, they were the kings of their neighborhoods. Their wealth and power depended on the population that belonged to them—the numbers varied from more than 2,000 to less than 200 persons. If they were the masters of their people, they were also responsible for them vis-à-vis the ones in power, as Schouten noted, from which originated the tradition that required each dignitary to appear at the royal *paseban* to render his accounts. At any moment, the government could depose a dignitary, regardless of his rank, and put another in his place.

This urban structure reflected quite well the social rule that organized the inner city: every dweller in this part of Banten had to belong to one of the dignitaries. Those who did not enter into this system were thrown outside the walls, as will be mentioned later, especially the foreigners. This ownership of the population greatly shocked the Westerners, for example like Pallu, who wrote in 1672:⁶⁹

The king of Bantam has total sovereignty over his subjects; they are all his slaves from the first to the last; he is the absolute master of their goods and their lives . . . in one word, he has everything and they have nothing but board and provisions, like worthless slaves, all the rest of the fruits of their labors and industries are for the king.

The situation, which is not a topic for discussion here, was certainly more complex, and beside true slaves, bought or stolen, "free" inhabitants normally practiced a trade. It must be said, however, that the Bantenese had fewer rights than duties. And this situation contributed probably not a little to the enrichment of the foreign merchants. All the dwellings in this part of the city were built, as was usual in Southeast Asia, on piles of bamboo and covered with palm roofs, material that was highly inflammable. Thus Banten's history was but one long succession of fires. But it seems that at the end of the 17th century, a new building technique, between the traditional and that using durable material, was born. "Most of the houses were constructed with palm trunks or big bamboo, with walls of split canes whose interstices were jointed with clay or lime. They were covered with . . . palms or red tiles."⁷⁰ Yet again in 1675, two-thirds of the city was consumed by fire.⁷¹

The importance of piles becomes evident when one realizes that during "most of the winter the river overflows over the city and one can only navigate the streets in boats."⁷² The Westerners, with their Mediterranean concept of cities as an ensemble which is fundamentally artificial and from which all reminder of natural chaos must be chased, were completely disconcerted by Banten's appearance, or rather that part of the city where nature did not seem tamed: natural and often raw materials—palms, bamboos, trunks freshly felled for building houses, non-paved streets, almost total absence of monuments in stone or other durable material, houses and even the palace open to all winds, public baths in the river,

⁶⁷ AMEP 135, f° 239.

⁶⁸ F. Pyrard, *Voyage de Francois Pyrard, de Laval* (Paris, 1679), p. 100

⁶⁹ AMEP 135, f° 210.

⁷⁰ Bogaert, *Historische Reizen*, p. 133.

⁷¹ *Dagh Register*, 6.1.1675.

⁷² Pyrard, *Voyage de Francois Pyrard*, p. 100.

and, above all, the omnipresent vegetation with coconuts which grew in the middle of houses, used for food as well as for shade.

One does not find any other mention of commercial activities, besides the mosque's market or craft activities, except for the potters section to the southwest of the city.⁷³ Should this omission be treated as evidence of scorn on the part of the Westerners for the activities of the little people who did not concern them, or as an image of reality? Should it be the latter, it would mean imagining the inner city of Banten like another inner city, the Benteng of Yogyakarta, as it still can be seen today.

The Means of Communication

As was mentioned earlier, four large streets, not paved, intersected at right angles near the royal square, dividing the city into four parts. Inside these sections, irregular paths surrounded the houses themselves built without any order. "Due to their impracticality, the other passages could not be called 'streets.'"⁷⁴ In 1680, the ambassadors from Batavia, summoned to the palace, were led there through "small dark passageways," and they judged this crossing of the *kampungs* not quite in line with the dignity that was due them.⁷⁵ This almost total absence of streets was also explained by the fact that Banten was built in "a low and watery place,"⁷⁶ and that, like many other cities in Southeast Asia subject to monsoons, the most often used means of communication and the most dignified remained navigating a *perahu* on the rivers and little canals that crossed the city.⁷⁷ Thus, transport of goods and people as well as the official processions all used boats, inside the city itself as well as from the port to the city, from this capital city to the former one of Banten Girang, or even from Banten to Tirtayasa, a quite frequent trip in 1678. Banten gradually lost the "aquatic" nature that many other Indonesian cities, outside of Java, have retained. In fact, the build up of alluvial deposits gradually hindered navigation on these rivers which were already quite shallow during the dry season, while the irrigation works upstream contributed to this process by diverting water into the fields. From the beginning of the 18th century, the Sultans slowly abandoned their boats "equipped with a bright red tent, embroidered in gold and silver, covered with a parasol of white damask and decorated with three superposed gold crowns,"⁷⁸ and began using the carriages furnished by Batavia for their trips.⁷⁹ Diverting water for irrigation and alluviation was pursued, transforming the rivers and canals into swamps making it indeed difficult to picture the Banten of the 17th century as a Javanese Venice.

The Chinese City

Taken from Western sources and going back to the ethnic origin of the majority of its inhabitants, this designation masks the more fundamental aspect of the role played by this sector in the entire city. Located to the west of the inner city, it was separated from it by a wall to the west as well as by the river. Only one bridge, most likely a drawbridge made out

⁷³ Ijzerman, *Cornelis Buijsero*, XXIII.

⁷⁴ Bogaert, *Historische Reizen*, p. 133.

⁷⁵ *Dagh Register*, 10.7.1680.

⁷⁶ Pyrard, *Voyage de Francois Pyrard*, p. 100.

⁷⁷ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 124.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁷⁹ de Bruijn, *Voyages de Corneille Le Bruijn*, 5: 59.

of freestone,⁸⁰ linked the two parts together. That is to say, the port at the mouth of the river seemed rejected by the royal city, recalling the situation of Bubat, distanced from the Majapahit capital. This sector only acquired its ethnic overtones fortuitously. As was mentioned earlier, all those who did not belong in the Bantenese social system were systematically thrown outside the walls. Already in 1596, the Dutch noted with surprise that the "Emperor of Demak," then in Banten, "to whom even the kings spoke with their hands joined," had his palace outside the inner city, "because he was not allowed to spend the night inside the city."⁸¹ The same rule was applied in the 1670s to the crown prince of Jambi, moreover an ally of Banten, and to ambassadors from Mataram. The inhabitants of the inner city, on the contrary, could not settle outside the walls and had to return to their own neighborhood before nightfall.⁸² Being located outside the walls, this neighborhood with its foreign population had a specificity: it made up the international trade center. Thus ships from far-off lands arrived here to trade; here also the local boats drew up alongside, bringing goods for export. Therefore those who took part in this trade, by force of circumstances, the foreigners, lived here. Among them, the Chinese made up the majority but Moors could also be found—Gujeratis and Bengalese among others—and many other ethnic groups. When the Portuguese arrived in the 16th century, they naturally settled in this section of the city. Finally, people from other European nations, who came here during the 17th century to take part in, and on a considerable scale, the great Asian trade, found themselves also quartered in this neighborhood.

Coming from the port, one entered the city by the mouth of the river which formed the harbor itself. The shallowness of the port, five feet at high tide,⁸³ permitted only little boats to operate the shuttle between the port and the city when the cargos of the big ships were loaded and unloaded. To facilitate its access, Sultan Ageng, during the dry season of 1661, had the river dredged and constructed two piers in the sea to fight against its silting up. The piers rested on large posts of *groenhout* and coral rocks that convicted drug users had to search for on the islands in the bay.⁸⁴ These piers are quite clearly depicted on the watercolor in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris which served as the original for the engravings that illustrated W. Schouten's book. From the sea coast and moving towards the south, following the long street that was called the Chinese street,⁸⁵ three separate sectors could be distinguished: the harbor administration, the European neighborhood, and finally the Chinese sector.

The Port Administration

The first sector began at the gate, the *boom* in Dutch texts, that was in fact made out of tree trunks, allowing access to the city by boat, and a detachment of soldiers to guard it were placed under the authority of an officer, *tumenggung*, who had two cannons at his disposal.⁸⁶ Nearby was the Customs Office, *pabeau*, one of the rare ancient toponyms kept by contemporary Banten. It was an important administration because it controlled all importation and exportation of goods. The commodities forbidden for importation, like

⁸⁰ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 124.

⁸¹ Rouffaer & Ijzerman, *De eerste Schipvaart*, p. 81.

⁸² Scott, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, p. 93.

⁸³ AMEP, Vachet, II, 404

⁸⁴ *Dagh Register*, 29.6. and 8. 1661.

⁸⁵ G/21/4, 27.10.1670 (IOR).

⁸⁶ *Dagh Register*, 4.3.1680, AMEP, Vachet, II, 405.

tobacco or opium, were placed in a warehouse “under bond,” before being sent to other regions.⁸⁷ Duty for goods and other anchoring fees had to be paid here. For this, public weights, *dacing* (a word of Chinese origin) were used. This operation often raised protests from the Westerners who believed the scales to be rigged to their disadvantage.⁸⁸ It seemed that to facilitate unloading the enormous cargoes from their ships, the government accepted fixed fees, more or less advantageous, depending on the agreements reached separately with each European country.

A little further to the south, the shabandar administration was located. This building had been built by Kaytsu, the former shabandar, dead for four years; during his lifetime, as an economic advisor to the king, he played an eminent role in the development and prosperity of Banten from 1665 on. Since February 23, 1677, the function of shabandar was assumed by Kiayi Ngabèhi Cakradana. Economically speaking, it was the most important position in the city, as was noted by Guilben, head of the French lodge, because the shabandar was “as much master of the port as general head of trade.”⁸⁹

These three administrations, the Customs Office, the Public Weights, and the shabandar office, employed quite a number of clerks whose responsibilities were to keep the books, and all three had foreigners as head administrators; these were Chinese in 1678. Even if far from peculiar to Banten, the presence of foreigners at the head of such important administrations seems surprising. It corresponded, however, to a certain logic. In fact, the shabandar, besides being responsible for the port and trade, was also responsible for the foreign communities for whom he was the guarantor and whose representative he was to the government. It seemed that the head of Customs was, on the other hand, head of the Chinese community. Western sources sometimes designated him head of the Chinese, sometimes shabandar of the Chinese city,⁹⁰ which often led to confusion. One knows that in nearby Batavia, the Dutch had these same functions, under the titles of Chinese Captain and shabandar, the latter always being Dutch. Other places, other customs! Finally the presence of a Chinese in the position of Kepala Dacing was explained by the fact that he depended on the customs director, a Chinese himself, and that ethnic cohesion must certainly have played a role.

In fact, one can note that the entire administration of the port, as the geographical location indicated, was left to foreigners, particularly to Chinese, the most numerous and the best placed in the court of Sultan Ageng. The Sultan handed over to them the administration of by far the most important sources of revenue. The fact that these three responsibilities were leased out⁹¹ indicated the total confidence the king granted the leaseholders, as well as the lack of interest that he showed for business details. The Bantenese sovereigns gave the impression of distancing themselves from trade tasks considered too low for a Javanese king, regardless of how necessary they were to the wealth and glory of the kingdom. The status of these administrators was not devoid of ambiguity because the function they could claim only because of their status as foreigner made them members of the Bantenese government, granting them related Javanese titles and names. It seemed indeed that the only condition imposed by the sovereign on their nomination was, irrespective of any religious

⁸⁷ G/21/6, 29.3.1672 (IOR).

⁸⁸ E/3/31, 29.12.1670 (IOR).

⁸⁹ AMEP, Vachet, II, 380

⁹⁰ P. Voorhoeve, F.H. Naerssen, Th. Pigeaud, *The Royal Library, Copenhagen: Catalogue of Indonesian Manuscripts* (Copenhagen, 1977), p. 162.

⁹¹ G/21/4, 27.10.1670 (IOR).

belief, their conversion to Islam. In fact, in 1678 as before, all foreigners holding a position in the court were Muslims. The great majority of the Chinese seem to have retained the religion of their ancestors, as is discussed below.

The European Section

Next came the Western sector. Five European nations were officially present in Banten: the English, the Dutch, the French, the Danish, and the Portuguese.⁹² Only the first four had a lodge. As for the Portuguese, they made up a half breed community difficult to discern. They had always been present in Banten, but for several years their numbers increased as trade activity with Macao increased, and two years earlier,⁹³ the arrival of "three ships filled with Portuguese from Jepara with their families and wishing to live in Banten," had been noted. These refugees had left that city, where there was a sizeable Portuguese community with its own church, to escape the war that was raging there. Without a contest, the English had the largest lodge, to the north of the section, and they continued expanding, during this booming period of the 1670s. In 1671, they built two new warehouses for pepper,⁹⁴ and in 1674, felt they had doubled the capacity of their warehouses during the last five years.⁹⁵ Taking advantage of the fire in 1675, they acquired approximately 4500 square meters of land that was adjacent to theirs.⁹⁶ Quite near the English lodge was the new Dutch one. The Dutch, having returned to Banten after signing the peace treaty with this kingdom in 1659, did not want to reclaim their former lodge, considering it too timeworn, and they located the new one a little further south. They took occupancy of the new lodge, built by the shabandar in 1663.⁹⁷ Admitted even by Batavia,⁹⁸ it was more for collecting political and economic information than for trade, strictly speaking. Finally, the last two lodges, the French and the Danish, were located near the former Dutch one and both were settled in 1671. They were built by the shabandar Kaytsu. The French lodge, which in 1678 had been forced into inactivity due to the war in Europe between the French and the Dutch, was built on a plot of land of approximately 1500 square meters.⁹⁹ As has been noted, all these lodges were constructed under the direction of the former Shabandar Kaytsu, and, therefore, it is not surprising that they were in brick and in the Chinese style, with the exception of the commons, built out of lighter material. As was remarked, the Bantenese political system required each country to have a representative to the government. The European countries did not escape this rule. The role of guarantor and representative of his community was held by the head of the lodge. But on several occasions, the Sultan tried to intervene and name the person of his choosing to the head of a Western community, as he had done for the Asian countries, the Moors and Chinese, accepting with difficulty the lack of a direct say in the constitution of the hierarchy imposed by the foreigners, usually by the heads of the trade companies.¹⁰⁰

⁹² *Dagh Register*, 27.8.1675.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 7.10.1676.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 28.6.1671.

⁹⁵ G/21/4, 4.12.1674 (IOR).

⁹⁶ G/21/4, 21.1.1675 (IOR).

⁹⁷ *Dagh Register*, July 1663.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.7.1659.

⁹⁹ G/21/4, 26.8.1671 (IOR); C2 193, f° 25 (AN).

¹⁰⁰ See for example, *Dagh Register*, 2.2.1659.

The Chinese Sector

Last, the Chinese street that still exists today, led to the Chinese sector. The number of Chinese, already considerable at the beginning of the century,¹⁰¹ increased sizably during the last years, certainly for political reasons on the king's part. In 1670–1671, the king had a compound of “three lovely streets with twenty brick houses on each side as well as shops” built by the two Chinese heads Kaytsu and Cakradana,¹⁰² which meant 120 houses to lodge the new arrivals coming from China as well as from Batavia.¹⁰³ Several years later, in 1676, with the war raging in Fujian as well as in Southern China, with the last manifestations of resistance coming from the legitimist Mings and the intervention from Formosa by Zheng Jing, the son of the well-known “Coxinga,” with war on the north coast of Java, and with the chronic instability caused by the revolt of Trunojoyo, a real wave of Chinese immigrants, coming from China, from Amoy, as well as from East Java or Central Java, could be seen arriving in Banten.¹⁰⁴ Certainly more than a thousand Chinese were seen seeking asylum and working in Banten during the single year of 1676!

The aspect of this neighborhood, from its gate to the south, differed greatly from the inner city. Already in 1596, brick houses could be seen there, built according to the Chinese style found in the south from where the majority of the Chinese in Banten came. In 1659, “the majority of the houses on the Chinese street were in stone,”¹⁰⁵ meaning, made of durable material. Finally, the rate of durable construction was accelerated during the 1670s, certainly initiated by the sovereign, but above all by the two shabandars who wanted to fight against the fires that were all that much more feared in this neighborhood where all the merchandise was stocked.¹⁰⁶ Pallu, quite scornful of the general aspect of the city, noted in 1672 that one “began a few years ago to build several streets according to the fashion in China, that is to say straight, the houses all in a row and out of bricks but low and small and which have nothing of beauty to them.”¹⁰⁷ This description could apply to any *pacinan* of a Javanese city of today. Straight streets, brick houses built on the ground and not on piles: a new style forced its way in, which during the next centuries would usurp the former one to the point that houses on piles would become rare in Java, even in the countryside.

In this part of the city, the status of the inhabitants was, conforming to the image of the urban landscape, very different from that which could be found in the inner city. Here, one paid a rent to the king for the land on which the houses were built,¹⁰⁸ because according to Javanese tradition, the land belonged to the state and “no one in the country had the right to own the land.”¹⁰⁹ Foreigners, with a special system for Westerners, were subject to personal taxation,¹¹⁰ while the Muslim foreigners, like their Javanese religious counterparts, were compelled to forced labor.¹¹¹ Indeed, people from all different countries were found here,

¹⁰¹ Scott, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, passim.

¹⁰² E/3/31, 29.12.1671 (IOR).

¹⁰³ VOC 1389, f° 2935/6, 26.7.1683 (ARA).

¹⁰⁴ See *Dagh Register* 2.1.1676; 14.2.1676; 25.8.1676; 12.11.1676 for the different waves of immigrants.

¹⁰⁵ Ijzerman, *Cornelis Buijseno*, XXIII.

¹⁰⁶ G/21/6a, 20.12.1670 (IOR).

¹⁰⁷ AMEP, 135, 209.

¹⁰⁸ C2 193, f° 25 (AN) and *Dagh Register*, 14.6.1663.

¹⁰⁹ O/21/4, 21.1.1675 (IOR).

¹¹⁰ Banten 3/12, f° 33, 18.8.1731 (Ars.Nas.).

¹¹¹ E/3/31, f° 3467, August 1670 (IOR).

coming of their own free will or brought by boat as servants or slaves; they worked for the lodges or rich merchants. Apart from the lodges, living there also were the Europeans, mainly English but also Spaniards, Danish, French, and Portuguese, taking part in the flourishing private trade, and, more numerous still, those working for the king either in his trade flotilla or in other fields. These are not to be confused with the "renegades" who by virtue of their conversion to Islam, lived in the inner city, wearing Javanese clothing and in the employ of a dignitary or of the king.

Everything worked toward making this international trade center a very animated area. There was the Chinese market in the afternoons where probably, like today, the products most appreciated by foreigners were sold: pork for the non-Muslims, special vegetables, etc. There were, above all, shops where imported and other products could be bought. When the ships arrived from the coast of Coromandel, hundreds of small independent merchants installed stands in the Chinese street to sell their meager loads.¹¹² There worked the "dock hands," who filled the warehouses when pepper arrived from Sumatra or sugar from the southern plains, who loaded and unloaded the numerous *perahu*, assuring the shuttle between the ships and the port. It was there that the pepper was sifted, ground, and put into sacks; there the cases for packing sugar were still made; there ginger was candied and put into jars. Brickworks which made the bricks for houses and walls were found there, as well as lime ovens for making quick lime that was exported in sizeable quantities to Batavia in earthenware jars.

Like all ports, this one also had a section where one went for amusement. There were inviting cabarets where arak was drunk, distilled in Banten, and where chess, dice, or other games of chance were played,¹¹³ and where, upon paying a kind of tax to the government, company could be enjoyed with women who were not too timid.¹¹⁴ These delicate subjects wore a modest veil and Cortemünde was the only one to recount how sailors every evening left the port for merrymaking in the cabarets selling arak, and how, when they returned to the ships, "they had to be hoisted aboard like pigs" so drunk were they.¹¹⁵ To be surprised by these excesses on the part of sailors who had spent long and difficult months at sea, one had to be a young Catholic priest like Gayme.¹¹⁶ But there were more innocent pleasures in this sector where there were often *wayang* shows or theater, and where fireworks were held whose variety and splendor thrilled and astonished the Europeans.

A last word should be said about worship in this neighborhood. The Westerners had a small chapel or oratory inside their respective lodges and the companies usually put a chaplain at their disposal. No source mentioned a mosque in this part of the city. For the Chinese, we saw that the most important among them had converted to Islam. But their numbers must not be overestimated. The frequency of their appearances in sources was often relative to the importance and visibility of the positions they occupied. It was clearly evident to all these witnesses that the majority of the Chinese had retained the religion of their ancestors.

Curiously, there are only obscure references to the places where the Chinese worshipped even though the Banten of today largely owes its reputation to the *klenteng* that

¹¹² 0/21/4, 27.10.1670 and E/3/37, 23.7.1676 (IOR).

¹¹³ 0/21/ II, 27.5.1635 (IOR).

¹¹⁴ L'Estra, *Relation ou journal d'un voyage nouvellement fait aux Indes* (Paris, 1677), pp. 34–35.

¹¹⁵ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, pp. 101–102.

¹¹⁶ AMEP, vol. 972, f° 172–3, 8.10.1672.

became Vihara Avalokitesvara. This *klenteng* is located in the present section of Pabean; it seems quite improbable that it could have existed in this sector in the 17th century without there being any mention of it. Lombard-Salmon in their study of the community and the Chinese epigraphy of Banten showed that the oldest stele of this temple goes back to 1754.¹¹⁷ The first mention of this temple that could be found dated from 1747 and is found in a notarial act, where it is specified that a property was bordered on the west by the Chinese Temple.¹¹⁸

But what about the 17th century? The First Voyage mentioned a pagoda but Rouffaer-Ijzerman demonstrated that the engraving on which the text was manifestly dependent, had been taken from an illustration of a Hindu temple, found in Lonschoten.¹¹⁹ One can recall Mandelslo, who confirmed that there were no temples or priests in Banten, or the inverse, with Leblanc, who recounted with as much conviction that the Chinese of Banten had a temple. But nothing is less sure than the descriptions of Banten written by these two travelers. That of Cortemünde is much more reliable; he devoted several pages to the description of the Chinese community of this city. After having spoken about altars, probably family ones, he added, "Moreover in Banten, they have magnificent temples, with images of devils, splendidly decorated but frightening, in gold and silver. . . They easily allowed the Christians to enter and look,"¹²⁰ which was different, as maintained earlier, from the Muslims who prohibited access to the great mosque. Therefore it is this one witness that confirms that the Chinese had several *klenteng* in Banten in 1673.

The Eastern Suburbs

A certain symmetry existed between this sector and the Chinese city: like the latter, it was separated from the inner city by a wall and a river; it had a port, called Karangantu, controlled by a customs office (*pabean*) and watched over by a group of guards, and was mainly populated with foreigners. But the similarities stopped here. It was not a question of a truly urbanized sector but a suburb extending along the coast and loosely regrouping all kinds of artisan or even "industrial" activities. Moving from west to east, the port, made up by the river, came first. Spanning it was a bridge that Cakradana had rebuilt out of stone a few years earlier. It led to the inner city¹²¹—let us note in passing that the Westerners, always very Eurocentric, judged this construction in durable material as "built like in Europe."¹²² This bridge was built at the mouth of the same river. It could surely be opened up,¹²³ but it certainly formed an obstacle at the entrance of this river. One could imagine that the traffic in the port was quite limited and reserved for ships that brought their products to sell in the market and that, given the local character of this second trade center of Banten, only small boats could draw up alongside and were simply pulled up on the shore. The large market and the shops surrounding it made up the heart of this sector where retail trade was carried out. All the Western travelers described the richness and variety of this

¹¹⁷ C and D Lombard-Salmon, "A propos de quelques stèles chinoises récemment retrouvées à Banten (Java-ouest)," *Archipel* 9 (1975): 100.

¹¹⁸ Banten 14/6, f° 45. 19/1/1747 (Ars.Nas.).

¹¹⁹ Rouffaer & Ijzerman, *De eerst Schipvaart*, p. 125.

¹²⁰ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 124.

¹²¹ *Dagh Register*, 24.6.1674

¹²² AMEP, vol. 135, 209

¹²³ de Bruijn, *Voyages*, 5: 51.

market, which was held every day from dawn to morning, and insisted also on the number of nationalities that were found there. Its organization, described in extensive detail in the First Book and represented distinctly as well in the engraving that accompanied it, are so well known that it seems unnecessary to return to its description. It suffices to note that among the peoples of the Orient already cited, some of them were represented only by individuals while others formed true communities, particularly the Chinese and the peoples of India.

The image of 1596, with its bamboo stands, did not correspond to the situation of 1678. As early as 1659, the majority of the houses surrounding the large market were constructed in brick.¹²⁴ Cortemünde even let one believe that they formed the large rectangular streets.¹²⁵ This construction in durable material was also the work of the Chinese who built there a second *pacinan* but probably aimed at retail trading. The population seemed in any case much more mixed here than in the west sector; all the witnesses insisted on the presence of the "Moors," to such an extent that they sometimes called this market the "Moor bazaar."¹²⁶ But it was noted that the number of Chinese increased gradually. In 1706, De Bruijn described the *pasar* as filled with Chinese shops and remarked that even the captain or leader of the Chinese lived in this sector.¹²⁷ It seemed evident that the "Sino-ization" of this *pasar*, begun some time ago, was accelerated when Banten was taken by the Dutch in 1682 with its accompanying consequences: expulsion of the Moors and the Westerners, prohibition of all international traffic to Banten, and finally a Dutch monopoly in pepper. Once international trade was stopped, the Chinese who remained in the city had to revert back to retail trade and, logically, the Chinese sector to the west, after having suffered much during the war, also lost its reason for being there, and quickly disappeared. In 1683, there were only 138 Chinese left in the Chinese street.¹²⁸ In 1727, of the Chinese remaining in Banten, 667 lived to the east and only 128 in the Chinese street.¹²⁹

More to the east, noted Schouten, was the fishermen's sector, "an infinite number of little houses and huts of poor people naturally coming from the countryside or from abroad and who furnished sailors and fishermen in quantities useful to the government."¹³⁰ This fishermen's sector extended along the beach and still existed in 1706.¹³¹ The naval shipyards for Banten were also in this zone, where numerous traditional ships were built, from the junk to the pirogue,¹³² vessels which Banten needed for all its maritime activities. Only the very large ships were constructed in the region of Rembang, known for its abundance in teak wood;¹³³ again it must be noted that due to the war in 1678, this was no longer possible. Finally, for maintenance and repair of their ships, Westerners used an island situated to the north of Bojonegara, to the northwest of the port and often called the English onrust.¹³⁴ The

¹²⁴ Ijzerman, *Cornelis Buijsero*, XXIII

¹²⁵ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 124.

¹²⁶ Banten 1/5, f° 75, 1727 (Ars. Nas.).

¹²⁷ De Bruijn, *Voyages*, 5: 51.

¹²⁸ VOC 1389, f° 2935-6, 26.7.1683 (ARA).

¹²⁹ Banten 1/5, f° 75 (Ars. Nas.).

¹³⁰ Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 2: 304-305.

¹³¹ De Bruijn, *Voyages*, 5: 51.

¹³² Schouten, *Voyage de Gautier Schouten*, 2: 305, and, of course, Hesse, *Gold-Bergwerke*, p. 131, who copied him.

¹³³ For example, 0/21/4, 23.11.1669 (IOR).

¹³⁴ C2 22, f° 37, 25.1.1681 (AN).

final activity of this sector was represented by the saltworks,¹³⁵ about which unfortunately there is little information. One could believe that they were leased and that the fees were quite high. In fact, it is noted that the *soutpannen* made up part of the revenues of the crown prince, Pangeran Ratu, the son of Sultan Haji, who at the latter's death in 1687, ascended to the throne under the name of Abdul Fadhal Muhammad.¹³⁶ According to the information gathered there in 1987, these saltworks would have been in service until after Indonesian independence and belonged then to some Chinese of Serang. It could be imagined, given the proximity of the saltworks to the fishermen's sector, that they were also used for salting and drying fish.

As was mentioned earlier, the population of this sector was made up of foreigners. The tendency is to think of the countries situated the furthest away and the ones that were the most powerful economically. But peoples of the Archipelago also lived in this sector: the Malays of Sumatra and of the Peninsula, the Javanese of Mataram, and above all, for some years, the Bugis Makassarese and the Balinese. It is to be noted in passing that in this year of 1678, the last two groups had to be officially registered with the Bantenese authorities.¹³⁷ No source gave any information concerning their status, their rights, and their duties in this city and in the kingdom.

The Suburbs to the South

It could be questionable to use the word suburb to describe the countryside which extended approximately ten kilometers to the south of Banten, but history, feelings, and above all the economy made this area inseparable from the city. It was accessible from the river or by the road which ran more or less along it. The latter, started from the Chinese sector and ran through fertile and well-kept fields, going first of all to the *taman sari* and the animal reserve (*krapyak*), then to Kenari where the tombs of ancestors closest to Sultan Ageng were found: his great-grandmother, Nyai Gedé (SB pupuh 44), his grandfather, Sultan Abulmafakhir, and his father, Sultan Abulmaäli, who died before he could ascend the throne. Like the king with his water palace, the Westerners also had their baths near the river, where they would come to cool off and amuse themselves and escape from the torrid and fetid atmosphere of the city and, in particular, from the Chinese sector, with its dense population and above all its brick houses, certainly fire resistant but also badly adapted to the humid heat that only flowing air could dissipate. The Europeans suffered more than the others from this climate and an Englishman noted: "He that escapes without disease from that stinking stew of the Chinese part of Bantam must be of a strong constitution of Body."¹³⁸

Exactly one year before, in 1677, one of these parties held in the countryside among the Europeans of Banten ended in a drama which shook up the entire Western community of the city. The English from the lodge had invited their Danish and French colleagues to spend the afternoon at their baths, located three kilometers to the south of the city. Everybody, wives included, gaily took to the boats but on the return trip, at sunset, they fell into an ambush, prepared by Pangeran Kitradul, the hot-headed brother of the king, because of a personal dispute he had with an Englishman: two persons were killed and two others

¹³⁵ *Dagh Register*, 25.4.1678.

¹³⁶ VOC 1440, f° 2440, 20.1.1688 (ARA).

¹³⁷ *Dagh Register*, 20.2.1678.

¹³⁸ OCI 106, 20.6.1613 (IOR).

seriously injured.¹³⁹ However, the area was far from deserted. Houses could be seen along the river and this suburb furnished the city with fresh products.

Seven kilometers further, one arrived at Kelapadua. Here, food-producing farming gave place to raising products for export. This sizeable town was quite different from the others in that it was constructed out of bricks and the inhabitants were, for the majority at least, of Chinese origin.¹⁴⁰ Sugar cane had long been grown here and, of course, was processed here as well. During his visit, Cortemünde saw a sugar mill here that he described as "magnificent."¹⁴¹ The same author alluded to another activity of this town: the distillation of arak. There were many distilleries of arak in Kelapadua, he noted. And furthermore, this activity was entirely in the hands of the Chinese. In 1671, a governmental decision was made that regulated this activity, which was practiced at the beginning of the 17th century almost everywhere and even in the Chinese sector.¹⁴² One can guess its magnitude from the revenues that the government drew in the form of taxes: 1200 reales per year¹⁴³ that is the price of ten brick houses in the Chinese sector.¹⁴⁴ The English, who maintained close ties with the Chinese of Kelapadua for their purchases of sugar, owned a house there.

Serang was located quite near there; as its name indicated, because in Sudanese this word means paddy field, a center for rice production, developed by Abulmafakhir among others (SB, pupuh 46). Finally the former capital, Banten Girang, was reached. This court, deserted when the capital was transferred to the sea coast with the arrival of a new Muslim dynasty, had not been abandoned for all that. A palace still existed there; even in 1674, the king came here for his tournaments and secret councils.¹⁴⁵ In 1679, he had "a new court built to serve as a refuge for the queens . . . during times of war."¹⁴⁶ The same passage of the *Dagh Register*, indicated that a road linked Banten Girang to Tirtayasa, the new court of Sultan Ageng.

It seemed probable that these three centers: Banten Girang, Kelapadua, and Serang—the first two today having become simple suburbs of Serang—formed a compound corresponding to the former capital. Moreover, the presence of a Chinese community, well established in Kelapadua in 1678, reminds us that the Chinese frequented these places well before the arrival of Islam as proven by the numerous Chinese ceramic fragments from prior Ming dynasties, which were found in Banten Girang and in the surrounding area, and as testified by the popular tradition which attributed two tombs to two Chinese, Ki Jong and Agus Jo (see also SB pupuh 17), who converted to Islam and offered their services to Hasanudin. These two tombs, which can still be seen today, are located on a site which is believed to be where the palace of the last pagan king, Pucuk Umun, was located.

¹³⁹ E/3/38, 11.5.1677 (IOR).

¹⁴⁰ H 628, f° 187–194 (IOR).

¹⁴¹ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 126.

¹⁴² E/3/31, 30.1.1671 (IOR).

¹⁴³ Ibid.

¹⁴⁴ G/21/4, 21.1.1675 (IOR).

¹⁴⁵ *Dagh Register*, 23.1.1674.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 28.12.1679.

Banten, A Fortified City

The system of defense for the city is worthy of particular mention as it seemed dissuasive enough to prevent all foreign attack until 1682, when the Dutch took Banten. Yet they had the benefit of support coming from inside the city from a fraction of the population who viewed them favorably. These walls and the cannons that were installed on them, even if they sometimes provoked the irony of the Europeans, probably played a part in the prosperity of Banten which was, above all during the years between 1660 and 1680, a true harbor of peace—the peace so appreciated by merchants—in an Archipelago which never stopped changing by means of violence. Without attempting to develop a history of these fortifications, it suffices to mention that the SB (pupuh 22) attributed the credit for their construction to Maulana Yusup, who reigned between 1570 and 1580, according to Hoesein.¹⁴⁷ At the beginning of the 15th century, Ma Huan in the *Ying-yai Sheng-lan* affirmed that not one of the “four towns of Java” had surrounding walls.¹⁴⁸ The situation at the end of the 16th century was quite different. In the text of the first Dutch travel (ch. 20), almost all the ports of Java were described as enclosed by walls. The map of Banten in 1596 showed a brick surrounding wall built zig zag, as well as palisades. In the view of Banten published by Valentijn in which he detailed the conditions in the first half of the 17th century, one can still see the same zig zagging walls.

On the map of 1659, that is eight years after Sultan Ageng ascended to the throne, it can be noted that the western half of the wall along the sea had been rebuilt in coral rock, this time in a straight line with several bastions at the points.¹⁴⁹ This work had probably been done between 1653 and 1656.¹⁵⁰ Prior to 1673, the wall on the side to the sea appeared to have been entirely redone in this new style, as was shown in a sketch by Cortemünde¹⁵¹ and the watercolor in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. On the same map of 1659, the south wall, in brick, was no longer parallel to the north one but, along with its west part, formed a large hook toward the south, which caused the growing city to develop differently from the square plan, the ideal plan probably desired by the city founders.

Besides those that surrounded the city strictly speaking, ramparts along the sea could be found, as well as other works of fortification that protected, on the one hand, the Chinese sector, and the east suburbs on the other. Numerous European witnesses testified that two Chinese of Banten, the last two shabandars of Sultan Ageng, played a preponderant role in the construction or the reconstruction of these fortifications. This would confirm Scott's opinion that attributed the construction of the first fortifications to the Chinese.¹⁵²

It would take a longer study to speak of the armament of this city whose strength struck every visitor; it is sufficient to note that throughout his reign, Sultan Ageng did not cease to acquire cannons of all kinds, muskets, and the indispensable powder from the Westerners, through purchases, gifts, or simply seizing them, lacking the means to have them manufactured in Banten. In this, he benefitted from the interested cooperation on the part of the European nations only too happy to find thus the means to counterbalance the disturbing Dutch power from Batavia.

¹⁴⁷ Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische beschouwing van de Sadjarah Banten* (Haarlem, 1913), p. 163.

¹⁴⁸ W. Broeneveldt, *Historical Notes on Indonesia and Malaya compiled from Chinese Sources* (Jakarta, 1960), p. 45.

¹⁴⁹ Ijzerman, *Cornelis Buijsro*, XXII.

¹⁵⁰ *Dagh Register*, 2.6.1653 and 5.11.1656.

¹⁵¹ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 123.

¹⁵² Scott, *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, p. 169.

In Guise of a Conclusion

It would be desirable to end by giving the figures for the population in Banten. This is unfortunately quite difficult. The First Book compared Banten in 1596 to Amsterdam of the 16th century and Leblanc compared it to Rouen at the very beginning of the 17th century. Pallu estimated its population in 1672 as at least 100,000 souls.¹⁵³ Cortemünde, in the following year, evaluated the number of men in Banten at 200,000 able to go to war, while in 1677, an English source affirmed that one could recruit 10,000 men capable of carrying arms in the entire country.¹⁵⁴ The list of these estimates could be lengthened easily but in vain. The most reliable source, it seems, is a passage in the *Dagh Register* (16.1.1673) which indicated that during the census carried out in 1673, the men in the city capable of using a lance or musket were numbered at 55,000. If all men were counted, whatever their nationality, a total of approximately 150,000 inhabitants would be estimated, including women, children, and the elderly.

More uncertain would be the estimate of the number of foreigners and thus their percentage in the city. With this inability to calculate, one soon reaches limitations not encountered by historians of the Western world. The absence of quantitative data—a simple change in the number of the population for example—certainly accounts for much in the impression of a static society that Westerners believed had long existed in the Archipelago.

Whatever the case, it is undeniable that Banten represented in 1678, through its population and its wealth, the most important urban center of this Archipelago and certainly figured among the largest cities in the world of this era.

¹⁵³ AMEP, 135, 209

¹⁵⁴ Cortemünde, *Dagbog*, p. 122; E/3/38, 11.5.1677 (IOR).

