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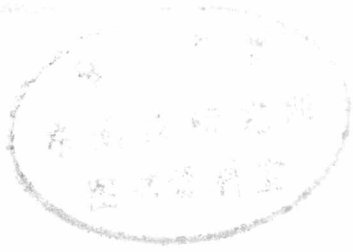
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Dr. W. F. STUTTERHEIM



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PREFACE

In the field of studies of Indonesian culture the fact that a great many works of permanent scholarly value were written in Dutch has prevented them from obtaining the international reputation which they undoubtedly deserved. It is therefore our intention to try and remedy this serious lack by means of a series of translations of important Dutch publications of the past.

As the first number to appear in this series of translations we publish a selection from the work of the late Dr W. F. Stutterheim, the art-historian and archaeologist who exerted, as may appear from the Biographical Note printed on pp. IX—XV, a strongly revivifying influence on archaeological research in Indonesia. In establishing our choice it proved unavoidable that some articles had to be included which were either modified or supplemented on essential points by later publications. This applies in particular to the first contribution, dated 1929, and entitled "Chaṇḍi Barabuḍur, Name, Form and Meaning". However, because this study contains many new and epoch-making ideas which have successfully stood the test of criticism, I believed that I could not exclude it, and all the less so, because I had the possibility to add corrections wherever this proved to be necessary and to refer to more recent literature. These corrections and additions have been added to the text in footnotes between square brackets.

I take great pleasure in availing myself of this opportunity to express my gratitude for the assistance and cooperation I received from different sides in preparing this publication. In particular my thanks are due to Mr. Douglas F. Fontein who freely provided the translation of the fourth contribution; to Mrs. L. J. Pannenburg-Stutterheim who assisted me in the selection of her father's work and in the correction of the proofs, and to Mr. R. L. Mellema who kindly placed some of his splendid photographs of the Barabuḍur at my disposal for this publication.

F. D. K. BOSCH.



Dr W. F. STUTTERHEIM
September 27, 1892—September 10, 1942

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON THE AUTHOR *)

Willem Frederik Stutterheim was born on September 27th 1892 at Rotterdam, where he spent his youth and where he visited the classical school. When he had been studying Netherlands literature and linguistics for three years at Utrecht University, the world war prevented him from taking his examinations. He had to join the forces and it was only in 1918 that he could devote himself again to his studies, when he had been provisionally appointed as student-linguist for service in the Indies. As a student of Indonesian literature and linguistics at Leiden University he followed the courses given by Snouck Hurgronje, Vogel, Hazeu, Van Ronkel and Krom, and eventually defended his thesis, *Rāmālegenden und Rāmāreliefs in Indonesien*, under the auspices of the last-mentioned scholar in 1924. This work appeared in the series *Der Indische Kulturkreis*; it was published in a very artistic manner by the well-known architect and connoisseur of Siamese art, Karl Döhring, with whom the author had become acquainted and for whom he continued to cherish a great esteem throughout his life.

After the completion of his studies a Government Decree of September 25, 1924 appointed Stutterheim to the post of language-officer for the study of Indonesian languages and placed him at the disposal of the Director of the Archæological Survey in the Netherlands Indies to be entrusted with duties in this service. This was a field after his liking, but when the care for his family demanded considerable financial sacrifices which the modest salary of an assistant-archæologist was unable to provide, it did not prevent him from following — though not without qualms — an invitation of the Department of Education to come and serve as Director of the Oriental Classical Department of the recently established General Middle School in Surakarta. To his acceptance of this appointment he had attached the condition that he would be permitted to work in the field of archæology as far as his official duties allowed him. This was agreed and from then on he devoted his vacations and his spare time to his favourite work. He undertook several journeys to Bali, he visited little-known antiquities on Java,

*) This notice originally appeared in the *Annual Volume* for 1947, published by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Sciences.

expressed itself with ease in many fields. Already as a young man he had become a pianist of merit, a great admirer and an excellent interpreter of Bach in particular. For drawing and painting he showed a remarkable talent; so much so that for a long time he believed that his destiny lay there, before he definitely turned to scholarly studies. To all this he added a sensitive literary taste and a no less finely developed sense of humour, two qualities which made him shine among his friends as a fascinating talker and a witty correspondent.

No wonder, therefore, that when this scintillating spirit came into contact with archæology a shower of darting sparks was raised. No wonder, too, that the most surprising discoveries and solutions followed each other at great speed, but also that serious conflicts with the established opinions of his predecessors had to come to a head. Inevitable the one went with the other. Indonesian archæology had had the privilege of counting among its originators outstanding scholars like Kern and Brandes. The weight of their authority was great, and the tendency of the men who had been formed in their school was correspondingly strong to follow in the traces they had drawn. But this did not apply to Stutterheim. Being aggressive by nature, he was far from considering *iurare in verba magistri* to be a virtue. Rather the reverse was true. Established opinions provoked his resistance; in the work of his predecessors his interest went first and foremost to everything which had become antiquated and which needed renewal, to everything vulnerable and susceptible of criticism. But it was not in his nature merely to destroy. Although he fought the views of his predecessors fiercely and with conviction, it was always in order to find a startingpoint from which he might launch his journeys of exploration. Because if there was one thing in his blood, it was the passion of discovery, of opening up surprising vistas, of laying bare new problems and of finding their solution.

To this passion archæology owes an important enrichment of knowledge and insight in nearly all of its branches, but it is only natural that not everything it produced was equally good. At times Stutterheim undoubtedly rushed forward with greater impetuosity than was justifiable from a scholarly point of view; at times he set up theories and he showered hypotheses around him too lightheartedly, and occasionally he showed a greater aggressiveness than was necessary or warranted under the circumstances. In addition to this, some people — amongst whom in the first place Krom, under whose auspices Stutterheim had presented his thesis — were occasionally shocked by his lack of modesty

and by an excess of ambitiousness. As to the latter, it would be definitely incorrect to deny that Stutterheim was ambitious, but then one should admit that it was a special type of ambition which spurred him on, an ambition free of vanity. It was never his desire to glitter at meetings; honours and titles left him unaffected; he did not aspire after a professorship, not even in the future when he would have ended his career in the Indies. In this future he rather saw himself active in a completely new field — he was thinking of the pre-columbian cultures in Central America — to be able to follow there again uncut tracks and to enrich science with his finds. So, if in Stutterheim's case there is any question of ambitiousness, it was the healthy ambition of the discoverer who yearns to be the first to plant his flag on unknown territory, so as to lead the way and to enlighten others.

If we now follow Stutterheim on his main voyages of discovery, his thesis first claims our attention. His *Rāmalegenden* falls apart into two sections, in each of which he went his own way, opening up completely new perspectives. On the authority of Kern and Hazeu it was generally assumed formerly that the important differences between the Javanese dramatic literature and the two great Indian epics from which this literature had taken its materials, mainly owed their origin to a continuous series of misunderstandings and wrong interpretations during the process of reworking the alien material by the native Javanese. Contrary to this, Stutterheim demonstrated irrefutably that these differences originated from the popular traditions which had been current in India since ancient times side by side with the official versions of the epics. The author moreover stressed the curious fact that many typical traits of these popular stories had not only found their way into the *wayang*-literature, but that they had even been considered fit to be represented on as famous a monument as the Āiva temple of chaṇḍi Lara Jonggrang.

To the line of research begun in the first part of his thesis Stutterheim never returned, or if he did so, only in passing, in contrast to the subject he started in the second part. This concerns the representation of part of the Rāma-cycle on a building of a much later date, viz. the Eastern Javanese chaṇḍi Panataran. In doing so he automatically raised a highly important problem, namely the adoption of Indian culture by native Javanese society. It may be said that this problem never left Stutterheim in his later life; again and again he returned to it, looking at it from different angles and throwing light

upon it from different directions, and checking new material against it, material he had produced from the domains of art and of history. The cardinal problem was the correct evaluation of the evolution of Hindu-Javanese art during the seven centuries of its existence, and more in particular of the part played in this evolution by the ancient autochthonous concepts. As is generally known, their function became steadily more important. Whilst during the earliest period, when the cultural centre was situated in Central Java, the Indian element predominated strongly, it is in the later, Eastern Javanese period, that native Javanese elements came constantly more to the fore. Brandes and the other scholars of the old school had considered this phenomenon a sign of degeneration when measured by classical Indian standards. It was particularly against this view of things that Stutterheim protested fiercely. According to him, one had better speak of flourishing than of decline, and rather of regeneration than of degeneration. For to the Javanese the Indian world of ideas had always been an alien world and this it remained. The language of artistic forms in which these ideas found expression in Central Java had never been theirs. Only in the Eastern part of the island, with the new beginnings of art, these pre-Hindu ideas which had lain suppressed in the subconscious succeeded in making themselves felt. Although they continued to cloak themselves in the conventional habiliments of the traditional Indian forms of art, their content was from then on determined by the Indonesian pre-animist conceptions of the world and of life. For this reason the art which came to flower in Eastern Java interprets much more purely the things which lived in the soul of the Javanese people: it is more warm-blooded and more vital, and seen under certain aspects it is even "older" than that of the preceding period. To speak of degeneration where this art is concerned would be as little correct as to value the art of Gandhāra more highly than that of ancient India, because the former happens to agree more with our Western ideals of beauty, shaped as these have been by classical influences.

As remarked before, a good deal of Stutterheim's activity was aimed at having these ideas concerning the development of Hindu-Javanese culture accepted. For this purpose he particularly studied the customs of the disposal of the dead and in close connection with this, the statues of deceased kings, their place in history and in the development of art. But also in other fields he put his theories to the test, in fields like epigraphy, iconography, architecture and in the interpretation of reliefs. Always he tried to find the explanation for the shifts and

changes operating in the forces originated by the pre-animist — or, as he called it with a term he had coined, “inagistic” — primal source of the ancient native world of ideas.

It is highly regrettable that Stutterheim never had the occasion to combine his opinions on these subjects, scattered as they are over a number of separate articles, into one complete and well-knit whole. This might have led him to rectify the weaknesses which remain, and to remove some annoying contradictions. But even now when we have his work as it is, one can say unreservedly that it has led us to a completely new realisation of Hindu-Javanese cultural history, more alive and true than the earlier image. With this new image Stutterheim's name will always remain connected.

Stutterheim's research in fields different from those mentioned above lead me to mention first of all his work *Chaṇḍi Barabudur; name, form and meaning* (1929) which threw completely new light on this famous stūpa-sanctuary. Next *A Javanese period in Sumatran history* (1929), where he went against established opinion by moving the centre of gravity in the relations between Java and Ārīvijaya to the former. Then his edition of the charter of king Balitung of 907 A.D., which for the first time brought some light in the extremely confused dynastic history of Central Java.

These are only a few random samples from an abundant harvest, because, as I have said, Stutterheim's work is characterised not only by originality, but also by great fertility and many-sidedness. Of the numerous longer and shorter articles from his pen, included in the *Journal* of the Royal Batavian Society, the *Contributions* of the Royal Institute at the Hague, the *Archæological Reports*, *Djâwâ*, *Acta Orientalia*, *Indian Art and Letters*, etc., I only mention the following: his publication and discussion of ancient Javanese inscriptions; his iconographic and stylistic studies which have greatly contributed to our knowledge of the art-forms of Eastern Java; his investigation into the deeper meaning of the Hindu-Javanese monuments. In connection with the latter his essays on “Eastern Java and the Mountain of Heaven” (*Djâwâ* 1926) and on the bathing-place Jalatuṇḍa (*TBG* 77, 1937) deserve mention beside his *Chaṇḍi Barabudur*. Special mention should be made likewise of his archæological research on the island of Bali, the results of which were published in his *Antiquities of Bali* (1930) and in his *Indian influences on old-Balinese art* (1935). This meritorious work led to the opening-up of Balinese archæology as a

new field of study, providing at the same time a solid basis for further studies in this branch of archæology.

One of his most important writings was also his last. This is his study on the *kraton* of Majapahit, concluded in 1941 and published posthumously in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Institute, vol. VII, in 1948. In this study the author bases himself on a meticulous analysis of Prapañca's description (*Nāgarakṛtāgama*, canto 8—12) and on a comparison between the data he found there and the princely residences still existing on Bali and in Central Java, and so he reaches a quite acceptable reconstruction of the *kraton* of the 14th century. If anywhere, it is here that the author has put the knowledge collected in Central Java and on Bali to the fullest advantage by using it to clarify the image deduced from history.

During the short period that Stutterheim served as Director of the Archæological Survey, important works were undertaken under his direction. The reconstruction of the great Çiva sanctuary of the Lara Jonggrang complex was continued with great vigour, diggings were made and investigations were initiated i.a. on the Gunung Wukir, at Ratu Baka and close to the chaṇḍi Jawi. Furthermore, a large publication was under preparation concerning the interesting antiquities discovered on Gunung Pēnanggungan since 1935.

How much might still have been expected of him if he had been permitted to continue to work undisturbed. It was not to be. However, it is not for us to show regret at the things which remained undone when we observe the many things Stutterheim accomplished during his life. It is therefore with a feeling of gratitude that his colleagues take leave of him. In their memory Stutterheim will continue to live as the courageous seeker after truth who in his short but fruitful and well-spent life presented a wealth of new knowledge to the science of archæology so dear to his heart.

F. D. K. BOSCH.

ABBREVIATIONS

ABIA: Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology, published by the Kern Institute, Leiden.

A Jav. Period: W. F. Stutterheim, *A Javanese period in Sumatran History*, Surakarta, 1929.

AO: Acta Orientalia ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica.

BEFEO: Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient.

BKI: Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (Contributions to the study of linguistics, geography and ethnology, published by the Royal Institute for linguistics, geography and ethnology).

Catalogus Groeneveldt: Catalogue of the Archæological Collection of the Batavia Museum, by W. P. Groeneveldt, 1887.

Feestb. Bat. Gen.: Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen bij gelegenheid van zijn 150-jarig bestaan, 1929 (Commemorative volume published by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the occasion of its 150th anniversary).

JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JGIS: Journal of the Greater India Society.

Kats, S. Hy. Kam: *Sang hyang Kamahāyānikan*. Oud-Javaansche tekst met Inleiding, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen (Old-Jav. text, with Introduction, Translation and Notes, edited by J. Kats, 1910).

Krom, *Inleiding*: N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art), quoted according to the 2nd edition, 1923.

Krom, *HJG*: N. J. Krom, *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis* (Hindu-Javanese History), quoted according to the 2nd edition, 1931.

MKAW: Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (Reports of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Science).

Monograph I and II: Beschrijving van Barabudur, samengesteld door N. J. Krom en Th. van Erp (Description of the Barabudur com-

- piled by Krom and Van Erp); I *Archeologische Beschrijving* (Archæological Description), by N. J. Krom, 1920 (quoted according to the English edition in two volumes, 1927); II *Bouwkundige Beschrijving* (Architectural Description), by Th. van Erp, 1931.
- Mus, *Barabudur I, II, III*: Paul Mus, *Barabudur. Esquisse d'une histoire du Bouddhisme fondée sur la critique archéologique des textes*. I, *BEFEO*, XXXII, (1932), pp. 269—439; II, *ibid.* XXXIII (1933), pp. 577—980; III, *ibid.* XXXIV (1934), pp. 175—400.
- Nāg.*: Het Oud-Javaansche Lofdicht Nāgarakṛtāgama van Prapañca (1365 A.D.) (The Old-Javanese panegyric N. by P., ed. Kern-Krom, 1919).
- NBG*: Notulen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Minutes of the meetings of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
- OV*: Oudheidkundig Verslag (Quarterly reports of the Archæological Survey in the Netherlands Indies).
- RAA*: Revue des Arts Asiatiques.
- OR*: Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië (Reports of the Archæological Survey in the Dutch East Indies).
- TBG*: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Journal for Indonesian Linguistics, Geography and Ethnology, published by the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
- VBG*: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Proceedings of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences).
- Wulff, S. Hy. Kam. Mantr.: K. Wulff, *Sang Hyang Kamahāyānan Mantrānaya*, in *Det Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab Hist.-filol. Meddelelser*, XXI, 4 (1935), Copenhagen.

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- Archaeological Research in Java and Bali, 1925—1926.* *IAL*, 1927,
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- Le jālalakṣaṇa de l'image du Bouddha.* *AO*, 7, 1928, pp. 68—76, ills.
- Archaeological Research in Java during 1927.* *IAL*, 1928, pp. 68—76,
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- Indian Influences in the Lands of the Pacific*, 1929, 9 pp. In: *The
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Congr. intern. d' Orientalistes*, 1931, pp. 126—127.
- Eine Statue des javanischen Königs Kṛtanagara in Berlin?* *Berliner
Museen*, 55: 3, 1932, pp. 47—50.
- Old and New Art of Bali.* *IAL*, 1932, pp. 1—9, ills.
- A Javanese Gem in Limestone.* *Nederlandsch-Indië Oud en Nieuw*, 18,
1933, pp. 1—9, 1 pl.
- A newly discovered pre-Nāgarī Inscription on Bali.* *AO*, 12, 1934,
pp. 126—132, ill.
- Indian Influences in Old-Balinese Art.* The India Society. London,
1935, 42 pp., 23 pls.
- A Malay shā'ir in Old Sumatran characters of 1380 A.D.* *AO*, 14, 1936,
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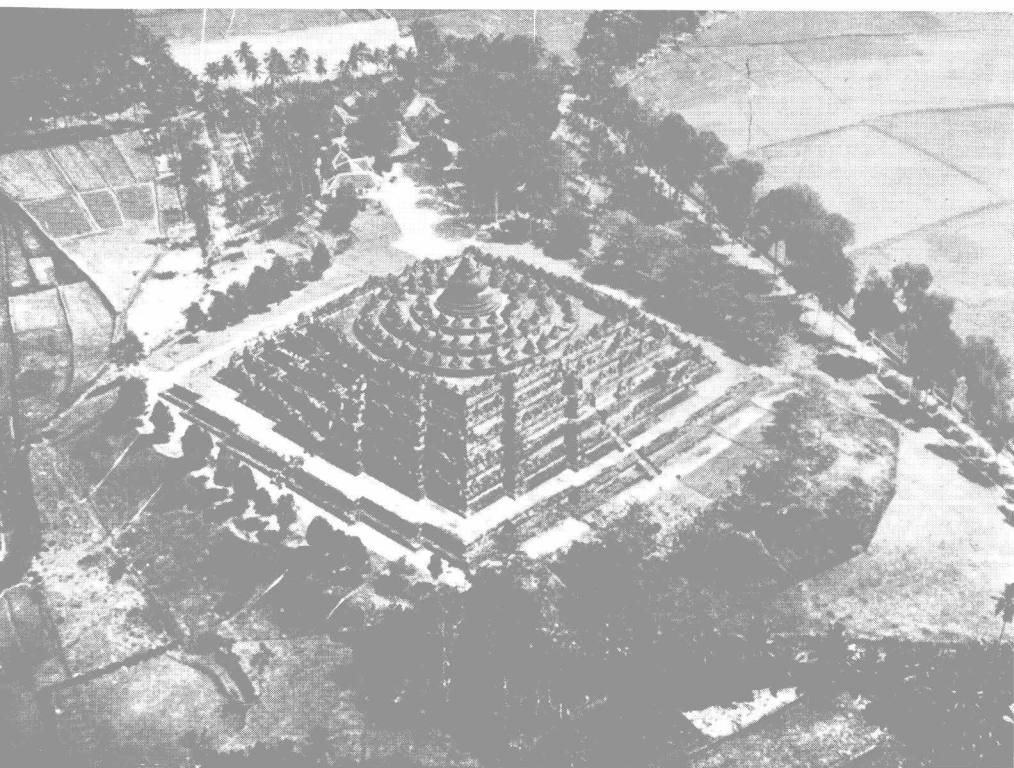
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Courtesy Arch. Survey of Indonesia

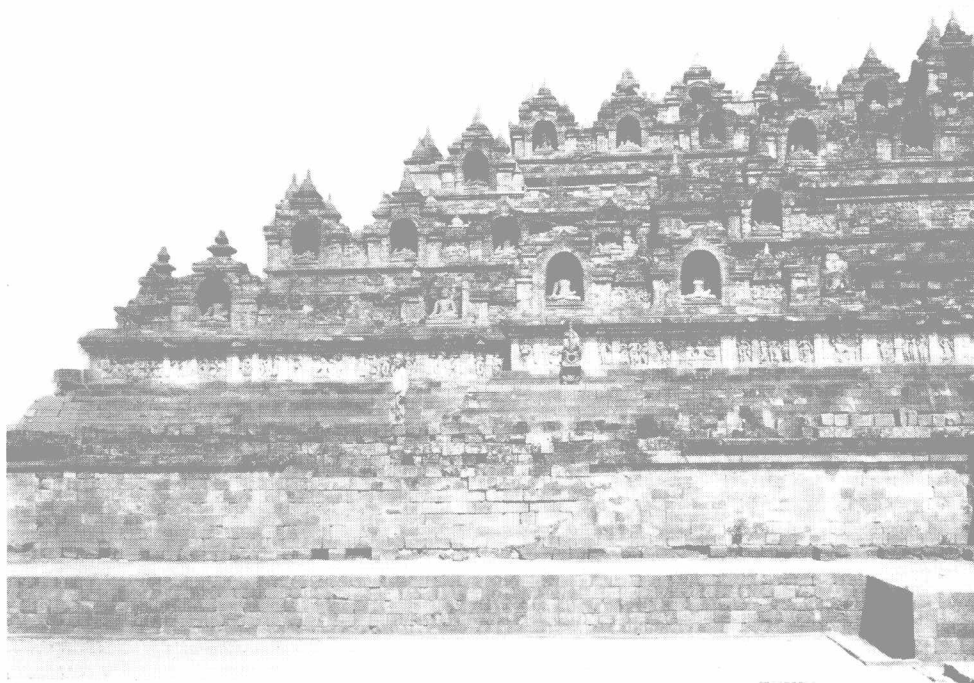
Fig. 1. Bird's-eye view of the Barabudur



Courtesy Arch. Survey of Indonesia

Fig. 2. View from the South-West

Fig. 3. Showing the difference between the finials of the lower terrace and those of the higher ones



Courtesy Arch. Survey of Indonesia



Fig. 4. Gallery with bas-reliefs and Buddha niche

arch. Survey of Indonesia

