THE INDIGENIZATION OF INDONESIAN ART

NANCY F. ROCAMORA

The great eight to ninth century stupa of Barabudur located in Central Java has little in common with the contemporary Balinese temple, though both are products of a mixture of Indian influence with indigenous Indonesian concepts. Barabudur remains one of the most sophisticated monuments of a doctrinally pure Mahayana Buddhist phase, while the Balinese temple represents Hinduism inextricably mixed with indigenous forms and concepts. Yet the differences between these two kinds of structures become more understandable if we regard them as two ends of a continuum, a process of integrating foreign influences into local notions and concrete forms. In many ways Barabudur is the most Indian of Javanese shrines. The process of change that occurred in the forms of Javanese religious structures over the centuries from the early ninth to the late 14th century and from the Central to East Javanese periods can be seen as a long, slow process of indigenization, which reaches its culmination in Bali. To understand this process, it is necessary to examine some of the intermediate stages. After studying Barabudur, we will look first at the early 10th century Hindu temple complex of Prambanan in Central Java, then the 14th century complex of Panataran in East Java, before proceeding finally to an examination of the Balinese temple, focusing discussion on two state temples of Mengwi.

Though thousands of stupas of various periods shape the landscape of Asia, none of them compare to Barabudur in meaning or complexity. This encyclopedic monument consists of eight terraces placed on a broad base, five in the shape of redented squares, on top of which rise three circular terraces of decreasing size. In form, Barabudur is strongly geometric, combining the essential forms of the circle and square. Its orientation to the four cardinal points is emphasized through a stairway placed at the midpoint of each side.

A high balustrade of approximately ten feet surrounds each of the square terraces making each walkway into a narrow, enclosed processional path. Both the sides of the monument itself and the inner and outer surfaces of the balustrades are carved in high relief. Along the tops of the balustrades are niches facing outwards, containing images of the Buddha. On the top three circular terraces are 72 small latticework, slightly bell-shaped stupas, each containing a seated Buddha figure with hands in the *dharmachakra*

mudra.[1] Crowning the monument is a larger solid stupa, also slightly bell-shaped. At one time this top stupa bore the traditional mast with honorific umbrellas, but this has since been lost.

Both profile and plan of Barabudur are infinitely more complex than those of earlier monuments and the reasons for this greater complexity are various. Most obvious is that Barabudur is a developed Mahayanist shrine and that the complexity of its form corresponds to the complexity of the doctrine it illustrates. The location of Barabudur in Indonesia is a further factor which must be considered. The pre-Indian sanctuary in Indonesia consisted of a series of terraces, each one stepped back from the one below, cut into the side of a mountain where the ancestors were thought to live. On the highest terrace and closest to the mountain's peak was an altar made of one upright and one horizontal stone, the seats of the gods or ancestors.

In spite of the superficial similarity between the form of Barabudur and the ancient terraced mountain sanctuary, its absolute symmetry, strong geometric forms, and orientation to the cardinal points make Barabudur strongly Indian. As the Javanese shrine evolved, it moved away from these principles and away from the notion of the temple as a sacred mass occupying space. Whether or not the Javanese invented the exact form of Barabudur[2] does not concern us here. Even if the notion of the stupa as a multi-layered world mountain was brought by the Indians, the concept would have been easily acceptable to the Javanese who were already building terraced sanctuaries on mountain tops.

The content of the reliefs adorning Barabudur insures that circumambulation and ascent are enlightening to the devotée. At one time a further level of reliefs was visible around the base beneath the broad walkway which now girdles the shrine. They were covered when the artificial core of the stupa began to shift,[3] requiring the walkway at the base to be

---

[1] There is much controversy over which Buddha is represented here. In the system of the Dhyani-Buddhas, or Buddhas of meditation, there are five Buddhas, one corresponding to each of the four directions and one to the center. These Buddhas are distinguished from each other by their location and their hand position or *mudra*. The problem at Barabudur is that there are six different Buddhas represented — at least distinguished by their mudras. The Buddhas of the four directions are found on the three lower levels on the appropriate sides of the monument. A fifth Buddha is found on all four sides of the top square terrace, while the sixth is the one within the lattice-work stupas. See J.E. van Löhuizen de Leeuw, "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur"; *Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land—, en Vookenkunde;* Vol. 121; no. 4 (1965); pp. 389-416, for one scholar's partially satisfactory resolution of the problem.

[2] The remains of the great stupa at Paharpur show a strong resemblance in plan to Barabudur; but, since little of this site, aside from its foundations, remains, and its dating is not yet established, it is impossible to cite it as a definite prototype. The possibility has been raised, however, by J.E. van Löhuizen de Leeuw.

[3] Most early writings mention that Barabudur is itself built around a natural hill. A.J. Bernet-Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art* (Amsterdam, 1959) and Claire Holt, *Art of Indonesia; Continuities and Change* (Ithaca, 1967). But since the most recent reconstruction work began on the monument in 1967, archeologists claim that the mound around which it is built is artificial and that this is one of the factors which has led to its deterioration.

constructed as a buttress to shore up the slipping sides. The scenes on this level depict the *Kamadhatu*, or realm of desires, and deal with the concept of *Karma*, or divine retribution for one's deeds. People are depicted sinning and then suffering the consequences of their deeds in the next life. The rendering of the subject matter, though simplified is lively and animated. The figures being boiled alive for having killed and eaten animals display terror and pain, emotions which are not appropriate to the more elevated subject matter of the higher terraces.[4]

The remaining square terraces represent the *Rupadhatu*,[5] or world of forms, a sphere above the everyday world of suffering depicted on the base, but removed from Ultimate Reality. This realm reflects a level of spiritual truth which requires forms and words for its articulation and comprehension. The inner wall of the first gallery is divided into two zones. In the top register are scenes from the life of the Buddha, while below are carved *jataka* tales, stories of the Buddha in his previous incarnations. Both the *jatakas* and the life of the Buddha are historical subjects to the Buddhist and their style is appropriately lively, though graceful. The style of these reliefs, though more refined, ties this gallery closely to the real world, the world of the covered base.

The panel which depicts the Buddha bathing in a river before his long meditation leading up to enlightenment typifies the style of the Barabudur reliefs. The relief is extremely high with soft and subtly rounded figures against a flat abstract background. A few simple elements suggest the landscape setting. The ripples of water in low relief at the Buddha's feet and a few trees place his figure in a lush river valley with a flock of heavenly creatures hovering gently over the scene. Although the graceful, slender, benevolent figure of the Buddha is comparable to figures from the fifth century Gupta style at Sarnath, the Javanese image is less abstract and more humane. The Buddha is seen as gentle and approachable with greater softness and compassion than comparable Indian figures.[6]

Above the first gallery, the imagery is progressively more remote from the affairs of the real world and the style of the carvings reflects this change. On the second and third galleries, the reliefs depict the quest for enlighten-

---

[4]There is a school of thought which holds that this level of reliefs was never meant to be seen and that the covering up was part of the original plan. This school holds that the Kamadhatu was too profane a subject for the eyes of the devotée, but, as an undeniable component of the universe, was necessary for the pedagogical purposes of the builders, who thus had it carved and then covered up. This seems unlikely especially since some of the reliefs of the covered base are not even complete. It seems much more likely that this level of reliefs was meant to be seen, but that, in the midst of carving them, the monument began to slip, so that the walkway had to be constructed over them.

[5] Bernet-Kempers, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[6] The time lag from the fifth century Gupta period to eight-century Java is indeed a problem which has caused some scholars, on purely stylistic grounds, to date Barabudur earlier. However, there is absolutely no other evidence known now to support such an early date.

ment of the sage, Sudhana, taken from the text of the Mahayanist scripture, the *Gandavyuna*. This scripture describes the interviews of the ' pilgrim with different sages Bodhisattvas and Taras. The repetitive nature of the manuscript leads to a repetitive set of panels, each one showing Sudhana travelling or seated before a specific personnage. The reliefs vary only slightly in the attitudes of the characters and architectural settings. The figure style remains the same, but the scenes themselves are much less active than those on the first level. This is, of course, intentional. The closer one approaches to the top of the monument, the less animated and more abstract the imagery becomes. On the fourth level, the reliefs illustrate still another manuscript, which again deals with a quest for enlightenment, this time of the sage Asanga. Here the reliefs have a timeless, frozen quality and are even more static than those on the second and third levels. Rigid architectural settings often dominate panels and personalities are lines up in rows rather than distributed freely.[7]

The increasing esotericism and abstraction prepare one for breaking out of the confining world of walls, passageways and infinite corners into the purity of form and space on the upper levels. One feels a sense of physical relief in the openness of the circular terraces, which was planned to enhance the devotée's sense of approaching enlightenment. Within the latticework stupas, the Buddhas sit like shadows, insubstantial, as if only half formed. These shadowy Buddhas within their shells combine the two major symbols of the faith: stupa and Buddha image. As symbols of the doctrine, they are far more abstract than the fully realized forms of the carvings on the lower terraces. Stylistically the Buddha figures once more bear a striking resemblance to the Gupta style of Sarnath. However, that dramatic intensity and abstraction of the Sarnath style is replaced by a graceful humanism. In fact, the faces of different Buddha images differ widely one from the other, almost as if each image were an abstracted portrait of a real person.

The top three terraces of the monument plus the solid stupa of the summit represent the *Arupadhatu*, or realm of formlessness.[8] Here the Ultimate Reality can not be articulated through words or forms. It can be known only on a non-intellectual, intuitive level. But even within this realm itself, as in that of the Rupadhatu, represented by the four square terraces, the process of progression toward total abstraction continues. The 72 latticework stupas with their enclosed Buddhas represent the last stage before the ultimate and most abstract symbol of the doctrine, the solid, anadorned stupa at the summit, symbol of *nirvana*, of entering into nothingness.

---

[7] The iconography of the Barabudur reliefs is discussed to a limited extent in Heinrich Zimmer; *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York, 1964), but much more fully in Jan Fontein; *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana* (Boston, 1970). Many problems remain unsolved.

[8] Bernet-Kempers; *Op. cit.;* p. 44.

[9] Much has been written in an effort to explain the presence of an incomplete Buddha image which was found inside the sold stupa, with its hands in a *mudra* different from all the others on the monument, but very close to them is style. Since

The early 10th century Prambanan is a Saiva Hindu temple complex.
This implies differences not only in doctrine, but in mode of worship from
that undertaken at Barabudur. Barabudur is a single structure, while Pram-
banan includes many. Not unexpectedly then, architecture and space interact
in new ways. Prambanan consists of three walled enclosures set one inside
the other. The innermost courtyard contains six large shrines of unequal
size facing each other in two rows of three. The largest, occupying the
center position on the west, is dedicated to Siva. To the north is the temple
of Visnu; to the south that of Brahma. Across from these is a row of
smaller temples, the center one for the *vahana*, or vehicle, of Siva, the
bull, Nandi, and those on either side for the *vahanas* of Visnu and Brahma
or for special forms of Siva. Within the second enclosure, surrounding the
central grouping an all sides, are four rows of small devotional shrines,
224 in all, none of which remain intact.

All three courtyards are square, but, while the inner two are exactly
concentric, they are placed askew within the outermost enclosure. The three
courtyards have gates on all sides. In the inner two, the gates occupy the
center of each wall, while, in the outer enclosure, they are placed off to
one side. Though much of the planning remains geometric, exact symmetry
is abandoned. Paths between the rows of shrines in the middle courtyard
mark the cardinal points and the Indian preference for symmetry is plain
in the two concentric square enclosures containing the most important struc-
tures. Yet no sanctuary rests at the exact center of the plan. A tiny shrine
on one side of the main entrance of the Siva temple marks the center
of the innermost courtyard. The plan seems to reflect more than one system
of values. Perhaps the center was considered too vulnerable to unfavor-
able influences. Perhaps indigenous preferences in spatial organization included
an outright distaste for symmetry.

The main sanctuary, a stepped square in plan, raised on a high base-
ment, contains four cellas. The largest of these, enshrining a rather rigid
standing image of Siva, faces east. The three smaller cellas contain images
of Siva as the great teacher; Ganesa, his elephant-headed son; and Durga,
his consort, in the act of slaying the buffalo demon. The roof consists of
a series of horizontal layers topped by grooved bulbous members, which
are related to the *amalaka* form in medieval north Indian architecture and
to the small stupas crowning contemporary Javanese Buddhist monuments.[10]

there was a large opening in this stupa at the time the Dutch "discovered" Barabudur,
it is thoroughly possible that the incomplete image was placed inside by the Javanese
living in the area who may have thought the image belonged to Barabudur. The
progressive abstraction of the monument makes the presence of a Buddha image within
the solid stupa redundant and reduces the potency of the stupa itself as a symblo.
Nor does it seem necessary to theorize along with Zimmer (*Op. cit.*; p. 311) that this
incomplete image was placed inside by the Javanese to replace some image which had
disappeared and whose presence was necessary for the doctrinal completeness of the
monument.

[10] See, for example, the small reconstructed temple at the 9th century Tjandi Sewu

Around the basement level of the main shrine are groups of charming figures, known together as the "Prambanan motif." This motif consists of handsomely stylized lions alternating with heavily jeweled wishing trees springing out of money pots. On either side of the tree trunk are animals, some real, some mythological. The outside of the balustrade at the top of the basement level is adorned with groups of lively dancers and musicians. The dancing depicted in Indian in style, much more animated than the slow, subtle Javanese dance which is done today.

The inside of the balustrade is decorated with a continuous relief of the great Indian epic, the *Ramayana*. The panel depicting the abduction of Sita, like most of the carvings here, conveys a strong sense of action. Sita's struggle with the demon Ravana is communicated not only through the movements of the figures themselves, but through the disarray of their surroundings. Things are overturned; a pig steals food spilled from a basket; a monkey assaults one of the serving women; while another woman throws up her arms in despair. This animation informs another of the most famous *Ramayana* reliefs, the fight between the monkey kings, Sugriva and Valin. Continuous narration is used here so that Rama is seen twice, once seated to the left, and once shooting with his famous bow and arrow to the right. But Rama is merely a subsidiary figure in this panel. The fight between the monkey kings dominates the entire relief, energizing the scene, while at the same time, drawing all things toward itself like a vortex of action. One final panel depicting the efforts to awaken the sleeping giant, Kumbakarna, reflects the humor which infuses the Prambanan reliefs. Smaller demons blow conches in Kumbakarna's ears, ride a horse over his belly, poke him in the ribs and arms, and tickle his ears with an elephant's trunk. A fertile imagination, one with a strong sense of the ridiculous, has turned loose all of its creative powers on this highly amusing panel.

The single figure of a dancing girl from Barabudur compared with the same subject from Prambanan illustrates the differences between the two sculptural styles. The Barabudur dancer, like every other figure in the reliefs at this site, stands out distinctly from her background and is completely self-contained. She glides and sways softly and gracefully in her own world. The Prambanan dancer is closely intertwined with the background. Her figure is wiry, electric, vibrant. The total involvement of figures with their setting and the intense action which infuses both, gives each relief at Prambanan a quality of movement and vitality sharply contrasting with the restraint and poise of the Barabudur reliefs.

The substance of the reliefs at Prambanan indicates that the purpose of the monument was not pedagogical. At Barabudur, a specific scheme leading to the enlightenment of the devotée controlled the placement of every panel. The carvings at Prambanan reveal the purpose of the monument in far more general terms. Dance, depicted on the outside of the balustrade, has traditionally been regarded in India, Java, and Bali as an

offering to the gods and is thus a form of worship. The wealth repre-
sented by the wishing trees and money pots can be thought of as another
offering, or perhaps as the prosperity which will accrue to the devout
worshipper. This lack of controlling doctrine is particularly clear in the
placement of the *Ramayana* reliefs on the inside of the balustrades of the
Siva and Brahma temples. Rama, the hero, is an avatar of Visnu. But the
fact that this epic belongs to Vaisnava lore did not preclude its being
used to decorate the walls of a Saiva sanctuary.[11] Distinctions of cult seem
to have been a minor concern to the Javanese even at this early date.

Numerous kingdoms rose and fell between the tenth century and the
rise of the great state of Madjapahit whose state temple was Panataran.
This last great East Javanese temple, dating from the 14th century, repre-
sents a further step of the trend begun at Prambanan. The temple consists
of three courtyards one behind the other, each entered by a single gate,
though, of the outermost courtyard, only the gate and none of the wall
remains. Within the complex are various structures, large and small, some
of them completely of stone, others merely decorated stone foundations
which once held pavilions made of wood and thatch. All of these structures
are oriented in approximately the same way; parallel to an axis running
from front to back of the entire complex. Yet there is no symmetry what-
ever in the plan. The complex is not oriented to the four directions but
runs approximately from W.N.W. to E.S.E., so that the major temple is
closest to the peak of the mountain on whose slopes the entire complex
rests. While this temple is nominally Hindu, the controlling concept is much
closer to that of the old Indonesian terraced sanctuary.

The main temple itself consists of three high terraces, elaborately carved
in relief. There are walkways around the upper levels, the top one of which
once bore a stone sanctuary perhaps decorated with images of Siva, Brahma,
and Visnu.[12] Though there were not enough stones left at the site to
reconstruct the sanctuary and its roof, one can assume that they may have
resembled the small "dated temple" in the courtyard (dated 1375) and
other monuments of this period. The outlines of Barabudur and Prambanan
were characterized by concave curves made up of small rounded elements
piled one on top of the other. The roofs of the East Javanese shrines are
also curved, but the curve is convex and made up of many narrow rectangular
stories.[13] Though the sanctuaries of East Java are generally smaller than

---

[11] This situation is not unique to Java and Prambanan. In India, notably at the
Kailasanatha Temple at Ellora, *Ramayana* panels deocrate the exterior of a Saiva sanctuary.
[12] N.J. Krom; *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-javansche Kunst* (Leiden, 1923).
[13] Bernet-Kempers (*Op. cit.;* p. 92) suggests that the roof of the main temple may
have been made of impermanent materials and resembled a Balinese *menu*. This seems
somewhat unlikely given the presence of a building with a completely stone roof in one
of the coutryard and the fact that this is the main temple of the complex, though
certainly some of the stone terraces must once have held structures which resembled
Balinese *bales* and *merus*.

Central Javanese shrines, the attenuated roofs give an illusion of greater height, creating greater visual tension and drama. The profile of the terraced base of the main temple exhibits an angularity and flamboyance unlike either of the earlier monuments. Not only the plan of the complex, but the pyramidal design of the main temple as well, reflect ancient neolithic prototypes, while a wholly new architectural style has developed.

This radical departure in architectural style is reflected in the style of the sculptural reliefs adorning the various platforms and the terraces of the main temple. Reliefs on the lower levels of the main temple depict scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Krsnayana*. Both of these texts are Vaisnava, although the monument is Saiva, continued evidence of the trend toward syncretism in Javanese religion which may have begun as early as Prambanan. The topmost terrace is surrounded by a frieze of winged *nagas* (snakes) and lions, in a style which, as Claire Holt points out,[14] closely resembles the style of the *papier maché nagas* placed at the base of Balinese cremation towers. The *nagas* on these towers represent the watery realm of the cosmic ocean out of which rises Mt. Meru, the world-mountain. Their presence on these soaring structures relates the towers symbolically to Mt. Meru and the axis of the universe. The winged *nagas* on Panataran's main terrace perform the same function, suggesting a relationship between the mountain sanctuary and the cosmic mountain. The *Ramayana* and *Krsnayana* reliefs of the first and second level respectively are more decorative than iconographically significant. Here the iconographical scheme is even less controlled than that of Prambanan, though both the ground plan and sculptural decoration place heightened emphasis on the dualities of mountain and water.

The *Ramayana* reliefs from the basement level of the main temple consist of rectangular panels interspersed with decorative roundels. Each roundel contains the profile figure of a single animal from whose tail springs a growth of luxuriant foliate forms. The subject of the rectangular panels is that portion of the *Ramayana* which narrates the battle between Rama's monkey allies and the giants of Ravana's army. The arrangement of panels leaves far less space per relief than at Prambanan. With fewer figures in each relief, action scenes sometimes require more than one panel. In the battle between Hanoman, the white ape, and Indrajit, son of Ravana, the two main characters balance and interact gracefully with each other across an animal medallion.

The relief style is unlike anything found at Barabudur or Prambanan. All illusion of depth is denied as figures, architecture, trees and clouds are pushed forward to occupy the same plane. Figures are flat, rigid, and stylized with flamboyant outlines. Here active curving and jagged lines describe all forms, animate and inanimate. While movement at Prambanan was created by the use of interlocking volumes, at Panataran, agitated lines fill each panel with life and movement, in spite of the greater rigidity of

figures. The result is visual play between animate and inanimate forms. Clouds and foliage take on the shapes of monstrous heads and deformed bodies. The sculptors have taken an obvious delight in formal ambiguity. The Javanese cherish ambiguity both in moral tales and in verbal play. But there may be an even more fundamental reason for the appearance of these strange forms in the Panataran reliefs. Claire Holt, citing Stutterheim, suggests that their presence may reflect a return to animist concepts of an atmosphere charged with a life of its own, inhabited by demons "who were felt to be and to move like heavy clouds."[15]

The rendition of figures at Panataran is often called the "*Wayang* Style" because the stylization of the human figure in these and other East Javanese reliefs closely resembles the stylizations of the flat leather *wayang* puppets used in shadow plays. Both in the reliefs and the *wayang*, figures are shown with face and legs in profile, while the torso is seen in three-quarter view. In both cases, the figure is treated as a flat, two-dimensional pattern. Costumes and headdresses used to distinguish one character from another are nearly identical in the two traditions. Bali, which has remained more conservative in both religion and art styles than Muslim Java continues to produce *wayang* puppets closely approximating the proportions of the figures in East Javanese reliefs. In Java, partly because of the influence of Islam, partly because of Javanese love of refinement, the proportions of *wayang* figures have become more attenuated, more elegant, and, at the same time, less naturalistic.

It is impossible to determine for certain whether *wayang* puppets actually influenced the figure style of East Javanese relief sculpture or whether the two are merely parallel manifestations of a single esthetic which emerged during the East Javanese period. There is evidence of the existence of *wayang* stories and performances of some sort as early as the 10th century.[16] The text followed in the *Ramayana* reliefs at Panataran deviates from the classical texts and is based on a Javanese popular tradition.[17] The cast of characters of *wayang* versions of the great epics includes the amusing, deformed servants, the *panakawan,* who are found in East Javanese reliefs. Finally, the mood of the reliefs at Panataran, with their suggestion of a supernaturally charged universe, is much closer to the mood of *wayang* performances than is the mood of reliefs from Central Java. All art is abstraction, usually abstraction based on objective reality. The styles of Central Java represent this kind of art. A relief style based on the form of *wayang* puppets, if indeed it is, is an abstraction of an abstraction.

---

[14] Holt; *Op. cit.;* p. 87.

[15] *Ibid.;* pp. 83-84. W. Stutterheim; *Rama Legenden und Rama Reliefs in Indonesien* (München, 1925).

[16] F.D.K. Bosch; The Oldjavanese Bathingplace Jalatunda"; *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology* (The Hague, 1961); passim. Holt, *Op. cit.;* p. 128.

[17] The text followed at Prambanan also differs from the Sanskrit, though it is not the same as the one used at Panataran. Bernet-Kempers; *Op. cit.;* p. 61.

One can draw one of two conclusions about such a style. It may represent an effete, decadant final stage of a great artistic tradition. Or perhaps the world of *wayang* illuminates for the Javanese a reality of a much higher order than what we confidently call "objective."

The Balinese temple, though vastly different from the monuments on Java, concludes the trends in plan and form already visible on Java itself. Because of a scarcity of materials, we are forced to deal with two different temples, Pura Taman Ayun and Pura Prasada, both of them state temples of Mengwi[18] and both living institutions. A study of the plan of Pura Prasada[19] reveals important similarities to Panataran. The courtyards are placed one behind the other in succession, each entered by a single gate. Each of the enclosures occupies ground slightly higher than the preceding one. Within these enclosures are scattered structures serving various functions. The most sacred shrines occupy the innermost courtyard. Again there is no symmetry in the way in which the structures are placed. Although it would be false to say that in Bali orientation to the four directions is not important, for in certain cases it is vital,[20] in temple planning, an axial format predominates. This axis may run either from west to east, or from the portion of the temple closest to the sea, *kelod*, to the portion closest to the mountains, *kaya*.

The implications of the two kinds of orientation are identical. The element of sun worship which informs Balinese religion to the extent that Siva, regarded in Balinese Hinduism as the most powerful member of the Hindu trinity, is often replaced by Surya, the Hindu sun god, is responsible for the first type of orientation. The east, the direction in which the sun is born every day, is considered the most auspicous direction; while the west, the region in which the sun dies, is the least auspicious. The second kind of orientation reflects neolithic ancestor worship, in which communication with the gods or ancestors occurs on mountain tops and derives ultimately from concepts of fertility. The direction of the mountains, with their lakes providing life-giving water to the agricultural community, is the most auspicious; while the sea is the source of unpredictable perils. Its direction is thus the least favorable. The most auspicious direction of all is both *kaya* and east. In Mengwi, which is in Central Bali, the highest and most sacred mountain, the volcano Gunung Agung, lies to the north-

[18] Although Mengwi was conquered and absorbed by its neighbors, Tabanan, Badung, and Gianjar, at the end of the 19th century, the new rulers of the area continue to maintain the cult of its state temples. In this way they legitimize their rule of territory formerly belonging to the Mengwi dynasty. C.J. Grader; "The State Temples of Mengwi"; *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual* (The Hague, 1960); pp. 157-158.

[19] I was unable to find a plan of Taman Ayun, so I have substituted a plan of Pura Prasada. The points I wish to make are extremely general ones. Plan taken from *Ibid.;* p. 180.

[20] See J.L. Swellengrebel, "Introduction"; in *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual* (The Hague, 1960), particularly Patterns of the Cosmic Order", pp. 36-53.

east or to *kaya*-east. A temple oriented east to west is also oriented from
Gunung Agung toward the sea, or *kaya-kelod.*

The structures within the temple enclosures fill a variety of functions.
Some are brick storehouses with wooden doors and thatched roof for ritual
implements, masks, and temple *gamelon* (orchestra). Others are open pavi-
lions or *bales,* brick platforms of varying heights with carved limestone
decoration, wooden pillars, and thatched roofs. The *bales* shelter priests
while they perform their ritual duties; provide working space for the com-
munity while preparing for temple festivals; house the *gamelon* during festi-
vities; and shelter offerings brought to the temple that their essence, wafted
toward the heavens, may be consumed by the gods. The positions of these
two kinds of buildings are dictated largely by convenience. Care is taken
to allow enough open space within each courtyard for the performance
of rituals.

The shrines, which are placed near the back of the innermost court,
are of two types. One, the *padmasana* (lotus seat), is a small stone seat,
raised approximately five feet off the ground, of which there are three
forms. A single seat is almost always dedicated to either Siva or Surya.
A double seat is dedicated to deified ancestors, one male and one female,
the progenitors of the royal dynasty or of a village population. A triple
seat can also be dedicated to ancestors, with the third or central seat
representing the undifferentiated, out of which come the differentiated male
and female. At the same time, the tripartite seat represents the Hindu
trinity. The two triads are interchangeable.

The other type of shrine, the *meru,* is a small wooden houselike structure,
raised several feet above a stone base on stilts, and topped with an un-
even number of thatched roofs of diminishing size. These individual shrines
can be dedicated to any god: a member of the Hindu pantheon, a deified
ancestor, or the god of a specific place such as a mountain or a lake. The
highest *meru* at Taman Ayun, with 11 stories, is dedicated to the god
of Gunung Agung.

Neither type of shrine is considered the permanent abode of any deity.
The deities reside in the heavens, but, when invoked by the proper prayers,
descend to listen to the supplications of their worshippers and to partake
of the essence of the offerings provided for them. When they descend, they
inhabit the shrine as a temporary resting place. There are no representa-
tions of deities in the shrines. This is a concept foreign to Indian Hinduism.
In the Indian Hindu temple, the deity is felt to reside within a statue or
symbol, such as a lingam, placed within the cella. In India, representations
of deities are usually large and made of permanent materials. In Bali, such
representations tend to be small and to be made of impermanent materials.
When carved in stone, they often serve as architectural decoration.

In spite of its complexity, Balinese religion is closely linded to the
neolithic cult of Indonesia. The two religions share an emphasis on ancestors

as major deities, a preference for communication on or near mountain tops, and a concept of the deity as an occasional honored guest rather than a permanent resident of the community. The *padmasana* or *meru* serves precisely the same function as the giant stone ancestor seats placed on mountain tops or at the top of terraced sanctuaries. These were, like the Balinese shrines, not considered permanent resting places of the ancestors, but merely temporary residences, to be used by the spirits when they were invoked by their descendants in time of need.

All of the structures within the Balinese temple-enclosure are small, constructed only partially out of permanent materials, and, in the case of the storehouses and *bales,* designed to be functional. The wooden doors of the storehouses may be carved with elaborate designs in high relief and painted red and gold. *Padmasanas* and *merus* are generally decorated with geometric or foliate carvings. The more important brick *bales* are embellished with sandstone carvings, again geometric and foliate, but also incorporating figures of animals, mythological beasts, *kala* heads, and even figures of the gods. The style of the Taman Ayun carvings — and there are several sculptural styles which coexist on Bali — is much more fully rounded than the East Javanese reliefs. There is a greater plasticity in the carvings; forms bulge out from their backgrounds, unlike the flattened *wayang* style. The animation in these reliefs is different from the ambiguous playing with shapes and the sense of an atmosphere charged with cloudlike forms of good and evil spirits. In Bali, the clouds have congealed. The demonic element is presented straightforwardly, coexisting with godlike elements in the universe. In some cases, even the deities or the symbolic forms which represent the forces of good take on demonic shape and energy. It is this constant sense of active present forces, with their grotesquely beautiful shapes which gives to Balinese art in all forms — mask carving, temple reliefs, wood sculpture, music, and dance — its unique and vibrant quality.

But the most important and most elaborate carving is reserved for the walls and gates, for the Balinese temple is, most importantly, a piece of sacred ground. The walls which divide the sacred ground from the profane, and the gate which gives access to the sacred space from the outside receive visual and symbolic emphasis. Guardian figures, *dvarapalas,* stand at either side of the main entrance. The gate is approached by a flight of stairs for in leaving behind the everyday world. one moves upward to a sphere above and outside of ordinary events. Various devices are used to reinforce the microcosm-macrocosm relationship of the temple to the universe. The gate is tall, sometimes split in two, sometimes roofed over, but always with a number of stories. These stories, combined with rock-like motifs, both symbolize the ascending heavens of the gods and suggest mountain peaks — both the mountain tops of neolithic worship and the Hindu world-mountain. Appropriately, figures of deities often adorn the upper portions of the gate, while

demonic forms are found below. The walls of Taman Ayun are partially surrounded by water which completes in several ways the concepts implied by the imagery of the gate. The water symbolizes the world of creation or everyday existence beyond which one passes on entering the temple; it represents the nether regions out of which rises the world-mountain of the gate; and, finally, it supplies the *kelod* complement to the *kaya* value of the mountaintop gate.

Just as the *merus* and *padmasanas* are empty spaces enlivened only occasionally when the gods come down to partake of their offerings, the Balinese temple itself is enlivened only when it is filled with throngs of people engaged in worship. Worship takes on forms of great beauty, as music, dance, flowers, and beautifully carved and painted implements are employed. The core of the temple ceremony, the dedication of the offerings to the gods by the priest, is barely noticeable. Much more prominent and, in the end, probably much more meaningful, are the rituals in which the entire community participates. The most important aspect of temple life on Bali is the opportunity that the temple and its accompanying rituals afford each member of the community to assert his relationship with the entire cosmos, to root himself existentially both in the world and beyond it, to find his spiritual core.

Barabudur and the Balinese temple represent the beginning and the end of a process which took place over a span of a thousand years and more. They share little in common aside from a reference to the world mountain which is evoked in different ways in the two monuments. From Barabudur, through Prambanan and Panataran, a gradual change in planning occurs from the symmetrically-organized shrine with accent on the four cardinal points to asymmetry, axial organization, and orientation from mountain to sea. The shrine becomes less and less a sacred mass surrounded by space, more and more a sacred space surrounded by walls. Sculptural style moves from the gracefully humane, slow-moving, idealized creatures of Barabudur to the pulsing energies, divine and demonic, of Bali. The rigidly controlled iconography of Barabudur is replaced by the more fluid iconography of Prambanan and Panataran, a trend which continues on Bali to the point that the worshipper often does not even know the identity of the god to whom he does homage.

These changes represent less perceptual and stylistic innovation than a return to pre- or non-Indian tastes and predispositions. The one remaining Hindu culture in Indonesia — that of Bali — espouses, for the purist, a form of the religion even more "bastardized", mixed with indigenous elements, than the religion represented by Panataran. It is precisely this admixture which has been responsible for the durability of the religion on Bali, while the purer forms of Hinduism and Buddhism once practised on Java have now completely disappeared.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bernet-Kempers, A.J., *Ancient Indonesian Art,* Amsterdam, C.P.J. Van der Peet, 1959.

Bosch, F.D.K., "The Oldjavanese Bathingplace Jalatunda", *Selected Studies in Indonesian Archeology,* The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1961.

Coedes, G., *The Indianized States of South-East Asia,* Honolulu, East-West Center Press, 1968.

Fontein, Jan, *The Pilgrimage of Sudhana,* The Hague, Mouton & Co., 1967.

Grader, C.J., "The State of Mengwi", W.F. Wertheim, Chairman, Editorial Committee, *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual,* The Hague, W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1960, pp. 155-186.

Holt, Claire, *Art in Indonesia; Continuities and Change,* Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1967.

Krom, N.J., *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-javaansche Kunst,* 3 vols., Leiden, Martinus Nijhoff, 1923.

Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E. van, "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur", *Bijdragen tot de Taal—, Land—, en Volkenkunde,* Vol. 121, No. 4 (1965), pp. 389-416.

Lohuizen de Leeuw, J.E. van, "An Early 16th C. Link Between Gujarat and Java," *Artibus Asiae,* Vol. II, 1966, 89-93.

Stutterheim, W.F., *Rama Legenden und Rama Reliefs in Indonesien,* München Georg Muller, 1925.

Swellengrebl, J.L., "Introduction", W.F. Wertheim, Chairman, Editorial Committee, *Bali: Studies in Life, Thought, and Ritual,* The Hague, W. van Hoeve Ltd., 1960, pp. 1-67.

Zimmer, Heinrich, *The Art of Indian Asia,* 2 vols., New York, Pantheon Books, 1964.