

CAPITA SELECTA ASPEK-ASPEK ARKEOLOGI INDONESIA



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Capita Selecta
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ARKEOLOGI INDONESIA**



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KATA PENGANTAR

Aspek-Aspek Arkeologi Indonesia adalah salah satu publikasi Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional yang terbit sejak tahun 1975, sampai tahun 2001 telah terbit sebanyak 26 nomor.

Jenis publikasi ini khusus mengupas salah satu aspek dalam arkeologi Indonesia dalam bahasan yang cukup rinci.

Beberapa nomor Aspek-Aspek Arkeologi Indonesia tersebut sudah habis, sedangkan topik yang dibahas cukup menarik, sehingga dirasa perlu untuk diterbitkan ulang. Kali ini penerbitan ulang tersebut dibuat dalam bentuk baru, beberapa nomor dihimpun menjadi satu, diberi judul: *Capita Selecta Aspek-Aspek Arkeologi Indonesia*. Dalam terbitan ini sebanyak 6 nomor digabungkan, terdiri dari 7 judul. Keenam nomor tersebut adalah no. 3, 1976 (oleh Uka Tjandrasasmita), no. 13, 1992 (oleh C. Guillot), no. 23, 1994 (oleh Hasan M. Ambary), no. 22, 1998 (oleh M. Irfan Mahmud), no. 23, 1999 (oleh E.A. Kosasih), dan no. 26, 2001 (oleh Dwi Yani Yuniawati dan Soeroso MP). Dan untuk melengkapi pokok bahasan, dalam edisi ini ditambahkan sebuah *Monografi* yang berjudul *Sculptures of Ancient Sumatra*, karangan Satyawati Suleiman. Penerbitan ulang ini juga merupakan revisi, memperbaiki salah cetak dan kesalahan kecil teks. Harapan kami penerbitan ulang ini berguna dalam menyebarluaskan informasi tentang berbagai aspek dalam arkeologi Indonesia.

Redaksi,

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SEPINTAS MENGENAI PENINGGALAN KEPURBAKALAN ISLAM DI PESISIR UTARA JAWA

Uka Tjandrasasmita

1. Latar Belakang sejarahnya

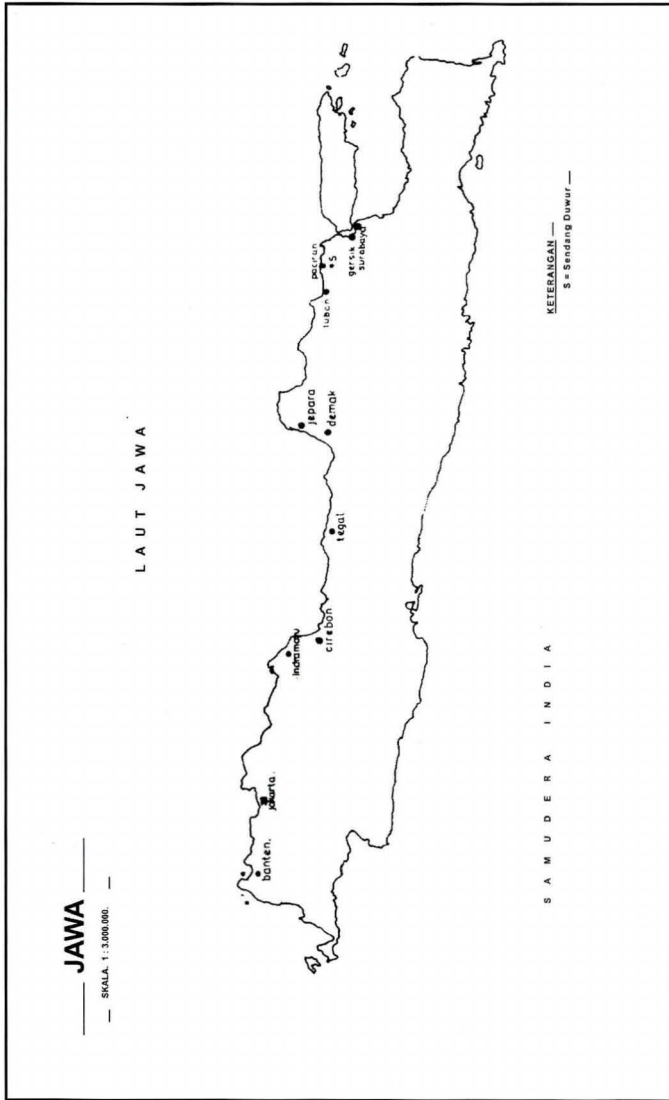
Berbicara tentang peninggalan kepurbakalaan Islam di pesisir utara Jawa, tidaklah terlepas dari pembicaraan tentang kedatangan Islam dan prosesnya yang terjadi di daerah pesisir tersebut. Apabila teori-teori tentang kedatangan Islam ke Indonesia, terutama mengenai waktu pertama kalinya serta asal negerinya, masih berbeda-beda dan sukar dipastikan, maka sama halnya dengan masa kedatangannya pertama kali ke pesisir utara Jawa. Dengan tidak membicarakan teori-teori serta perbedaannya tentang kedatangan Islam ke Indonesia maka boleh diperkirakan bahwa pada pertama kalinya orang-orang Indonesia berhubungan dengan orang-orang Muslim mungkin sejak abad-abad ke-7 dan 8 M. Kedatangan atau perhubungan tersebut terjadi terutama di daerah pesisir Selat Malaka, sesuai dengan fungsi selat tersebut sebagai tempat lalu-lintas pelayaran dan perdagangan Internasional. Faktor yang mendorong kegiatan serta kesibukan pelayaran dan perdagangan melalui Selat Malaka sejak abad ke-7 dan 8 itu mungkin erat hubungannya dengan kompetisi pelayaran dan perdagangan dari tiga kerajaan besar yaitu Banu Ummayah di Asia bagian Barat, Sriwijaya di Asia Tenggara dan Dinasti T'ang di Bagian Timur.

Jadi jalan pelayaran dan perdagangan di lautan terbentang antara negeri-negeri Arab, Persia, India (Gujarat), Indonesia (daerah Sriwijaya) dan Cina.

Kedatangan orang-orang Muslim ke negeri-negeri Asia Tenggara sering kali dihubungkan dengan berita Cina dari zaman T'ang yang menyebut-nyebut tentang adanya masyarakat Ta-shih yang biasanya di identifikasikan dengan orang-orang Arab dan semasa dengan Ho-ling (674). Lokasi Ho-ling itu belum dapat dipastikan, ada yang mengatakan di Sumatera dan adapula yang mengatakan di Semenanjung Melayu. Berita asing lainnya terutama dari al Mas'udi menceritakan bahwa pada tahun 887 sudah banyak pedagang Muslim yang bertempat tinggal di Khanfu (Kanton) bahkan mereka turut mengadakan pemberontakan dengan petani-petani Cina terhadap kekuasaan Kaisar Hi-Tsung (878-889).

Meskipun diduga bahwa sejak abad ke-7 sudah ada hubungan dengan orang-orang Muslim mungkin dari Arab, Persia, India melalui Selat Malaka, namun proses itu sendiri makan waktu berabad-abad sehingga terbentuknya suatu masyarakat luas bahkan kerajaan yang bercorak Islam yaitu Samudra Pasai sejak abad ke-13 M.

Pembuktian tentang adanya kerajaan Samudera Pasai lebih nyata, seperti terdapat pada berita asing, Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai, Sejarah Melayu bahkan batu-batu nisan antara lain



Peta lokasi tempat-tempat peninggalan Islam yang terpenting

nisan kubur Sultan Malik As-Salih, wafat tahun 696 H atau tahun 1297 M, yang ditemukan di Gampong Samudra, 15 Km dari Lhokseumawe. Kerajaan Samudra Pasai merupakan kerajaan bercorak Islam yang tertua di Indonesia yang munculnya mungkin sesuai pula dengan situasi dan kondisi politik Sriwijaya yang sejak abad ke-13 M itu mulai mengalami kelemahan. Sejak pertumbuhan kerajaan Pasai di pantai Selat Malaka, maka muncullah pula kerajaan bercorak Islam di Malaka. Kedua kota pusat kerajaan tersebut senantiasa merupakan pusat-pusat hubungan antara kota-kota di pesisir Utara Jawa hingga ke Maluku dan merupakan garis pelayaran-perdagangan utama yang telah ada di bawah perdagangan-perdagangan Muslim. Ketika itu bermunculanlah masyarakat muslim di beberapa kota pelabuhan Majapahit antara lain dari Tuban., dan Surabaya; di daerah pesisir Utara Jawa Tengah di Demak, di pesisir Utara Jawa Barat di Cirebon dan Indramayu. Pertumbuhan dan perkembangan masyarakat Muslim di daerah-daerah ini kecuali di beritahukan oleh Tomé Pires (1512-1515) juga Manuam (1416), De Barros dan lain sebagainya. Hikayat-hikayat dan babad-babad bahkan batu-batu nisan yang ditemukan di daerah Troloyo, Gresik dan lain sebagainya, membuktikan bahwa pada zaman Majapahit baik masa mencapai puncaknya maupun masa kemundurannya, telah banyak orang-orang Muslim yang bertempat tinggal di pesisir Utara Jawa bahkan di sekitar ibukota Majapahit.

Sebenarnya pertanda kedatangan Islam ke pesisir Utara Jawa sudah ada sejak abad ke-11 M, sebagaimana terbukti dari nisan kubur yang terdapat di Leran, 12 Km dari Surabaya di daerah Gresik. Nisan itu mengandung angka tahun 475 H atau 1082 M dengan nama yang wafat yaitu Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibatallah.

Namun demikian yang mempercepat proses itu terutama situasi dan kondisi politik Majapahit yang kacau akibat perebutan kekuasaan di kalangan keluarga raja-raja Majapahit sendiri. Bupati-bupati pesisir seperti Tuban, Gresik dan lain sebagainya, menyatakan dirinya lepas dari kekuasaan pusat. Mereka bergandengan dengan pedagang-pedagang Muslim yang ketika itu sebenarnya sudah menguasai jalan pelayaran-perdagangan dari Samudra Pasai-Malaka. Pesisir Utara Jawa-Maluku. Dari kedua belah pihak yaitu Bupati-bupati dan pedagang Muslim jelas mempunyai keuntungan baik ekonomis maupun politis. Di antara daerah-daerah pesisir utara Jawa yang muncul menjadi ibukota kerajaan yang bercorak Islam ialah Demak dengan rajanya yang pertama Raden Patah sekitar akhir abad ke-15. Ceritera babad seringkali menghubungkan keruntuhan kerajaan Majapahit oleh serangan tentara Islam, sebagaimana dikatakan dalam Pararaton "Hilang Sirna Kertaning Bumi" (1400 S atau 1478 M). Tetapi sebenarnya ibukota kerajaan Majapahit yang diperkirakan di Trowulan itu bukan runtuh oleh Islam melainkan oleh Girindrawardana Bhatara ring Dhahanapura tahun 1468. Kota itu ditinggalkan tahun 1474 setelah meninggalnya raja tersebut, dan anaknya pindah ke Daha. Kerajaan Demak baru mengakhiri kerajaan-kerajaan kecil Indonesia-Hindu yang berpusat di Daha-Kediri dan tempat-tempat rajanya sampai awal abad ke-16. Hal ini mungkin dapat disesuaikan dengan berita Tomé Pires yang menceritakan desakan kekuasaan raja yang beragama Hindu oleh kerajaan Demak.

Dari Demak kekuasaan Islam disebarkan ke Cirebon dan Banten kemudian Sunda Kelapa di bawah Sunan Gunung Jati dan Fadhillah sehingga timbullah kerajaan Banten tahun 1525, Jayakarta 1526, sedangkan Cirebon sudah Islam sejak tahun 1475. Kerajaan Pajajaran lambat laun runtuh di bawah kekuasaan Banten di kala Maulana Yusuf 1579/1580.

Islam lebih dipercepat proses penerimaannya oleh masyarakat umum, kecuali melalui proses politik dan saluran perdagangan juga melalui perkawinan. Di antara pedagang Muslim dengan anak-anak kaum bangsawan atau Bupati-bupati pesisir banyak terjadi perkawinan. Hal itu antara lain diceritakan dalam babad-babad atau hikayat-hikayat misalnya perkawinan antara putri Aria Dikara, Bupati Tuban, yang bernama Raden Ayu Teja dengan Syeh Ngabdurrahman, atau Ampel, Maulana Ishak dengan putri raja Belambangan.

Kecuali melalui perdagangan dan perkawinan cara-cara Islamisasi itu juga melalui da'wah-da'wah yang dilakukan secara khusus oleh para mubaliq, bahkan kyai-kyai melalui pesantren-pesantren sebagai lembaga pendidikan. Dalam sejarah proses Islamisasi di Jawa peranan Wali Sanga (Wali sembilan) sangat penting. Wali-wali tersebut antara lain Sunan Rahmat atau Ampel, Sunan Giri, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Gunung Jati atau Syarif Hidayatullah, Sunan Majagung, Sunan Derajat, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Muria, Sunan Kudus. Mereka dalam menjalankan tugasnya sebagai wali sangat bijaksana, senantiasa melaraskan dengan situasi dan kondisi masyarakatnya. Di antara Wali Sanga Sunan Kalijaga-lah yang berperanan dalam melakukan penyebaran Islam melalui bidang-bidang kesenian-kebudayaan. Para akhli tasawwuf di Indonesia pada umumnya, di Jawa pada khususnya juga mempunyai peranan yang tidak sedikit dalam proses penyebaran Islam.

Demikian antara lain proses keruntuhan dan penyebaran Islam di pesisir Utara Jawa.

2. Peninggalan Kepurbakalaannya.

Proses Islamisasi, pertumbuhan serta perkembangan kerajaan-kerajaan bercorak Islam di sepanjang pesisir Utara Jawa kecuali dapat diketahui berdasarkan sumber-sumber sejarah dalam babad-babad, ceritera-ceritera tradisionil dan berita-berita asing, maka peninggalan keurbakalaan yang terdapat di bekas-bekas kota pusat dan kota-kota pelabuhan masyarakat Muslim itu merupakan bukti dan kenyataan yang dapat berbicara sebagai saksi. Dari peninggalan-peninggalan Islam kita dapat ketahui apa arti proses dan perkembangan Islam di Indonesia itu. Untuk membicarakan hal itu baiklah kita mulai dari:

1). Nisan Kubur Leran

Di atas sudah dikatakan bahwa nisan kubur di Leran (Gresik), 12 Km dari Surabaya merupakan nisan kubur yang tertua di Jawa yang berangka tahun 1082 M, dengan nama yang wafat Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibatallah. Tulisan seluruhnya dalam huruf Kufi. Meski nisan kubur ini tidak menunjukkan bukti adanya kerajaan bercorak Islam namun jelas memberikan bukti masuknya orang-orang Islam ke daerah ini. Bangunan yang ada di Leran ini menunjukkan corak

klasik yang mengandung unsur seni bangunan zaman Indonesia-Hindu.

2). **Makam-makam di Troloyo, Trowulan**

Di sekitar daerah Troloyo dan Trowulan 15 Km dari Mojokerto banyak terdapat makam yang mengandung nisan-nisan, berasal dari abad ke -14 sampai dengan ke-16. Sejumlah nisan bertulisan huruf Arab dan juga angka Jawa Kuno. Bentuk nisan masih menunjukkan pola kala makara seperti pada hiasan pintu candi-candi. Ukiran bunga teratai, kekayon serta bundaran dengan sinar-sinarnya menunjukkan tradisi kesenian klasik terutama Majapahit. Dengan banyaknya nisan-nisan kubur dari abad ke-14 dan 15 itu memberikan bukti bahwa ketika Majapahit masih berdiri mereka diterima tinggal di sekitar ibu kota.

3). **Makam Maulana Malik Ibrahim di Gresik**

Di Gresik terdapat kompleks makam, terkenal sebagai makam Maulana Malik Ibrahim yang wafat tahun 822 H atau 1419 M. Makam ini menunjukkan persamaan corak dengan beberapa makam di Samudra Pasai dari sekitar tahun 1407 M, 1428 M. Corak inilah yang disebut oleh ahli-ahli Belanda J.P. Moquette, sebagai buatan pabrik di Cambay, Gujarat, di mana terdapat makam Ahmad Umar Ibn Kazaruni 1333 M. Persamaan itu terutama pada jenis bahannya ialah marmer dan cara-cara menulis ayat-ayat Al-Qur'an, nama orang yang wafat dan bentuk huruf-huruf *nastha'liq*. Makam Maulana Malik Ibrahim memberikan bukti kepada kita bahwa di Gresik pada abad ke-15 sudah banyak masyarakat Muslim di antaranya ia sebagai pemuka masyarakatnya. Sebutan Maulana adalah orang yang di hormati. Makam ini pada tahun 1952 mengalami pemugaran oleh Dinas Purbakala. Ketika itu berdekatan dengan makam Malik Ibrahim, terdapat kompleks makam Bupati-bupati dan mempunyai bentuk gapura yang masih mengandung unsur klasik. Demikian pula beberapa jumlah nisan kuburnya, meskipun dari abad-abad 19.

4). **Makam Sunan Giri**

Di daerah Gresik juga masih terdapat suatu kompleks makam di antaranya yang terkenal ialah makam Sunan Giri. Makamnya terdapat dalam suatu cungkub yang diberi ukiran dengan warna cat-cat asli (sebagian telah di cat baru). Bentuk kubur maupun nisan-nisannya juga masih menunjukkan corak seni pahat klasik. Sayang sekali kita tidak ketahui dengan pasti nama yang dimakamkan itu karena nisan kubur tidak memuat tulisan sama sekali. Kita ketahui bahwa makam terutama adalah makam Sunan Giri hanya berdasarkan tradisi. Meskipun demikian segi ilmu purbakala bentuk nisan dan kuburnya masih menunjukkan kekunoan dari sekitar abad ke-16. Kecuali itu terdapat mesjid kuna yang telah mengalami perubahan-perubahan. Bentuk arsitekturnya tetap menunjukkan corak asli. Pintu gerbang-pintu gerbang yang dibuat dari batu bata menunjukkan

bentuk candi-candi bentar seperti pernah didapatkan pada zaman Majapahit. Tempat ini terkenal terutama sejak Sunan Giri, kemudian Parapen, sebagai tempat pesantren yang berpengaruhnya sampai ke Maluku.

5). **Makam Sunan Derajat**

Makam Sunan Derajat terdapat di daerah Paciran 30 Km di sebelah timur Tuban. Kompleks ini berundak-undak dan yang tertinggi, paling belakang letaknya yaitu yang merupakan intinya ialah makam Sunan Derajat dengan keluarganya.

Nisan kubur Sunan Derajat juga tidak bertulisan kecuali bentuknya mengingatkan kekunoannya. Cungkubnya juga masih menunjukkan corak yang kuno. Pembagian halaman atas 3 bagian dengan candi-candi *bentar* nya mengingatkan kita akan tradisi pembagian pelataran Candi Penataran pada zaman Majapahit dan pembagian halaman pura di Bali sampai kini.

6). **Sendang Duwur**

Di desa Sendang Duwur beberapa Km saja dari Paciran terdapat kompleks makam Sunan Sendang. Mesjidnya meskipun sudah mengalami perubahan sejak tahun 1920 tetapi berdiri pada fondasi aslinya. Restorasi terhadap makam ini dilakukan sejak tahun-tahun 1938 dan 1940, cungkubnya yang penuh ukiran kayu dengan tangga masuk dari batu putih cukup menggambarkan pola hiasan/ukiran berasal dari masa-masa kesenian Majapahit di Candi Jago dan Panataran. Pada dinding cungkub terdapat angka tahun 1507 S = 1585 M.

Ukiran-ukiran itu sama dengan di Mantingan (Jepara). Bedanya hanyalah di Sendang Duwur pada kayu di Mantingan pada batu.

Sangat berkesan ialah pintu gerbang-pintu gerbangnya yang bersayap, melambangkan garuda yang tengah terbang. Demikian pula tampak lambang gunung, pohon hayat atau *kalpawreksa* seperti terdapat pada kesenian Indonesia-Hindu. Pada salah satu nisan terdapat hiasan lengkung *kalamerga* (lengkung kijang) yang mengingatkan kita kepada gambaran di Candi Panataran dan Candi Penanggungan.

7). **T u b a n**

Kota ini menurut Tomé Pires pada awal abad ke-16 sudah mempunyai tembok keliling yang dibuat dari batu-bata yang dibakar dan di panaskan terik matahari. Yang dapat disaksikan kini terutama makam kuno antara lain makam Sunan Bonang yang pada abad ke-16 mempunyai peranan dalam peng-Islam-an di daerah ini.

8). Mantingan

Di Mantingan, 12 Km dari Jepara, terdapat kelompok mesjid kuno dengan papan-papan batu berukir pola tumbuh-tumbuhan dan binatang yang digambarkan dalam bentuk daun-daunan teratai, dan lain-lain. Mesjid ini yang aslinya berasal dari tahun 1559 M seperti masih ada bukti candra sangkala "*rupa Brahmana warna sari*" (1481 S = 1559M) dalam huruf Jawa arkais ditempel di atas lengkung mihrab.

Pembaharuan dan pemindahan panel-panel ukiran dan dinding depan mesjid pada tahun 1964 dilakukan oleh penduduk.

Makam yang terkenal pada cungkub ialah makam Ratu Kalinyamat yang wafat sekitar tahun 1559 tersebut di atas.

9). Jepara

Di Jepara sendiri yang perlu diperhatikan bagaimana bekas pola kota pelabuhan lama sejak abad ke—16 itu. Mesjid kuno yang berasal dari abad ke-17 yang diceriterakan bertingkat lima oleh De Graaf dan Bougaert sudah tidak ada lagi.

10). Kalinyamat

Di beberapa tempat di sekitar Robayan, Purwogondo, Krian dan sebagainya, meliputi lebih kurang 5 atau 6 Km² terdapat sisa-sisa bata tembok, mungkin bentengan. Di sinilah diperkirakan letak Kalinyamat itu.

11). Demak dan Kadilangu

Demak sebagai bekas ibu kota kerajaan abad 15-16 M. masih memberikan bukti-bukti peninggalan sejarahnya yakni Mesjid serta kubur raja rajanya. Mesjid sudah mengalami banyak perubahan sejak tahun 1964, bahkan pada tahun-tahun 1974-1975 bentuk asli dari *pawestren*, langit langit pendopo, pintu *bledek mangan makam* sebelah kiri serambi mesjid sudah berubah sama sekali dari keasliannya.

Mesjid ini menurut tradisi dan babad-babad dikenal aslinya pada zaman Wali Sanga abad ke-16 bahkan *saka tatal* ialah satu *saka-Gurunya* di buat oleh Sunan Kali Jaga. Sebelah kiri terdapat makam raja-raja Demak Raden Patah yang berada di luar dan tidak bercungkub mempunyai bentuk nisan dengan ukiran bunga teratai. Ukirannya serta jenis batunya banyak persamaan dengan nisan kubur Panembahan Ratu di Cirebon dari abad ke-17 M. Makam Pangeran Trenggana juga kaya akan ukiran pola bunga bunga teratai.

Tembok-tembok serambi mesjid dihiasi piring-piring Cina dengan pola hiasan garuda, *sankha*, teratai dan sebagainya. Ini mungkin pesanan. Pada dinding mihrab terdapat gambaran kura-kura yang menurut sebagian

pendapat adalah lambang angka pendirian mesjid yaitu = 1478 M. Tiang tiang serambi mesjid menurut ceritera tradisional, berasal dari bekas pendopo keraton Majapahit. Nama-nama tempat di dalam kota Demak masih mengingatkan kita kepada struktur kota lama. Karena itu kini sedang dicoba penggalian-penggalian di beberapa tempat antara lain di dekat Moro (Muara) Demak. Kadilangu terletak beberapa km dari Demak, di tempat inilah menurut tradisi dimakamkan Sunan Kalijaga. Cungkubnya sudah baru sama sekali. Di kompleks ini ada pula mesjid kuno, meskipun tidak seusia dengan abad 16 M.

12). **Kudus**

Di Kudus terdapat suatu tempat yang masih menunjukkan corak kota lama yaitu di sepanjang jalan dekat Mesjid Sunan Kudus. Yang paling terkenal ialah peninggalan berupa Menara Kudus dari abad ke-16. Ada pendapat bahwa bentuknya mengingatkan akan bentuk candi corak Jawa Timur. Tetapi jelas pula mengingatkan kepada bentuk kulkul di Bali. Regol-regol serta candi-bentar yang terdapat di halaman depan di serambi serta dalam mesjid mengingatkan kepada corak kesenian Klasik di Jawa Timur. Ukuran batu-bata yang besar dan lenat mirip batu-bata masa Majapahit dan peralihan ke Islam. Batu-bata disusun dengan sistim menggosokkannya satu dengan lain tanpa semen, persis seperti pada zaman Majapahit. Tidak jauh dari Menara dan kompleks mesjid itu terdapat mesjid yang dinamakan "Mesjid Bubah". Bahannya dibuat dari batuan pasir dan bata. Di jalan yang berupa lorong itu terdapat beberapa rumah adat yang masih menggunakan seni ukir tradisional.

13). **Cirebon**

Cirebon merupakan salah satu kota Muslim sejak lebih kurang 1475 M dan erat hubungannya dengan Demak. Di daerah ini yang dapat kita saksikan peninggalan kepurbakalaannya antara lain: keraton Kasepuhan, Kanoman. Kacirebonan, Kaprabonan, mesjid kuno seperti Mesjid Agung di Kasepuhan, Mesjid Jalagraha, Mesjid Panjunan, Gua Sunyaragi, makam Sunan Gunung Jati, pedati kuno di Pekalangan yang digelar Ki Gedeng Pedati, makam Derajat, makam Pangeran Trusmi di Trusmi dan masih banyak lagi di daerah Kabupaten Cirebon.

a. Keraton Kasepuhan

Keraton beserta unsur-unsur fisik bangunan lainnya seperti Mesjid Agung di sisi alun-alun bagian Barat, pasar di sebelah timur laut masih menunjukkan inti kota lama. Bagian tertua di keraton Kasepuhan ialah puing-puing yang disebut Dalem Agung Pakung Wati, yaitu keraton yang dulu semasa Sunan Gunung Jati. Kemudian Sitinggil di bagian ter-

depan yaitu di pelataran dari keraton kini yang lebih muda dan yang sekarang masih tampak juga termasuk bagian yang semasa dengan Dalem Agung Pakung Wati. Keraton tertua maupun yang kemudian tetap menunjukkan pembagian-pembagian pelataran atau prinsip tiga bagian yang dipisahkan oleh pagar tembok.

Seluruh keraton diputari oleh tembok keliling yang dibagian Timur disebut **Kuta Kosod**. Hal ini ada hubungan dengan cara penyusunan antar bata-bata dengan cara digosokkan satu dengan lainnya, sehingga merapat tanpa pelekat spesi. Sistem ini kini masih dilakukan di Bali dan pada zaman Indonesia-Hindu dapat kita saksikan cara susunan tembok bata Majapahit. Di dalam babad disebutkan bahwa di antara tukang-tukang terdapat asal Majapahit, pimpinannya sendiri Raden Sepat berasal dari sana, kemudian ke Demak dan akhirnya ke Cirebon.

Sitinggil masih menunjukkan kekuasaan tradisi seni Indonesia Hindu dengan candi bentar-candi bentar, ukiran umpak-umpak beberapa tiang bangunan yang bertiang 20 jelas menunjukkan seni-pahat tradisi Majapahit dan Mantingan (Jepara), Demak. Bangunan-bangunan yang terletak di atas Sitinggil mempunyai nama-nama seperti Malang Semirang dengan 20 tiang, Semar Tinandu dengan 2 tiang, Pendawa Lima dengan 5 tiang dan lain sebagainya itu juga dihubungkan dengan simbol-simbol Islam seperti bangunan sifat duapuluh, lambang sahadat, lambang rukun Islam. Pada bagian kaki candi-bentar sebelah selatan terdapat gambaran banteng yang menurut tradisi adalah candra sangkala: "*Banteng tinata bata*" yang jatuh pada kira-kira abad 15 (kalau angka tahun itu hijrah). Di atas pelataran Sitinggil batuan andesit yang menurut tradisi ialah lumpang trasi zaman Cirebon berakhir ke Pajajaran. Tetapi sebenarnya mungkin yoni dengan lingga. Hiasan lainnya pada dinding ialah piring piring Cina, Eropa yang mungkin ditempelkan kemudian. Di keraton kini di dinding-dindingnya dihiasi dengan tegel Delft. Di bagian dalam Bangsal Agung yang merupakan bagian terpenting. Bagian-bagian lainnya dari keraton itu menunjukkan tradisi sebelum Islam yang jelas pula dari nama-namanya seperti *keputran*, *keputren*, *Srimanganti*, dan lain sebagainya. Pintu jati yang berukir kuno terdapat pada kedua pintu *supit urang*.

Yang menarik perhatian ialah bermacam benda dan senjata kuno yang disimpan di museumnya. Kereta Singa Barong yang dibuat zaman Panembahan Ratu abad ke-17 mulai menunjukkan seni ukir khas Cirebon yaitu motif karang, yang kemudian diperkembangkan baik dalam pembuatan taman Sunyaragi di abad ke-18 awal maupun pada bangunan

bangunan dari abad ke-17 itu sendiri.

Bagian-bagian tembok keraton kini menunjukkan pengaruh arsi tektur campuran Barat. Namun atap dan komposisi keseluruhannya keraton tersebut masih asli Jawa. Ukiran-ukiran sampai abad ke-17 masih berakar pada kesenian Jawa unsur seni tradisi Majapahit dan Demak, tetapi sejak abad ke-17 mempunyai perkembangan khas Cirebon.

b. Mesjid Agung Kasepuhan

Mesjid inilah yang dalam ceritera babad-babad disebut mesjid Cipta Rasa atau Pakung Wati buatan Wali Sanga. Bagian tertua ialah inti mesjid zaman wali dengan dindingnya yang berhias pola bunga-bunga teratai seperti di Mantingan Jepara. Mihrabnya mempunyai tonjolan bunga teratai pula yang menurut ceritera setempat adalah candra sang kala: "*mangal, mungil mungup*". Di dalam tampak tiang-tiang rangkap.

Ini adalah hasil restorasi tahun 1940, tiang-tiang aslinya masih dipertahankan meski tehnik tidak lagi menunjang. Suatu keistimewaan bahwa mesjid ini tidak mempunyai *memolo*, puncak. Ceriteranya ialah tidak dibuat lagi setelah kebakaran pada masa pemerintahan Panembahan Ratu. Pagar tembok keliling pelataran sudah tidak asli lagi demikian pula bentuk pintu gerbang, karena perbaikan masyarakat setempat tanpa pengetahuan tehnik arkeologis.

Mesjid yang termasuk tua ialah di kampung Pajalagrahan yang semasa dengan pendirian Dalem Agung Pakung Wati pula. Nama Jalagraha masih mengingatkan dahulu rumah yang ada di atas air (mungkin masih rawa).

c. Keraton Kanoman

Keraton ini dibuat lebih muda sekitar akhir abad ke-17 yang dapat dihubungkan dengan *candra sangkala memet* pada pintu pendapa.

Pintu-pintu gerbang tampak lebih muda meskipun pada prinsipnya masih tradisional. Komposisi alun-alun dengan bagian-bagian peralatan keraton masih menunjukkan prinsip konsepsi keraton Jawa. Benda-benda kuno banyak pula terdapat di sini dalam gedung museumnya, antara lain Kereta Paksi Naga Liman dan Joli atau tandu. Di bagian pendapa tempat menerima tamu terdapat ukir-ukiran padas atau karang. Di pelataran belakang menurut ceritera ada bangunan yang tertua yaitu yang disebut Srimanganti yang berarti mulainya diadakan. Tetapi meskipun demikian keadaannya kini arkeologis lebih muda dari pada abad ke-16.

d. Keraton-Keraton lainnya:

Keraton lainnya yang meskipun kecil ialah keraton Kacirebonan yang masih menunjukkan pembagian pelataran atas tiga bagian pula. Keraton Keprabonan lebih tepat disebut Paguron dari pada disebut Keraton. Karena tidak lagi mempunyai pembagian pelataran seperti Kacirebonan, Kasepuhan dan Kanoman. Bangunannya sudah banyak pengaruh arsitektur baru meskipun tetap bentuk asli tradisional Jawa.

e. Gua Sunyaragi

Dari namanya jelas bahwa gua ini ada hubungannya dengan tempat bermeditasi mensucikan diri. Tetapi juga ia berfungsi sebagai taman. Letaknya di pinggir kota Cirebon arah selatan. Bentuk bangunan mempunyai kekhasan hanya ada di Cirebon, yaitu dibuat dari batu karang dengan susunan hiasan motif karang. Saluran-saluran air dan kolam menunjukkan bahwa suatu waktu bangunan ini dapat digenangi air. Bale-kambang yang sudah hilang tinggal bagian-bagian fondasinya. Di puncak bangunan itu dahulu ada bangunan dengan patung "putri". Gambaran gajah dan garuda yang diikat oleh ular jelas di buat dari batu-batu karang. Arsitektur Gua Sunyaragi dibuat pada awal abad ke-18.

f. Makam Sunan Gunung Jati

Makam ini terletak di Desa Astana lebih kurang 5 Km dari alun-alun kota Cirebon. Di sini ada dua bukit yang mengapit jalan Cirebon Jakarta. Sebelah kanan ialah bukit tempat Datuk Kahfi dimakamkan yang menurut ceritera ialah yang lebih dahulu datang mengajar Islam ke Cirebon. 'Sedang bukit sebelah kiri tempat Sunan Gunung Jati dimakamkan beserta turunan-turunannya. Bukit ini disusun dalam 9 tingkat yang dikelilingi oleh tembok keliling dan dengan pintu masuk pada setiap tingkat. Yang boleh dimasuki umum ialah sampai tingkat ke 3. Sedang makam Sunan Gunung Jati sendiri berada di puncaknya ialah tingkat yang ke-9. Tingkat-tingkat berturut-turut di tempat makam keturunannya dari turunan Sultan Sepuh sebelah kanan dan turunan Sultan Kanoman di sebelah kiri. Analogi dengan makam Imogiri, sebelum terjadinya pembagian atas dua pusat keraton leluhurnya tetap jadi satu namun setelah terpecah lalu juga dalam tempat pemakamannya terpisah.

Bentuk nisan-nisannya berasal dari abad-abad kemudian menunjukkan corak hiasan Cirebon.

Demikianlah garis besar keadaan peninggalan Islam di Cirebon terutama

yang ada di kota, sedangkan di luar kota masih banyak lagi yang dalam ringkasan ini belum dibicarakan. Namun sebagai kesimpulan dapat dikatakan bahwa peninggalan dari zaman proses Islamisasi dan perkembangan Islam di pesisir utara Jawa jelas menunjukkan keseimbangan budaya dari masa Indonesia-Hindu dengan masa berikutnya yang berarti bahwa Islam menyesuaikan diri dengan unsur-unsur kebudayaan yang sudah ada sebelumnya, dengan perkataan lain kepribadian budaya bangsa masih menjiwainya meskipun kelak ada pengaruh-pengaruh lainnya.

Uka Tjandrasasmita adalah ahli arkeologi tamatan Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia, Jakarta.

Sejak semula mempunyai perhatian besar di bidang arkeologi Islam dan sebagai Ketua Bidang Arkeologi Islam di Lembaga Purbakala dan Peninggalan Nasional menyumbangkan dan mengembangkan penelitian bidang tersebut. Kemudian Uka Tjandrasasmita menjadi Direktur Direktorat Sejarah dan Purbakala, Dit. Jen. Kebudayaan Dept. P. dan K.

Hasil karyanya adalah pelbagai karangan dalam buku dan majalah ilmiah yang diterbitkan di luar dan di dalam negeri. Antara lain *Islamic Antiquities of Sendang duwur*, Jakarta, 1976 yang pernah merupakan skripsi ujian doctoral. Juga menjadi penulis Buku Standar *Sejarah Nasional* yang sudah terbit.

Di samping itu ia menghadiri konferensi dan seminar nasional maupun internasional dan membawa kertas kerja di berbagai rapat kerja sejarah dan arkeologi.

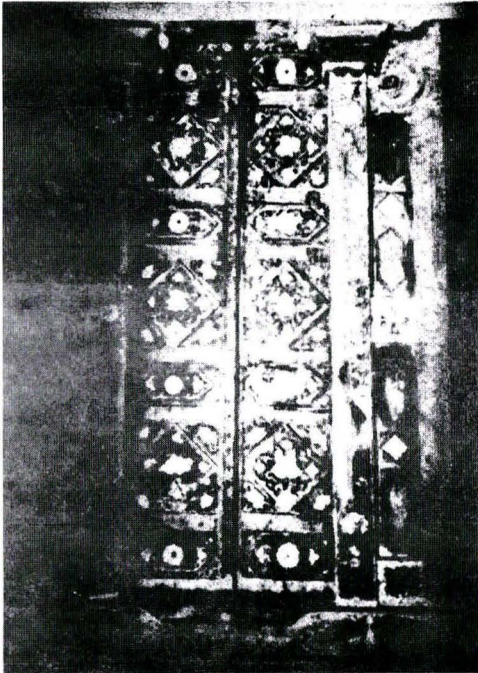
(1976)



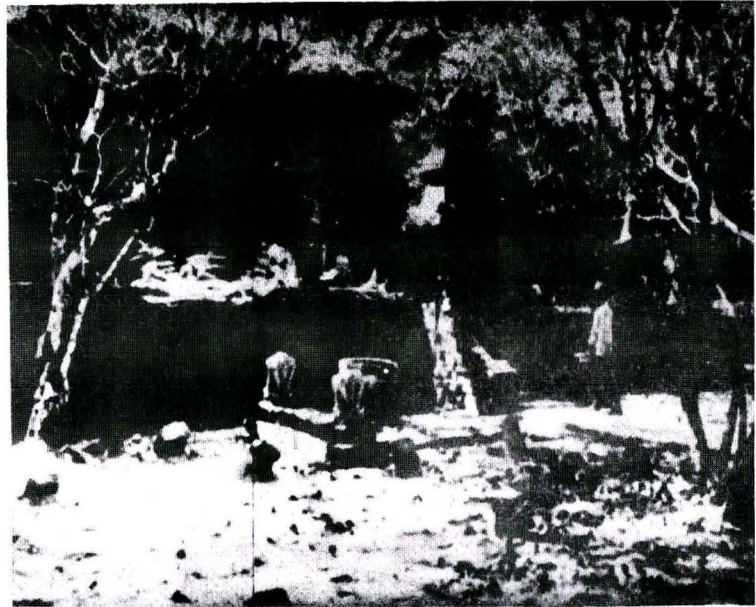
1. Makam Malik Ibrahim di Gresik
822 H (=1419M)



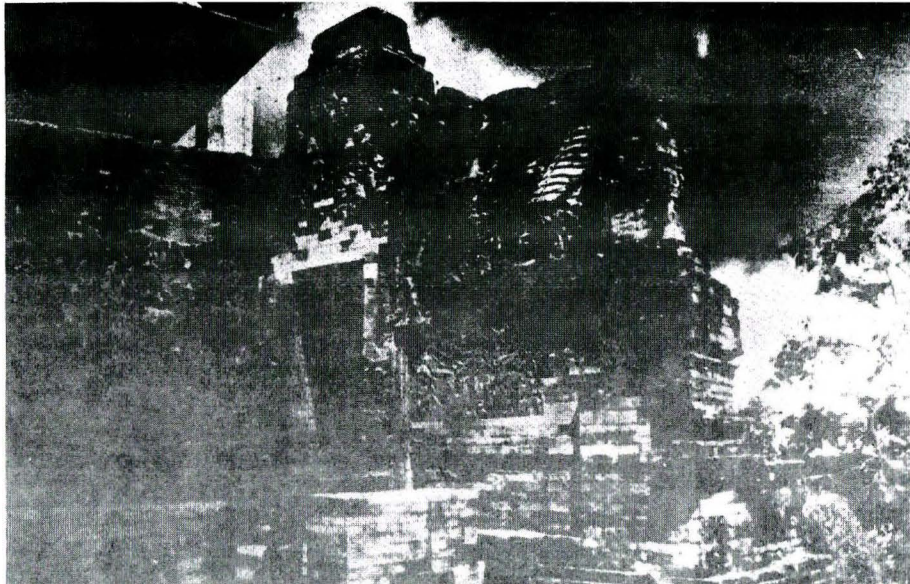
2. Batu nisan Islam dari Trowulan
Th. 1457 M



**4. Ukiran Pintu Cungkup Makam Sunan
Drajat di Paciran, Lamongan**



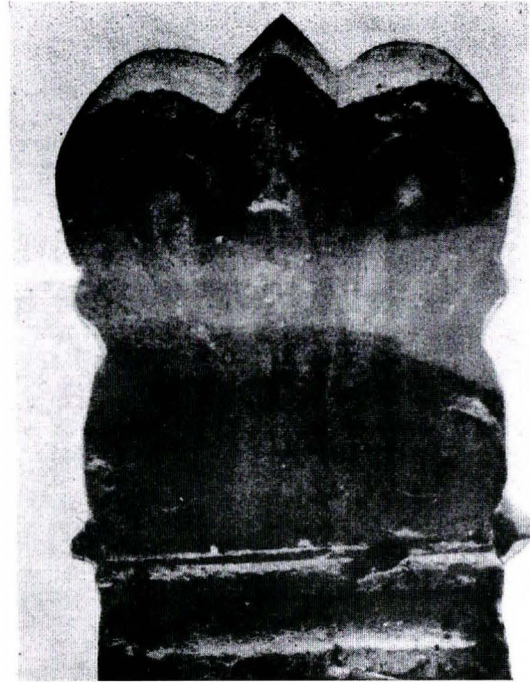
**3. Makam Leran tempat nisan kubur Fatimah binti Maimun
bin Hibatallah 1002M**



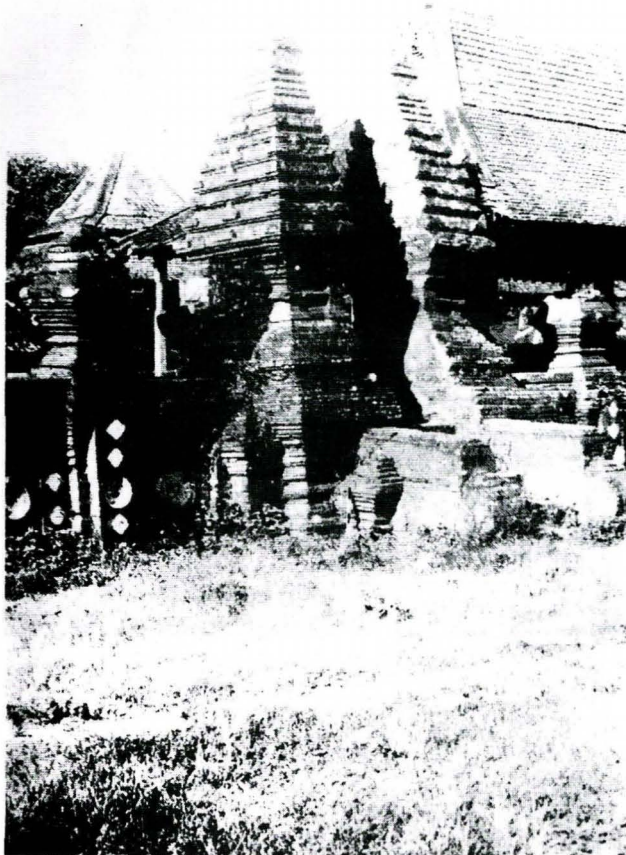
5. Pintu Gerbang Sendang Duwur Abad ke -16



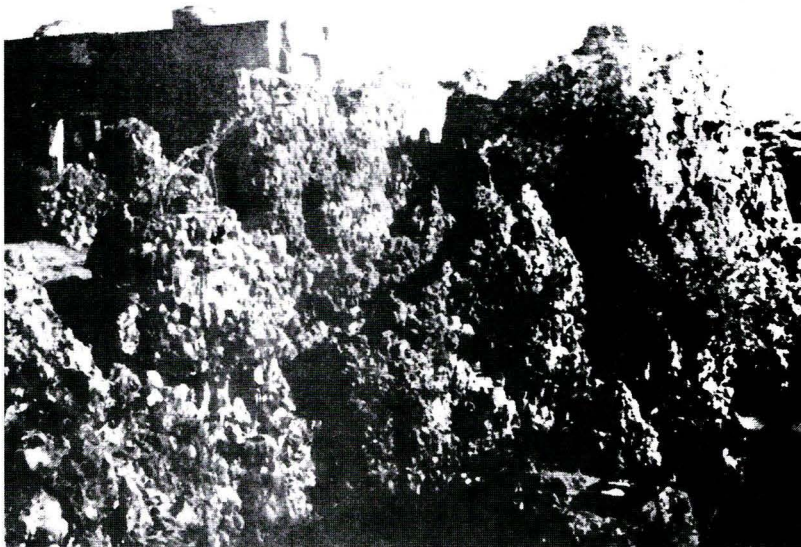
6. Menara Kudus abad ke- 16 di Kudus



**7. Makam Dipati Unus Demak.
Abad ke -16**



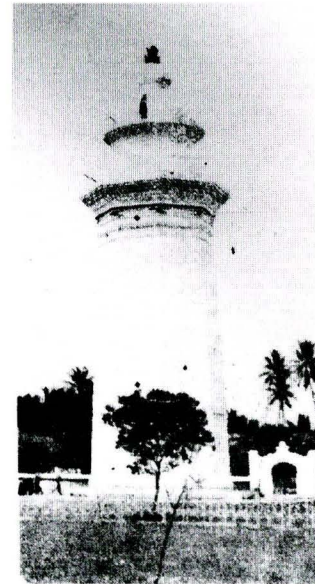
**8. Pintu Gerbang (*bentar*) setinggiil
Keraton Kasepuhan**



**9. Gua Sunyaragi dari batu karang abad ke-18 awal
di Cirebon**



**10. a. Masjid Agung Banten - aslinya dari abad -16
dan Tiamah dari abad ke-17**



**10. b. Menara dari Masjid
Agung Banten abad ke-17**

PERJANJIAN DAN MASALAH PERJANJIAN ANTARA PORTUGIS DAN SUNDA TAHUN 1522

C. Guillot

Mereka yang tertarik pada sejarah Pulau Jawa umumnya dan sejarah Sunda pada khususnya telah mengenal perjanjian serta kondisi pembuatan perjanjian antara orang Portugis dan sejumlah penguasa politik Sunda. Keterangan ini sebagian besar mereka peroleh dan catatan dua penulis kronik terkenal asal Portugis, terutama Joao de Barros dan Diogo do Couto. Peristiwa ini — begitu pula konsekwensinya — sangat penting artinya, karena dapat dipakai untuk memahami dan menentukan dengan tepat kapan Islam melakukan perebutan kekuasaan daerah tersebut. Penafsiran teks yang terkenal itu nampaknya sudah diakui benar, meskipun demikian di bawah ini kita akan mencoba memperlihatkan bahwa “perjanjian” tersebut perlu dibaca kembali dan bahwa dokumen-dokumen yang semasa dengan peristiwa tersebut jelas menunjukkan kekeliruan penafsiran tersebut.

Seperti umumnya suatu pembuktian, ini pun harus dikerjakan dengan ketekunan dan ketelitian, mungkin membosankan dan tidak mudah dibaca. Meskipun demikian argumen-argumennya perlu dibicarakan.

Ringkasan peristiwa-peristiwa seperti yang dituturkan dalam kronik Barros dan Couto

Joao de Barros¹

Pada tahun 1522 Jorge de Albuquerque, “kapten” kota Malaka untuk urusan perdagangan mengirim utusan yang dipimpin oleh Henrique Leme menghadap **Samiam**, raja Sunda. Sewaktu utusan tersebut tiba “di pelabuhannya” raja tersebut menerima orang-orang Portugis dengan baik. Guna memperoleh bantuan dalam peperangan yang sedang berlangsung melawan orang Islam dan untuk memperkuat berbagai hubungan dagang, orang Portugis diberi hak untuk membangun benteng dan dijamin bahwa mereka boleh memuat merica sejumlah yang mereka kehendaki. Selain itu raja pun berjanji memberikan 1000 karung merica setiap tahunnya kepada raja Portugal mulai hari dibangunnya benteng tersebut. Perjanjian itu dibuat secara tertulis. Tiga orang menteri setempat turut mengambil

¹ *Da Asia*. Lisboa 1973. Decada quarta, parte I Liv. I, Cap. XIII: jilid 7. hal. 82-87

bagian dalam pembicaraan tersebut: “Mandari Tadam. Tamungo Sague de Pate dan Bengar, syahbandar setempat”. Atas perintah raja, mereka mengantar Leme ke tempat akan dibangunnya benteng tersebut. di sebelah kanan muara sungai, di kawasan yang dinamai Calapa, di situ mereka mendirikan sebuah *padrao* (semacam tugu peringatan). Selanjutnya Leme pulang ke Malaka. Jorge de Albuquerque menilai hal itu sangat penting dan menulis kepada raja Portugal untuk meminta persetujuannya. Joao III menyetujui usaha tersebut dan mempercayakan pelaksanaannya kepada Francisco de Sa yang berangkat dengan armada kapal yang dipimpin oleh Vasco de Gama, wakil-raja di India yang baru. Karena Vasco de Gama kemudian wafat, maka Francisco de Sa tinggal beberapa waktu di Goa.

Ketika Francisco de Sa tiba di Malaka, armada Portugis sedang menyiapkan operasi militer melawan Bintan di bawah pimpinan Pero Mascarenhas, Francisco de Sa dengan armadanya bergabung, dan setelah selesai baru berangkat menuju “Sunda”. Armadanya terserang badai. Duarto Coelho, salah seorang kapten armada tersebut, berhasil sampai di Calapa, sementara kapalnya tenggelam di situ. Semua penumpang kapal diserang oleh orang-orang Islam yang beberapa hari sebelumnya telah merebut kota itu dari Samiam, sahabat orang Portugis.

Orang Islam yang telah merebut kota itu adalah orang rendahan bernama Faletihan asal Pasai. Sewaktu Pasai baru saja direbut oleh Portugis, Faletihan pergi berlayar menuju Mekah dengan kapal yang memuat rempah-rempah dan tinggal di sana selama kira-kira dua atau tiga tahun untuk belajar agama Islam. Sekembalinya di Pasai, dia menganggap tidak mungkin dapat mengajarkan agama Islam di dekat benteng orang Portugis, ia lalu pergi ke Jepara, mengislamkan rajanya dan dia sendiri menjadi kadinya. Sebagai imbalan, raja memberikan saudara perempuannya untuk diperistri. Terdorong oleh keinginan untuk mengislamkan banyak orang, Faletihan meminta ijin kepada raja untuk pergi ke “Bintam, kota di Sunda”. Di kota itu, dia diterima dengan baik oleh seorang tokoh setempat yang kemudian masuk Islam. Ketika Faletihan menganggap keadaan di kota itu cocok untuk melaksanakan rencananya, dia meminta kepada raja Jepara untuk mengirim pasukan tentara. Raja Jepara menyanggupinya dan segera mengirimkan dua ribu orang tentara. Ketika Francisco de Sa tiba di “Pelabuhan Sunda”, Faletihan telah menguasai keadaan dengan begitu baiknya sehingga mampu melarang pembangunan benteng itu.

Diogo do Couto²

Setelah ikut mengambil bagian dalam ekspedisi Pero Mascarenhas melawan Bintan, Francisco de Sa berlayar menuju “Sunda” untuk membangun benteng. Selama perjalanan,

armada yang dipimpinnya diserang badai sehingga kapal-kapalnya terpecar-pencar selama beberapa hari. Tiga di antaranya, sebuah kapal yang besar pimpinan Duarte Coelho serta dua kapal lainnya, dengan susah payah berhasil mencapai “Pelabuhan Sunda”. Pada waktu terserang badai itulah salah satu kapalnya terdampar, tiga puluh orang Portugis yang ada di dalamnya berenang menuju ke daratan, tetapi di pantai itu mereka diserang oleh musuhnya, orang-orang Islam. Sebenarnya raja yang menghendaki dibangunnya benteng itu sudah meninggal dan musuh yang diperangnya telah merebut daerahnya. Pada waktu itu, musuh dalam jumlah yang besar telah tiba di kota “Banta”, kota terpenting di kerajaannya, dan berusaha menundukkannya. Begitu orang Islam melihat kedatangan armada Portugis, timbul niat mereka untuk membalas dendam, mereka tahu bahwa raja yang meninggal itu telah memberi ijin kepada Portugis membangun benteng di “pelabuhan tersebut”. Namun demikian, kapal besar dan satu kapal lainnya tidak terdampar. Sewaktu melihat apa yang menimpa para penumpang kapal yang terdampar itu, tanpa mengetahui nasib Francisco de Sa beserta kapalnya, Duarte Coelho bertolak kembali ke Malaka.

Francisco de Sa beserta kapalnya terbawa badai sampai di pantai Jawa. Dia berhasil menghimpun kembali kapal-kapal lainnya di Pelabuhan Panarukan, dan membawa armadanya menuju pelabuhan “Bata”. untuk berlabuh. Dikirimnya utusan untuk memperingatkan raja akan janji yang sudah pernah diberikan oleh raja yang digantinya. Karena raja menolak, Francisco de Sa memutuskan untuk mempergunakan kekuatan, tetapi di daratan dia menghadapi pertahanan yang begitu kuat — di antara pasukan Portugis, empat orang terbunuh dan sejumlah orang lainnya luka-luka — sehingga dia mengundurkan diri dan kembali ke Malaka.

Penafsiran yang umum dikenal

Dalam penafsiran teks tersebut para sejarawan (Veth, Rouffaer, Hoesein Djajadiningrat, De Haan, misalnya) sepakat untuk menganggap bahwa Kerajaan Sunda adalah Pajajaran, bahwa raja Sunda itu bersemayam di Pakuan, bahwa “Pelabuhan Sunda” adalah Kelapa-Jakarta, yang disebut dua kali oleh Barros, pokoknya semuanya itu berada antara Pakuan dan Kelapa. Di Kelapa lah Leme berunding dengan pejabat Pakuan lalu mendirikan sebuah “Padrao”. Dan di Kelapa pula Francisco de Sa mencoba turun ke darat untuk membangun benteng tetapi menemui kegagalan. Mengenai apa yang disebut terakhir ini, Rouffaer adalah orang pertama yang mulai sedikit meragukan kebenarannya, seperti yang akan kita lihat berikut ini.

³ *Da Asia*. Lisboa, 1973, Decada quarta. parte I, Liv. III, Cap. 1; jilid 10. hal. 168-172

Penafsiran dokumen-dokumen sejaman

Kalau kita baca kedua ringkasan versi tentang ekspedisi Francisco de Sa tersebut, ternyata satu dengan lainnya tidak sesuai. Kedua penulis Portugis tersebut, meskipun dianggap luar biasa - dan memang benar demikian -tidak mengenal Jawa. Oleh karena itu mereka rupanya menemui beberapa kesulitan untuk menafsirkan nama tempat, yang memang tidak jelas bagi seseorang yang tidak mengenal situasi di Jawa Barat. Maka dalam halaman-halaman berikut ini kita akan berusaha meneliti sedapat mungkin teks yang sejaman dengan peristiwa tersebut untuk menjelaskan kekaburan nama tempat itu.

Teks asli perjanjian tahun 1522

Teks asli perjanjian yang dimaksud sampai sekarang masih tersimpan di Arsip Nasional di Lisboa³ (gambar 1)

Kami anggap perlu menyebut butir-butir utama dokumen singkat tersebut. seperti di bawah ini:

tanggal	: 21 Agustus 1522
tempat	: Leme berada di “pelabuhan Sunda” (<i>neste porto de Çumda</i>)
wakil pihak “Sunda”	: “menteri utama Padam Tumungo... dua orang menteri lainnya Samgydepaty dan Bemgar dan syahbandar Fabyam”, yang mungkin berarti Panjang (?) Tumenggung, Sang Adipati, Bengal (nama tempat yang dapat menunjukkan asal) dan Pabean
Perjanjian	: “raja Sunda” (<i>el rey de Çumda</i>) memberi hak kepada Portugis untuk membangun benteng “di negerinya” (<i>em sua terra</i>). Selain itu “raja Sunda” tersebut menyatakan bersedia memberikan seribu karung merica atau kira-kira 160 bahar tiap tahun kepada orang-orang Portugis, terhitung sejak dimulainya pembangunan benteng tersebut.
Tempat benteng	: di tepi kanan sebuah muara sungai di tempat yang bernama Calapa (<i>na boca do rio a mao direita de fromte da barra a qual terra se chama Calapa</i>).

³ Isi perjanjian ini telah dikenal sejak lama, karena Joao de Barros membicarakannya. Perlu dicatat bahwa teks Barros mengandung kekeliruan tentang jumlah dan nama “menteri” setempat. Teks asli yang tersimpan di arsip Nasional Portugis di Lisabon telah diterbitkan untuk pertama kalinya oleh Jose Ramos Coelho. *Alguns documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das navegacoes e conquistas Portuguezas*. Lisboa. 1892. hal 460-1. Reproduksi teks ini beserta transkripsinya terdapat dalam De Haan, Oud Batavia, 2e ed., ‘s-Gravenhage. 1928. jilid II. J1 dan Jla. Teks ini dicetak ulang dalam: Antonio Silva Rego. *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, jilid IV. Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisboa, 1964, hal. 196-7

“*Padrao* : Leme menceritakan bahwa orang Portugis dan para menteri “berangkat untuk mendirikan (*forum arvorar* “*padrao*” dari batu.... dengan lambang kebesaran raja Portugis (*huum padram de pedra...com as armas, d’Elrey nosso senhor*) di tempat benteng akan didirikan.

Kesimpulan pertama: Henrique Leme tidak berembug di Kelapa

Kita sekarang perlu mengidentifikasi kedua nama tempat yang tertera dalam teks tersebut *o porto de Çumda* dan *Calapa*. Seperti kita tahu kedua nama tempat ini dikenal dalam sejarah lokal “Sunda” adalah nama Jawa Barat. Kelapa (*Calapa*) adalah nama kuno kota Jakarta. Nama ini — yang masih dipakai orang-orang Cina untuk menyebut kotanya⁴ — dipakai baik, dalam teks Sunda abad 15-16 yang menceriterakan perjalanan Bujangga Manik⁵ maupun dalam dokumen-dokumen Eropa. Sebuah daftar rujukan yang panjang mengenai “Sunda” disusun Rouffaer dalam *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*. Dapat ditambahkan — antara lain — bahwa Rouffaer tidak mengenal teks Tomé Pires yang menyebut *Calapa* sebagai pelabuhan utama di Sunda.⁶

Nama-nama tempat tersebut tampak begitu jelas sehingga para sejarawan cepat mengambil kesimpulan bahwa Leme hendak berembug dengan raja Sunda, yang bagi mereka tidak lain adalah raja Pajajaran, dengan ibu kotanya Pakuan. Untuk maksud ini Leme tiba di “Pelabuhan Sunda” yang disebut *Calapa*, dan mendirikan *padrao* di tempat benteng Portugis akan dibangun.

Padahal bila teks tersebut dibaca dengan teliti, tidak akan terjadi penafsiran yang demikian. Sebenarnya memang tertulis bahwa Leme dan para menteri yang berada di “Pelabuhan Sunda” berangkat untuk mendirikan (*forum amorar*) sebuah *padrao* di suatu tempat yang bernama “*Calapa*”. Untuk membuktikan bahwa yang dimaksud adalah dua tempat yang berlainan, kita harus membedakan nama *porto de Çumda* tempat mereka berada dan yang disebut “*Calapa*” sebagai tempat yang dituju. Dengan kata lain kalau waktu itu Leme berada di pelabuhan Kelapa yang tidak mungkin tidak diketahui namanya, dia tidak akan menulis bahwa dia akan pergi ke suatu tempat yang bernama “*Kelapa*”.

⁴ Rouffaer. *Soenda Kalapa* dalam *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië*. 2e ed.- Jilid 1V .1921

⁵ J Noorduyn. *Bujangga Manik's Journeys through Java. Bijdragen tot de taal, land- en volkenkunde (BKI)*. deel 138. 's-Gravenhage. 1982, hal 419

⁶ A Cortesao. *The Suma Oriental, London 1944*. hal. 172

Kesimpulan kedua: Leme tidak mendirikan “*padrao*” di pelabuhan Kelapa-Jakarta

“Pelabuhan Sunda” ternyata bukan Kelapa, tetapi nama Kelapa dapat disamakan dengan pelabuhan Kelapa-Jakarta. Dalam bukunya yang berjudul *Priangan*, terbit 1912. De Haan masih menyangsikannya dan menulis bahwa Calapa dalam perjanjian tahun 1522 rupanya adalah Kelapa-Jakarta⁷. Penemuan sebuah *padrao*⁸ secara kebetulan pada tahun 1918 di kawasan tua kota Jakarta membuat De Haan tidak ragu-ragu lagi (*Padrao* itu memang dapat disamakan dengan yang didirikan Leme: terbuat dari batu dan terukir sebuah tulisan dan lambang kebesaran raja Dom Manuel, yang wafat tahun 1521, dan digantikan oleh D. Joao III). Dalam bukunya *Oud Batavia*, dia mengemukakan bahwa Leme mendirikan *padraonya* di Kelapa-Jakarta. Hal ini nampaknya disepakati, tidak diragukan. Padahal sumber-sumber sejamannya memberi keterangan yang sama sekali berlawanan dengan penafsiran tersebut.

Peta C. 1540

Sumber pertama adalah sebuah peta Portugis tanpa nama pembuatnya⁹, yang tersimpan di Wolfenbüttel, dekat Braunschweig. Peta ini oleh pakar kartografi kuna A. Cortesao dinyatakan bertahun c. 1540. Ini adalah peta pertama yang dilengkapi dengan nama tempat di pantai utara Jawa-Barat, masing-masing dari Barat ke Timur: *Çumda*, *aguada do padra* dan *Calupu* (gambar 2).

Cortesao dalam edisi teks Pires¹⁰ mencatat bahwa **Calupu** tidak lain adalah Kelapa, nama kuno kota Jakarta dan menunjukkan bahwa *aguada do padra* mungkin sekali merujuk pada *padrao* yang didirikan Leme tahun 1522. Sebaliknya dia tidak melihat bahwa nama tempat *Çumda* — yaitu nama pelabuhan di mana Leme mengadakan perundingan — terletak di tempat situs Banten. Peta ini jelas memberi kunci untuk memahami teks Leme : utusan datang dan berembug di Sunda (Banten) dan dari sana berangkat ke jurusan timur menuju ke sebuah muara yang bernama *aguada do padra*, yang di atas peta jelas terletak di sebelah barat pelabuhan yang sudah terkenal yaitu Kelapa-Jakarta. Dengan kata lain. *padrao* tidak didirikan di pelabuhan tersebut. Namun untuk mencocokkan data-data dalam peta dengan pendapat yang sudah umum diterima, Cortesao terpaksa menyatakan bahwa pemeta membuat kesalahan yang mencolok : “*the fact that (aguada do padra) is inscribed between the words Çumda and Calupu shows simply a confusion on the part of the c. 1540 or an earlier cartographer, who may have used more than one different original, giving three place-names to what is in fact one and the same place - Calapa*”.

⁷ De Haan, *Priangan* Batavia's-Gravenhage. 1912. Jiid 3, paragr. 622 sub “peper”

⁸ *Oudheidkundig Verslag*. 1919, hal. 53. dengan photo: lihat pula De Haan, *Oud Batavia*, Jilid II. E 1. photo dan keterangan.

⁹ A. Cortesao. *Portugallae Monumenta Cartographica* Lisboa, 1960, Jilid 1, pl. 71. keterangan hal. 147-148.

¹⁰ A Cortesao, *The Suma Oriental*, London, 1944, hal. 172 n 1

Buku pedoman pelayaran (*roteiro*) c. 1528 dan akta notaris 1527

Kemungkinan adanya kesalahan selalu ada, oleh karena itu perlu dicari sumber keterangan lain. Salah satunya adalah catatan yang dibuat oleh Cortesao¹¹, berupa sebuah buku pedoman pelayaran Portugis antara Malaka dan Jawa Barat¹², bertanggal 1528 ditandai oleh Georg Schurhammer¹³, pakar terkenal yang banyak menggunakan sumber-sumber Portugis abad ke-16. Bagaimanapun sangat mungkin penulis buku tersebut ikut dalam ekspedisi Francisco de Sa tahun 1527. Berlayar dari arah barat, terlebih dulu dia menyebutkan dua kali nama pelabuhan Sunda-Banten (*Sumdabata* kemudian *Sumdabamta*) dan satu kali Banten (*Bamta*). Menyusuri ke arah timur ia kemudian menyebut adanya sebuah tanjung (*hua pomta*) dan menambahkan bahwa di sana terdapat sebuah sungai yang mengalir ke laut dan di situlah Francisco de Sa mendirikan sebuah *padrao* lain (kita akan lihat bahwa dia mendirikan dua *padrao* di daerah itu), tanggal 30 Juni 1527. Sungai itu dinamainya *Santo Jorge*; orang-orang hitam menyebutnya *Cidigy* (*nesta pomta estaa hu rio ao mar e nele pos Francisco de Sa outro padrao por el Rey de Portugal aos 30 dias do mes de junho na dita hera atras de 1527. E pos nome este rio homde pos este padrao o rio de Sa Jorge, chamao os negros Cidigy*). Semakin jauh ke arah timur, penulis *roteiro* itu menyebut pelabuhan Sumda Calapa (Kelapa-Jakarta).

Kebetulan di Arsip Nasional Portugis terdapat akta yang dibuat oleh notaris yang menyertai Francisco de Sa. Akta tersebut menerangkan didirikannya sebuah *padrao* oleh Francisco de Sa di pantai Sunda. Akta yang sudah diterbitkan tersebut¹⁴ menerangkan bahwa pada tanggal 29 Juli 1527 sewaktu armadanya berlabuh “di pelabuhan dan Sungai **Padrram** yang termasuk daerah dan Kerajaan Sunda” (*no porto e ryo do Padrram terra e reyno de Çumda*), Francisco de Sa turun ke darat diikuti oleh sejumlah besar orang Portugis yang membawa bendera kerajaan lalu mendirikan *padrao* sebagai tanda penguasaan daerah tersebut atas nama raja Portugis “sesuai dengan perjanjian yang dibuat antara Henrique Leme dan Ragee Mulydiar, raja Sunda pada tahun 1522”. (*per vertude de huum comtrauto que Amrique Leme fez com Ragee Mulydiar rey de Çumda na era de myll e quynhemtos e vimte e dous anos*).

Teks tersebut tentu saja sangat penting karena dengan jelas menunjukkan bahwa Francisco de Sa juga mendirikan sebuah *padrao* di dekat “pelabuhan dan Sungai *Padrao*”. yaitu di tempat Leme mendirikan *padrao*nya pada tahun 1522. Sekarang harus ditentukan apakah kedua teks tersebut membicarakan kejadian yang sama meskipun tanggalnya

¹¹ Op. cit., hal. 171. n. 1

¹² Diterbitkan oleh J.I. de Brito Rebello dalam *Livro de Marinaria*, Lisboa, 1903, lihat hal 251-2

¹³ Georg Schurhammer, S.I., *Die zeitgenossischen* (Quellen zur Geschichte Portugiesisch-Asiens und seiner Nachbarlander zur Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1538 -1552), Roma, 1962, sumber no 120

berbeda. Buku pedoman pelayaran menyebutkan pada tanggal 30 Juni 1527 dan akta notaris pada tanggal 29 Juli 1527.

Buku pedoman pelayaran — dalam menggambarkan pantai utara daerah Sunda — menunjuk pada pendirian dua *padrao* oleh Francisco de Sa: yang pertama, yang baru kita bicarakan, didirikan tanggal 30 Juni 1527 di “Sungai Padrao” dan yang kedua, tanggal 13 Agustus, di tanjung ujung barat bagian utara Jawa, di sebelah barat daya Teluk Banten (Tanjung Pujut, dahulu bernama St. Nicolas Punt) dekat Salira¹⁵. Seandainya Francisco de Sa benar benar telah mendirikan *padrao* yang ketiga, pada bulan Juni tahun yang sama mustahil kalau pengarang buku pedoman tersebut, yang jelas mempunyai perhatian besar terhadap peristiwa semacam itu, lupa menyebutnya. Selain itu, dalam bahasa Portugis hanya ada satu huruf yang membedakan nama bulan Juni dan Juli - junho dan julho - sehingga penyalin maupun penerbit buku itu mudah sekali membuat kesalahan. Perbedaan tanggal — 29 atau 30 — tidaklah penting, karena pada saat itu tentunya armada tinggal lebih dari 24 jam di pelabuhan. Bahkan dapat diperkirakan bahwa tanggal 29 Juli lebih masuk akal daripada tanggal 30 Juni, karena kira-kira dua minggu tinggal di sana (sebagai jarak waktu yang dibutuhkan untuk mendirikan dua *padrao*) lebih sesuai dengan kegiatan yang dilakukan armada itu daripada enam minggu : sekedar percobaan turun ke darat dan segera mundur naik ke kapal kembali. Berdasarkan alasan-alasan di atas kita mengerti sekarang bahwa kedua teks tersebut menunjuk pada kejadian yang sama. Dengan demikian harus ditarik kesimpulan bahwa *porto e ryo do Padrram* yang tertera dalam akta notaris tidak lain adalah *Cidigy* yang tercantum dalam *roteiro*. Dengan kata lain: Leme mendirikan *padrao*-nya di muara salah satu sungai yang oleh penduduk setempat disebut *Cidigy*¹⁶.

Cortesao dan Rouffaer yang mengenal buku pedoman pelayaran tersebut setuju untuk menyamakan *Cidigy* dengan *Cheguide*. Kedua nama itu hanya berbeda urutan suku katanya saja.

Cheguide adalah nama tempat di daerah itu yang sudah dikenal oleh penulis Portugis masa lalu, misalnya dalam buku Pires¹⁷ yang menyebut secara berurutan dari barat ke timur: *Bantam*, *Pontang*, *Cheguide*, *Tamgara* (Tangerang) dan *Calapa*: dan dalam buku Barros¹⁸ yang menyebut dari timur ke barat : *Xacatará por outre nom Caravam* (Jakarta yang juga bernama Krawang), *Tamgara* (Tangerang), *Cheguide*, *Pondang* (Pontang), dan *Bintam* (Banten) serta dalam peta yang disisipkan oleh Lavanha dalam buku Barros (Decade IV)

¹⁴ A Silva Rego, *As Gavetas da Torre do Tombo*, Centro de E studos Historicos Ultramarinos, Jilid VII, Lisboa, 1968, hal. 562-3

¹⁵ E.N.I., Rouffaer, sub “Soerosowan”

¹⁶ Kita cenderung memperkirakan bahwa “pelabuhan dan sungai tersebut diberi nama *padrao*” berdasarkan pendirian *padrao* oleh Francisco de Sa. Penafsiran ini tidak masuk akal karena sumber-sumber menunjukkan bahwa “setelah berlabuh di Sungai Padrao” dia memberi nama sungai itu “Sa Jorge”. Hal ini diperkuat dengan rujukan yang jelas mengenai Leme.

¹⁷ Cortesao, *Suma*, hal. 171._

¹⁸ *Op. cik.*, IV, 1. 12, hal. 77.

dari barat ke timur: *Bintam, Pondang, Cheguide, Tangaram* dan *Zenopate* — pada kedua tepian sungai — *Xacatará* dan *Caravam* - pada kedua sisi sungai yang lain.

Nama tempat *Cheguide* — mungkin *Cigede* — sekarang tidak dikenal lagi. Lokasinya yang tepat sukar ditentukan. Menurut sumber-sumber yang telah disebut di atas, tempat tersebut jelas terletak antara Pontang dan Tangerang. Buku pedoman yang lebih terperinci menjelaskan bahwa tempat tersebut kemungkinan terletak antara Tanjung Kait dan Muara Cisadane. Rouffaer cenderung pada situs yang terakhir ini: Cortesao juga setuju menempatkan *Chiguide* di Muara Cisadane. Kita dapat membuat hipotesa bahwa mungkin *padrao* didirikan di tepi Kali Kramat.

Bagaimanapun juga terlihat bahwa dokumen-dokumen yang sejamin dengan peristiwa tersebut menunjukkan bahwa tempat Leme mendirikan sebuah *padrao* terletak antara Banten dan Kelapa-Jakarta. Perlu diingat bahwa itu berarti sesuai dengan petunjuk yang tertera pada peta c. 1540, yang menyebut dari barat ke timur : *Çumda, aguada do padra* dan *Calupu*. Sekarang tinggal mencari penjelasan mengapa Leme menyebut “Calapa” untuk tempat yang disebut “*Cheguide*” oleh buku pedoman. Dua keterangan dapat diberikan. Dapat diperkirakan bahwa tidak jauh dari pelabuhan *Cheguide* terdapat tempat yang juga bernama “Kelapa”. Nama tempat semacam ini banyak dipakai, misalnya sebuah kampung bernama Kelapa terdapat di daerah itu, tepatnya di dekat Mauk¹⁹. Kemungkinan — dan penafsiran ini rupanya lebih masuk akal — Calapa bukan nama kota tetapi “negeri KelapaJakarta” yang agaknya disebut dalam teks perjanjian itu : pemakaian kata “*terra*” yang berarti “negeri”. Kalimat : “*forom arvorar huu padram no proprio lugar omde se a dita fortaleza aja de fazer ... a qual terra se chama Calapa*” tepatnya berarti : “mereka pergi mendirikan sebuah *padrao* di tempat . . . di negeri yang bernama Calapa. Kalau demikian tempat yang dipilih itu — nuansa yang mungkin saja tidak terlihat oleh Leme — bukannya terletak di “negeri Kelapa” tetapi di perbatasan negeri ini.

Penafsiran ini sesuai benar dengan yang kita ketahui dari sumber lainnya. Sungai Cisadane yang muaranya dipilih sebagai tempat benteng tersebut memang merupakan perbatasan tradisional antara Kelapa-Jakarta dan Banten.

Kita lihat bahwa peta Lavanha memberi dua nama untuk Cisadane: Tangerang dan Zenopate. Nama yang terakhir ini tidak lain adalah Senopati, dan ini jelas menunjukkan bahwa pemimpin tentara Banten sering menetap di Cisadane untuk menjaga perbatasan di sebelah timur. Hal ini dibenarkan oleh berbagai kesaksian yang kita terima sampai jatuhnya Banten di tangan Belanda tahun 1682²⁰.

¹⁹ *WF.Schoel, Alfabetisch Register van de Administratieve - (Bestuurs-) en Adatrechtelijke Indeeing van Nederlandsch-Indie, deel I : Java en Madura, Batavia, 1931.*

Kesimpulan ketiga : Henrique Leme mengadakan perjanjian di Banten

Sekarang kita harus berusaha mengetahui “Pelabuhan Sunda” yaitu tempat Leme mengadakan perjanjian. Karena tidak adanya dokumen baru mengenai utusan dari Malaka itu, kita harus mengacu pada ekspedisi Francisco de Sa. Untuk mengetahui salah satu persyaratan dalam perjanjian tersebut, Francisco de Sa memang harus menghubungi kembali para menteri setempat yang dulu dihubungi oleh Leme sewaktu mengadakan perjanjian.

Barros dalam hal ini tidak menjelaskan lebih jauh, hanya menulis bahwa de Sa tiba “di Pelabuhan Sunda”. Sebaliknya Diogo do Couto mengatakan bahwa dia tiba di Banten (*Bata*). Berdasarkan keterangan tersebut penyunting *Da Asia*, abad ke 18, menyimpulkan bahwa “Pelabuhan Sunda” sebenarnya adalah Banten (*Este porto, segundo Diogo do Couto, he o de Bintam*)²¹ yang ditulis sebagai catatan kaki teks Barros yang membicarakan tentang perjalanan Leme. Sebaliknya Hoesein Djajadiningrat²² tidak mau menerima kesaksian Couto, karena berlawanan dengan hipotesanya tanpa memberi alasan yang kuat. Tiga dokumen yang ditulis oleh para saksi mata ekspedisi tersebut akan menunjukkan bahwa sebenarnya kesaksian Couto-lah yang harus dipercayai.

1. Surat Bras Bayao tahun 1540

Tulisan pertama berasal dari seseorang yang bernama Bras Bayao²³, ditulis tahun 1540 “setelah berada di Hindia selama kurang lebih dua puluh tahun” berpindah-pindah antara Malaka, Brunei dan Kepulauan Maluku. Ini berarti bahwa dia berada di Hindia waktu ekspedisi tahun 1527 dilakukan. Dia mencatat bahwa Francisco de Sa tertimpa badai sewaktu menuju ke Bamta, dan terbawa arus sampai Jawa “ Pada bulan September Francisco de Sa datang kembali di Çumda. dan di tanjung Bamta ini Francisco de Sa — atas rakhmat Allah — mendirikan sebuah *padrao*”

Keterangan terakhir — yang dibenarkan oleh penulis buku pedoman di atas menunjukkan bahwa kemungkinan besar Bras Bayao ikut ambil bagian dalam ekspedisi tersebut. Teks tersebut mengandung dua keterangan penting: tujuan armada kapal sebelum ditimpa badai adalah Banten; Çumda dan Bamta dipakai untuk menunjuk tempat yang sama yaitu Banten.

²⁰ Menjelang tahun 1580 *Sajarah Banten (canto 24)* membicarakan tentang Senopati Pontang - nama tempat yang sering menunjukkan tempat seluruh daerah Propinsi Banten Timur; (*canto 58*), pada tahun 1650 memaparkan bahwa Senopati berangkat ke Tangerang. Pada tahun 1680 Senopati juga menjabat gubernur (Dagh Register. 4.3.1680)

²¹ Barros, *op. cit.*.. hal. 82

²² Hoesein Djajadiningrat, *Critische Beschouwingt van de Sadjarah Banten* Haarlem. 1913 Rujukan-rujukan di sini menunjuk pada terjemahan dalam bahasa Indonesia *Tinjauan kritis tentang Sajarah Banten* Jakarta, 1983, hal. 82 no. 2 dan hal. 126.

2. Pedoman pelayaran c.1528

Dokumen kedua adalah pedoman pelayaran yang telah dibicarakan di atas disusun oleh seseorang yang kemungkinan besar juga ikut dalam ekspedisi tahun 1527 tersebut. Di situ ditulis “pelabuhan Sumdabata di mana kami hendak mendirikan benteng” (*o propio porto de sumdabata homde nosoutros desejamos de fazer a fortaleza*)²⁴. Nama tempat Sumdabata (yang selanjutnya ditulis Sumdabamta dan Bamta) serta keterangan tentang lokasinya tidak dapat diragukan lagi: tempat itu adalah Banten. Anehnya, Schurhammer bukannya mempercayai dokumen yang ditulis semasa terjadinya peristiwa tersebut malah terpengaruh oleh para sejarawan. Dalam suatu catatan ia menyingkat keterangan tersebut. menyamakan Sumdabata dengan Jakarta !: “*In Hafen Sumdabamta (Jacatra) wollen wir Festung bauen. Fco de Sa setzte hier*”²⁵. padahal pedoman pelayaran kemudian dengan jelas menyebut Kelapa-Jakarta dengan nama “Sumdocalapa”.

Satu-satunya yang memahami bahwa teks ini, Rouffaer, menyodorkan unsur yang baru : “*Nu echter sinds 1903 bekend is geworden, door een aanteekening van een Port, piloot, die den ongelukkigen scheepstocht van Francisco de Sa naar West Java in de eerste helft van 1527 blijkbaar meemaakte, om een Port fort te gaan stichten op “Soenda”, dat men dit toenmaals niet bedoelde op te richten te Soenda Kalapa (waar men op 21 Aug 1522 reeds grond had toegewezen gekregen aan den Oostoever der Tjiliwoeng....) maar te Bantam...*”²⁶ Kita juga melihat bahwa Rouffaer kelihatan mulai ragu. tetapi tidak mempertanyakan kembali persoalan tersebut seluruhnya.

3. Surat Francisco de Sa, tanggal 10 September 1527

Dokumen ketiga lebih dapat dipercaya lagi, karena merupakan surat Francisco de Sa sendiri yang ditulis tanggal 10 September 1527, berarti tiga hari sesudah kembali ke Malaka²⁷. Dalam surat tersebut dia menulis tentang ekspedisi yang dipimpinya untuk mendirikan benteng di Sunda (*em Çumda*): “Saya tiba di Pelabuhan Banta” (*cheguei ao porto de Banta*). Dicatatnya bahwa berbagai peristiwa yang terjadi di situ telah pula dilaporkan dengan panjang lebar kepada raja dalam surat-surat sebelumnya, tetapi sayang surat-surat tersebut belum dapat kita ketahui atau bahkan mungkin sudah hilang. Dalam suratnya itu dia menceritakan tentang perundingan mengenai perdagangan lokal dengan “Moleiquer(v)e, orang Keling dari Sunda yang telah saya bicarakan kepada Yang Mulia dalam surat-surat saya yang terdahulu,

²³ Robert Nicholl: The letter of Bras Bayao, *The Brunei Museum Journal*. Jilid 5, no. 3, Brunei, 1983, hal. 51 - 58. Surat itu diterbitkannya dalam bahasa Inggris dan dinyatakan belum pernah terbit sebelumnya, padahal sebenarnya telah diterbitkan dalam bahasa Portugis dalam *Revista de Historia*, Jilid 1, Lisboa, 1912, hal. 107.

²⁴ *Op.cit.*, hal. 251

²⁵ *Loc.cit.*

²⁶ *Loc.cit.*

²⁷ *E.N.I.* “Soerosowan”

²⁷ *ANTT*. Corpo Cronologico (CC). I. 38. 39. *Carta a ElRey*. Malaka, 10.9.1527. Tanggal kembalinya - 7.9.1527 - diberikan melalui surat Jorge Cabral tanggal 10.9.1527. *ANTT*. CC. I. 22,80, f 20

dan yang pernah menjadi syahbandar dan “Gubernur” Sunda pada masa kekuasaan Ratu Sepuh” (*Moleiquer(v)e, o quelim de Çunda que nas outras cartas dei conta a Vossa Alteza, que foraxabandar e gover nador De Çunda em tempo de rei velho*)

Ketiga teks yang ditulis oleh para saksi mata tersebut menunjuk dengan jelas bahwa karena mendapat tugas untuk membangun benteng, Francisco de Sa menerima instruksi di Malaka agar menghubungi kembali para menteri Sunda-Banten. Mereka adalah para menteri yang pernah dihubungi Leme untuk mengadakan perjanjian pada tahun 1522. Francisco de Sa berhasil menghubungi salah satu di antara menteri tersebut yaitu syahbandar semasa kekuasaan Ratu Sepuh, yang disebut “Fabyam” oleh Leme.

Penafsiran baru

Kita harus menarik kesimpulan bahwa Leme mengadakan perjanjian di Banten dan segera menuju muara Cisadane, di perbatasan “daerah kerajaan Kelapa”: di tempat benteng seharusnya dibangun inilah dia mendirikan sebuah “*padrao*”.

Catatan dan argumentasi

Memang data-data baru tersebut tidak dapat menghilangkan kontradiksi yang kita temui baik dalam kronik Portugis maupun kesaksian lainnya. Di bawah ini kita akan berusaha menjelaskan bagaimana kebenaran segala kesaksian tersebut dapat diterima nalar, sekaligus menjawab beberapa tanggapan serta menarik kesimpulan.

***Padrao* Jakarta**

Pembaca telah melihat bahwa segala kesimpulan yang dikemukakan di atas berlawanan dengan penemuan sebuah *padrao* di Jakarta yang sangat mungkin merupakan *padrao* yang didirikan oleh Leme (gambar 3). Dokumen-dokumen yang dibahas di sini menunjukkan bahwa Leme tidak mendirikan *padraonya* di Jakarta. Jadi satu-satunya keterangan yang dapat diberikan adalah bahwa *padrao* tersebut telah dipindahkan di Jakarta. Hal ini memang bukan sesuatu yang aneh. Ini hanyalah batu yang berukuran kurang lebih dua meter tingginya dan kira-kira seratus kilo beratnya dan jangka waktu yang memisahkan masa pembuatan dan masa ditemukannya pun hampir empat ratus tahun.

Benteng di Pelabuhan Banten ?

Buku pedoman pelayaran menyatakan bahwa orang-orang Portugis harus membangun benteng dalam “Pelabuhan Banten”, yang diartikan secara harfiah oleh Rouffaer. Keterangan yang diberikan penulisnya terlalu singkat sehingga tidak pula membedakan dengan jelas antara pelabuhan dan “daerah Kerajaan”. Izin harus didapat di Banten tetapi benteng harus didirikan di kawasan yang diperintah oleh Banten. Teks perjanjian jelas menyebutkan bahwa

“Raja Sunda” menyetujui pembangunan benteng ini “*em sua terra*”, “di negerinya”. Ini sesuai dengan akta notaris yang menempatkan “Pelabuhan Padram” dalam “negeri dan kerajaan Sunda”, “*terra e reyno de Çumda*”

Arti ganda kata “Sunda”

Kesukaran penafsiran teks-teks ini sebagian besar terletak pada kekaburan arti nama tempat Sunda. Nama ini jelas diterima penduduk setempat untuk menunjukkan Jawa Barat. Orang-orang Portugis menyadari betul hal itu seperti yang terbukti dalam banyak tulisan - Tomé Pires, Ruy de Brito, Barbosa, Barros, Couto, dsb. Akan tetapi orang-orang Portugis di Malaka pun memakai nama yang sama untuk menunjukkan daerah dan Pelabuhan Banten, karena dengan pelabuhan itulah mereka mempunyai hubungan dagang yang paling erat. Kita dapat menduga bahwa hal seperti ini merupakan jalan keluar bagi mereka untuk tidak mengacaukannya dengan nama-nama lain yang hampir sama bunyinya bagi orang asing. seperti “Bintan” (yang di kenal baik oleh orang Portugis karena peperangannya dengan mereka), atau “Banda” (tempat mereka mengadakan perdagangan).

Bagaimanapun jelas bahwa bagi orang Portugis “Sunda” juga merupakan nama pelabuhan. Pada kedua peta tertua Jawa Barat yang dibubuhi keterangan dan yang diinventarisasikan oleh Cortesao : “*Anonimo c.1535*” dan “*anonimo-Gaspar Viegas c.1537*”²⁸ nama tempat Çumda tidak menunjukkan nama satu daerah melainkan sebuah muara yang sengaja diperbesar oleh pembuat peta. Lagi pula nama “Pelabuhan Çumda” dipakai untuk Banten saja. Dalam peta c.1540 nama Çumda ditempatkan di lokasi Banten, sedangkan pelabuhan lainnya yang besar di daerah itu disebut *Calupu*. Tulisan tulisan lain kemudian menyebut “Sunda” dan Banten untuk menunjuk pelabuhan yang sama. Tiap kali dapat dibuktikan bahwa sebutan “Sunda” digunakan sebagai nama pelabuhan yang mengacu pada Banten. Bras Bayao pada tahun 1540 mempergunakan “Banten” dan “Sunda” tanpa membedakannya setelah menerangkan bahwa “Francisco de Sa waktu menuju ke Bamta terbawa arus sampai ke Jawa”, di beberapa baris kemudian dituliskan lagi “.. Francisco de Sa datang kembali dan sampai di Çumda di Tanjung *Bamta* itu dia mendirikan sebuah *padrao*”. Beberapa tahun kemudian Mendes Pinto²⁹ beberapa kali menyebut Bantam dan rajanya sebagai raja Sunda. Di beberapa halaman berikutnya diterangkannya bagaimana sewaktu dia menjadi budak dijual pada raja Calapa yang mengirimnya ke “Pelabuhan Sunda”, yang tidak lain adalah Banten. Pada tahun 1561, kapal S. Paulo terdampar di pantai barat daya Sumatra; salah satu korbannya, seorang Jesuit bernama Manuel Alvares menceritakan bahwa setelah mengalami berbagai petualangan mereka tiba di Pelabuhan *Sunda* dan bertemu dengan banyak pedagang Portugis. Selang beberapa hari, mereka berangkat dari

²⁸ A. Cortesao. *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica* Jilid 1, gambar 52 dan 58

²⁹ Fernao Mendes Pinto, *Peregrination*. Paris, 1991, hal. 588 - 612.

*Sunda ke Calpa*³⁰. Karena M. Alvares dua kali mengacu pada pelabuhan daerah Sunda yang lain yaitu Kelapa, kita yakin bahwa setiap kali berbicara tentang Sunda yang dia maksud adalah Banten. Akhirnya kesaksian yang paling dikenal berasal dari orang-orang Belanda pertama yang datang di Banten, yang menyatakan bahwa kota tersebut dinamakan Sunda oleh orang-orang Portugis: "*Iacarta ... kota yang terletak di Pulau Jawa ± 64 km dari Ban-tam telah dengan keliru kita sebut Sunda-Kelapa. Karena Sunda sebenarnya adalah Pelabuhan Bantam, bagian barat Pulau Jawa tempat tumbuhnya pohon lada*"³¹.

Dalam buku yang sama kita juga menemukan sebuah gambar yang memperlihatkan Teluk Banten dan diberi keterangan : "pelabuhan Bantam yang dinamai Sunda". Contoh seperti ini banyak kita temui. Kekaburan nama ini selama ini bertambah sewaktu orang Portugis, yang baru memahami bahwa sebenarnya "Banten" juga merupakan sebuah kerajaan, menamai daerah itu "Kerajaan Sunda".

Apa yang dimaksud dengan "Raja Sunda"

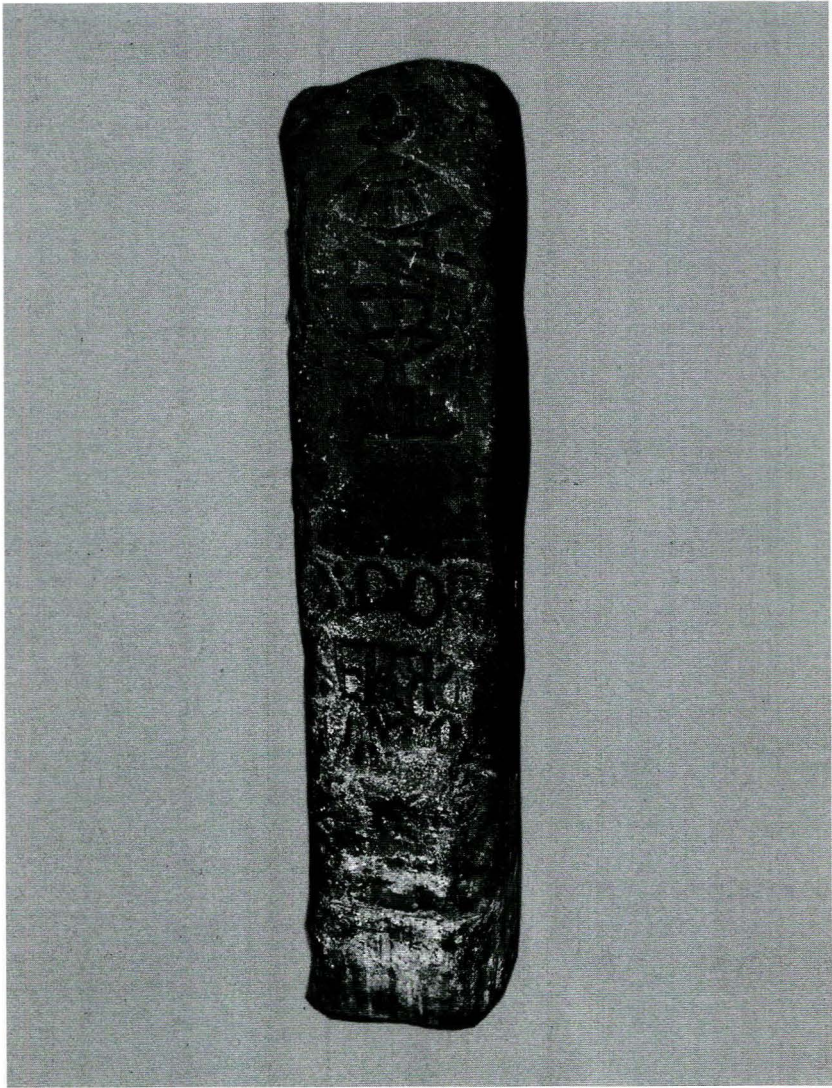
Tinggal menentukan sekarang apa yang sebenarnya dimaksud dengan sebutan "Raja Sunda". Berdasarkan data-data di atas hampir dipastikan istilah "Raja Sunda" dipakai untuk menyebut "penguasa Banten", bukan raja Pakuan. Di satu pihak ternyata semuanya terjadi di daerah Banten, di lain pihak kita pun tahu bahwa "raja Sunda" tersebut memang menghendaki kehadiran orang Portugis guna menangkis ancaman orang-orang Islam dari Jepara - Demak. Pembangunan benteng Portugis di Muara Cisadane kecil artinya bagi seorang raja Pakuan, tetapi bagi penguasa Banten jelas mempunyai arti strategis: benteng itu akan memperkuat penjagaan perbatasan timur kerajaan, sementara pasukan tentara pimpinan Senopati sudah menempatkan diri di sana

Penafsiran ini sesuai dengan semua teks, kecuali teks Barros yang menceritakan bahwa sewaktu Duarte Coelho tiba di Kelapa beberapa orang Portugis diserang oleh orang Islam yang beberapa hari sebelumnya telah merebut kekuasaan di negara raja kafir itu. Apabila Duarte Coelho memang tiba di Kelapa, seperti yang dinyatakan oleh Barros, itu berarti bahwa raja kafir itu adalah raja Pakuan, dan bukan penguasa Banten. Akan tetapi anehnya Barros adalah satu-satunya penulis sejarah Portugis yang menyebut nama Kelapa sedangkan yang lainnya, demikian pula Francisco de Sa, memberi nama "Sunda"³². Padahal semua teks menghubungkan perebutan kekuasaan oleh Islam, menjelang kedatangan Coelho,

³⁰ Frazao de Vasconcelos (ed), *Naufragio do Nao "S. Paulo" em um ilheu proximo de Samatra no ano de 1561. Narraçao inedita escrita em goa em 1562 pelo Padre Manuel Alvares, S.J.*, Lisboa, 1948, hal. 49 -52

³¹ Lodewijksz, *De erste Boeck....*, Amsterdam, 1598. f° 27

³² Francisco de Andrada, *Cronica de J. Joao III*. Porto, 1976. bagian ke 2, VII. hal 290 mengatakan : "*Na barra de Çunda*" dan menambahkan "*o Rey nosso amigo ... que fora morta numa guerra dsb.*"; demikian pula yang disampaikan oleh Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*. Lisboa, 1862, jilid III. Parte 1, hal 92 : "*na barra de*



Gambar 3 : *Padrao* yang tersimpan di Museum Nasional di Jakarta

dengan wafatnya “raja”, sahabat orang Portugis. Dapat diduga mereka memakai sumber yang sama.

Sekali lagi tulisan Couto memberi kunci keterangan, disebutkan bahwa Coelho tiba di “Pelabuhan Sunda”, bahwa “raja telah wafat” dan bahwa “musuh waktu itu berada dalam kota Banta, kota terpenting di kerajaan”. Baru kita lihat bahwa “Pelabuhan Sunda” biasa dipakai untuk menyebut Banten. Bila ini memang benar, pernyataan “Coelho tiba di Banten” agaknya tidak sesuai dengan pernyataan selanjutnya “musuh waktu itu ada di Banten”, karena teks itu jelas berbicara tentang dua tempat yang berlainan.

Untuk dapat memahami pendapat yang berlainan antara kedua penulis itu, kita harus membuat suatu hipotesa. Kedua penulis tersebut tidak mengenal keadaan setempat, sehingga kemungkinan besar mereka tidak memahami sumber aslinya, dan mempunyai sikap yang berlainan dalam menulis teks mereka masing-masing. Couto tetap memakai nama tempat aslinya tanpa merubahnya, sebaliknya Barros, karena ingin memberi keterangan yang lebih jelas, memberikan penfasirannya sendiri dengan menambahkan nama Kelapa: karena “Pelabuhan Sunda” rupanya tidak mungkin berarti Banten, menurut dia kedatangan Coelho hanya bisa terjadi di pelabuhan besar lainnya di daerah itu: Kelapa. Karena ingin memperjelas teks aslinya, Barros membuat kekeliruan. Rupanya apa yang dibicarakan Couto sebagai “*Cidade de Banta, principal do Reyno*”, yang waktu itu sedang direbut oleh musuh, bukanlah Pelabuhan Banten. tetapi ibukota “kerajaan”: artinya Banten Girang. Dengan kata lain, sewaktu Coelho tiba di Pelabuhan Banten, pelabuhan tersebut sudah jatuh ke tangan orang-orang Islam, yang sedang berusaha merebut Banten Girang, ibukota kerajaan tersebut.

Kita memang membutuhkan sumber-sumber data, berbagai argumen lain, yang dapat membenarkan tafsiran ini secara mutlak. Castanheda, misalnya, menulis bahwa Coelho dan Francisco de Sa mendarat di tempat yang sama, yang disebutnya Sunda dengan keterangan bahwa Sunda adalah kota yang terletak “di ujung Pulau Sumatra”. Lagi pula kalau Couto menekankan bahwa kota Banten adalah yang terpenting di kerajaan, kemungkinan besar yang dia maksudkan adalah ibukota kerajaan dan bukan Pelabuhan Banten. Dalam tulisan mengenai Faletahan, Barros menulis bahwa orang itu pergi ke “*Bintam, Cidade de Sunda*”, dengan memakai kata-kata yang hampir sama dengan Couto. Padahal diketahui berdasarkan *Sajarah Banten (Pupuh 16)* bahwa Sunan Gunungjati dan putranya Hasanudin bersepakat untuk menetap di Banten Girang, dan bukan di Pelabuhan Banten. Jadi jelas kiranya bahwa

Çunda” dan “*era ja morto o Rey nosso amigo*”; Fernao Lopes de Castanheda. *Historia do Descobrimento e conquista da India pelos Portugueses* (VII - cap III), Lisboa. 1833. jilid 6, hal. 54 - 55; lebih jelas : “*a barra de Çunda q he hua cidade q esta no cabo da ilha de Çamatra*” yang lebih cocok untuk Banten daripada Kelapa dan dia menambahkan bahwa raja “kafir” waktu itu tidak lagi menguasai kota “*nao era ja senor da cidade lo rey q queerria dar fortaleza ...*”: Diogo do Couto. *loc.cit.*, hal. 164 : “*o porto do Sunda*”, “*o Rey era morto*”; Fr. de Sa, ANTT CC. I. 38, 39. f9v : “*costa de Çunda*”.

istilah raja Sunda yang dipakai dalam teks-teks Portugis menunjukkan penguasa yang berdiam di Banten Girang.

Siapa nama “Raja Sunda” ?

Akta notaris mengatakan bahwa raja “Sunda” yang mengadakan perjanjian dengan Leme bernama “Ragee Mulydiar”, sedangkan menurut Barros adalah “Samiam” (**Sangyang**). Istilah Sangyang disebut beberapa kali dalam *Sajarah Banten*. Menurut Hoesein Djajadiningrai, *Sangyang* adalah sebuah gelar — bangsawan atau jabatan — yang tidak dapat disandang oleh seorang raja. Oleh karena menurut *Sajarah Banten* diketahui bahwa Banten pada waktu itu mengakui secara resmi kekuasaan Pakuan, maka dapat saja diterima bahwa penguasa Banten menyandang gelar *Sangyang*. Sebaliknya sulit diterima bahwa penguasa tersebut bernama “Ragee Mulydiar” yang merupakan pengacauan dari “Raja Mudyliar” gelar Tamil yang biasa dipakai oleh saudagar-saudagar yang berasal dari Koromandel. Pada waktu yang sama, misalnya, gelar itu di Malaka dipakai oleh saudagar-saudagar Keling³³. Kalau benar bahwa penguasa Banten pada waktu itu adalah orang asing, pasti akan disebut dalam teks dokumen. Akan tetapi kenyataannya tidaklah demikian. Kami lebih cenderung berpendapat bahwa gelar tersebut dipakai oleh salah seorang menteri Banten yang mengadakan perjanjian dengan Portugis, yaitu syahbandar pelabuhan yang menurut Francisco de Sa adalah orang Keling. Nama Moleiquer(v)e yang diberikan kepadanya adalah pengacauan kata “Mulydiar”, sedang kata ini pun adalah pengacauan dari gelar “Mudyliar”

Apakah Pajajaran suatu kerajaan dengan sistem kekuasaan terpusat ?

Salah penafsiran sumber-sumber dokumen pasti banyak disebabkan oleh anggapan orang Eropa terhadap keadaan politik di Jawa. Orang Portugis cenderung menganggap bahwa di Jawa terdapat negara-negara dengan sistem kekuasaan terpusat seperti di Eropa. atau lebih tepatnya di Portugal, yang seperti kita ketahui merupakan salah satu negara yang hampir tidak pernah mengenal sistem feodal. Kecenderungan tersebut menyebabkan hampir semua penulis menggambarkan Pulau Jawa sebagai dua kerajaan besar. Kerajaan Jawa dan Kerajaan Sunda. Penggambaran mengenai Kerajaan Jawa pada masa kedua atau ketiga dasawarsa abad ke 16 tersebut menyimpang dari kenyataan, karena sebenarnya kerajaan Majapahit masih ada hanya sebagian besar pelabuhannya sudah membangkang. Bahkan mereka sudah mendirikan sebuah kerajaan baru yang tidak lama lagi akan menjatuhkannya.

³³Georg Schurhammar. S. I.", *Orkientalische Briofio aus der Zeit des hl. Franz Xaver (1550-1552)" Eumtes Docete*, (Revue de l' Universite pontificale urbaine), Rome, Jilid 21, 1968. Surat orang-orang keling di Malaka kepada Raja Joao III, dalam Bahasa Tamil tanggal 10.9.1 1527. hal. 293, dalam surat ini ditemui gelar Mudyliar. Salah satu di antara mereka menyandang gelar yang sama seperti Raja Mudyliar, Manuel Godinho de Eradia, *Malaca, l'Inde Méridionale et le Cathay*, terjemahan L. Jansen, Bruxelles, 1882, bab IV” dari bagian tentang Malaka.

Demikian pula halnya dengan Kerajaan Sunda. Tidak dapat disangsikan lagi bahwa waktu itu Kerajaan Sunda-Pajajaran masih tetap berdiri, akan tetapi sebagaimana semua kerajaan di Jawa, hanya merupakan tumpuan “negara-negara” kecil yang sedikit banyak mengakui kekuasaan pusat baik dalam jangka waktu yang lama maupun singkat. Misalnya “Kerajaan Jakarta” setelah dikuasai oleh orang Islam, secara resmi sebenarnya kerajaan ini masih berada di bawah kekuasaan Banten, akan tetapi ia tetap mempertahankan jati dirinya. Beberapa sumber, yaitu kesaksian orang-orang Portugis (terutama Tomé Pires) serta *Sajarah Banten* membuktikan bahwa sebelum dikuasai orang Islam, Banten secara formal mengakui kekuasaan Pakuan, ibukota Pajajaran. Akan tetapi jelas pula bahwa pada waktu itu “Kerajaan Banten” merasa cukup kaya dan bebas untuk mengadakan hubungan dengan kekuasaan asing seperti Malaka dan bahwa raja “Banten” cukup jaya sehingga dipandang sebagai raja oleh orang-orang asing. Bersumber pada *Sajarah Banten* (pupuh 16) kita ketahui bahwa sebenarnya kekuasaan Pakuan-Pajajaran sudah sirna pada dasawarsa ketiga abad ke 16 itu. Dalam teks ini Pucuk Umun yang dianggap seperti Panembahan Banten — yakni sama dengan “Raja Sunda” dalam sumber-sumber Portugis — mengakui kenyataan itu dengan menyatakan bahwa Pajajaran tidak lagi dipimpin oleh seorang raja melainkan oleh para bupati. Dapat diperkirakan bahwa Kerajaan Banten memanfaatkan kelemahan Pajajaran untuk merebut kembali kedaulatannya, dan untuk mempertahankan diri cenderung meminta bantuan pada Malaka daripada Pakuan.

Dapat dipastikan bahwa karena tidak memperhitungkan struktur politik negara ini, para penulis sejarah, yang sudah dibingungkan oleh masalah nama tempat, tidak dapat membayangkan adanya raja “Sunda” selain raja yang berkuasa di Pakuan. Mereka pun tidak dapat memahami adanya “Pelabuhan Sunda” selain pelabuhan terdekat dari Pakuan, yakni Kelapa.

Sunda Kelapa dalam sumber Eropa

Selama abad ke 16 nama Sunda-Kelapa seringkali disebut oleh beberapa orang Eropa, dan hal itu tentunya berpengaruh pada para sejarawan. Tomé Pires misalnya menggambarkan Kelapa sebagai “yang paling penting dan paling baik di antara semua (Pelabuhan Sunda). Di situlah terutama terdapat kegiatan dagang “. Kurang lebih empat puluh tahun kemudian pada tahun 1554, dalam tulisan mengenai berat, ukuran dan mata uang, Antonio Nunes³⁴ hanya menyebutkan dua pelabuhan di Jawa Barat : Kelapa dan satu lagi yang disebutnya “Muara” (*Bocca*). selanjutnya dia menyatakan bahwa “Pelabuhan Calapa ini yang adalah Çumda” (*este porto de Calapa que he o de Çumda*). Tiga puluh tahun kemudian Huygen van Linschoten yang menulis *Itinerarionya* di Goa, tempat tinggalnya antara tahun 1583 dan 1588, mengemukakan bahwa “pelabuhan yang paling penting di pulau (Jawa) adalah Sunda Calapa, kemudian nama ini lazim dipakai untuk menyebut selat tersebut” (*Die principaelste haven van't eyland (van Java mayor) is Sunda Calapa waer van die straet den naem heeft*)³⁵. Kita masih dapat menyebutkan teks tahun 1599 tulisan Godinho de Eredia

-seorang indo dari Malaka -yang menyebut dua pelabuhan di Jawa Barat : Sunda Calapa dan Cirebon” dalam daftar kerajaan dan propinsi di Pulau Jawa.

Tidak dapat disangkal lagi bahwa kutipan-kutipan di atas saling mendukung: Kelapa atau Sunda Kelapa merupakan pelabuhan terbesar di Jawa Barat. Namun sebenarnya pernyataan tersebut tidak kuat. Di satu pihak kita sebenarnya masih dapat mengemukakan lebih banyak lagi kutipan yang menyatakan bahwa pada abad ke 16 itu Bantenlah yang merupakan pelabuhan terpenting di Jawa Barat. Lagi pula tidak seorang pun yang percaya bahwa apa yang disebut *Sunda Calapa* oleh Godinho de Eredia dapat disamakan dengan Kalapa-Jakarta³⁷. Kesaksian-kesaksian yang dikemukakan, baik oleh pengarang Eropa maupun Jawa, bertentangan dengan pernyataan tersebut. Pada waktu itu kerajaan besar di Jawa Barat adalah kerajaan Banten. Hal yang sama dikemukakan oleh Linschoten. Dia menyatakan bahwa pelayar-pelayar Belanda pertama yang menuju ke Jawa berusaha mencapai pelabuhan “Sunda-Calapa”. tetapi penduduk setempat membawa mereka ke Banten. Mereka baru menyadari bahwa Jacatra yang dulu bernama “Sunda-Calapa” adalah sebuah pelabuhan yang tidak sepenting Banten. Tulisan Antonio Nunes yang disusun pada tahun 1554 berdasarkan keterangan nara sumber³⁸, disangkal oleh para saksi mata, misalnya Mendes Pinto pada tahun 1545-1546, pastor Jesuit Alvares tahun 1561 maupun sumber-sumber lokal yang menggambarkan Banten sebagai pelabuhan yang terpenting.

Sulit untuk menjelaskan bagaimana penulis sebanyak itu, yang notabene tidak pernah menginjakkan kaki di tanah Sunda, mempergunakan nama Sunda Calapa. Seandainya orang Portugis sengaja mengecoh orang Eropa lainnya, maka sebutan Sunda-Kelapa itu mungkin mereka pakai untuk menyebut kerajaan Islam dengan dua pelabuhannya Sunda (Banten) dan Kelapa. Kesaksian Tomé Pires tentang periode sebelum perang Islam, yang menggambarkan Kelapa sebagai pelabuhan terpenting di Sunda, masih menimbulkan pertanyaan. Tidak ada alasan bagi kita untuk menyangkalnya kecuali kenyataan bahwa tiga tahun kemudian orang Portugis dari Malaka berniaga di Banten³⁹, bukan di Kelapa-Jakarta. Kita sudah mengetahui bahwa Pires menulis berdasarkan informasi yang terdapat di sebelah timur Jakarta, di suatu tempat yang di peta c. 1540 bernama *aguada dalim* (Muara Joao Lopes de Alvim). Kita dapat memperkirakan bahwa nara sumbernya adalah warga Kerajaan Sunda Pajajaran yang terdorong perasaan bangga akan kerajaannya membesar-besarkan kedudukan pelabuhan yang terpenting di kerajaannya itu. Terlebih lagi apa yang mereka gambarkan kepada Pires adalah kedudukan pelabuhan tersebut sebagai bagian inti dari kerajaan yang kelak disebut Negara Agung di Jawa.

³⁴ “O livro dos pesos, medidas a moedas” dalam R.J de Lima Felner (ed). *Subsidios para a historia da India Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1868, hal. 42

³⁵ H. Kern (ed). *Itinerario van J.H. van Linschoten*, Linschoten Vereeniging n° 57. s-Gravenhage, 1955, jilid I. hal. 84.

³⁶ A.L. Caminha. *Informação da Aurea Chersonesa*. Lisboa. 1807. terjamahan Inggris J.V. Mills “Report on the Golden Chersonese”. *JRASMB*, VIII, part 1 (1930). hal. 227 - 255

³⁷ sub “Soenda”, *E.N.I.* jilid IV. hal. 19.

Banten pada awal abad ke 16

Semua sumber mengatakan bahwa Banten dan Kelapa adalah dua pelabuhan terbesar di Jawa Barat. Menurut penafsiran perjanjian 1552 yang sudah lazim, peristiwa-peristiwa tersebut terjadi di Jakarta, dengan demikian peranan Banten seolah-olah berkurang, bahkan kotanya sendiri nyaris tidak ada. Hoesein Djajadiningrat menyimpulkan bahwa Banten baru mengalami kemajuan setelah berkuasanya dinasti Islam pada tahun 1527, dan membayangkan bahwa sebelum masa tersebut Pelabuhan Banten tidak lebih dari sebuah “dusun yang tidak penting”⁴⁰. Padahal kita tahu bahwa pendapat tersebut tidak benar. T. Pires, yang tidak dikenal oleh Hoesein, menegaskan bahwa Banten merupakan sebuah pelabuhan besar sebelum tahun 1527. Teks-teks yang telah dikutip di atas menggambarkan adanya hubungan internasional serta pentingnya perdagangan di wilayah ini: Syahbandar pelabuhan itu berasal dari Koromandel. Seorang menteri lainnya menurut Leme, berasal dari Benggala, jung-jung dari Cina memuat lada di situ dan Banten mempunyai hubungan dengan Malaka.

Peranan Banten kelihatan lebih menonjol lagi dalam teks-teks terkenal yang menggambarkan perebutan kekuasaan oleh orang Islam di pantai Sunda. Barros dan *Sejarah Banten* kedua-duanya menyebutkan bahwa tokoh Islam yang mendalangi perebutan kekuasaan tersebut telah memilih Banten -tepatnya Banten Girang — sebagai tempat untuk memulai perebutan kekuasaan.

Kita tidak menduga bahwa mereka justru memilih sebuah kota yang dari segi politik maupun ekonomi tidak penting artinya. Akan tetapi banyak hal yang dapat menunjukkan betapa besarnya peranannya. Di satu pihak, kota Banten Girang terletak kurang dari sepuluh kilometer dari laut, dengan sendirinya menguasai pelabuhan yang tentunya juga besar. Di lain pihak, penggalian arkeologi yang mulai dilakukan di Banten Girang membenarkan pernyataan ini karena ternyata kota tersebut memiliki tempat pertahanan seluas kurang lebih lima hektar yang rupanya merupakan kedudukan penguasa. Pertahanan tersebut dikelilingi parit yang dalam, yang digali di batu padas, di situ ditemukan pula sejumlah benda-benda — keramik, mata uang, dan lain-lain — yang membuktikan kekunoan kota itu (kemungkinan besar mulai abad XI) dan banyaknya hubungan dengan negara asing — terutama Cina dan Semenanjung Indocina⁴¹.

³⁸ G Ferrand yang memberi terjemahan dalam bahasa Perancis dari teks ini dalam “bobot, ukuran dan mata uang dari laut Selatan pada abad ke 16 dan 17”, *Journal Asiatique*, juillet-décembre 1920, Paris, 1921, hal. 39-92 “*E a informação que (este) porto de Calapa que he o de Çumda*” diterjemahkan dengan “kita tahu bahwa ... “sedangkan “dilaporkan bahwa ... “ lebih dekat dengan teks aslinya, dapat menunjukkan bahwa A. Nunes hanya menulis berdasarkan keterangan-keterangan

³⁹ Lihat surat Rui de Brito kepada A. d’Albuquerque. 6.1.1514 dalam Basilio de Sa, *Documentação para a Historia das Missoes do padroado Português do Oriente. Insulindia*. vol 1. Agência Geral do Ultramar, Lisboa, 1554. hal. 55 dan surat dari de Garcia Chainho kepada raja, 31 8.1521, *ANTT*. CC III 7. 115

Peninjauan kembali peristiwa-peristiwa 1521 - 1527

Berdasarkan semua yang dipaparkan di atas, kita sekarang dapat menyimpulkan kembali peristiwa yang terjadi di Jawa Barat di awal abad ke 16. Ada kerajaan yang disebut Pajajaran dengan ibukota yang terletak di Pakuan. Kerajaan itu mempunyai dua pelabuhan besar : Banten dan Kelapa. Kerajaan itu terdiri dari beberapa “kerajaan kecil”: salah satunya adalah Banten, yang di sebelah Timur dibatasi oleh Sungai Cisadane, dengan ibukota Banten Girang. Kelapa mungkin merupakan pelabuhan utama dari “bagian inti kerajaan yang langsung di bawah kekuasaan kerajaan”

Kerajaan Banten memanfaatkan kemerosotan kekuasaan Pakuan untuk melepaskan diri dari kekuasaan Pajajaran, yang kemudian memang hanya tinggal sebutannya saja. Orang Islam di Demak-Jepara, yang juga memadari merosotnya kekuasaan Pakuan, sangat mungkin mengambil pula kesempatan ini untuk menguasai pelabuhan-pelabuhan di Jawa Barat dan melancarkan beberapa operasi militer setidak-tidaknya mulai tahun 1521. Karena takut menghadapi ancaman pasukan tentara Islam, pemerintah Banten barangkali pada tahun 1521 meminta bantuan Portugis di Malaka dengan menggunakan jaringan orang-orang Keling yang mempunyai pengaruh besar di Malaka dan Banten. Pada tahun 1522 mengijinkan mereka membangun benteng di Muara Cisadane untuk menjaga perbatasan Timur “kerajaan”, karena bahaya tentunya datang dari Timur. Satu atau dua tahun kemudian penguasa Demak mengirim seorang ulama, Sunan Gunung Jati dan putranya Hasanudin ke Banten Girang, yang sangat mungkin adalah ibukota “kerajaan” yang paling penting. Pengiriman Sunan Gunung Jati dan putranya itu dimaksud untuk membantu mereka dari dalam. Karena orang Portugis tidak cepat bereaksi, maka orang Islam, yang diberitahu oleh Sunan Gunung Jati dan putranya tentang keadaan itu langsung memanfaatkan kesempatan itu — barangkali dengan meninggalnya “raja” Banten yang telah meminta bantuan Portugis itu - untuk merebut Pelabuhan Banten. Waktu Duarte Coelho tiba di pelabuhan tersebut pada bulan Desember 1526 atau Januari 1527⁴², pelabuhan sudah dikuasai oleh pasukan tentara Islam. yang kemudian mencoba merebut “ibukota” Banten Girang. Kurang lebih enam bulan kemudian, bulan Juli 1527, Francisco de Sa tiba pula di Banten, mengirim utusan pada para menteri Banten yang baru, yang tentu saja tidak takut pada Demak: “raja” Banten yang baru tersebut adalah saudara ipar raja Demak. Sudah barang tentu para menteri tadi menolak pembangunan benteng yang dimaksud, sementara orang Portugis tetap ingin membangunnya dengan pertimbangan bahwa benteng tersebut akan mampu melindungi kepentingan ekonomi mereka terhadap pasukan Spanyol, yang sedang menuju ke Kepulauan Indonesia dengan mengikuti jalan yang pernah dilewati oleh Magellan, dan yang mengincar lada di Sunda⁴³. Orang-orang Portugis mencoba menyerang di darat,

⁴⁰ *Op. cit.*, hal. 126.

⁴¹ Laporan Penelitian Arkeologi di Banten Girang, 1990. Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional. Jakarta. (akan terbit)

namun mengalami kekalahan. Secara simbolik Francisco de Sa menduduki tempat yang semula dipersiapkan untuk pembangunan benteng, dengan mendirikan *padrao*. Dua minggu kemudian dia kembali berada tidak jauh dari Banten, dan menemui Syahbandar yang pernah mengadakan perjanjian dengan Leme. Keadaan di pelabuhan masih kacau dan jung-jung Cina harus memuat merica jauh dari pelabuhan, di Teluk Banten. De Sa pada bulan Agustus mendirikan *padrao* lain di semenanjung barat daya Banten dan berangkat lagi ke Malaka dan tiba di sana tanggal 7 September 1527.

⁴² D. Coelho berangkat bersama Fr. de Sa dari Bintan ke Banten pada akhir Desember 1526 (Couto, *op.cit.* IV. II. 5. hal. 110). Sesudah ke Banten dia masih mempunyai waktu untuk kembali ke Malaka, mendapat misi baru lalu pergi ke Cochin dan meninggalkan kota itu menjelang tanggal 21 April 1527. B. de Sa. *op.cit.* jilid I. hal. 209 "Afonso Mexia as autoridades de Malaka. 30.4.1527". Selang waktu yang panjang (\pm enam bulan) antara kedatangan Coelho dan Sa di Banten mudah dimengerti karena Sa menunggu pergantian angin musim di Panarukan, di situ dia juga mencoba mengerahkan semua pelaut Portugis untuk memperbesar armadanya (Surat dari Jorge Cabral kepada raja 10.9.1527" dalam L.F. Thomas. *Os Portugueses em Malaca. 1511 - 1580.* jilid II, doc. 41. Tesis Doktor dari Fakultas Sastra, Lisabon. 1964)

⁴³ Itu yang dikatakan Castanheda (*op.cit.*, jilid 6. hal 7): dalam buku karangannya. Mendes Pinto (*Op cit.* hal 598) mengemukakan seseorang yang bernama Nuno Rodrigues Taborda yang ikut dalam ekspedisi Francisco de Sa tetapi yang waktu tertimpa badai melarikan diri, ke Jawa Timur. Dia kemudian memeluk agama Islam, ditemui sebagai "dokter" di Panarukan. Menurut dia, benteng itu terutama dibuat untuk menghalangi kedatangan orang-orang Spanyol. Ini sangat mungkin karena kita tahu bahwa sebelum berangkat Magellan menerima dari pemerintah Spanyol berbagai instruksi rahasia di antaranya adalah mencari keterangan tentang lada di "Sunda" (*As Gavetas* ...- . jilid IX, Grenade, 20.5.1526)

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SOME ASPECTS OF ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE IN INDONESIA*

Hasan Muarif Ambary

I. Introduction

The oldest form of Indonesian architecture is probably not its early temples or their ruins, but its short-lived buildings: the vulnerable, fragile and elegant vernacular that flourishes in dazzling variety throughout the archipelago. Indigenous architecture is typically shaped by local climate, local needs and locally available materials. A pervasive Indonesian type occurs in buildings raised on poles. The recurrent flooding so characteristic on monsoon regions, avoidance of ground pests and security all stimulated the building of these elevated houses. They can be found in many parts of Indonesia, from West Sumatera to Kalimantan, from North Sulawesi to Nusa Tenggara. Local materials are predominantly bamboo, - used in its solid state for framing and also split into lathes and woven into *gedek* screens for walling and leaves, particularly of the coconut palm. These are used for roofing (*atap*), as is sugar palm fiber (*ijuk*). Wood is also used, particularly in Java, Kalimantan and parts of Sumatera, but it is more expensive and requires greater preparation.

The physical properties of bamboo had a determining effect on the form of Indonesian vernacular architecture. Bamboo has great tensile strength, its supportive potential being greatest when it is flexed and counterbalanced on the principle inherent in the engineering of suspension bridges. Exploiting these tensile strength has led to spectacular curved roof structures in widely separated areas in Indonesia.

While it is logical to assume that Indonesian vernacular architecture, like the society's traditional epics, folk stories, genealogies, textile motifs and metal smithing skills, has survived by virtue of firsthand repetition from time immemorial, there is also tangible evidence to prove that some of its features are more than twelve hundred years old.

This evidence can be seen on the bas-reliefs of buddhist Borobudur and hindu candi (temple) Lorojonggrang at Prambanan. There is no dispute that both in *mandala* like plan and terraced indented profile these monumental examples of eighth and ninth century Hindu-Javanese architecture derive strongly from Indic models. What is at first less apparent is that the Indian-derived Buddhist and Ramayana themes illustrated in the friezes draw on local imagery. The structures in which the character sit or that form the background to many scenes do not resemble the form of the candis themselves, but depict buildings that the local

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Dwelling house of Baduy peoples, made of bambu at kampung-Cikartawana



Dwelling house of Nias peoples, North Sumatra

sculptors must have known at first hand. These are remarkably similar in both roof form and pillared construction to one commonest and most versatile of Indonesian architectural types, the pillared open-sided hall known as a *pendopo*. One can confidently identify the carved pavilions as the ancestors of *pendopos* found throughout the Greater Sunda Island group. While there is a strong case to be made for locating the source of these roof-forms in the original Southwest China homeland of the Austronesian peoples, the general form has a stylistic link to an Indian model as well as to indigenous vernacular types.

The word *pendopo* probably derives from the Sanskrit “*mandapa*”, a pillared hall. Originally the structure might have had purely religious connotations in Indonesia, though in the earliest temple ruins of Central Java there is no indication of the *pendopo* form: the model of terraces surrounding closed inner shrines as at Prambanan seems to have been dominant, and the *pendopo* appears only in the bas-relief depictions of social settings. The likeliest explanation is that autochthonous usage and exotic influence were close enough to coalesce.

The temples of the Singhasari-Kediri-Majapahit period of the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries in Java and later temples in Bali have mostly adopted this form.

The temples of the later East Javanese period, such as candi Panataran, have raised plinths and column bases that are clearly exact predecessors of the *pendopos* of the palaces of later centuries, although their wooden superstructures have long since disappeared. They are equally the forerunners of the modest versions of the type to be found in the traditional Javanese village house, and in every small *bale* (pavilion) in temples and houses in Bali and Lombok. Moreover, as one of the most striking examples of syncretism in Indonesia, the *pendopo*, has become the predominant form of the mosque and its uniquely Indonesian veranda-like *surambi* in Sumatera, Java and Kalimantan. The pervasive presence of the *pendopo*, in elegant palace and modest village house, in Hindu temple and Islamic mosque, demonstrates more forcefully than anything the strength of the links between vernacular and court culture in Indonesia.

II. Observation Of Architecture And Decorative Art

The Mosque

While the Hindu-Indonesian candis were made and used as prayerhouse, in Islamic-Indonesian times the buildings were erected which were called mosque. The word *masjid* in Arabic is actually from Aramic and means probably “prostate oneself” while in Ethiopian there is the word *mesgad* which means temple or church.

Moslems can pray in any place but they still think it necessary to build a special building which is called *masjid*, and also a small one for group prayers or for individual prayer. It is also felt that the mosque or the other prayer buildings are meant for religious meetings, and a place to practice equal rights and close ties of friendship. The *masjid* can therefore be considered as a cultural building for Moslems.

But besides these useful considerations the reason to found a mosque or another prayer house is the effects of nature. Heavy rains or terrific heat, storms and other forces of nature may disturb the peace of mind of the prayer. Therefore the prayerhouse was built to guarantee the peace necessary during a prayer.

In Indonesia the names of the mosque vary with the location where they are found. It is *masjid* (Indonesian), *masigit* (Javanese), *masigit* (Sundanese), *meuseugit* (Aceh), *mesigi* (Sulawesi). In several places which were in the past centers of Islamic power there are the *Masjid Agung* (Grand/Great Mosque) like in Banten, Cirebon, Yogyakarta, Demak and some other places. The prayerhouses which are not used for prayer meetings are called *langgar* (Javanese), *tajug* (Sundanese), *surau* (West Sumatera), *meunasah* (Aceh) and *langgara* (Sulawesi).

There are at present in Indonesia *masjids* which aren't only in the big or small towns, but also in the villages and settlements (*kampung*) built for Friday prayer meetings, thus spacious enough to contain all the devotees. In big towns there are of course several mosques, big and small, intended for Friday prayer meetings.

Since the first mosque was built during the lifetime of the Prophet, till now Islamic architecture has undergone a development which was different according to its local conditions and the period of building. In the countries where Islamic power came first, like Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries is it not surprising that the supporters of this new religion and culture made use of traditional elements of art which had already been there for centuries. It was the same in Indonesia which before the coming of Islam had already a culture and art of its own, which was original Indonesian or Hindu-Indonesian.

But in some mosques in Java which have been built on the westside of alun-alun (square in the middle of the town) the *mihrab* is not oriented to the northwest, but to the west. This might have been a misunderstanding in the past that the *kiblat* is to the west like the direction of the mosque which is in the west.

The Mimbar

Ancient *mimbars* as found in the mosque of Sendang Duwur is no longer in good shape and looks dilapidated in the storeroom on the left side of the new mosque. But we can still see how fine it looked when we see the photograph. The *mimbar* was made of teakwood and its form is that of a high chair. The frontlegs are higher than the hindlegs. They are square in form, except that the frontlegs show also variation between square and octagonal.

The top of legs or pillars are connected with the arch which ends on both sides in a curl which looks like a *makara*. The center of these arches has a circle with rays, while inside an eye, nose and mouth are carved. This reminds us of the *kala* head combined with a halo as we know from certain statues or reliefs from East-Javanese art of the Hindu-Indonesian period.



Lumbung (paddy store house) of Baduy people at Cikartawana

The archshaped arms of the *mimbar* are connected from the top of the pillars at the back to the center of front pillars. These arms of the *mimbar* are decorated with leafmotifs or lotus motifs. The covering part on the left, right and below are even more richly decorated with even more visible floral and leafmotifs. This covering parts the left and right of the *mimbar-legs* which are connected with the *makara* motif are decorated with the same motifs.

We can compare the ancient *mimbar* of Sendang Duwur, with the *mimbar* in the *Masjid Agung* of Cirebon, *Masjid Paramasana* of the Keraton Solo. Though these two *mimbars* are not identical, they are similar in style and form. It is the same case with the decorations which all three of them consist of floral motifs or lotus which are made into scrolls. The two decorations of the pillar top of the two arches are like *kala-makara* motifs. As regards this *mimbar* of the Paramasana mosque, that *mimbar* not only gives the impression of a classical artistic Hindu style, but also shows the idea of the artist who shows heaven and earth according to Hindu tradition. The lotusses are the symbols of life, forest and mountain, the *kala* head symbolyses the forest. In other words: the form and decoration of the ancient *mimbar* in Indonesia were not created by foreign Moslems, but by Indonesians who already knew the artistic tradition and the Hindu Indonesian religious concepts. It is also proved by the fact that the form of the *mimbars* abroad like the one in the *Masjid Sida Ukba* in Qashroem and the *Masjid Jauhar Syad* in Mesjhed (Iran), and perhaps in other places show no similarities in shape or style to the ancient *mimbar* in Indonesia.

It is possible that the Islamic people from other countries only introduced the terms and function but left the style and forms to the Moslem people in Indonesia. Indonesians before the advent of islamic culture have indeed already known forms of altars in the form of thrones for the Gods they worshipped in mountain sanctuaries. Hindu Balinese art has its seats (*padmasana*) for the God Surya. Besides Indonesians have since prehistoric time especially in the megalithic period already known spirit seats for the their ancestors. H.R. van Heekeren held already the opinion that the Surya seats in Bali might have been a development from those spirit seats. Dr. A.N.J. Th. van der Hoop has also explained the connection and the development of the form of *pepadons* from the stone spirit seats for the ancestors in the megalithic period.

Tombstones

There are several mercantile harbours on the coast of East Java which since early times have played an important role as places where the local people could make contact with foreign merchants. One result of this cultural contact can be seen in the archaeological remains, in the form of very early inscribed graves, to be found in the vicinity of various East Javanese ports.

From a survey of the shape and development of the script it is possible to perceive a trend for social groups in East Java which had become Moslems to inscribe their moslem gravestones with Arabic letters. This fashion commenced about the beginning of the 14th century. Graves which can be assigned to a period earlier than this are those which are made



Royal Palace (*Istana*) of Pagaruyung, West Sumatera ; a prototype of *Istana* Negri Sembilan (Malaysia)



Courtyard of Kraton Kasepuhan, Cirebon (18th century)

of materials which have obviously been imported from outside Indonesia. Evidence for the use of Arabic script by the local inhabitants is thought to date from the second half of the 14th century on graves at Tralaya. Examination of this script gives a clear impression that it is written in a very simple form indeed and, sometimes, it is even written incorrectly. This contrasts with the script found on the grave of Fatimah binti Maimun or on that of Malik Ibrahim. In both these cases the gravestones had been imported already inscribed.

Later, after the end of the 14th century, it was evident that the local (Javanese) script was increasingly prominent on graves. Words used in the funerary inscriptions were more often Javanese and there was a gradual diminution in the use of Arabic. More over chronograms or words used as *candra sengkala* began to be used. This would seem to indicate that once Islam had firmly taken root in Javanese society about the beginning of the 16th century, local elements once more were prominent in the calligraphy.

The most interesting part on the most sacred tomb, is the style of its decoration. A good example of tombstone decoration and design was a tombstone of Sendang Duwur. The building of these mentioned graves, has as its most important feature only the stairwings which remind us of stairwings on certain split gates and chandis in East Java. The decorative style of the panel of stairwing which consists of stems of flower and leaves, especially the way a curling flowerstem is depicted which looks like a questionmark is very similar to the style of the panel of stairwing in Candi Jago, the Naga temple in Panataran and on some other stairwings in East Java. But actually the triangle tumpal motifs was already known before there were hinduistic cultural influences.

The form of rows of leaf decoration in the frame of the stairwing in the form of a heart gives the impression that this decorative motif was only known after there was no more Hindu Indonesian art, since as far as we know decorative motif was not found on Candis of Central and Eastern Java. On the other hand we find this motif on certain tombstones and tombs in northern Sumatera amongst others on the grave of a princess in Kuta Karueng (1428 AD). If some follow Moquette's opinion that the style on the tombstones or the graves in northern Sumatera of the oldest Islamic kingdom in Indonesia were imported from Cambay in India, we may say that the decorative motifs with the heartshaped leafgarlands are perhaps also derived from Indian art. It is remarkable that on the mosque of Lal Barwaza (about 1450 AD) in Jaunpur the same kind of decoration was used. Unfortunately we can not find out whether this decoration was also on other mosques and buildings as the pictures are not so clear. But this decoration could also have been used also in other buildings. In Java it is on the tomb of the Queen of Kalinyamat in Mantingan where we find heartshaped floral and leaf decoration.

We have noticed that the tombs of Northern Sumatera have these same decorations, so the Mantingan motifs could have been imported from that place which had it originally from India. Islamic artistic influences from Sumatera to Java in particular to Mantingan are maybe due to the connections between these areas during the rule of Queen Kalinyamat or even before. We know that in 1574 Queen Kalinyamat rushed to the assistance of Aceh



Siti Inggil (openair audience hall) at Kraton Kanoman Cirebon (18th century)



The minaret and mosque of Sultanate of Banten. The Mosque originally built in the 16th century

during the rule of Sultan Ri'ayat Syah in the attack of the Acehnese on the Portuguese in Malaca. There might have been older connections between Java and Northern Sumatera. Sunan Gunung Jati sailed from Pasei, he came to Demak and became the son-in-law of Trenggana.

Besides we may refer the fact that a tombstone in Aceh from the cemetery in Teungku Peuet Ploh Peuet Gampong Minye Tujoh, Meunasa Minye Tujoh, Mukim Ara Keumidi, had Arabic scripts on one side and Old-Javanese scripts on the other side. According to DR. F.D.K. Bosch, the form of this OldJavanese script is a continuation of the same script in East Java.

In the Arabic inscription it is said that a princess died on Friday 14 Dulhijah 791 H or Saturday December 4, A.D. 1388. The decorative motifs on the body of the tombstones and the doors are mostly lotus flowers and leaves. We have mentioned above that the style of this decoration is similar to that of Mantingan with the difference that it was carved on stone, whereas in Sendang Duwur it was carved on wood. The decorative panels which show a similarity to those in Mantingan is amongst others shown by the first, fourth and fifth panel from the door. Among the decorative motifs of the lotus flower are some which show the Yui style in Chinese art and which might have also been in use in the Hindu-Indonesian period in Eastern Java as proved by the decoration on a relief of Candi Surawana. The decoration on the door of the ancient mosque which consists of a creeper with a gourd as fruit is also in the Mantingan decorations. This kind of vegetable is called *Lagenaries leucantha rusby* or *kukuk* (Sundanese), *waluh kendi* (Javanese), *labu aer* (Malay).

Another decorative motif which might also be important for the Indonesian decorative art is that of woven bamboo, as we have seen on the small decorative panels near the pillars on the tombdoors, and which look even more obvious on the doors of the ancient mosque. This motif is also found in Mantingan, but again, it could not have been derived from Hindu-Indonesian decorative art.

The Significance of the Royal Court: Cirebon, Mataram and Banten

At the time in Javanese history when the coincidence of divine and royal power was deliberately invoked, it is conceivable that what was originally sacred was later imbued with secular aspects.

First is the link with a mountain, the natural terrain here offering the foundation that in other monumental structures was partly built up, as at Borobudur and in the microcosmic mountain symbolized in the creation of the raised and walled *siti inggil* (high place) in the *Kraton* Surakarta Hadiningrat and *Kraton* Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat in the eighteenth century. In the *siti inggil* the enthroned ruler appears to his subjects on ceremonial occasions.

On the most beautiful *siti inggil*, and indeed one of the finest architectural complexes in any court in Indonesia, is the early seventeenth century example in the Kasepuhan *kraton* in Cirebon. Symbolically and stylistically, it forms a link between the Hindu-Buddhist dynasties



Tomb of Sultan Mahmud Syah of the Sultanate of Aceh (18th century) Banda Aceh

of Majapahit, which effectively came to an end in the mid-fifteenth century, and the Islamic era, which in Java had its first Moslem rulers around the turn of the sixteenth century.

The oldest surviving building in the *kraton* in Cirebon is the exquisitely carved *pendopo Langgar Alit* of 1529. A little younger than the *Mesjid Agung* (Great Mosque) (which with the *Mesjid Agung Demak*) is one of the oldest and most venerated mosques in Indonesia, this small pavillion was originally a private worshipping place for the Sultan's family. It formed part of the first palace, the *kraton* Pakungwati. The form of its rare central column with its four curved branches is echoed in one of the five *pendopos* in the *siti inggil*, the *Semar Tinandu* in its northeast corner. The *pendopo* has a pair of columns with three curved branches and represents the *kalimah shahadat*, or Moslem confession of faith, and is the place where the representatives of Islam sat during ceremonies.

Dutch reporters include the 18th century writer Stavorinus, who described the waterworks for the garden of Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa's Surosowan palace, near Banten, showing that water symbolism was important in West Java as well as in Central and East Java. Over a century earlier, De Houtman (comander of the Netherlands fleet that reached Banten in 1596), mentioned the artificial lake *Tasik Ardi* with a man made island and two-storied pavilion at its center a few miles from the Banten Kingdom's palace, a 17th century replacement of the earliest palace which was destroyed by fire. This palace in turn was destroyed by the Dutch early in the 19th century.

Remains of the terracotta pipes and holding ponds are visible in the ruins of this palace in Banten today, and the reconstructed pump-house shows how extensive the palace waterworks were. Originally under the control of the Hindu - Sunda Kingdom Pajajaran, Banten was conquered around 1525 by Fadhilah Khan (Falatehan), born in Pasai - Sumatera, but coming from Demak. He become son-in-law of the wali (saint) Sunan Gunung Jati, whose son Maulana Hasanuddin became the first crowned sultan in 1552. Thriving on the pepper trade and as an important entreport in Sunda Strait commerce (especially after the Portuguese capture of Malaka in 1511 made the Malaka Strait less attractive to international shipping, Banten eventually conquered Pajajaran and controlled Lampung in South Sumatera. Until the late 19th century it maintained a considerable independence from the Dutch, whose chief center moved from Banten itself to the port of Sunda Kalapa, later named Batavia and now Jakarta.

One of the best known surviving palace pool-gardens in Java is the *Taman Sari* (pleasure garden), usually referred to as the Water Palace at the Yogyakarta *kraton*. Originally built by Sultan Hamengkubuwono I in 1758, in 1791 it was described by a Dutch major as having a colonnaded pavillion in the middle of an artifical lake and underwater corridors leading from women's bathing pools to a partly underwater mosque. Today water no longer links the garden's elements, and a restoration of the late 1960s did little to suggest its original purpose of meditation and pleasure.

Another extant palace complex combining water and cave elements is the elaborate *Taman Sari* Sunyaragi garden, a few miles beyond the Kasepuhan *Kraton* in Cirebon to

which it belongs. Laid out in 1741, it was restored in the 19th century and is undergoing further restoration. It is microcosm comprising three artificial mountains and numerous grottoes and caves linked by hidden passages. The palace was one surrounded by water, and access was by boat across a large artificial “sea” that Sultan could contemplate when sitting in the highest pavilion.

The decoration encrusting the elaborate structure resembles the Chinese derived *megamendung* and *wadasan* (clouds and rocks) pattern that a pervasive motif in Cirebon reflects the importance of Chinese influences in a coastal city where Chinese traders were active. Its incorporation into royal motifs is another striking example of the ability of Indonesian civilization to absorb foreign elements and fuse them with the original culture. The *mega mending* and *wadasan* can be seen in the distinctive Cirebon batik's, in carving, in the architecture of the *Kasepuhan Kraton*, Jinem gate and in the rock creations in the garden, complete with small lake with the central man made island, behind the main kraton. At Sunyaragi the motifs reinforces the mountain and water elements of what is clearly a microcosm created for the enactment of spiritual purification and physical entertainments.

The garden features another primordial symbol, the tree. A gnarled *kapilaya* tree is associated with a *garuda* (giant mythical bird) sculpture and a *sangkala* (cryptogram) indicates the date 1703; whether this applies to the tree's age or another event is not certain, but it is clearly an integral part of the grotto-palace complex.

The Court Found in Sumatera, Kalimantan and Sulawesi

The symbolic feature of palaces in Aceh, are imbued with the principles of Islam. Whereas in Sumatera the Islamic palaces are usually stylistically further from indigenous architecture than any others in Indonesia, the strange building in Banda Aceh known as the Ghunongan harks back to pre-Islamic themes, as the palace it was connected to also seems to have done.

The palace was known as *Dar ad-Dunya* (above of this world), a name implying a counterpart *Dar al-Akhirah* (heaven). Set on the junction of two rivers, it was laid out on a north-south axis like Javanese *kratons*, with three successive courts and a *medan* (square) to the north that corresponded to the *alun-alun* in Java. Its garden, Taman Ghairah, was laid out by Iskandar Thani, and the Bustan as-Salatin indicates that the mountain shape structure at its center, the Ghunongan, had connections with the Taman Sari, as microcosm of Indra's heaven, and the world mountain Mahameru.

Like the man made mountain honeycombed with grottoes at Sunyaragi, the Ghunongan is composed of corridors that climb the structure, weaving in and out of small caves and opening onto small ledges. The meditation of the king in the chamber at the top led to an Islamic version of insight into the divine through the dissolution of the self. In a further paralel with microcosm of mountain, cave and water as places of meditation and enlightenment in other royal gardens of Indonesia, there is a diverted stream in the Taman

Ghairah drawn from the river Krueng Daroy, or Dar ul-'isyq, which means river of love, and (as at Taman Sari at Yogyakarta) a mosque, which is called Isyqi Musyahadah, again invoking love in connection with a mystic insight into the divine.

Architecture may show close ties between the ruler and the ruled in West Kalimantan, South Sulawesi and Nusa Tenggara, but the same cannot be said about the Malay culture states of Sumatera. Archival photographs in the Netherlands collections show spectacular buildings in Langkat, Asahan, Medan and Siak that are closer to fantasy conceptions of what a palace should be than perhaps any others in Indonesia. While many of these structures are no longer standing, two notable examples remain: the Istana Maimun of the Deli Sultanate in Medan North Sumatera, and the *Istana* Siak Sri Indrapura in Riau.

The *Istana* Maimun which its domed roofs and colonnaded arcades in Moorish style, has clearly looked to Mughal India (or perhaps European colonial conceptions of Mughal architecture) for inspiration for an Islamic palace. The arches and columns have no visual connections with the *pendopo* or any other indigenous form. Furthermore, the mass of the building relates to the encompassing totality of closed European models, and not to the series of free-standing structures in walled courts strung along axis and separated by gates, each building designated to a specific function, characteristics of palace architecture in Java and Bali.

After climbing the double-tiered, roofed marble-steps, yellow ceremonial umbrellas making an arch for the honored guest - it can be seen that the differences hold true for the interior as well. Walls richly patterned in mosaic and extravagantly carved and painted coffered ceilings make the grand throne room a complete world of Islamic design. Geometric and curvilinear motifs, ogival Sassanian archways, gleaming marble floors and sumptuous silk draperies complete the contrast with the open *pendopo*, where the interpenetration of internal and external space, the indefinable nature of the space soaring above into the receding roof structures and the ambiguity of light and shadow combine to give the impression of infinity.

The palace at Siak Sri Indrapura, designed in 1889 with the help of an Italian architect, also expresses the Islamic themes so important in the Malay states of Sumatera. A glance at the map shows their closeness to the Malay Peninsula. Comparison with Malaysian buildings indicates the stylistic kinship between Sumatera and the Malay world, where monumental architecture as frequently adopted Mughal Indian models. In this case an eclectic freewheeling use of pointed domes, orientalist arcades and pointed arches more Gothic than Sassanian, with corner turrets defining the symmetrically arranged masses, creates an ensemble that says "palace" from every perspective. As at Medan, the interior is lavish in the public reception rooms. Up stairs the spaces are simpler, the matted wooden floors and plain walls suggesting that the private life of the Sultan was not as removed from Sumateran style as his ceremonial setting indicated.

III. Conclusions

After examining aspects of monuments and architecture of Islamic period in Indonesia began in the XIth century, our impressions that Islamic belief penetrated slowly into the minds of the Indonesians and without force. This may be due to the fact that the Islamic propagators and the Indonesian themselves have always known tolerance, which is not only obvious in architecture and decorative art, but also in other aspects of their culture.

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KONSEP MONARKI KONSTITUSIONAL KERAJAAN LUWU

M. Irfan Mahmud

I. PENDAHULUAN

Pada masa paling awal, bentuk negara kaum adalah monarki¹. Dalam sistem ini pergantian dan perubahan pemegang kedaulatan berlangsung menurut garis keturunan. Raja memegang semua cabang-cabang kekuasaan yang ada, membuat undang-undang, melaksanakan, dan menguji pelaksanaan undang-undang, termasuk menjadi pemimpin tentara.

Dalam sejarahnya, kewenangan pemerintah monarki ternyata tidak tetap mendapat legitimasi dari rakyat. Pada taraf tertentu monarki diperhadapkan dengan kepentingan rakyat. Lalu, orang menciptakan kompromi politik antara kekuasaan aristokrat dengan rakyat, yaitu dengan membangun tatanan formal legalistik. Meskipun demikian, ada kesan tatanan formal legalistik yang dibangun oleh kaum aristokrat masih bersifat semu. Pada masa klasik Hindu/Budha, kemauan politik (*political will*) aristokrat seperti itu memang sudah tampak dalam bentuk aturan hukum, lembaga peradilan, dan pejabat yang mengawasi pelaksanaan konstitusi, seperti ditemukan pada prasasti yang berkaitan dengan penetapan *sima*². Akan tetapi, infrastruktur hukum pada prasasti terkesan masih bertendensi memperkuat legitimasi raja daripada melindungi rakyat. Prasasti *sima* sejauh yang sudah dijangkau penulis, masih terkesan diskriminatif. Inskripsi-inskripsi prasasti *sima* belum menjangkau kekuasaan raja. Hegemoni kekuasaan raja ternyata tetap dominan. Raja adalah wakil dewa, sehingga raja tidak dapat berbuat salah dan titah raja setara dengan hukum.

Kedatangan agama Islam dan diikuti berdirinya kesultanan, eksistensi raja banyak mendapat koreksi teologis, Al-Qur'an dan Hadist. Raja mulai masuk dalam bingkai kontrol

¹ Sitanggang, *Filsafat dan Etika Pemerintahan*, Jakarta: Pustaka Sinar Harapan, 1999-132- Kata Monarki berasal dari bahasa Latin, *monarchia* yang artinya *the rule of one*. Pengertian monarki tersebut bermakna peraturan atau penguasaan oleh satu orang yang juga memegang kedaulatan tertinggi. Secara bebas, monarki kadang-kadang diterjemahkan kerajaan, kekaisaran, kesultanan, atau raja, kaisar, dan sultan saja.

² Menurut kitab Undang-undang hukum lama, ada delapan belas kelompok pelanggaran hukum yang disebut *astadasawyahara*. Untuk hal ini dapat dilihat dalam karangan R.B.. Slamet Muljana, *Perundang-undangan Majapahit*, Jakarta Bhratara, 1967 Lihat pula tulisan Boehari, "Ulah Para Pemungut Pajak di dalam Masyarakat Jawa Kuna", *Majalah Arkeologi, Th. IV* No. 1-2, 1981: 67-85; Titi Surti Nastiti. "Eksistensi Kekuasaan Rakai Watukura Dyah Balitung (898-910)", hal. 29-41). Dari beberapa tulisan tersebut tampak sekali kedudukan raja masih sangat kuat.

konstitusi. Monarki absolut bergeser secara gradual ke monarki parlementer³ dan kemudian mengalami perkembangan positif menjadi monarki konstitusional⁴.

Perkembangan sistem pemerintahan monarki konstitusional di Nusantara tampaknya didorong oleh menguatnya gerakan Islam yang egalitarian. Dalam pandangan Islam, raja adalah manusia yang sama kedudukannya dengan rakyat di hadapan Allah SWT yang membedakan hanyalah taqwanya⁵. Akibatnya raja harus mendekonstruksi paham-paham kekuasaan pemerintahan dewa. Sultan-sultan Islam mulai menggeser kekuasaan absolut dalam batas-batas yang sedikit lebih manusiawi. Kekuasaan raja mulai dibatasi oleh aturan-aturan, prinsip-prinsip hukum (agama), atau undang-undang “negara”. Undang-undang menjadi bingkai yang mengatur segala perilaku dalam sistem pemerintahan. Inilah bentuk pemerintahan terbaik yang dicapai oleh pemerintahan “negara” kaum di Nusantara abad pertengahan.

Di Sulawesi Selatan, bentuk monarki konstitusional juga tidak terbina serta merta. Di kerajaan Luwu⁶ misalnya, genealogi sistem politik mengalami perjalanan panjang hingga mencapai bentuk monarki konstitusional. Pelras⁷ mencatat bahwa kerajaan Luwu mempunyai dua periode. Pertama, periode Lagaligo, yakni periode pemerintahan dewa.

³ Sitanggang, *Op. Cit.*, hal. 133-136. H. Sitanggang membagi perkembangan monarki ke dalam tiga sistem [1] *Monarki absolut*, ialah sistem kerajaan yang seluruh kekuasaan pemerintahan berada di tangan raja. Pengaturan yang dilakukan oleh raja dengan sistem ini lebih bersifat keinginan sendiri daripada menjalankan pemerintahan. Tidak ada aturan atau kekuasaan yang dapat membatasi kekuasaannya. [2] *Monarki parlementer* ialah bentuk pemerintahan kerajaan yang pelaksanaan kekuasaan tidak dipertanggungjawabkan kepada raja, tetapi kepada menteri-menteri yang bertanggung jawab kepada parlemen. Dalam sistem monarki parlementer, raja hanya bersifat simbol pemersatu atau simbol kebanggaan bersama atas nilai-nilai sejarah bangsa yang antara lain dikenal dengan istilah “*Raja tidak dapat berbuat salah*”. [3] *Monarki konstitusi*. Sesungguhnya, monarki konstitusi adalah bentuk lanjutan dari monarki parlementer. Dengan sistem ini, kekuasaan raja telah punya batas; segala sesuatu harus mengikuti ketentuan hukum. Raja hanya boleh berbuat apa yang diperbolehkan oleh hukum.

⁴ Monarki konstitusional adalah bentuk pemerintahan yang kekuasaan rajanya dibatasi oleh ketentuan-ketentuan dan atau undang-undang dasar. Untuk pengertian ini, lihat *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia*, 1989: 590.

⁵ Dalam Q.S. Al. An'aam [6] ayat 132 Allah berfirman: “*Dan masing-masing orang memperoleh derajat (seimbang) dengan apa yang dikerjakannya. Dan Tuhan-Mu tidak lengah dari apa yang mereka kerjakan*”.

⁶ Berbagai sumber menunjukkan bahwa kerajaan Luwu adalah asal mula raja dan kerajaan Bugis. Untuk keterangan tentang genealogi manusia Bugis, dapat dilihat pada L.A. Emanuel, 1949: 11-54; Lontara Gowa hasil transkrip dan terjemahan Maludin Aidid; H.D. Mangemba dalam buku *Kenallah Sulawesi Selatan* (Timun Mas, 1956).

⁷ Lihat Anthon Andi Pangeran, “*Sekilas Latar Belakang Sejarah dan Budaya Luwu*”, dalam Badaruddin Andi Pacunang (ed.) *Tudang Ade' Menelusuri Hari Jadi Luwu*, 1995:81. Lihat juga Andi Zainal Abidin, “*The Emergence of Early Kingdoms in Sulawesi*”, dalam *Persepsi Orang Bugis, Makassar tentang Hukum, Negara, dan Dunia Luar*, Bandung: Alumnus, 1983: 201-218.

Dalam periode ini, raja dianggap dewa yang melaksanakan pemerintahan dengan sistem monarki absolut. Kekuasaan raja dalam periode Lagaligo diungkapkan dalam bahasa Bugis Ware' sebagai berikut:

*“Angikko siyo TomarajaE,
Kira ukkaju ri akko miri
riakkeng teppa
mutappalireng”.*⁸

Terjemahannya:

“Sesungguhnya Engkau raja,
laksana angin, kami rakyat
laksana daun kayu. Ke mana
saja engkau bertiup, ke
sanalah jatuhnya daun-daun
kayu ditiupkan”.

Bentuk kekuasaan pemerintahan dalam ungkapan di atas mengandung maksud, bahwa raja seperti angin yang dapat melakukan semua kehendaknya terhadap rakyat. Bentuk kekuasaan pemerintahan yang demikian berlangsung dalam empat generasi, yaitu: Batara Guru, Batara Lattu, Sawerigading, dan Lagaligo sendiri sebagai literer.

Pada akhir masa pemerintahan Lagaligo terjadi ‘chaos’ yang disebut kitab I Lagaligo sebagai masa *sianrebale* (*homo homoni lupus*). Situasi *sianrebale* berlangsung selama *pitu pariama*⁹. Selama masa *sianrebale* sistem kelembagaan masyarakat Luwu yang disebut *anang* macet. Terjadi kekosongan kekuasaan. Ciri masyarakat adalah anarki, tanpa aspirasi, tanpa adat, tanpa hukum, dan tanpa peradilan. Antara satu kelompok dengan kelompok lainnya saling menerkam.

Kedua, periode *Lontara*, yakni masa pemerintahan raja pasca masa *sianrebale*. Pada periode ini, pengalaman konflik yang berlarut-larut akhirnya menyadarkan masyarakat Luwu akan makin jauhnya mereka dari tujuan kemanusiaan. Masyarakat Luwu kemudian sadar akan perlunya menciptakan perdamaian yang kekal di antara masyarakat kaum

⁸ Lihat, Anonim, *Ungkapan Tradisional Kabupaten Luwu*, Himpunan I, Palopo: Seksi Kebudayaan Kandep Depdikbud Kabupaten Luwu, 1985: 3.

⁹ Ada dua tafsiran tentang *pitu pariama*, yaitu [1] *pitu pariama* berarti tujuh generasi; [2] tujuh puluh tujuh tahun.

(*anang*). Saat itulah menurut naskah *lontara* datang seorang pemimpin bijaksana di Luwu bernama Simpuru ‘siang’¹⁰. Dalam periode pemerintahan Simpuru ‘siang konsep monarki konstitusional diracik untuk mengatasi keadaan *homo homini lupus*. Mungkin sejak saat itulah ditetapkan bahwa suksesi *Pajung* Luwu penggantinya kelak wajib melakukan restrospeksi dengan mengikuti ritus pelantikan di Tana Bangkala¹¹.

Ritus pelantikan *Pajung* Luwu mempunyai beberapa versi. Di antaranya, hasil rekaman D.F. Van Braam Morris (1886)¹² dan tulisan berdasarkan sumber lisan oleh Andi Anthon Pangeran¹³. Catatan Morris memiliki beberapa perbedaan dengan Andi Anthon Pangeran, serta beberapa sumber lisan yang penulis temukan di lapangan¹⁴. Yang paling menonjol bahwa Morris agaknya tidak sedikitpun menyinggung ritus di situs Tana Bangkala. Sementara Andi Anthon Pangeran meskipun menyinggung ritus di situs Tana Bangkala, tapi belum memperlihatkan rekonstruksi utuh, dan seremoni pengukuhan *Pajung* di fitur Mattirowalie belum disinggung. Bahkan ada beberapa tahapan yang cukup berbeda dengan sumber lisan yang berkembang di masyarakat. Oleh karena itu, penjejukan arkeologis di situs pelantikan *Pajung* Tana Bangkala cukup penting. Selain itu, sampai saat ini konsepsi pemerintahan Kerajaan Luwu hampir semua dibangun berdasarkan kajian sejarah dari sumber lisan dan naskah. Sementara kajian ritus pengangkatan *Pajung* Luwu menurut fakta-fakta arkeologis belum dilakukan. Padahal, situs Tana Bangkala bukan hanya bisa menegaskan tahapan prosesi ritus. Lebih dari itu, fitur-fitur Tana Bangkala bisa memperkaya gambaran tentang beberapa konsep pemerintahan Kerajaan Luwu, di antaranya unit politik, posisi politik rakyat, eksistensi kekuasaan *Pajung* dan sebagainya. Aspek-aspek inilah yang akan dikembangkan dalam tulisan ini.

¹⁰ Simpuru siang adalah *Tomanurun* kedua di kerajaan Luwu pada saat chaos untuk memperbaiki keadaan. *Tomanurung* I adalah Batara Guru. Nama raja Simpuru siang mengandung arti pengikat yang kuat, tidak putus-putus; tali yang tak ada ujung dan pangkalnya.

¹¹ Asumsi ini didasarkan pada teori sosial yang dikembangkan oleh Victor Turner (1974; 1982; 1983), bahwa sangat sering keputusan untuk mengadakan ritus dihubungkan dengan krisis dalam hidup sosial di masyarakat. Krisis-krisis diredam kuat oleh ritus. Periksa Y.W. Wartaya Winangun, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner*, 1990: 65.

¹² Muh. Yunus Hafid, *Kerajaan Luwu (Menurut Catatan D.F. Van Braam Morris)*, Ujungpandang : Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, 1992/1993: 42-47.

¹³ Andi Anthon Pangeran, “Upacara ‘Ripasekko Pajung Pulaweng” (Penobatan Pajung Pulaweng), Ujungpandang: Panitia Pelaksana Pagelaran Budaya Luwu, 1993.

¹⁴ Sumber lisan yang diperoleh penulis di daerah kecamatan Bua, Kabupaten Luwu. Di lokasi ini sempat melakukan wawancara dengan Daeng Mallonjo (pemuka Adat Luwu) dan Andi Nyiwi (Salah seorang bangsawan Luwu).

II. SITUS TANA BANGKALA

Ritus pelantikan *Pajung Luwu (King of Luwu)* di masa lalu dilaksanakan pada tempat yang disucikan terlebih dahulu. Tempat yang disucikan dibangun dari tanah, berbentuk bulat. Tanah yang dibuat untuk kepentingan ritus disebut Tana Bangkala. Tana Bangkala artinya tanah yang ditinggikan atau tanah yang disucikan. Menurut Sanusi Daeng Mattata¹⁵, pembuatan Tana Bangkala untuk keperluan ujian fisik dan mental *Opu Ca'ning*¹⁶. Tana Bangkala biasanya dibikin di luar kota¹⁷. Di Palopo¹⁸ (lihat peta, gbr. 1 dan 2) Tana Bangkala terletak di sebelah selatan pusat kota Kerajaan Luwu itu. Jaraknya kurang lebih dua kilometer dari pusat kota, di sana terdapat istana, mesjid, dan alun-alun. Areal situs Tana Bangkala pada awal abad XX hampir semua dijadikan lahan persawahan. Sejak tahun 1980-an, areal persawahan termasuk situs hampir semua diurug kembali untuk kepentingan pembangunan perumahan, perkantoran, dan fasilitas kota lainnya. Desakan pembangunan yang cukup kuat, kini masih menyisakan tiga fitur pokok dan unsur arkeologis pendukung lainnya.

2.1 Fitur Pokok

Pertama, fitur SalekkoE'. Fitur ini berupa gundukan tanah (gambar 3: foto 1). Bentuk bulat, berdiameter 8,5 meter dan tinggi 1 meter. Terdapat 6 (enam) undakan mengelilingi fitur yang berfungsi sebagai tangga. Sekarang, di atas fitur terdapat monumen yang didirikan oleh Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Luwu (foto 2).

Kedua, fitur Pancai. Kata "*pancai*" berasal dari bahasa Luwu kuno yang berarti jadi; jadilah; menjadi. Kata ini mengandung makna keputusan atau kehendak. Sesuai dengan namanya, pada fitur ini Dewan Hadat (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat) mengutarakan kehendak rakyat kepada *Opu Ca'ning*. Bila *Opu Ca'ning* sepakat, maka Dewan Hadat membuat keputusan bahwa *Opu Ca'ning* berhak dilantik menjadi *Pajung* di MattirowaliE.

¹⁵ Sanusi Daeng Mattata, *Luwu dalam Revolusi*, Ujungpandang: Bhakti Baru, 1978, 62

¹⁶ *Opu Ca'ning* adalah gelar bagi putera mahkota Kerajaan Luwu. *Ca'ning* berarti manis digunakan untuk menunjukkan sesuatu yang disukai, yang diinginkan, dikasihi. atau yang memikat hati.

¹⁷ Sanusi Daeng Mattata, *Loc. Cit.*

¹⁸ Palopo menurut sejarahnya mempunyai tiga pengertian, yaitu : [1] Palopo berasal dari kata *Palopo'*, yakni nama sejenis makanan khas masyarakat Luwu yang dibuat dan bahan-bahan beras ketan, gula merah, dan santan kelapa, diramu sedemikian rupa dengan rasa manis dan gurih; [2] Palopo berasal dari kata *Palopo'i* (bahasa Luwu) yang maksudnya *tancapkan* atau *masukkan*. *Palopo'i* adalah Ungkapan yang diucapkan pada saat pemancangan tiang pertama pembangunan Mesjid Tua Palopo:[3] *Palopo* dalam bahasa Galigo berarti *mengatasi*. Untuk hal ini lihat *Monografi Kota Administratif Palopo* (1990: 2) dan M. Irfan Mahmud, "Struktur Kota Palopo Zaman Islam ", *Majalah Ilmiah Lontara*, No.. 1, 1995:93.

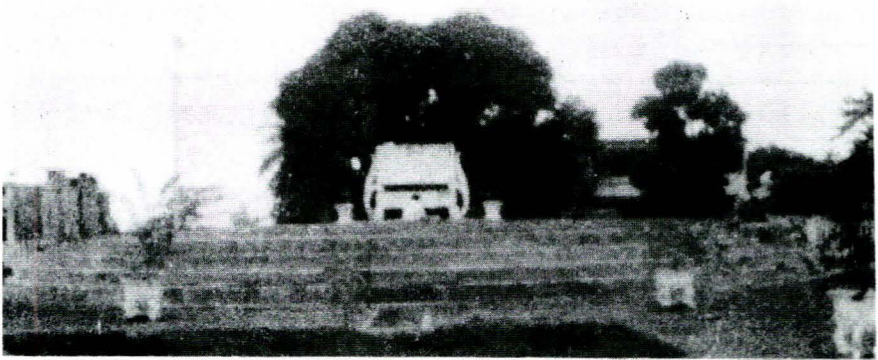


Foto 1. Fitur SalekkoE, tempat pengujian fisik dan mental *Opu Ca'ning* (calon pejuang), selama tujuh hari tujuh malam (foto dari arah barat)

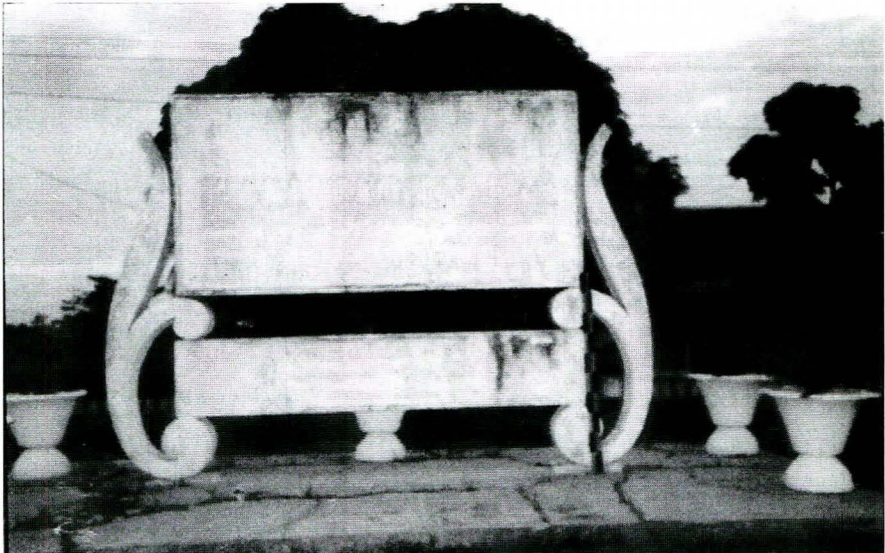
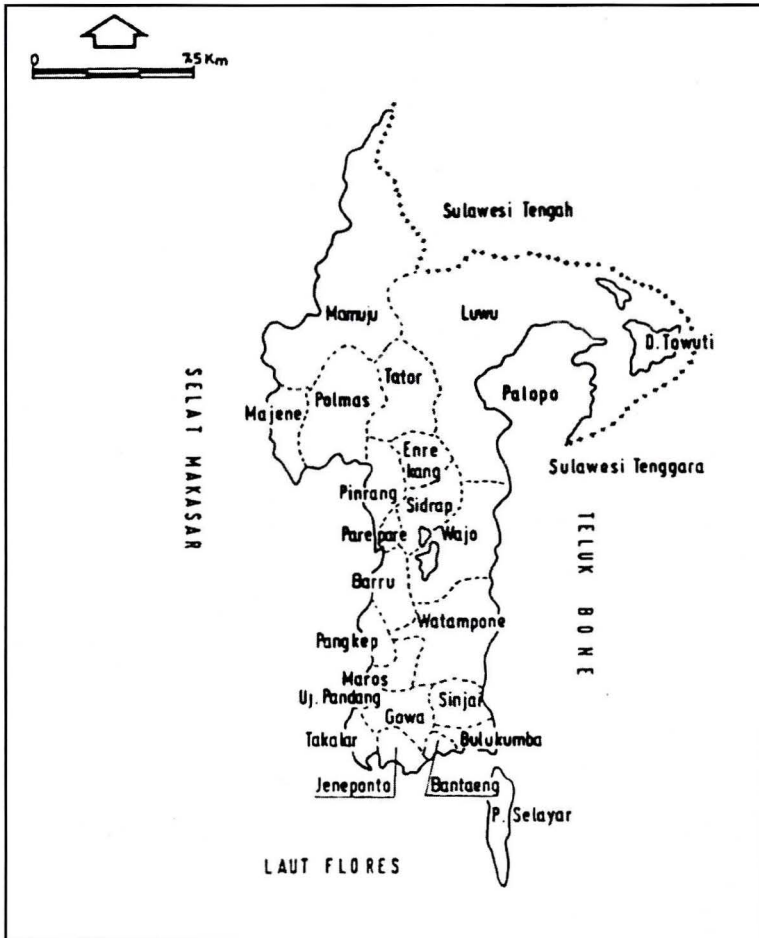
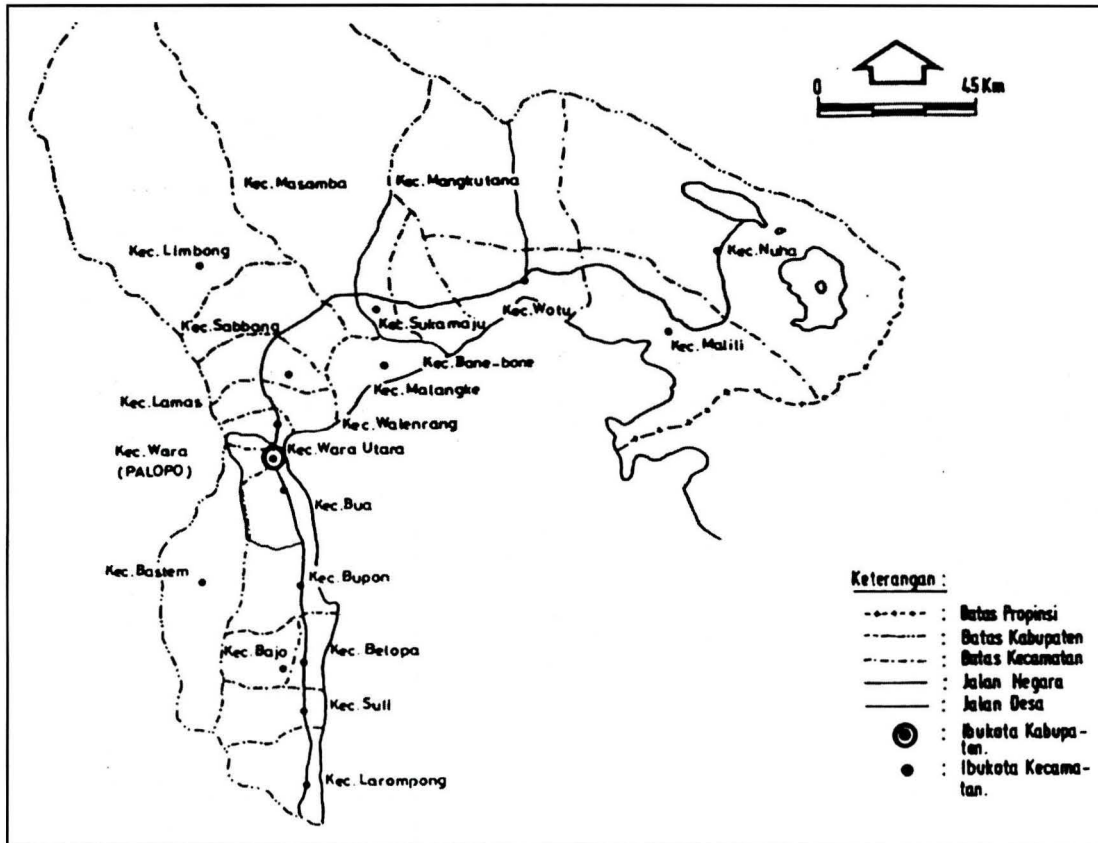


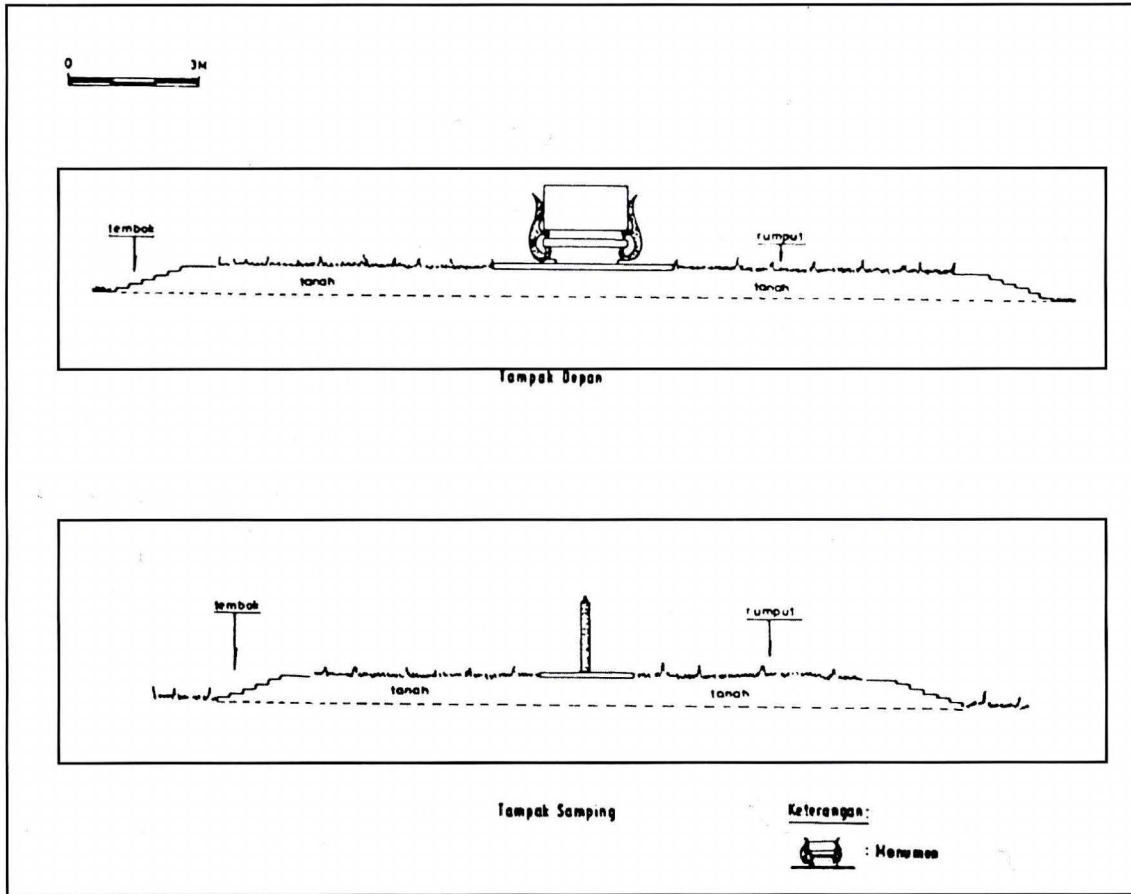
Foto 2. Monumen fitur SalekkoE, dibangun oleh Pemerintah Daerah Tingkat II Luwu (Foto dari arah barat)



Gambar 1. Peta Sulawesi Selatan



Gambar 2. Peta Kabupaten Palopo



Gambar 3. Fitur Salakko E

Fitur Pancai terletak sejajar utara-selatan dengan fitur SalekkoE, yakni terletak 300 meter ke arah Selatan fitur SalekkoE (lihat gambar 4). Fitur Pancai juga merupakan gundukan tanah. Bentuknya mirip fitur SalekkoE¹⁹. Akibat vandalisme, bentuk asli sudah tidak tampak lagi (foto 3).

Ketiga, fitur MattirowaliE (foto monumen, foto 4). MattirowaliE secara bebas dapat diartikan melihat sebelah-menyebelah; adil; seimbang. Fitur MattirowaliE terletak di sebelah barat fitur SalekkoE dan fitur Pancai (Gambar 4 dan 5). Untuk kepentingan upacara pelantikan dan pengukuhan *Pajung* Luwu, di fitur MattirowaliE terdapat unsur pelengkap lainnya.

2.2. Unsur Pelengkap Lainnya

Pertama, *batu tupp*. Menurut sumber lisan²⁰ dan tertulis²¹, pelantikan *Pajung* Luwu dilakukan di atas batu persegi yang terletak tepat di tengah fitur MattirowaliE. Sayang sekali *batu tupp* (batu pijak pelantikan) sudah hilang.

Kedua, *sumur suci*. (lihat gambar 6) Sumur suci terletak 2,4 meter ke arah timur fitur MattirowaliE (lihat gambar 5). Sumur ini menggunakan bahan bata berdiameter 50 centimeter.

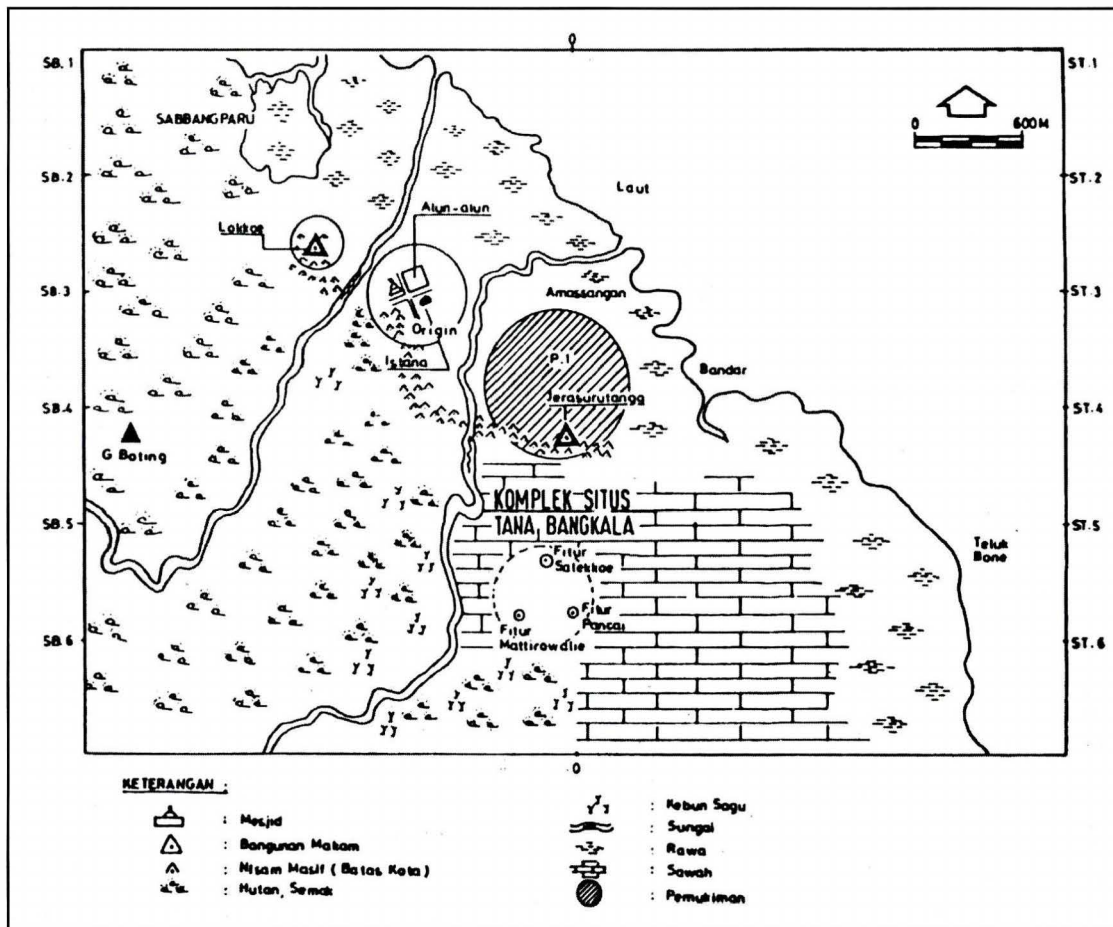
Dalam proses ritus suksesi *Pajung* Luwu, fitur-fitur pokok merupakan kesatuan integral fungsional situs. Antara satu fitur pokok dan fitur lainnya berjarak sama, yakni 300 meter. sehingga membentuk struktur segitiga sama kaki (lihat gambar 4). Masing-masing fitur mengandung dua bobot sekaligus: fungsional dan simbolik. Bobot fungsional berkaitan dengan sejumlah fungsi khusus dalam ritus suksesi. Sementara bobot simbolik sebagai konsekuensi fungsional. Bahwa baik unit fitur atau keseluruhan situs mewakili konsep dan tujuan pemerintahan ditinjau dan jumlah, matriks, posisi geografis, orientasi, bentuk dan sebagainya. Muatan bobot simbolik sebagai suatu kelompok temuan arkeologis yang teratur dihubungkan dengan tiga konsep esensial: artefak, bahasa, dan transformasi²². Artefak yang dimaksud adalah fitur dan tanda dalam rekaman arkeologis, dan terpikirkan dalam hubungan dengan pola kreatifitas (*functionalism*); bahasa adalah bagaimana pengertian dunia yang dikomunikasikan suatu kode makna dalam struktur situs; transformasi adalah pola-pola rumpun temuan arkeologi yang dihasilkan oleh logika.

¹⁹ Andi Anthon Pangeran, 1993, *Op. Cit.* hal. 8.

²⁰ Wawancara dengan S. Daeng Mallonjo (tanggal 25 Juli 1992) dan Andi Anthon Pangeran (30 Juli 1992 s/d 4 Agustus 1992)

²¹ Periksa Andi Anthon Pangeran, 1993, *Loc. Cit.*; Muh. Yunus Hafid, 1992/1993, *Op. Cit.* hal. 44.

²² M. Irfan Mahmud, "Struktur Kota Palopo Abad XVII-XIX Masehi: Studi Arkeologi tentang Pemahaman Eksperiensial dan Cita-Pikiran, Fakultas Sastra Universitas Hasanuddin, 1993, hal. 58.



Gambar 4. Peta Kuno Awal Lahirya Kota

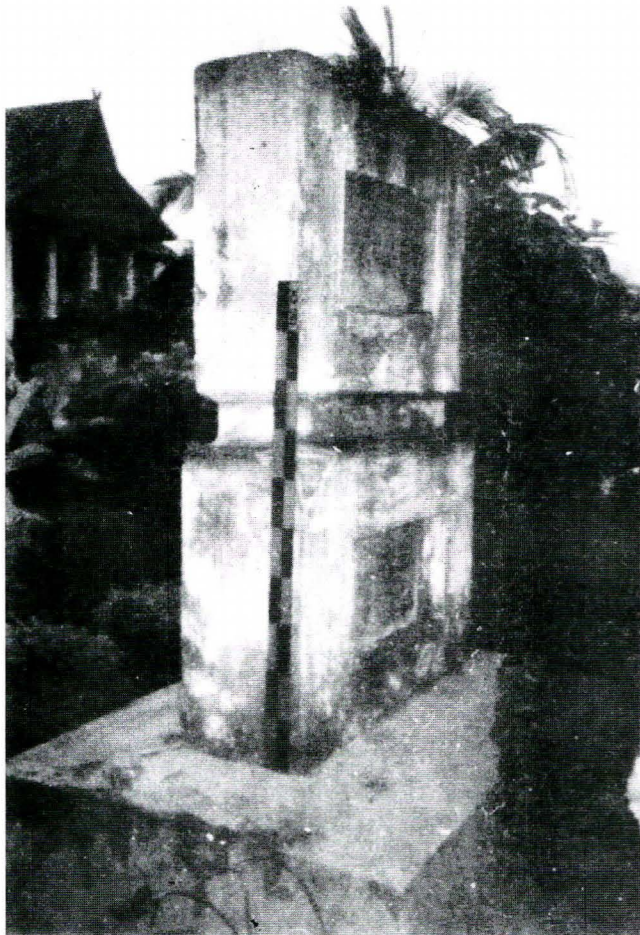


Foto 3. Fitur Pancai, tempat Dewan Hadat rapat dan membuat kontrak sosial dengan *Opu Ca'ning*, serta pos pengamanan Calon *Pajung* dalam semedi di SalekkoE.
(Foto dari arah selatan)

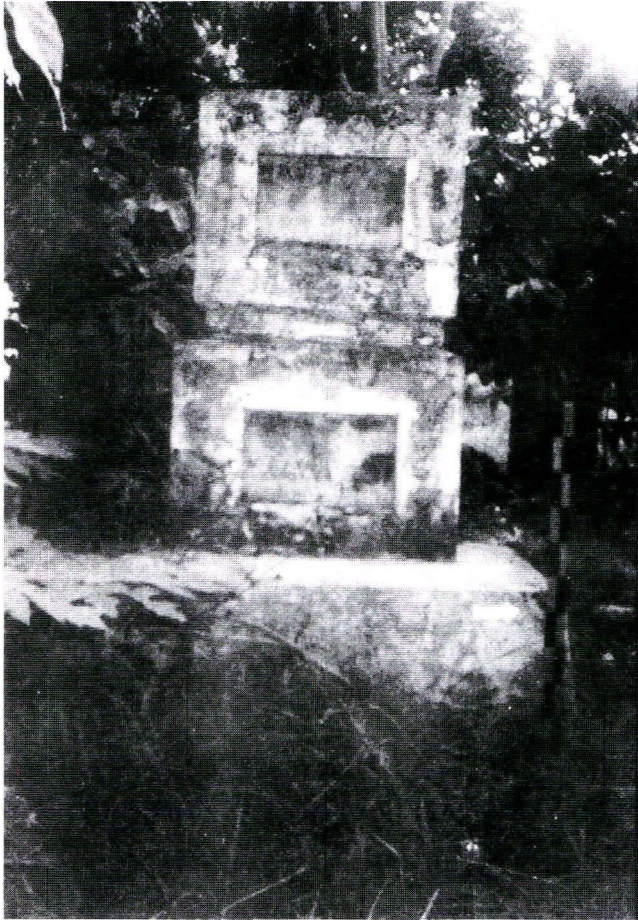


Foto 4. Monumen fitur sumpah jabatan *pajung* Mattirowalie". Terletak di sebelah barat fitur SalekkoE dan fitur Pancai. Fitur Mattirowalie sudah sangat rusak, rata dengan permukaan tanah lainnya (foto dari arah barat)



Foto 5. Sumur suci di kompleks fitur MattirowaliE. Tampak sampah yang ditimbun penduduk yang bermukim di sekitar situs

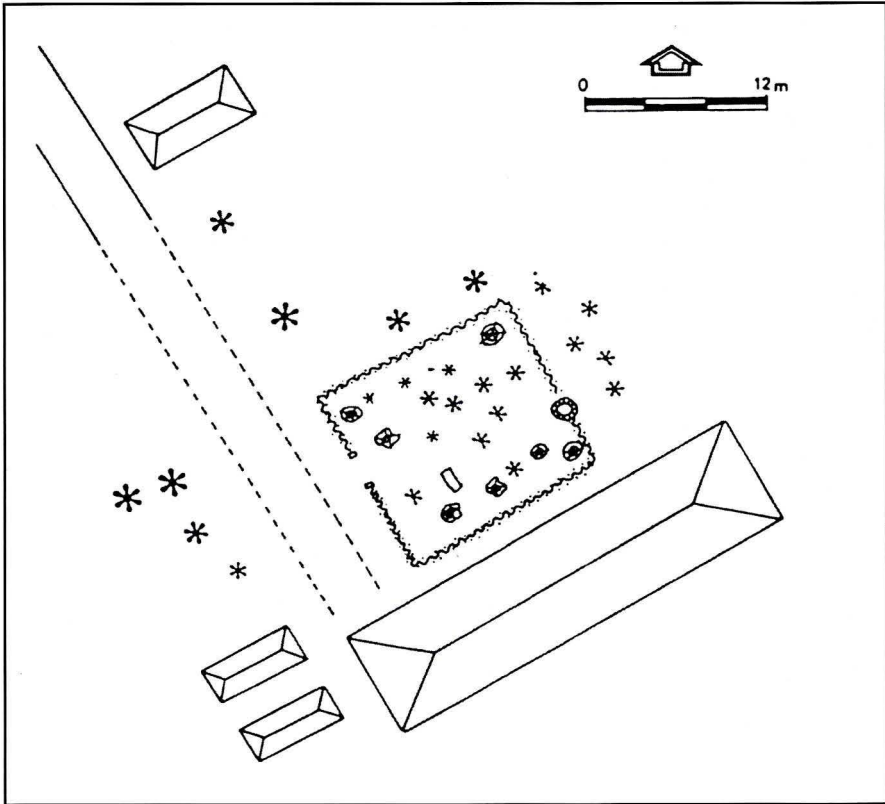
III. FUNGSI FITUR DALAM RITUS²³

Setiap perubahan - kata Victor Turner - membutuhkan ritus²⁴. Demikian pula perubahan status *Opu Ca'ning* untuk menjadi *Pajung* yang diwadahi dengan ritus di Tana Bangkala menunjukkan kepentingan tersebut. Tampaknya, media ritus dibutuhkan dalam suksesi *Pajung* karena peralihan dari *Opu Ca'ning* ke *Pajung* merupakan perubahan radikal; dari peran dan kewajiban individual menjadi peran dan kewajiban moral yang lebih tinggi dan luas. Dengan ritus diharapkan dapat mengiringi perubahan batin-moral dan alam pikiran *Opu Ca'ning*.

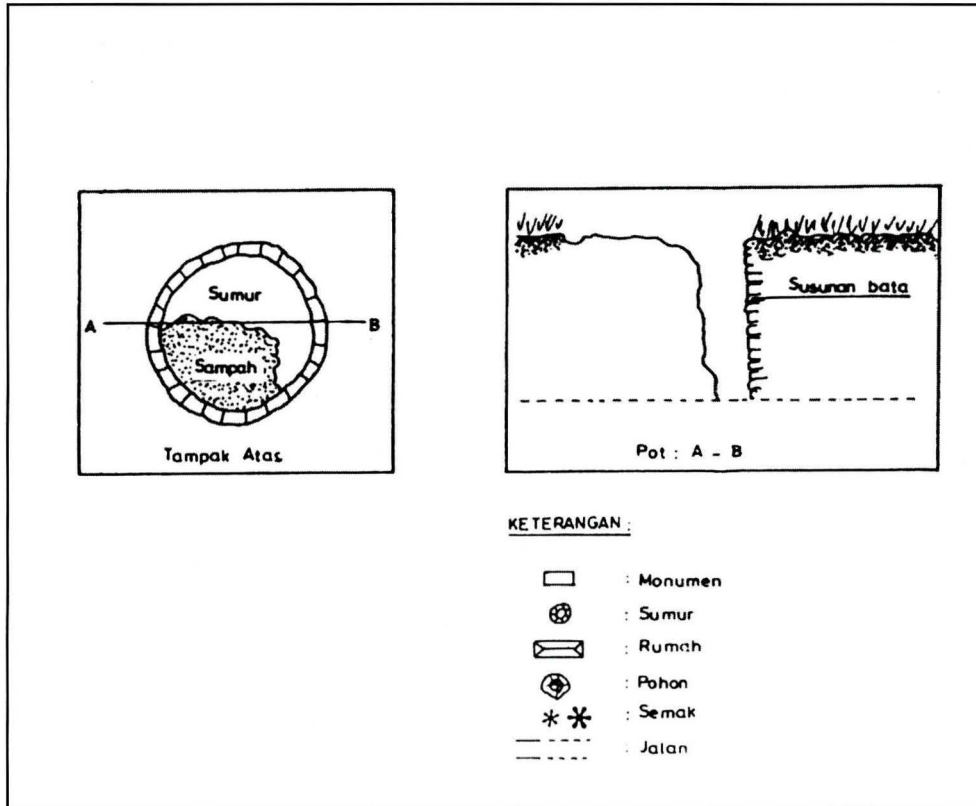
Usaha mengiringi perubahan status *Opu Canning* tampak dari proses ritus yang berlangsung di atas fitur. Ada tiga prosesi ritus yang menunjukkan fungsi fitur dalam ritus di Tana Bangkala. Pertama, di fitur SalekkoE *Opu Ca'ning* dipisahkan dari keadaan sehari-harinya.

²³ Deskripsi ritus suksesi sebagian besar diperoleh penulis dari sumber lisan, yakni wawancara dengan S. Daeng Mallonjo (pemuka masyarakat Luwu), Andi Anthon Pangeran (Budayawan dan keturunan raja Luwu), Haeruddin (Kepala Seksi Kebudayaan Depdikbud Kabupaten Luwu), dan Anas Padda. Wawancara dilakukan dalam bulan Juli 1992 sampai Oktober 1992.

²⁴ Y.W. Wartaya Winangun. *Op. Cit.*, hal. 67.



Gambar 5. Lokasi Fitur Sumpah Jabatan Pajung



Gambar 6. Fitur Sumur di MattirowaliE

Untuk tujuan itu, fitur SalekkoE berfungsi sebagai tempat *Opu Ca'ning* bersemedi. Ia ditempa fisik dan mentalnya sebagai kandidat *Pajung* Luwu. Saat bersemedi, *Opu Ca'ning* diberi pakaian yang menyerupai pakaian nenek moyangnya (*Tomanurung*). Sehelai kain dibelitkan keliling pinggang dan ditarik lurus di antara dua kaki. Dengan pakaian sederhana ini *Opu Ca'ning* menghadapi tantangan alam terbuka, seperti panas, dingin, dan kondisi alam lainnya di SalekkoE selama tujuh hari tujuh malam²⁵. Berbaring dengan menggunakan buah kelapa sebagai bantal, dan wajib berpuasa. Semedi di SalekkoE ini dilaksanakan atas prinsip: pemerintah adalah pengayom rakyat, seperti diabadikan pada monumen yang dibangun oleh pemerintah daerah Kabupaten Dati II Luwu di atas fitur.

Dalam tulisan B.F. Matthes²⁶ yang menceriterakan mengenai *bissu-bissu*²⁷ digambarkan bahwa selama *Opu Ca'ning* menjalankan masa ujian dan semadi, para *bissu* bernyanyi dan menari. Secara bergantian dibacakan pula *Latowa*. *Latowa* adalah kitab *lontara* yang berisi undang-undang pribumi dan aturan adat istiadat.

Kedua, di fitur Pancai, *Opu Ca'ning* memasuki tahapan transisi (liminal). Setelah masa ujian fisik dan semedi di SalekkoE berakhir, maka *Opu Ca'ning* dibimbing oleh *sanro bissu* menuju ke fitur Pancai yang berbentuk gundukan tanah, mirip dengan fitur SalekkoE. Setelah tiba di Pancai, *Opu Canning* dibawa berkeliling tiga kali sebelum diajak naik “Tana Bangkala” fitur Pancai oleh Pua’ Surutanga.

Fungsi fitur Pancai adalah tempat Dewan Hadat rapat. Pada fitur ini Dewan Hadat mengutarakan kehendak (aspirasi) rakyat kepada *Opu Ca'ning*. Dewan Hadat diwakili Opu Anre Guru Ana Arung mengutarakan kehendak rakyat, sebagai berikut:

“*Engkalingai datu:*

Puang teng mabbawang pawang, ata teng ribawang pawang

Puang teng mattenni sulo, ata teng ri attenni sulo

Puang mappattutu, ata ri pattutu

Puang teng maleo-leo, ata teng macaleo-leo

Puang teng goroliu, ata teng liusepe

Puang maddampeng, ata ri addampengeng”²⁸.

²⁵ Sanusi Daeng Mattata, *Loc. Cit.*

²⁶ Lihat Drs. Muh. Yunus Hafid (ed.), dalam *Kerajaan Luwu [Menurut Catatan D.F. Van Braam Morris]*, Ujungpandang: Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Balai Kajian dan Nilai Tradisional, 1992/1993, hal. 43.

²⁷ *Bissu* adalah pendeta pribumi dan pendeta wanita dari Sulawesi.

²⁸ Andi Anthon Pangeran, *Op. Cit.*, hal. 9.

Maksudnya:

Dengarlah raja : Raja tidak boleh sewenang-wenang, dan rakyat tidak dapat disewenang-wenangi.

Raja tidak memegang rakyat seperti memegang obor, dan rakyat tidak dipegang seperti obor.

Raja mendengar aspirasi rakyatnya, dan rakyat harus menjelaskan aspirasinya.

Raja tidak boleh menyalahgunakan wewenang, dan rakyat tidak boleh melalaikan kewajibannya.

Raja tidak boleh bertindak di luar aturan, dan rakyat tidak menyalahi aturan.

Raja mengampuni, dan rakyat diampuni.

Bila *Opu Ca'ning* menyetujui pernyataan rakyat di atas, maka Dewan Hadat membuat keputusan dan menetapkannya menjadi *Pajung* Luwu yang baru. Selanjutnya, *Opu Pabbicara*²⁹ menyerahkan payung kebesaran yang diterima dengan syarat dari seorang aparat bergelar “Pancai” yang didatangkan dari Manjapai³⁰ sebagai simbol berhak dilantik menjadi *Pajung* di MattirowaliE³¹. Jadi, fungsi fitur Pancai ada dua, yaitu: [1] tempat Dewan Hadat bersidang dan mengutarakan kehendak rakyat serta mengambil keputusan mengangkat *Pajung* Luwu; [2] pos pengawasan selama *Opu Canning* bersemedi di SalekkoE.

Ketiga, di fitur MattirowaliE, calon *Pajung* memasuki tahapan upaya pengintegrasian kembali (*re-integration*). Setelah menerima payung kebesaran, *Pajung* yang baru, diantar Dewan Hadat dan pengawal kerajaan ke fitur MattirowaliE. Sepanjang jalan, *Pajung* yang baru dihadang oleh pasukan lain. Serangan yang dialami dalam perjalanan menuju ke MattirowaliE menggambarkan tantangan fisik, psikis dan perjuangan sebelum disucikan, dilantik, dan dikukuhkan dengan sumpah jabatan.

Fungsi fitur MattirowaliE adalah tempat penyucian, pelantikan dan pengukuhan *Opu Ca'ning* menjadi *Pajung* Luwu dengan sumpah jabatan. *Pajung* disucikan dengan air yang diambil dari sumur suci MattirowaliE. Lalu, ia bersumpah untuk mengukuhkan persatuan kerajaan. Untuk pengambilan sumpah *Opu Patunru* duduk berhadap-hadapan dengan *Pajung* di depan *batu tupp*u (batu pijak sumpah). Kemudian mereka berdua menekan kakinya di atas *batu tupp*u, sambil *Opu Patunru* dengan tangan kirinya memegang jari kiri raja³².

²⁹ *Opu Pabbicara* adalah pejabat yang bertugas sebagai juru bicara Kerajaan Luwu.

³⁰ Daerah ini sekarang terletak di Desa Majapahit, Kecamatan Palenne, Kabupaten Kolaka, Propinsi Sulawesi Tenggara.

³¹ Muh. Yunus Hafid, *Op. Cit.*, hal. 44.

³² Periksa deskripsi Van Braam Morris, dalam Muh. Yunus Hafid, *Ibid.*, hal. 42-47

Batu tupp adalah simbol undang-undang dan adat negeri yang oleh raja dan Opu Patunru dianggap sebagai wakil pertama dan rakyat. Justru itu, *Pajung* harus berpijak pada *batu tupp* sebagai simbol tekad akan tetap berpijak pada harapan yang dikehendaki rakyat berdasarkan undang-undang dan adat negeri, bahkan dengan pedang sekalipun.

Prosesi ritus di atas memperlihatkan bahwa upacara bukan sekedar formalitas, melainkan mengandung pengayaan politik sesuai azas dan tujuan kerajaan. Dalam rancang bangun fitur situs Tana Bangkala yang sejalan dengan tahapan ritus yang berlangsung di atasnya, termuat konsep “negara” monarki konstitusional Luwu. Meskipun karena keterbatasan data arkeologis, dalam bahasan ini hanya dimungkinkan mengungkap beberapa aspek dari konsep monarki konstitusional Kerajaan Luwu.

IV. KONSEP MONARKI KONSTITUSIONAL LUWU

Pembahasan tentang ‘negara’ pada pokoknya menyangkut tiga aspek: unit-unit politik (kelas-kelas sosial), tujuan negara, serta hubungan negara (raja) dan rakyat³³. Untuk membahas konsep tersebut dalam pembahasan ini ada tiga aspek arkeologis yang mungkin saling menjelaskan. Pertama, jumlah fitur. Kedua, ‘lokus’ fitur. Ketiga, fungsi fitur dalam ritus. Pembahasan dihubungkan dengan prosesi ritus di masa lalu menurut catatan sejarah dan sumber lisan yang berkembang di masyarakat.

4.1. Unit Politik

Jumlah fitur di situs Tana Bangkala menunjukkan bahwa ada tiga unit politik dalam konsep monarki konstitusional Kerajaan Luwu. Pertama, bangsawan (*anak arung*). *Anak arung* mempunyai kedudukan yang sangat dihormati. Mereka dianggap keturunan Batara Guru. Batara Guru adalah dewa-raja yang menurut sumber *lontara* turun dari langit di Ussu, kecamatan Malili sekarang (sebelah utara Palopo). Di situs Tana Bangkala, fitur SalekkoE di sebelah “utara” menjadi representasi ‘lokus’ daerah asal mula nenek moyang kelompok ini.

Kedua, rakyat (*tomaradeka*). Kelompok masyarakat ini direpresentasikan Dewan Hadat dalam tata pemerintahan kerajaan. Posisi fitur Pancai di sebelah Selatan secara kosmologis mewakili kelompok ini. Studi tata ruang kosmologi kota Palopo membuktikan bahwa ideologi ruang masyarakat Luwu menempatkan “selatan” sebagai unit ruang geografis “rakyat” (duniawi; profan)³⁴. Ideologi ruang itu secara praksis menempatkan bagian “selatan”

³³ M. Rusli Karim, “Evolusi Perkembangan Peranan Negara”. *Analisis CSIS*, No.2 1995, hal 90.

³⁴ Lihat M. Irfan Mahmud, 1993, *Op. Cit.*, hal. 117-121.

kota Palopo dianggap sebagai sumber potensi utama bagi kekuasaan, berupa tenaga dan hasil pertanian.

Ketiga, raja (*pajung*). Ia adalah kepala pemerintahan Kerajaan Luwu. Gelar *pajung* diberikan kepada seorang *datu* (*Opu Ca'ning*) yang sudah cukup berpengalaman dan telah menempuh proses ujian berat di fitur SalekkoE dan fitur Pancai, serta dikukuhkan di fitur MattirowaliE. Kedudukan fitur MattirowaliE di sebelah “barat” fitur SalekkoE dan fitur Pancai menegaskan bahwa *Pajung* dipandang sebagai wakil dunia atas (*Botinglangi*).

Jadi, dalam pemerintahan monarki konstitusional Kerajaan Luwu hanya ada tiga unit politik yang berpengaruh, yaitu: sistem keluarga istana (*the royal family system*) dan rakyat (*the commoners*) yang secara konstitusi diwakili *Ade' Seppulodua*. Sistem pertama adalah dimensi monarki yang tak dapat dipisahkan dari alam mitologi *Tomanurung*. Sedangkan sistem kedua adalah dimensi tradisi (*ade'*) dan hukum (*panngadareng*). Kedua sistem ini dipayungi unit ketiga, yakni *Pajung*. Ia adalah pengemban tanggung jawab pelaksanaan tujuan ‘negara’.

4.2. Tujuan ‘Negara’ : Kerakyatan

Tujuan ‘negara’ dapat tercermin dari prosesi perubahan status *Opu Ca'ning*, sekaligus pembinaan kepribadian *Pajung* di situs Tana Bangkala. Ritus tersebut melalui prosesi di tiga fitur. Rangkaian prosesinya menegaskan prinsip kerakyatan.

Prosesi dimulai dengan tahap *reparasi diri* melalui semedi di SalekkoE. Semedi dilakukan sebagai upaya penyucian diri, dipisahkan dari masyarakat sehari-harinya (alam profan) untuk menuju ke dalam tatanan pribadi suci dengan moralitas tinggi. Prosesi yang menunjukkan pemisahan subyek (*Opu Ca'ning*) untuk kepentingan tersebut tampak dalam beberapa hal. Misalnya, *Opu Ca'ning* disyaratkan melakukan semedi di atas fitur SalekkoE. Di atas SalekkoE yang dipersonifikasikan dunia (*ale kawa*), *Opu Ca'ning* disiapkan hati dan budinya agar siap mewarisi moral leluhurnya, *Tomanurung*. (Lihat bagian III). Tujuannya adalah agar *Opu-Canning* siap memasuki tahap berikutnya, yakni komunalitas.

Setelah itu, *Pajung* diorientasikan ke fitur Pancai. Perjalanan *Opu Ca'ning* ke arah selatan fitur Pancai menunjukkan usaha memasukkan kandidat *Pajung* ini ke dunia rakyat. Di Pancai menghadapi suasana komunalitas. Yakni, dunia yang sama sekali tidak mengenal pembedaan kasta; sungguh-sungguh menyatu dalam suasana rakyat dengan rambu rambu tradisi (*ade'*) dan hukum (*panngadareng*). Prosesi di Pancai sekaligus menunjukkan

pentingnya eksistensi rakyat dalam monarki konstitusional Kerajaan Luwu. Pada prinsipnya, di tangan rakyatlah keputusan paling hakiki. Dalam naskah *lontara* disebutkan:

“*Rusa ‘ taro datu (pajung), tenrusa taro ade ‘ ;
rusa ‘ taro ade ‘ , tenrusa ‘ taro anang; rusa ‘
taro anang, tenrusa ‘ taro tomaegae ‘*”

Artinya:

Pendapat raja dapat dibatalkan atas pendapat Dewan Hadat; pendapat Dewan Hadat dapat dibatalkan atas pendapat tokoh Masyarakat; tetapi pendapat rakyat tidak dapat dibatalkan”.³⁵

Oleh karena itu, di Pancai *Opu Ca’ning* dimasukkan ke dalam suatu keadaan yang lain dari dunia kesehariannya. Dia mengalami keadaan tidak terbedakan. Ia diintegrasikan dalam komunalitas. Posisi sekuler yang dimiliki hilang sama sekali. Dia keluar dari dunia sosial sehari-hari sebagai bangsawan, yang oleh suatu aturan harus tunduk pada rakyat (diwakili Dewan Hadat). Tahap formatif ini menempatkan otoritas tertinggi pada publik (rakyat). Dengan kata lain, rakyat yang semula berada di bawah, saat itu berada di atas. Dalam hal ini maksud prosesi di fitur Pancai adalah agar *Pajung* kelak dapat memahami bahwa “yang tertinggi tidak mungkin ada tanpa yang rendah, dan orang yang tinggi harus mengalami seperti apa yang rendah”. Dalam tahap formalitas inilah, *Opu Ca’ning* mulai diperhadapkan dengan nilai-nilai kedaulatan rakyat.

Bila *Opu Canning* bisa dan rela melalui tahap ini, maka Dewan Hadat sebagai representasi rakyat dapat menegaskan bahwa *Opu Ca’ning* telah memenuhi syarat diintegrasikan kembali (*re-agregation*) dengan kehidupan kemasyarakatan (negara) dalam kedudukan sebagai *Pajung*. Syarat yang dimaksud adalah telah mengalami penyadaran diri (lewat semedi di fitur SalekkoE) dan masa refleksi formatif lewat prosesi di fitur Pancai.

4.3. Hubungan Egalitarian

Kedudukan sejajar antara fitur SalekkoE dan fitur Pancai merefleksikan suatu pandangan *egalitarian*. Dalam pandangan ini hubungan bangsawan (elite) sama derajatnya dengan

³⁵ M. Irfan Mahmud, “Kedaulatan Rakyat dalam Perspektif Lontara”, *Harian Umum Republika* tanggal 15 Agustus 1998, hal. 6.

rakyat dalam “negara”. Hal ini merupakan refleksi prinsip “*massenrupai ri sellempugna-E*”. Artinya, semuanya diperlakukan menurut hukum yang berlaku³⁶. Sementara kedudukan fitur MattirowaliE sebagai ‘lokus’ tersendiri di sebelah Barat (lihat skema situs Tana Bangkala) memperlihatkan posisi *Pajung* yang dipandang sebagai pengayom berlandaskan *ade* ‘ dan *panngadareng*.

Dalam posisinya sebagai pengayom, *Pajung* harus menjaga sifat *maddara takku*’. *Maddara takku*’ bermakna batin putih bersih: tidak punya kelompok klik politik. Untuk mencapai kedudukan *maddara takku*, *Pajung* diberi tiga pengalaman. Pertama, pengalaman mitis-monarkis. Pengalaman mitis-monarkis diperoleh lewat semedi yang dilakukan *datu* di fitur SalekkoE. Semedi merupakan usaha untuk *maddarrenge akka raki na ri Sabbamparu*, yakni mengikuti perintah di Sabbamparu³⁷. Perintah itu berasal dari We Tenriabeng (mertua Sawerigading), katanya:

“*Kuwa adanna We Tenriabeng, kuma
towa lureng lolangeng, nadapi tona .,
.....lesikuwa-E, assappariwi, manna
ngalemu, ana’ karung maddarenge,
watallo lengeng, mabbicara-E*”.

Artinya:

Demikian ucapan We Tenriabeng, nanti aku sudah tua memimpin negeri ..., adakan kenangan kembali (retrospeksi) pada dirimu kalian anak-anak istana, para pemuka masyarakat yang menjadi hakim negeri.³⁸

Retrospeksi di SalekkoE diharapkan dapat menumbuhkan sikap hormat terhadap nenek moyang yang berasal dari “utara”. Justru itu, ‘lokus’ utara dipandang sebagai *riajanne ri tana tekko*, sebelah utara sebagai daerah suci³⁹. Selain itu, lewat prosesi di SalekkoE *Pajung* diharapkan dapat menangkap suasana batin dan moral sebagai perangkat wewenang

³⁶ Abu Bakar Punangi, “Kutipan dari Percakapan Antara La Mannessa To-Akkarangeng (La Baso) dari Soppeng dengan To-Ciung Macca-E ri Luwu pada Abad XVI”, dalam *Bingkisan*, No. II, Desember 1985, hal. 11

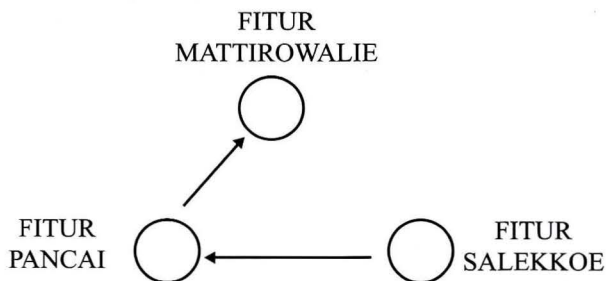
³⁷ M. Irfan Mahmud, 1993, *Op.Cit.*, hal. 152.

³⁸ Lihat, M. Johan Nyompa, “Menelusuri Jejak I Lagaligo”. Laporan Penelitian Lapangan Teks Klasik tingkat Doktoral Fakultas Adab IAIN Alauddin Ujungpandang. Ujungpandang: Tanpa Penerbit, 1985:44.

³⁹ M. Irfan Mahmud, *Op.Cit.*, hal. 116.

kharismatik. Jadi, SalekkoE adalah tempat suasana batin leluhur membentuk kekuatan moral. Oleh karena itu, 'lokus' SalekkoE secara geografis setara kedudukannya dengan *Sabbangparu*, yakni klauster makam raja Luwu "LokkoE" di sebelah utara pusat kota. *Sabbangparu* sendiri dalam pandangan masyarakat Luwu disebut *Sabbangparu lipuri ongku*, daerah khusus kerajaan atau warisan kerajaan⁴⁰.

Kedua, pengalaman sosial-kontitusional. Perjalanan *Opu Ca'ning* dari SalekkoE ke Pancai adalah refleksi perjalanan Batara Guru (*Tomanurung I*) dari dunia atas (*botinglangi*) ke bumi (*ale kawa*)⁴¹ untuk menegaskan ko-eksistensi dengan semua komponen kerajaan dalam sidang Dewan Hadat. Tujuan prosesi ini adalah agar *Pajung* dapat memahami kedudukannya sebagai pemimpin moral rakyat. Dewan Hadat di Pancai sesungguhnya sebagai komponen penegas konstitusi bahwa "*adat sama dengan syarat-syarat bagi kehidupan manusia Jikalau adat dilanggar berarti melanggar kehidupan manusia*"⁴²..



Ketiga, wewenang dan legitimasi politik. Di MattirowaliE secara sah seorang *Pajung* dianggap telah selesai melakukan restrospeksi. Dengan demikian, *Pajung* dipandang sudah mendalam penghayatan dan pengertiannya tentang sejarah leluhur, suasana batin-moral, dan *panngadareng* (hukum). Dalam kedudukan sebagai pemerintah, kewenangan *Pajung* bersifat MattirowaliE. Sifat "mattirowaliE" *Pajung* terefleksikan dari kedudukan fitur MattirowaliE yang berada pada posisi integratif di situs Tana Bangkala seperti tampak pada skema di bawah.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, hal. 115.

⁴¹ Cerita tentang Turunnya *Tomanurung* ke bumi bisa dilihat dalam karya Kern, *ILAGALIGO*, Cet. 1, Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press, 1989, hal. 1- 60.

⁴² Rahmani Rahim, *Nilai-Nilai Utama kebudayaan Bugis*, Cet.1. Ujungpandang LEPHAS,1985: 124

'Lokus' fitur MattirowaliE sebagaimana tergambar pada skema situs Tanah Bangkala di atas merefleksikan pandangan bahwa kedudukan *Pajung* harus bersifat *mattirowaliE* (adil dan bijaksana). Ini berarti pada posisi sebagai pemerintahan yang bertendensi pengayom, *Pajung* harus dapat mempertimbangkan dua sisi pandangan. Pertama, sisi utara (*SalekkoE*) yang berkenaan dengan sejarah leluhur dan sifat kedewaan. Kedua, sisi selatan (*Pancai*) yang berkenaan dengan *panngadareng* (hukum; tradisi) dan kepentingan riil rakyat. Oleh karena itu, seorang *Pajung* harus dapat mengayomi dan melaksanakan pemerintahan yang tetap menjaga keseimbangan sejarah dengan wewenang kharismatik tradisional dan legitimasi rasional-legal (konstitusi)⁴³.

Dengan demikian, eksistensi *Pajung* dihormati, sekaligus dibatasi. Pada satu pihak, *Pajung* dihormati karena wewenang yang diperoleh sebagai hak-hak sejarah yang diwariskan leluhur (Batara Guru). Karenanya, pewarisan batin-moral lewat semedi di SalekkoE berada dalam kerangka pewarisan tersebut. Sementara pada pihak lain legitimasi pemerintahan *Pajung* hanya terjadi bila konstitusi dan rakyat mengamanatkannya lewat Dewan Hadat di Pancai. Dengan perbedaan sumber wewenang dan legitimasi diharapkan *Pajung* dapat tetap menjaga hubungan yang egalitarian.

V. PENUTUP

Adanya tiga fitur prosesi dalam pelantikan *Pajung* di situs Tana Bangkala menegaskan kembali secara arkeologis teori Van Gennep tentang *rites de passage*. Menurut Van Gennep ritus transisi yang mengiringi perubahan status sosial ditandai dengan tiga fase, yaitu pemisahan, liminal, dan 'agregation'; atau disebut pula tahap penyucian, komunalitas, dan integrasi.⁴⁴

Prosesi ritus di situs Tana Bangkala pada dasarnya mempunyai fungsi mendamaikan dua prinsip yang saling bertentangan dalam riil politik suatu komunitas "negara" klasik: *dunia mitis* melalui prosesi di fitur SalekkoE dan *realitas sosial politik* dengan kontrak sosial di fitur Pancai antara calon *Pajung* dengan Dewan Hadat. Tujuannya adalah membentuk kepribadian pemimpin (*Pajung*) sebagai sosok integralis-moral (*maddara takku*).

Prosesi ritus yang menjelaskan hubungan antara fitur merefleksikan gagasan egaliter, yakni persamaan antara semua pihak di dalam "negara". Hal ini tampak dalam ritus ketika *Opu Ca'ning* sebagai kandidat *Pajung* harus melakukan tawar-menawar politik dengan rakyat.

⁴³ Titi Surti Nastiti, *Op. Cit.*, hal. 29.

⁴⁴ Y.W. Wartaya, *Masyarakat Bebas Struktur: Liminalitas dan Komunitas Menurut Victor Turner*, Yogyakarta 1990: 34.

Dalam konsep monarki konstitusional, meskipun wewenang kekuasaan masih turun temurun dan terpusat pada satu orang (ciri monarki), namun tampak bahwa legitimasi pemerintahan *Pajung* hanya ada bila sejalan dengan konstitusi (*panngadareng*) serta mendengarkan suara rakyat. Oleh karena itu, dapat dikatakan fitur SalekkoE dan Pancai merupakan elemen komplementer bagi pemerintahan *Pajung*. Prosesi di fitur *SalekkoE* untuk memperoleh wewenang kekuasaan. Sementara seremoni di Pancai untuk mendapat legitimasi sebagai *Pajung*. Jadi monarki konstitusional adalah demokrasi semu (*psedo democracy*), karena sistem pemerintahan mendapat wewenang karena hak-hak sejarah, tetapi tetap legitimasi ada pada rakyat dengan bingkai kontrol sistem formal legalistik.

Tampaknya bingkai formal legalistik dalam tataran pengertian di atas masih perlu diperkaya. Misalnya, sejauhmana pengaruh Islam dalam karakter egalitarian sistem pemerintahan monarki konstitusional Kerajaan Luwu masih menjadi soal yang belum terungkap. Tentu saja karena Luwu adalah *The Great of Bugis*, maka penelitian lebih luas pada beberapa situs pelantikan raja-raja Bugis dan Makassar yang sejaman dan punya karakter budaya yang seirama bisa memberi pendalaman tentang topik ini.

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NOTES ON ROCK PAINTINGS IN INDONESIA

E. A. Kosasih

I. INTRODUCTION

During the later stage of hunting and food gathering, Indonesia has developed a condition in which the people lived a 'sedentary' life, dwelling in caves and rockshelters while exploiting the environment for their food (Soejono, et.al., 1984 b). In this stage an activity which is not present in the previous period had developed, painting on the walls of caves and shelters. The concept of religion also took form, among others manifested in the worship, towards the spirit of their ancestors and the treatment of a deceased member of the family that is by burying the deceased and furnishing it with burial/funeral goods consisting of tools and adornments made of stone, bone and mollusc shell (Heekeren, 1952; Soejono, 1963; Glover, 1976).

Next to living in caves, there were also people settling on lake sides or riverbanks or on the sea shores. As evidence we may mention food remains such as animal bones, fish grates, mollusc shell, remains of firing and other activities. In the heaps of food remains one can often find animal bones and various kinds of artifacts (Bellwood, 1980). Another activity that had been regarded very significant, was the domestication of certain kinds of animals like dogs and fowl, and a simple kind of agriculture (Kosasih, 1978, 1982).

Various results of researches indicated that next to rock painting, the cave dwellers also practised the burying of the dead and sprinkle red ochre over the body (Kosasih, 1996).

This kind of religion of the ancient communities are observable in the various occasions that relate to funerary rites or worship, as was found in the caves of Sampung (Es, 1929) and Sodong, East Java, and the shell-middens in the North Sumatra area. Red ochre was regarded as having the red colour of blood, with the expectation that the soul of the deceased will continue life in the world of the dead (ibid, 1996a). This colour, like black and white have been used for their rock-paintings.

II. FUNCTION AND MEANING OF ROCK PAINTINGS

One of the interesting aspects relating to the problem of function and meaning of the paintings was the fact that some were found in burial sites, among others found around Lake Sentani (sites of Gumaimit and Pinfelu) and the Gulf of Berau, Irian Jaya (Soejono, et. al., 1984 b). The motifs for the paintings were generally abstract, in the shape of curved lines, spirals, and reptile-motifs. Based on Roders observations towards these paintings, for example those from the Gulf of Berau, they can be classified according the colour and

style. The colours comprised black and white, arranged in a sequence conform to their religious system (Roder assumed that red is the oldest compared to black, whereas white is the youngest of the three). The three colours, were some times found super imposing each other, first red, followed by black and finally white in a different motif (Roder, 1959).

In the Dudumunir cave, on the island of Arguni, (Irian Jaya) is found a painting of a boat and humans with legs astraddle (*hocker-bestattung*). In the cave was also found a wooden coffin put on a shelf with legs (*ibid*, 1984) besides some graves in disarray. The funeral goods were put below the loft, some times along with a paddle giving an impression symbolising a journey to the realm of the dead.

His conclusions were based on the similarities between the design on urns as funeral goods and the paintings on the cave walls.

For comparison one can present examples of burial systems in the Niah cave, Serawak, East Malaysia, which are correlated to cave paintings depicting simple lines forming humans, boats and reptiles. These designs were also carved on wooden coffins (Harrison 1958).

III. OBJECT OF PAINTINGS

Generally the rock paintings in Indonesia depict humans (including parts of the body, like hand and foot stencils, faces or masks, and eyes), boats, the sun, animals and plants and geometric forms (Tanudirdjo, 1985). These paintings can definitely be assumed as having certain meaning, intention objectives and function for their creation, especially for the community that created them in the past. This was usually closely related to the system of religion, among others concerning the burial processes and worship.

The human forms were generally depicted in burial sites in positions with legs spread-wide apart (*hocker-bestattung*), carved both on stone cists and wooden coffins as well (Soejono, 1962). In Kalimantan, designs like these were carved on traditional houses, that is specifically used to store the corpse. Fraser assumed that these paintings functioned to evict all kind of evil, and at the same time symbols rebirth. (Soejono, 1977). These paintings also form symbolise of their ancestors that were endowed with supernatural and magical powers that can protect their descendants (Hoop, 1949) The Irian Jaya communities also know the term '*matutua*' which means 'the great ancestors which they regard as the heroic ancestors who came from the east (Roder, 1959; Soejono, 1963; Soejono et.al., 1984 b). Rituals for the veneration of their ancestors are still practised at present, among others in dances and other traditional rituals. The boats used as motifs, were also means of transformation on water or rivers and sea that has been used since prehistoric times up to the present. The most simple form of transportation is a wooden raft pushed by wooden or bamboo poles, then followed by boats using paddles. The more progressive technology in boat making resulted in boats using sails, which formed the most dominant means of sea-transportation throughout the world, and has played a significant role in the process of human migration from one area to the other (Kosasih, 1995).

Remains of boats from the past were seldom obtained due to the fact that they were made of perishable material like wood and bamboo.

Nevertheless, one of the concrete evidences on the presence of boats at that time was through these rock paintings. In the course of its development, the boat designs were found on bronze kettle drums as their decoration motifs (Heekeren, 1958). And in the following stages, the boats were also to be found on the Borobudur temple as reliefs. The boat is very much known among the Indonesian peoples and even formed a dominant element in the people's mythologies. Among the Yamdena people of Tanimbar island (Maluku) there is a belief that the spirit of their ancestors which they called "*nitu*", always used a boat on his way to the realm of the dead, which was believed to be across the sea (Koentjaraningrat, 1985).

A similar belief was also found among the Marindanim tribe in Irian Jaya, stating that the spirits of their ancestors went to the realm of the dead which was in the direction of the setting sun, by boat (Daeng, 1963).

This conception was also resembling the scene depicted on one of the walls in cave Sosorra, presenting a boat with some of its passengers. The boat was depicted as if sailing towards the sun (Holt, 1967).

The shape of the boat was also often manifested as a model for a coffin or decoration motif on objects related to funeral rituals (Hoop, 1949; Soejono, 1977). This way the concept that stated the journey of the spirits using the boat, became a common concept prevailing among the Indonesian societies in the past and those with strong traditional ways of today. This fact could possibly have its background of the events of man's migrations of the past, occurring repeatedly, particularly in the Southeast Asian region which the majority was assumed to have utilised the means of transportation on water, the boat.

The animal motif of mammals, fowl and reptiles as well, seemed to be one that has been much presented in cave painting.

It may refer to the system of subsistence in which several kinds of animals and plants formed food resources of the communities in the past and even at present. The animals, depicted are among others: horses (only above the entrance and windows). This motif was not only painted usually white, but were also carved in relief. The forms of lizards and turtles were regarded as the personification of their ancestors or 'god' because they assume that these spirits often enter the bodies of these animals. Pictures of lizards from Muamuran (Irian Jaya) for instance, carved on the rocks at the side of a small lake, was regarded as a giantess, guarding the lake. On the other hand, the lake itself, according to their belief, formed the gate (entrance) to the realm of the dead. Among the Batak people this concept is also present besides the one that stated the lizard as the personification of the god of the underworld and symbol of fertility (Hoop, 1949; Holt, 1967).

Geometric forms, among others straight and curved lines, spirals, triangles, actually have specific meanings and refer to certain symbols. For example, war-shield of the tribes

in Irian Jaya are generally decorated with geometric designs in various shapes and their variations. They assumed that these geometric designs form are symbols of their ancestors who continuously guard their well-being and are able to evict all kinds of evil. These shields do not only function in warfare, but were also placed or put in front of their traditional houses as sacrificed objects. Heekeren and Holt were of the opinion that these geometric motifs have magical elements (Heekeren, 1958; Ibid., 1967).

IV. Conservation and Treatment of Rock-Paintings in Indonesia

Damages of rock-paintings in Indonesia made the need for their preservation more urgent, since the cause of these damages are due to two factors, viz. :

1. Nature or natural elements
2. Human behavior or human agents

IV.1 Natural elements as destructive factors

Rock-paintings are subject to decay caused by natural elements like climatic changes that is common in the tropical regions.

As an example one can point out rock-paintings at Kaimana (Irian Jaya) that are located on the rock-cliffs, out in the open, without any kind of protection from weather-conditions. These paintings are said to be “consumed” by weathering (they became corroded).

The Directorate for the Protection and Development of Historical and Archaeological Remains has made efforts to treat these paintings and preserve them to safeguard from further destruction by nature.

IV.2 Human agents as cause of destruction

In the cause of time many caves in Indonesia that are suspected to contain rock paintings have been destroyed for economic reasons, because the site is to become a quarry site for a cement factory or for the manufacture of marble. This condition has occurred at several hills that were “destroyed” for the construction of a factory. Those hills are located in the Maros area and have potential caves with rock-paintings (Kosasih, 1996b; 1998).

At present the Indonesian Government has already issued a legal law enforcement to protect cultural objects and sites, namely the Act no 5 of 1992, regarding the protection of objects of culture heritage.

With the enforcement of said law, it is expected that all objects included in the category of culture heritage shall be protected and safeguarded from any kind of destruction by human agents.

According to this law, violation of Act no. 5, of 1992 effected in legal sanctions, and the violations included, taking or transfer, destroy or cause damages of cultural objects

without the authorization of the government.

Conclusion

Elaborations on the various motifs of rock paintings and their significance for the communities of the past have given an insight as to their ability of exploiting all kinds of nature resources, physically and mentally. When they were already familiar with culture in the concrete sense, the relationship between the environment, man and culture reflected a pattern of life which is interrelated (Soejono, 1981)

The relationship of these three factors is expected to present a picture of period of a mans life through the remains that had once played an important role, artifactually and non-artifactually as well.

These objects were the only source for the construction of the multi complex prehistoric man's life, that may reflect the social-economic and religious conditions. One of the data samples supporting their presence are the rock-paintings which at the same time becomes our scope of study today.

Studies on rock-paintings in Indonesia, particularly in the Eastern part of Indonesia are still being done because up to the present an inventory of all these caves have not been carried out especially those that have indication of containing rock-paintings. Areas like South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Maluku and Irian Jaya have the potentials of caves containing rock paintings that have not been researched or entered in the inventory as sites of culture heritage.

In this conjunction the presence of the Preservation Office for the Protection of Historical and Archaeological Remains in South and Southeast Sulawesi, and the Banjarmasin, Ujung Pandang, Manado, Maluku (Ambon) and Irian Jaya (Jayapura) Offices for Archaeology, are expected to focus their attention with the possibility of obtaining new data on rock-paintings.

The Directorate for the Protection of Historical and Archaeological Remains by way of the Section for the Protection and Conservation, is expected to take measures to safeguard the paintings from destruction of nature or human agents as well.

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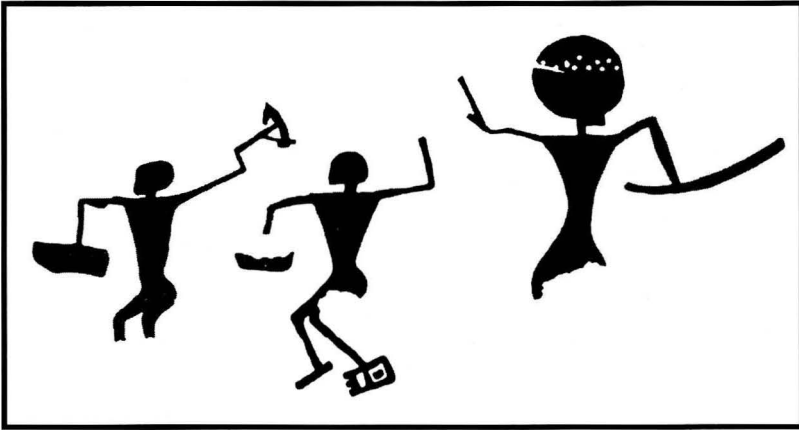
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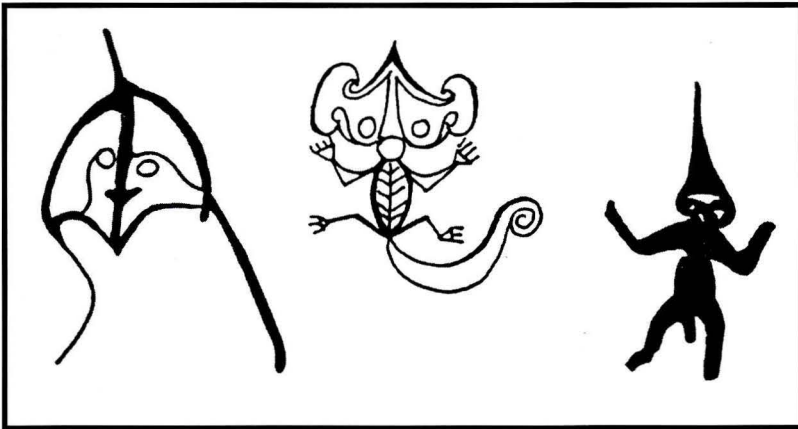
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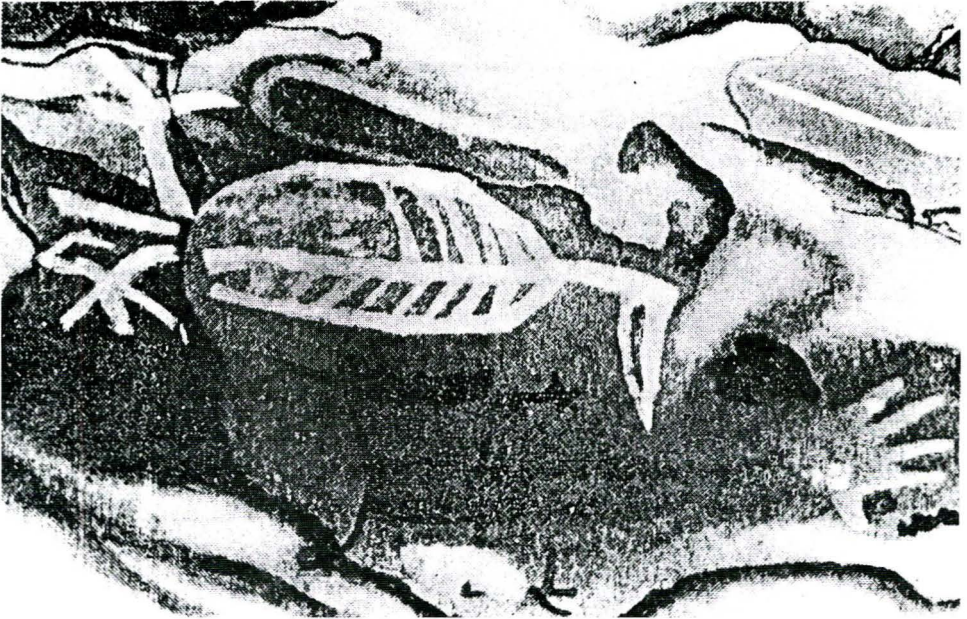
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Human in ritual dance. Timor-Timur (Heekeren, 1972)



Human ancestor printures, Irian Jaya (Heekeren, 1972)



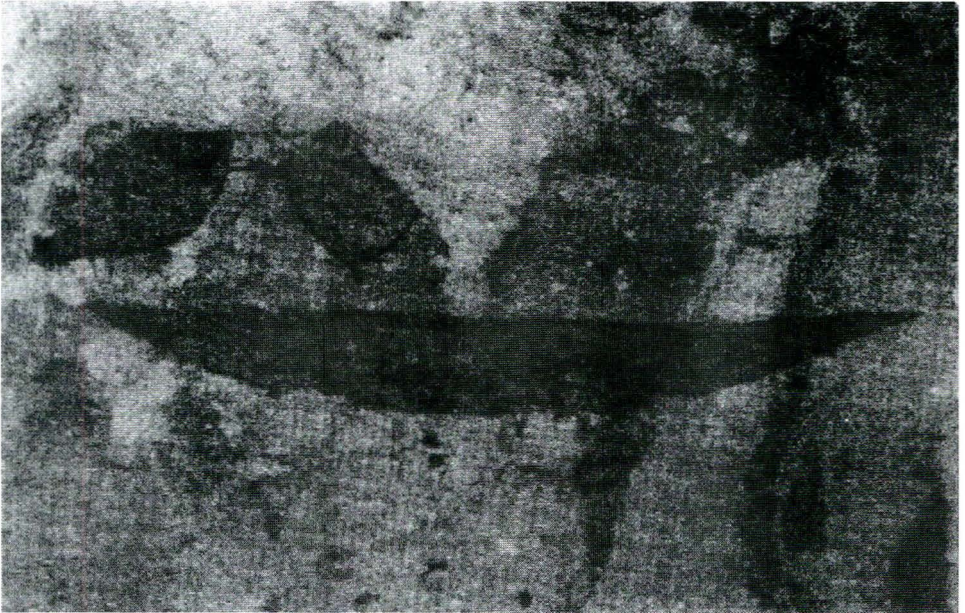
Hornbill bird in white block technique, Irian Jaya (Heekeren, 1972)



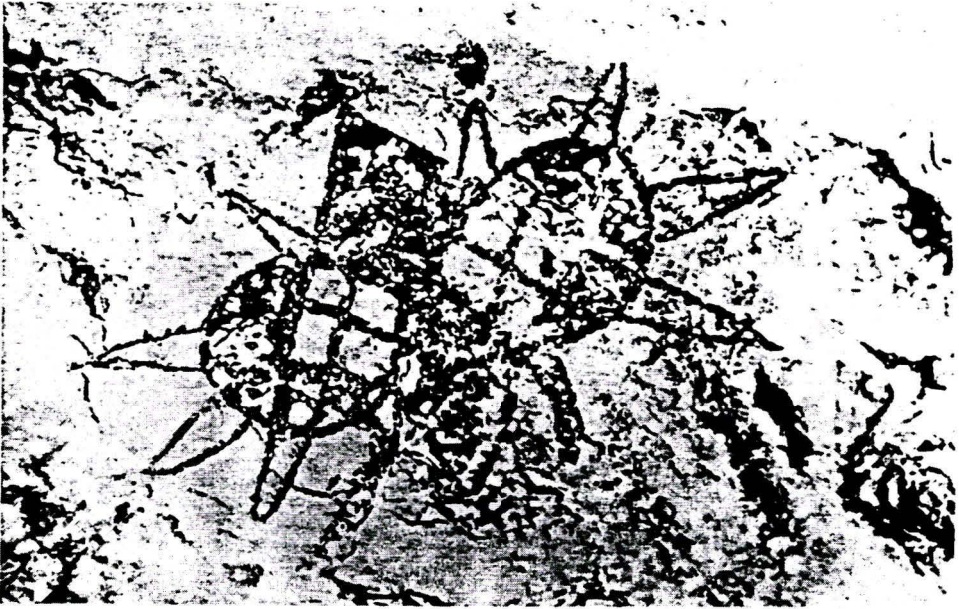
Rock-painting on Little Kei Island Maluku (Heekeren, 1972)



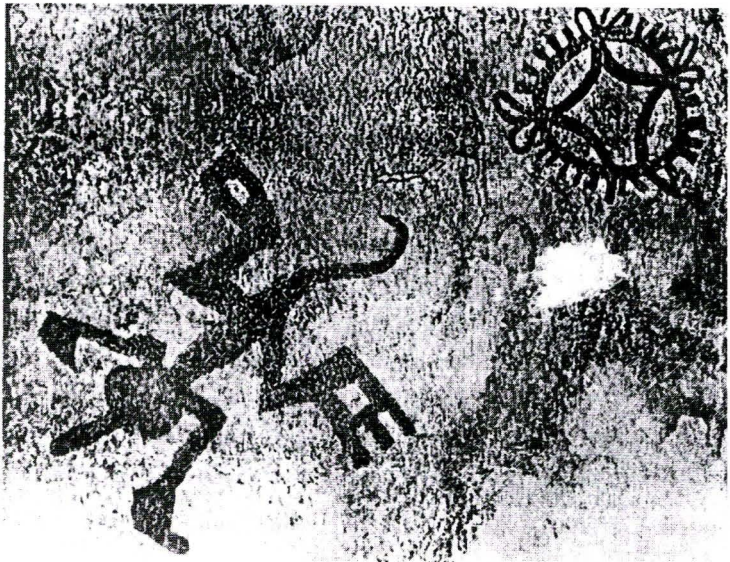
Rock engraving with fish designs nearby the Sentani Lake, Irian Jaya
(Puslit Arkenas)



A Sloop in Sumpangbita Cave, Pangkajene, South Sulawesi
(Puslit Arkenas)



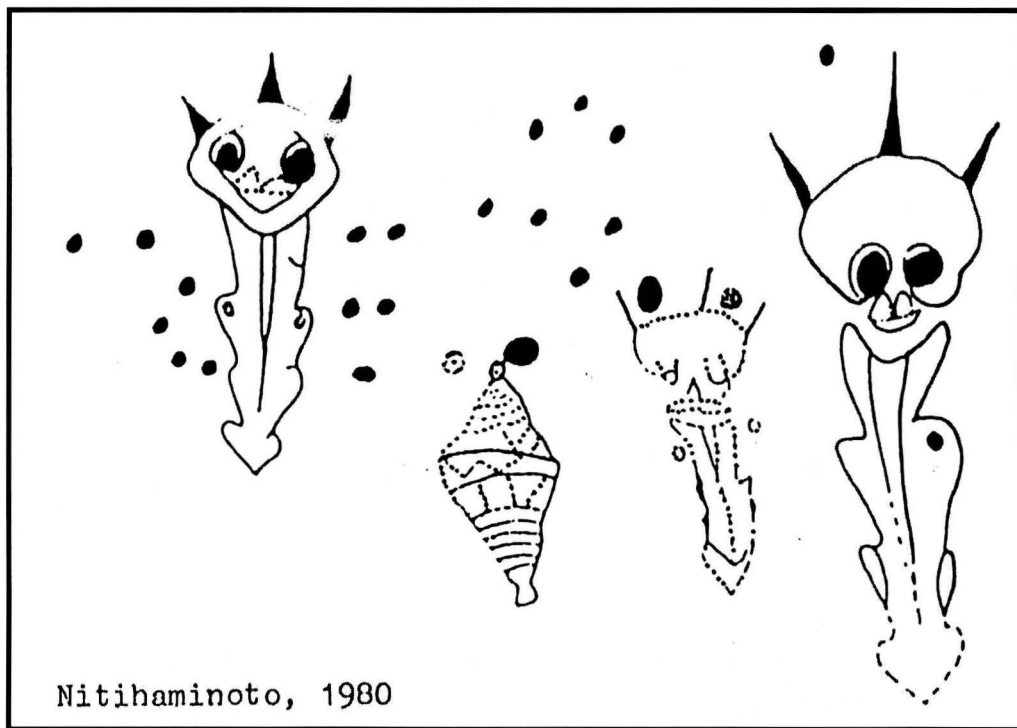
Abstract rock-painting, probably the turtles, Timor-Timur (Heekeren, 1972)



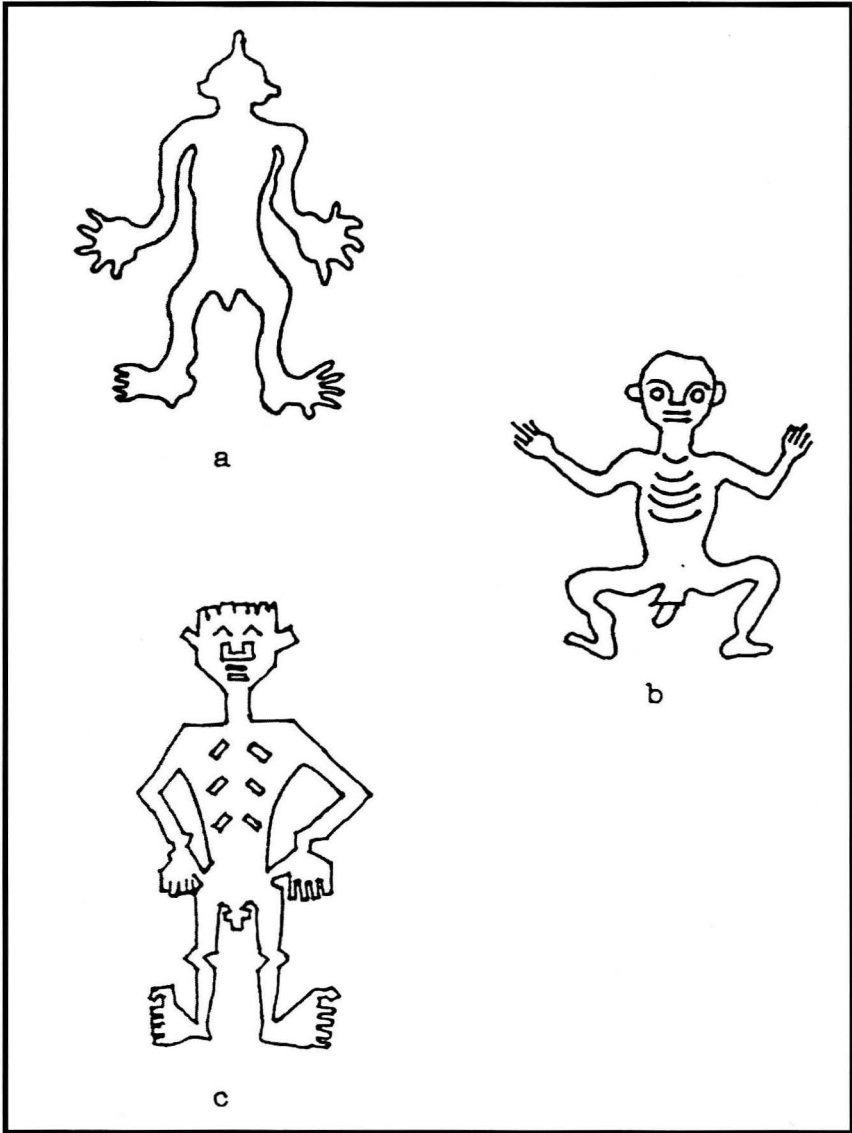
A half human and lizard, and a sun symbol, Irian Jaya (Heekeren, 1972)



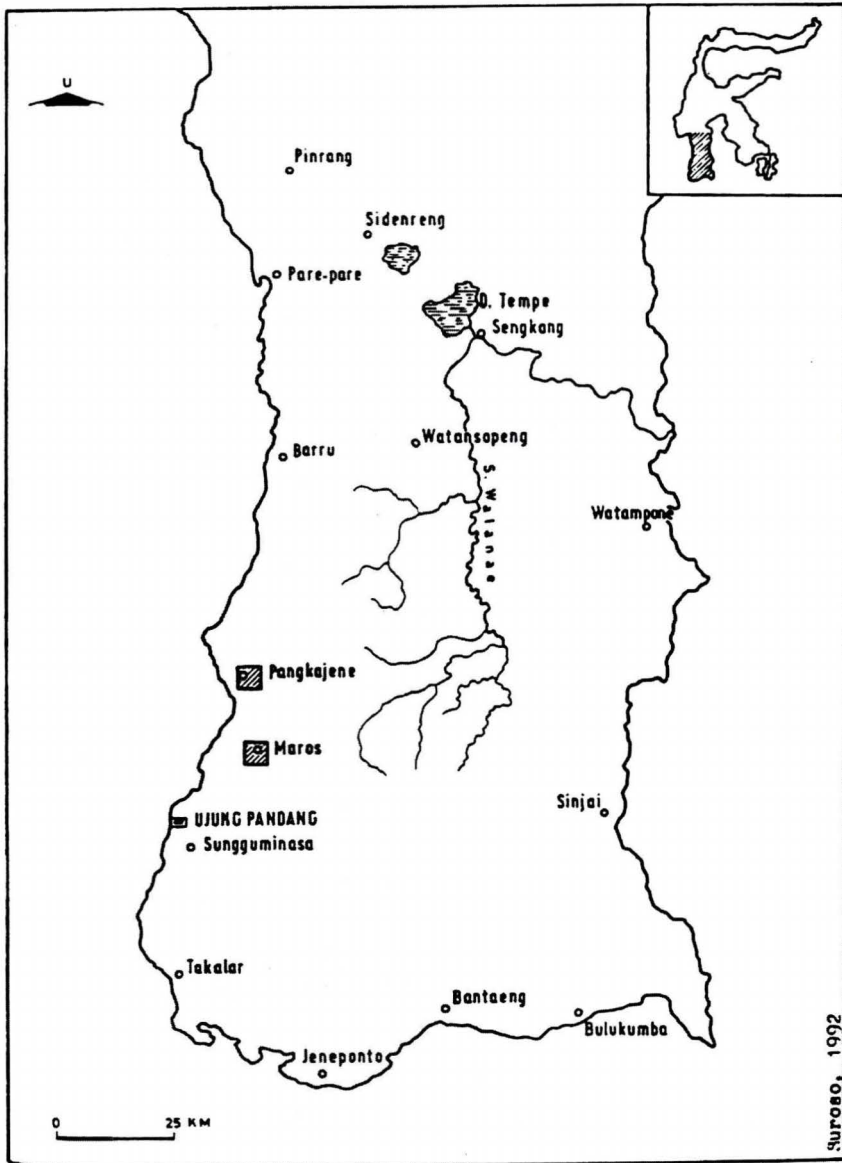
Negative hand stencils from Garunggung Cave, South Sulawesi



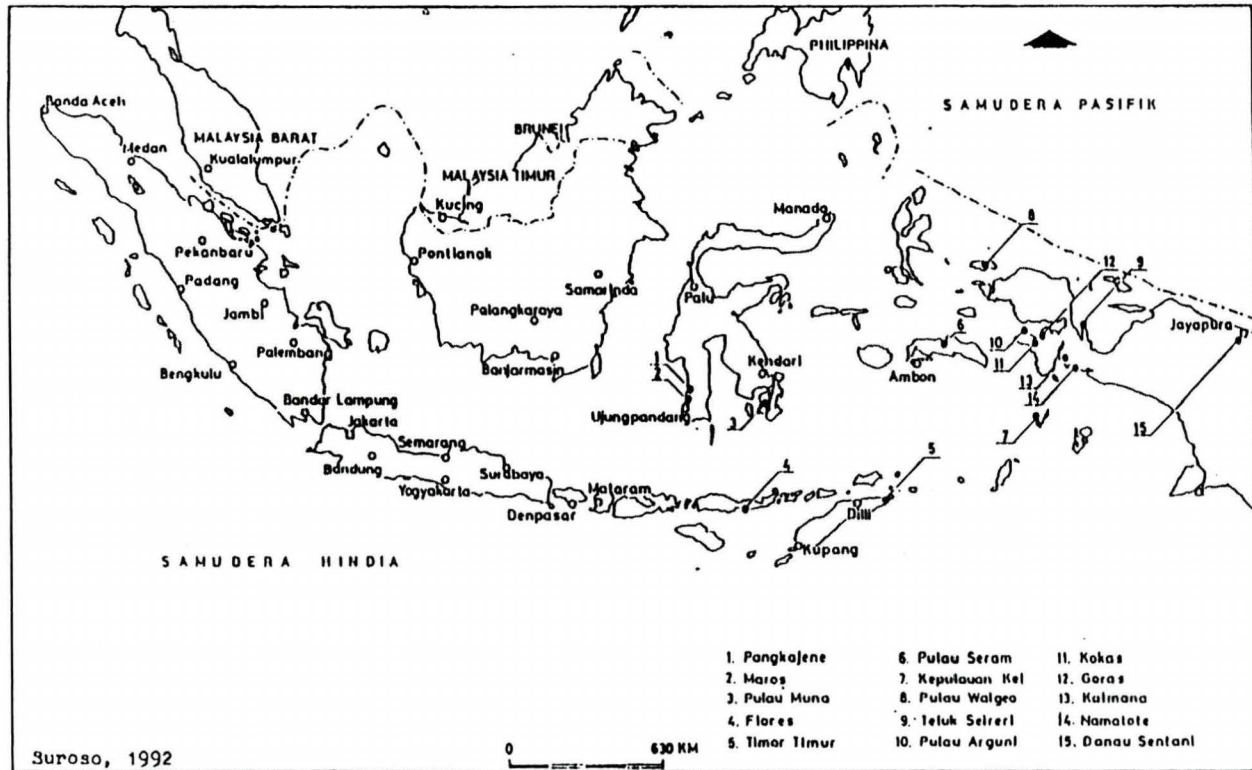
Rock art motifs from Bitsyarti Bay, depicting tree skeletons were styled



Human motifs in several technique design.
a). Motif from Lembata Island in painting
b). Relief design on "waruga" (stone-cist)
c). Human motif on textiles



Map 2. South Sulawesi Province with archeological research locations in Maros and Pangkajene



Map 1. Location of Rock Arts and Engravings in Indonesia

STONE BURIALS, ONE OF THE MEGALITHIC REMAINS IN SULAWESI

Dwi Yani Yuniawati

Summary

The *Waruga* of North Sulawesi and the *kalamba* of Central Sulawesi are megalithic remains with specific characteristics that differ from other megalithic objects in Indonesia. These two items (*waruga* and *kalamba*) can be categorized into stone burials.

Megalithic remains can be seen from the points of view of social organization, technology, art, and religion. They represent social esteem, and position within the community.

I. INTRODUCTION

Death does not change one's social status in the process of change from the world of the living to that of the dead. One of the social activities related to death is a funeral or burial. It was performed to dispose the dead and was executed according to customized patterns that is recognized and prevailing in the community. So, a burial requires management and division, involving the closest relatives or the entire community concerned (Binford 1972: 400; Soejono 1977: 9-10). In the disposal of the dead the community among others practiced interment in containers and without containers.

Since Van Heekeren's article in 1956 on his research in the site of Melolo, East Sumba, which was republished by the National Research Center of Archaeology (NRCA) in 1992, our scientific horizon on prehistoric practices of human burials in Indonesia widened. Up to now there are at least four ways to bury the dead known to be practiced (Soeroso 1996: 1-2):

1. Interment using stone vats, that is considered to resemble the one practiced by prehistoric communities in Laos and was assumed to date from the early palaeometallic period. According to Geldern this kind of burial practice emerged as the effect of culture wave contacts that introduced burial customs and a number of local megalithic cultures. An example of this kind of burial is, among others, the one found in Central Sulawesi and North Sulawesi.
2. Interment in urns by putting the dead in squatted position. One example of this kind of burial was found in Anyer, West Java.
3. Interment by putting previously buried skeletal bones in urns. Usually the parts interred were the skull and mandible. In archaeology this kind of burial is referred to as a secondary burial. Along with the said skeletal bones, funeral goods were also put into the urn, consisting of earthenware that are usually decorated with

geometric designs, rectangular adze, mollusc shell ring, and a number of stone and shell beads. An example of this kind of burial was found in Melolo, East Sumba.

4. A burial in which the dead was put into a big or small jar, usually without funeral goods. This burial is assumed to have Chinese influences that, developed at about 1300-1600 AD. Chinese records of 1368 to 1643 mentioned that among the Banjarmasin people is a custom, that, when someone died, his bones were put into a jar that was decorated with paintings of a dragon on the outside, then the jar with the bones inside were buried (Groeneveldt 1876: 107). This kind of burial is also found in Wajo, Sopeng, South Sulawesi (Heekeren 1992: 20).

Based on data of the said burial practices, it can be known that since neolithic, or at least since the early palaeometallic period (around 3000 BC till the early Christian era), the Indonesian communities were acquainted specific ways of treating the dead. Based on the existing data at present are at least two kinds of burial containers known to be used, they are those made of fired clay in the form of urns or jars, and those made of stone, in the form of stone biers (*pandhusa*), stone cists as well as sarcophagi. The different form and kind of container, on one hand can be regarded as a local development that can be possibly affected by the local environment, but on the other hand may be considered as products of a cultural development process from one phase to another. Data from the Southeast Asian region obtained so far showed that since 6000 years ago, aside from the introduction of irrigated agriculture, with the occurrences of climatic changes which caused the drop of sea level, the system of treating the dead from burial to cremation became commonly practiced.

Interment using containers has been very dominant in megalithic cultures. The idea of building a megalithic object has always been correlated with the sacred intent, that of worshipping the ancestors (Hoop 1932: 101; Wagner 1959: 23-25). Therefore it is clear that the megalithic concept refers to matters (concepts) of religious nature.

The megalithic remains have played an important role in archaeological studies in Indonesia. The time span in which it developed was fairly long since it started to develop during the neolithic, at around 4500 years ago till the present (Geldern 1945). The existence of the megalithic tradition has taken a long period, that is during the palaeometallic period or also referred to as the Bronze-Iron age. As that time quite many megalithic monuments have been built. Based on results of recent researches, the building of megalithic structures during the palaeometallic was even very profound, and the elements of the megalithic tradition continue to exist in the many aspects of human communities at present. From ethnography it was known that the existence of the tribes that live in isolation has always been entwined with prehistoric elements, the tradition of ancestor worship, both expressed in the building of megalithic monuments and conceptually in their minds as well.

With its very long existence, the megalithic culture has undergone a complex development and variation in shape and kinds of remains that occurred, not only in Indonesia, but in Southeast Asia as well even reaching the Asian Pacific (Byung-Mo Kim 1982: 1;

Soejono 1986:238). With regard to the religious background of the building of megalithic monuments, Heine Geldern stated that it was closely related to the concept of the realm of the dead, that is the safe journey of the ancestors' spirits to their world so as not losing their way or keeping them away from any danger that may lay ahead. His point of view has been based on his study of the meaning, shape of monuments, and the religious background of its erection in Assam, Birma, and Indonesia (Geldern 1928: 276-315).

The *waruga* in North Sulawesi and the *kalamba* in Central Sulawesi form one of the megalithic remains with a specific characteristic that differ from other megalithic objects in Indonesia. These two items (*waruga* and *kalamba*) can be categorized into the form of stone burials in the shape of a stone vat (Soejono 1984: 293). Viewed from their distribution in Indonesia, the *waruga* and *kalamba* are found only in the Sulawesi area. But according to van der Hoop's report (1938), the *kalamba* has also been found in Sumatra, particularly around Lake Toba, although only one specimen, and the size tend to be small compared to those from Central Sulawesi, in particular from the Bada Valley, Besoa Valley, and Napu Valley (Poso regency).

II. ELABORATION

The *Waruga* in North Sulawesi

The *warugas* of North Sulawesi are distributed in the Minahasa regency, as the "hinterland" of North Sulawesi, and very easy to reach because of its location being near the capital of the province (Manado) and plenty of transportation means. Because of its fertile soil, the Minahasa regency is known as the producer of cloves and copra. Besides, several kinds of horticultural product come from this area, like nutmeg, durian, manggo, canary nut, *langsar*, *aren* (sugar palm), *belimbing* (starfruit), and *bintangar* (a kind of tree of which the wood is used for the musical instrument called "*kulintang*").

This area is located within the coordinates of 0°25'-1°8' NL and 124°20'-125°20' EL. Bordering in the north the Sangir Talaud regency, in the south Bolaang Mongondow regency, in the east Maluku Sea, and in the west Sulawesi Sea. There are three volcanoes in the Minahasa regency, namely Klabat mountain (2002 m) in the north, Lokon Mountain (1580 m) in the center, and Sopotan Mountain (1661 m) in the south. These three volcanoes attract rain and become the source of water. They have in the past erupted and poured out volcanic ash, which in turn fertilized this area. Besides, the river and Lake Tondano have also played their part in the welfare of the area and its population, which is relatively better than other areas.

Surveys conducted so far have indicated that the distribution of *warugas* also covers, beside the area of the Minahasa regency, the northern part of this regency. Going further to the south they decrease and become sparse, and beyond Ratahan no findings of *waruga*

occurred. The distribution of *warugas* covers among others the districts of Sonder, Kauditan, and Airmadidi. For a complete list, see the following diagram:

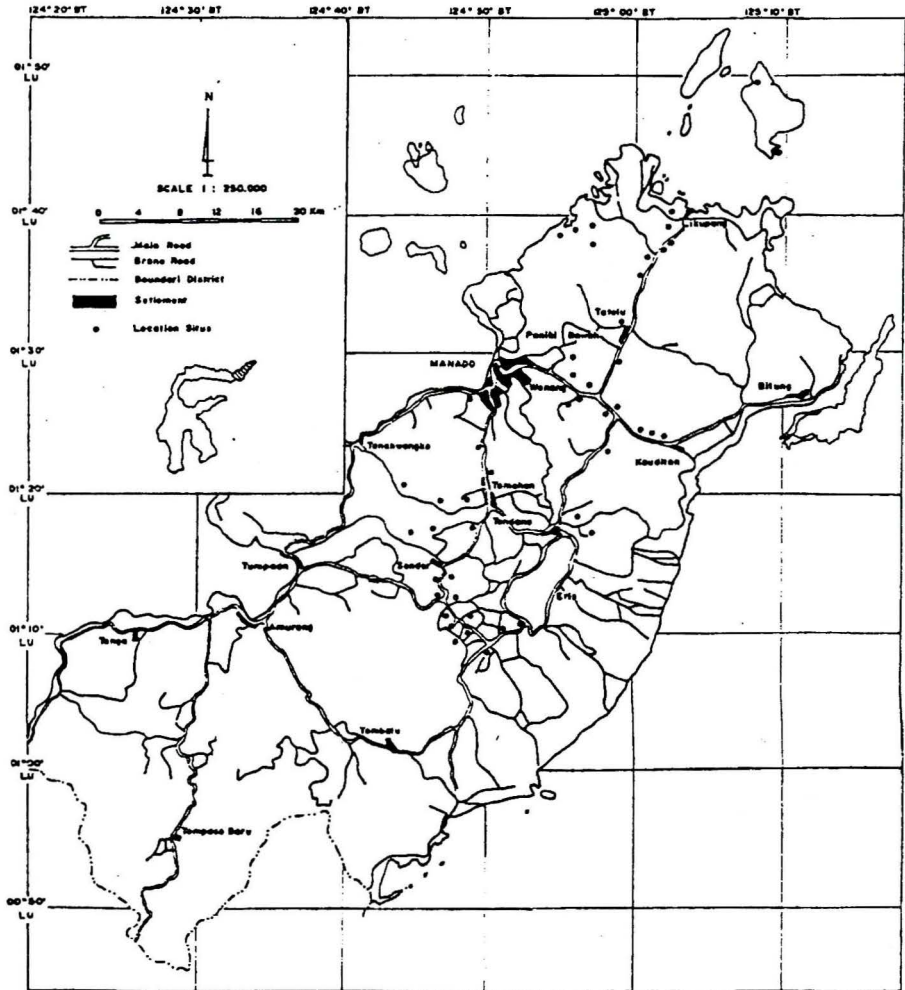
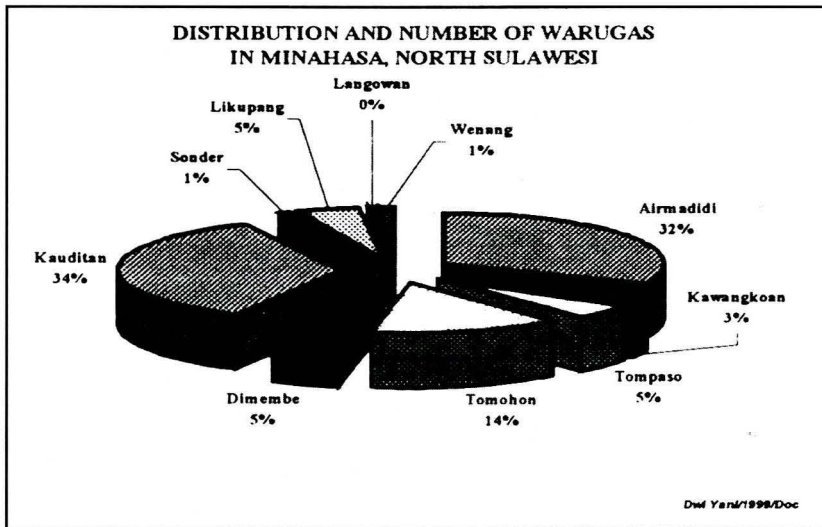


Figure 2 : Site distribution map of *warugas* on the Minahasa Regency



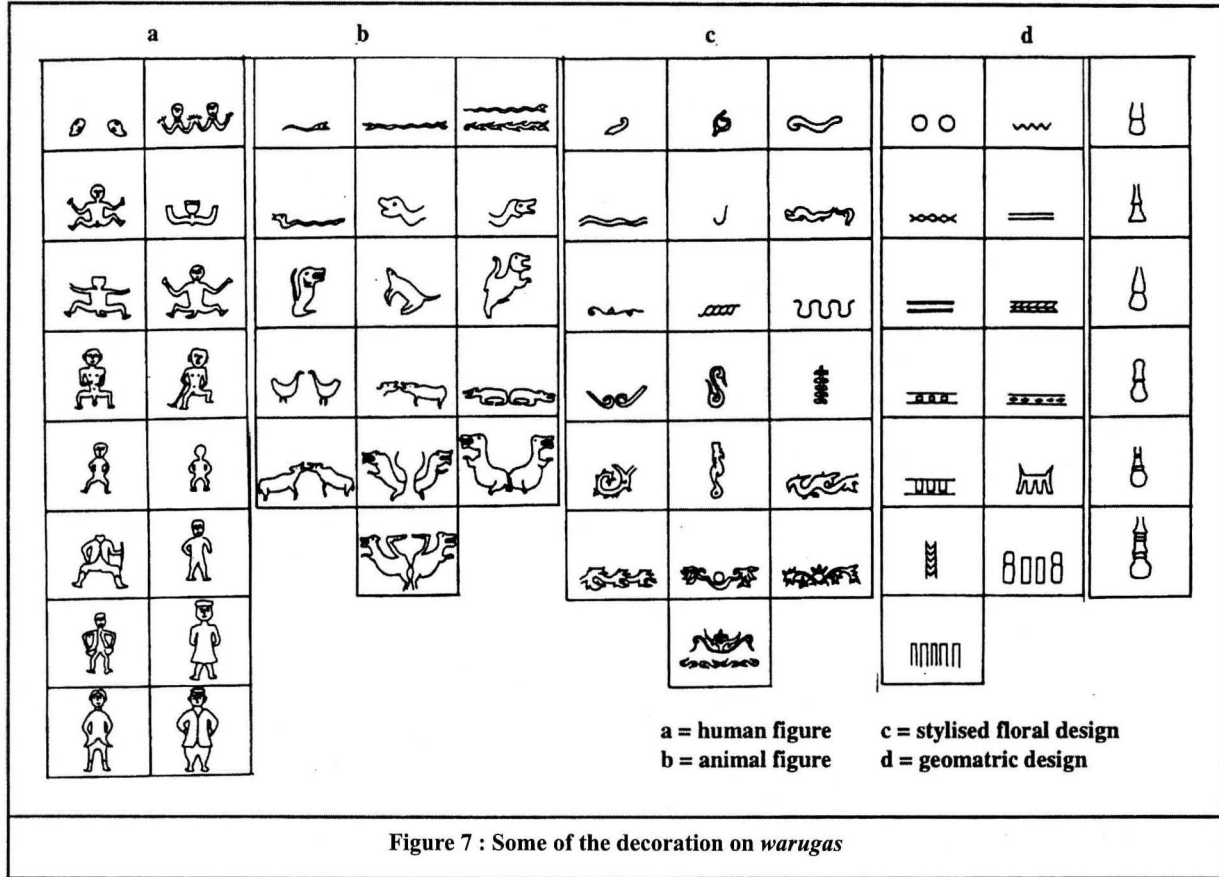
The *waruga* consist of a container and cover (lid). The container is usually rectangular in shape and the cover is prismatic, resembling the roof of a house. Etymologically the *waruga* is derived from the word “*waruga*” which means “the house of dregs, the house of the body that is to decompose or dry (Dictionary of the Tontoboan), but there are also others saying that *waruga* comes from *wa* and *ruga* which means, to become mellow and dissolved (Dictionary of the Tombulu). There are also others who say that *waruga* is derived from the word “*maruga*”, meaning “boiled” (BPA 1984: 5). Only a few of the *warugas* are made of andesite rock (possibly because of its hardness making it hard for carving); instead they use tuff and sandstone that are softer than andesite. Surveys show that the place where the *waruga* was made, on each site, was not far from the place where it is to be placed. Observation on the spot that provided the raw material show that carving of the *waruga* took place on this spot, and the *waruga* was then transported to the place or village where it is to be used for burial. The *waruga* was transported in finished state, but the intricate decorative carvings were done at the place of burial, because in the process of transportation, damages to these carvings may occur. The tools that were used to make these *warugas* could be made of iron as was clearly seen at the quarry site - where many lids (cover stones) or unfinished containers were found - as waste material like in the areas of Bukit Dampet/Bukit Tatahan (Tondano), Woloan III, Slokon, and Timbularen (Tomohon). Although it was known that iron tools were used, it is still difficult to identify the kinds the tools they used. None of the findings inside the *waruga* made reference to the kind of tools that have been used.

Tools like machetes, spear heads, iron daggers, and bronze tools were regarded as burial goods, and they are not likely and unsuitable to be used for stone working. It is apparent that adzes, chisels, and the like have been used for practical work and do not function as burial goods. According to Hadimulyono the tradition of *waruga* making developed at the late prehistoric period and lasted until the middle of the 19th century, as evidenced by the presence of *warugas* bearing the dates of 1769, 1839, and 1850 (Hadimulyono 1983); whereas J.G.F Riedel estimated that this tradition of *waruga* burials has existed since the 10th century AD, that is 3 centuries after the event of *Malesung* in Watu Pinawetengan. This estimation was based on the relativity of comparative aspects (Karisma Bunaken, 1988). Up to the present absolute dating have not been conducted yet so as to obtain the exact chronology of these *warugas*. In terms of size, the *warugas* found in the Minahasa area can be distinguished into three categories, they are: small sized (25-50 cm), medium sized (50-100 cm) and large sized (over 100 cm). They are varied in size because there has been no regulation that required a uniformity in size, The diversity of *warugas* does not only concern the shape (form) and size, but also the decoration and funeral goods.

With regard to decoration, it is mostly found on the cover (lid) and very rarely on the container. The decoration that were found on almost every *waruga* comprise designs (motifs) of human figures, as well as floral, faunal, and geometric nature. But it is worth to know that there are also undecorated *warugas*. The decorations on *warugas* are usually represented in the form of :

1. Human beings in various shapes and positions. Most common are those in primitive form, like for example a naked figure (male and female) with pronounced genitals, in hocker style or semi hocker style, squatting, in child-bearing position. Usually the face is not proportional, for instance with bulging eyes. There are also designs of humans dressed by covering the navel downwards to the thighs and some were also dressed in European style.
2. Faunal design depicting dragon (?), snake, dog, cow, crocodile, owl, and cock.
3. Floral design often depict the sunflower, with leaves and branches mostly stylized in curls.
4. Geometric or traditional motif, also found on potsherds scattered around the site. These geometric designs comprise meanders, triangles, spirals, pararel lines, circles, cloud rim, fish grate, and cord mark.

The static and primitive designs that are far from any sense of beauty may find its cause in their belief to the supernatural. Modern decorative designs mixed with the primitive motifs reflect that the flow of foreign influence into Minahasa has affected the technological progress. This also indicate that a shift of culture elements occurred, from the simple form to the more complex ones, and that there is a fusion of both implying that foreign influences which have found its way in this area, have not changed totally the original

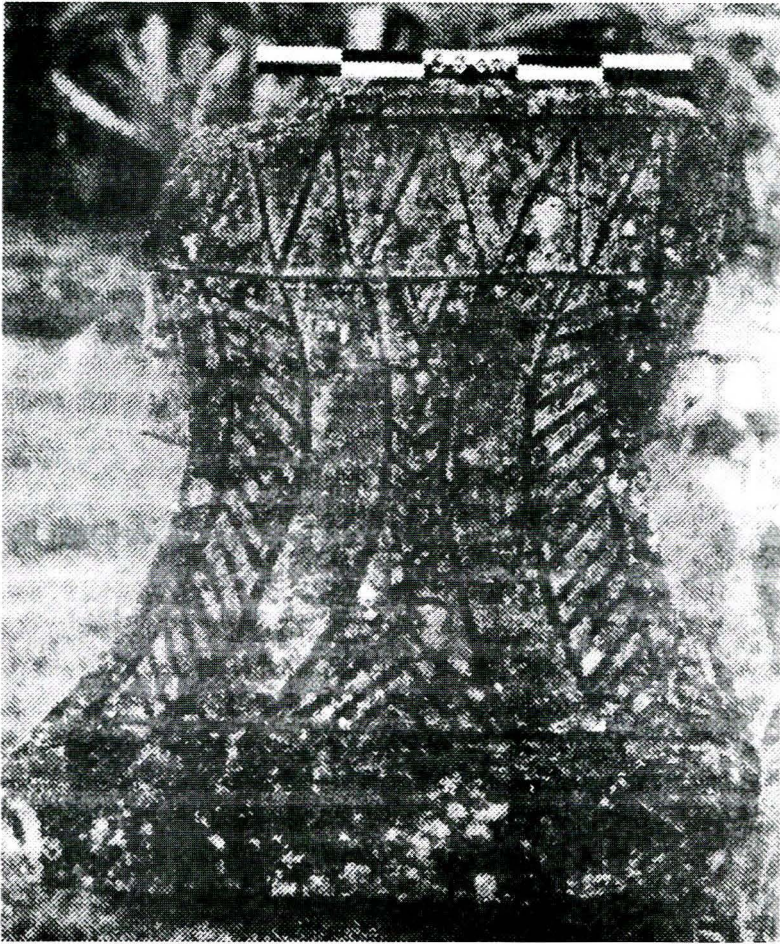




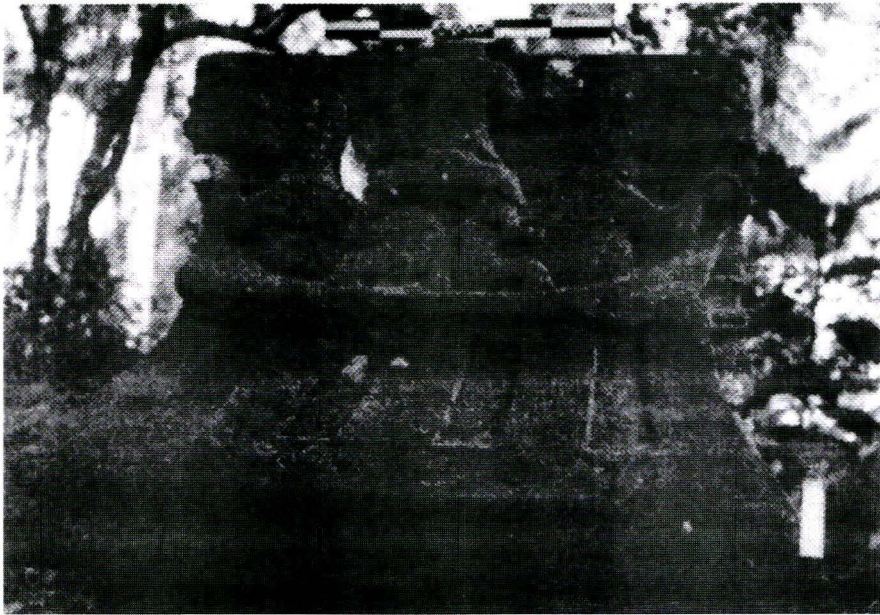
Waruga, with a human figure on its cover in hocker style from Tatelu Village,
Dimembe District



Waruga, decorated with floral design from Tumulung Village,
Kauditan District



Waruga, decorated with geometric design from Airmadidi Bawah Village,
Airmadidi District



Waruga, decorated with geometric design from Airmadidi Bawah Village,
Airmadidi District

culture elements.

With regard to burial goods in the *warugas* to be presented as samples are finds from the excavation at the site of Woloan in the District of Tomohon, Minahasa Regency. They are selected because surface finds during surveys became the decisive factor as they comprise earthenware and ceramic sherds, and the fact that many of the *waruga* containers are still “buried” and insitu. The finds of burial goods are among others plain and decorated pottery, beads, combs, Chinese and European ceramics, metal objects (iron knife and spearhead), (copper necklaces of chains, bracelets, rings, pendant) (Dwi Yani Yuniawati 1996). Up to the present it is not known with certainty as to the time the early metal influences reached Indonesia. In Southeast Asia, metal was introduced at around 3000-2000 BC (Soejono 1984: 218-226) and evidence of its early presence was shown by the findings of bronze axes at the site of Non Nok Tha dating from 3000 BC (Bellwood 1978: 180). The knowledge on the development of the early metal technology became more clearly known after Payot (1924-1928), Janse (1935-1937), and some Vietnamese archaeologists (1961-1962) excavated the Dongson burial site on the banks of Song Ma River (Vietnam) (Bellwood 1978: 187),

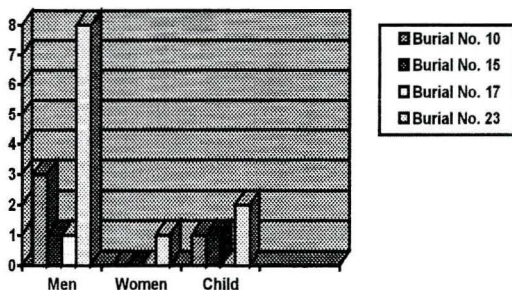
that yielded a number of bronze artifacts like kettledrums, vessels, spearheads, axes, and bracelets. The technique of metal working was also known in Vietnam at around 2000 BC, as was evidenced by findings in the Dong Dan site (Bellwood 1985: 272). The Dongson site, because of its specific characteristics, created the term “Dongson Culture”. Therefore findings of bronze artifacts that present similar characteristics were put in the category of this culture. In Indonesia, findings with these characteristics have also occurred, giving rise to the assumption of culture contacts with Vietnam (Soejono 1984: 218-226).

Analysis on plain and decorated pottery by observing the marks of the manufacture, clearly show the very simple technique employed, using the paddle and anvil. In general the sherds are of brown, dark brown, and red color, and were decorated with geometric designs comprising double spirals, net, vertical and parallel lines, circles, and triangles, that all were applied by being impressed or incised. The net and cord design are presented quite frequently. Many of the motifs on pottery are also found on the *warugas*. The thickness of the sherds ranges between 0.6 -2.2 cm. Laboratory analysis revealed that the temperature of firing reached 500° - 600° C, and the material was composed of clay (50 %) and sand (50%) with a water content of 10%, hardness 3-4 mobs scale, and the mineral composition are quartz, plagioclass, pyroxene, hornblende, and biotite clay (Research Team 1995).

Analysis towards the ceramic revealed that they comprise ceramic ware from various dates, like the Yuan Dynasty (14th century), Ming Dynasty (15th-16th century), Ching Dynasty (17th century) and from Europe. As for the beads, analysis show that dominant are the glass beads of various shapes, among others round, ovoid, barrel-like, cylindric, irregular and canopied (“wearing a hat”). The dominant color are milky white, chalk white, white with red streak, transparent brown, light brown, brick red, dark blue, brick red with white lines, yellow with an eye motif and white green spot.

Based on the analysis of teeth found in each *waruga*, it is assumed that the *waruga* formed a communal burial. The individuals buried in *warugas* with regard to the number and sex is presented in the following diagram:

NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN *WARUGAS* IN WOLOAN SITE, TOMOHON, MINAHASA



Despite the great number of burial goods, it does not indicate the social status of the dead, but is more related to the spiritual need of keeping the dead peaceful in the realm of the dead. But viewed from the kinds and variety of the burial goods, they could reflect a symbol of which the meaning or message can only be understood during the funerary ritual. From the choice of location and placement, one cannot distinguish its status, for they are done at random. Only the orientation (North - South) where it is facing made one assume that they point to their ancestor's place of origin, that is from the north, which corresponds to Heine Geldern's view (Dwi Yani Yuniawati 1996: 166). From the point of size and shape that are quite varied and the decorations when correlated with kinds and variations of burial goods and the number of individuals they contain and other supporting variables like age and sex, it has been quite difficult to make assumptions which relate to their social stratification (Dwi Yani Yuniawati 1996: 209-211).

According to Graafland, the ancient Minahasa communities buried their dead in *warugas* and placed it in the courtyard of the dead's or his relative's house, because the *waruga* was to serve as family burial that can contain more than one individual. The corpse was put inside by folding the legs (Graafland 1987:84).



Waruga Site in Woloan Village, Tomohon Distrit

Excavation by the Research Team of the Manado Archaeological Research Centre, confirmed Graafland's opinion on the number of individu. To confirm that the *waruga* was placed in the house compound of the dead or his relatives, the team excavated the Woloan site. Environmental indications from archeological and ethnographical data lead

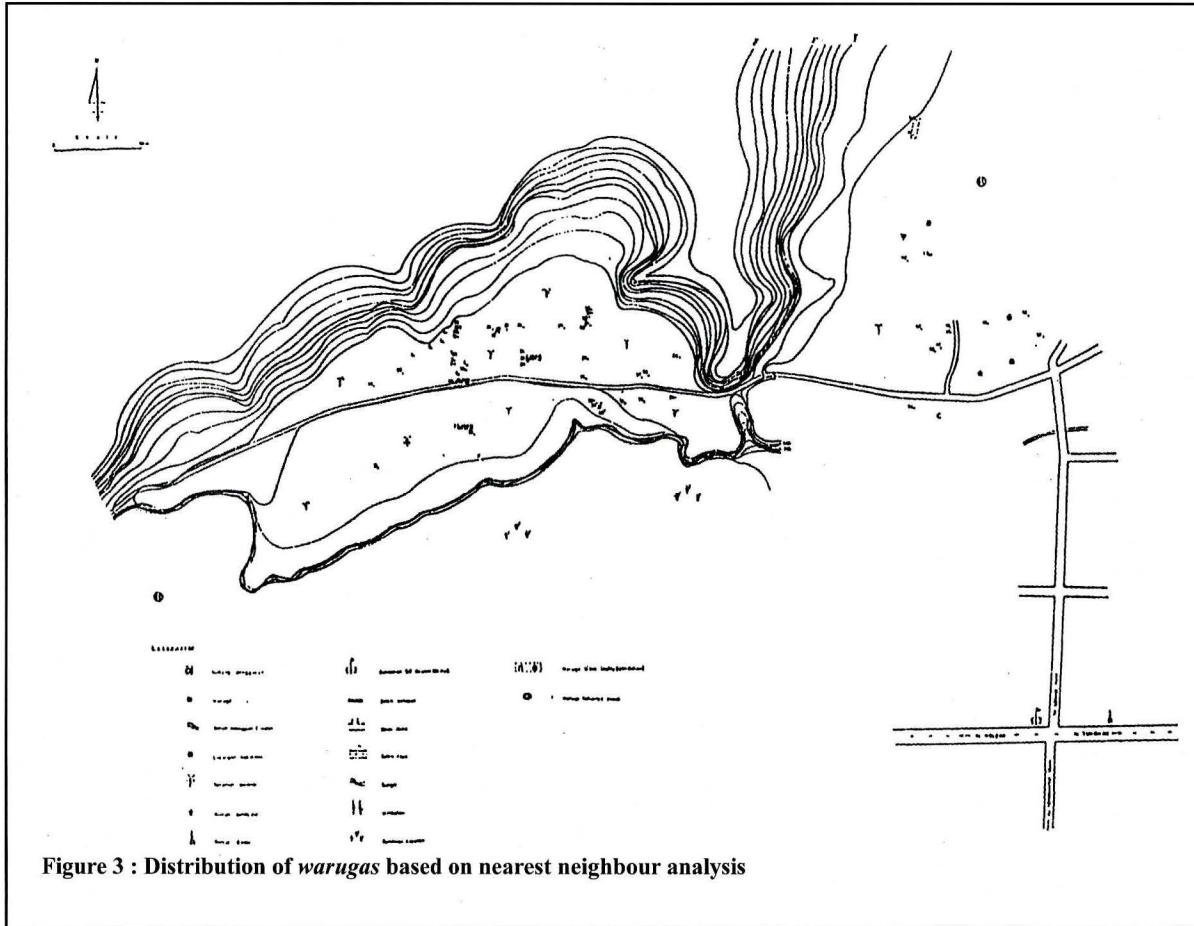
to the hypothesis that in the past the *warugas* were indeed placed in the house compound. Joko Siswanto from the Manado Archeological Research Centre has conducted a spatial analysis in a semi-micro scale, employing the method of nearest neighbour analysis on the settlement pattern in Woloan site and resulted in the hypothesis that the settlement pattern tends to be clustered and random. The tendency of clustering might be effected by social and kinship organizational factors and also by the road network in the settlements. Another possible cause is the community's custom to build their houses along the road (Kalangie 1997: 147). The random pattern is observable in the distribution of the *warugas* and it is assumed that they are related to the relatively long period of use. In that time-span, changes distribution may occur in line with the development of the settlement. (Joko Siswanto 1996). Excavation also revealed that actually the *warugas* were not buried, but volcanic eruptions of the mountains Lokon and Klabat caused the grow of soil around the *waruga*, making them look as if being buried. Data on these eruptions are obtained from the North Sulawesi Province Regional Office of Mining.

The Kalamba from Central Sulawesi

The Province of Central Sulawesi is very rich in megalithic remains. Since one century ago, the megalithic object comprising *kalambas* or stonevats, megalithic statues, stone mortars, "*batu dakon*", or pitted stones, engraved stone , etc.

Various scholars from abroad, as was reported by Adriani and Kruyt in an article entitled: "Van Poso naar Parigi en Lindoe", published in 1889, have paid attention to these remains. Then in 1908, Kruyt published a series of articles among which "Nadere gegevens betreffende de oudheden aangetroffen in landschap Behoa". In this article Kruyt stated that the vats have never been for burials, but they serve as water reservoirs, as an implement in war ritual (Kaudern 1938: 48). Another article, entitled "De Berglandschappen Napoe, en Behoa in Midden Celebes", reported on the finding of 20 *kalambas* of various sizes. It also mentioned that only one is decorated with a design of six human faces around the vat. A year later another publication appeared especially on the documentation of Bada, entitled "Het Landschap Bada in Midden Celebes", that mentioned the existence of the Tdulako statue and five *Kalambas* in Padang Buleli and 20 others and 4 covers in Padang Pokekea.

In 1910, Schuyt and Ten Kate visited Napu and Besoa, in his article entitled "Van Dag tot Dag op een Reis naar de Landschappen Napoe en Behoa", he assumed that the stone mortars in this area served as the base of pillars. In 1917 Raven visited the Besoa area which was reported in 1926, entitled "Stone images and vats of Central Celebes". In this report was mentioned, among others, that he has excavated the Pokekea site in the Besoa highlands, but he was not sure which *kalamba* he had excavated. He only mentioned of finding mud, clay, wood ash, and potsherds (Kaudern 1938:76). Since then, in 1917-1922, Walter Kaudern made an inventory of archaeological sites in the areas of Bada, Napu, and Besoa, which he published in 1938 under the title of "Ethnographical Studies in Celebes".



It reported among others that in general these *kalambas* were found with no covers, but if they have covers, they serve as burial containers, and the cover is used to protect the corpse from being submerged in rainwater (Kaudern 1938:163).

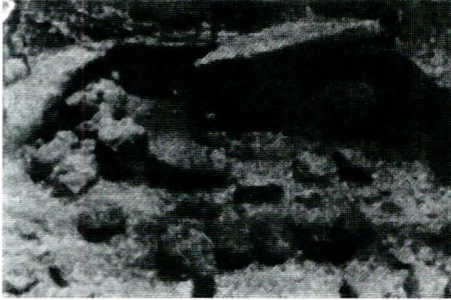
Since reports from foreign scholars tens of years ago, practically very little reports or articles from Indonesian scholars appeared. Actually this area is very rich in Megalithic remains, of which mystery concerning the cultural behaviour of the culture bearers, as well as the social, economic, technological, and religious aspects has not been solved satisfactorily yet. These remains are distributed in three areas, they are Bada Valley (South Lore district, Poso regency), Besoa Valley (North Lore district, Poso regency), and Palu Valley (Donggala regency). The most important megalithic objects in Central Sulawesi are the stone vats, locally called *kalamba* (which means boat), and the cover, the *tuatena*. The *kalamba* is a cylindrical stone vat. Besides in Central Sulawesi the *kalamba* is also found in Serawak (North Kalimantan) (E. Bank 1937), around Lake Toba (Hoop 1938), and in the Mekhong Valley (Laos) (Madelaine Colani 1935) and all of them served as burial containers. The *kalambas* in Central Sulawesi have covers, and some do not. This is the case also with decorations. Kaudern has once mentioned that the *kalambas* of the Bada Valley were undecorated, unlike those found in the Besoa area, of which some are decorated with human or animal figures. Surveys conducted so far revealed that among the *kalambas* found in several sites in the Besoa Valley, are decorated on the container as well as its cover. The decorations consists of geometric designs, pitmarkings, animals (monkey), human face, and sun flower (Research Team 1995).

The human motif was among others presented with eight faces, which is similar to that found in the hills of Gunung Kidul with 4 faces, carved en-relief, facing the four cardinal points, symbolizing the unity of the four tribes that inhabited the area. And grouped into the concept of semi sacred aesthetic objects (Sukendar 1987:42) It is clearly obvious that these reliefs show none of the aesthetic elements; instead, they show magic-religious aspect which forms the main objective. This fact is shown by the relief that are not proportionally carved, static, and incomplete, for instance with no ears and mouth. Circular line motif carved horizontally was meant as decoration. Haris Sukendar grouped this kind of creation into the concept of profane aesthetic objects (Sukendar 1987: 65). The discovery of the monkey motif on the surface of the *kalamba* cover, indicates that the bearers of the megalithic culture here were likely followers of a totem cult. The concept of totemism among the Central Sulawesi people is still present now, as is indicated by the belief that spirits usually can assume various animal forms. The animal forms, particularly the monkey, are also found as a statue in the Bada Valley. There is also information on the existence of the same clan that practised clan totemism cult, with monkeys for totems. Clan totemism is a concept of a specific cult toward certain animals.

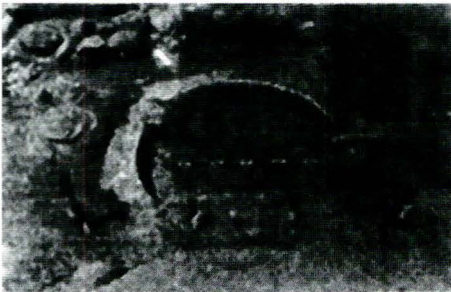
The *kalamba* (container) is usually made of mollase (sand stone). As to the size, they too are varied. In the inside of the *kalamba* one can see knobs, and sometimes they do not

have them.

Usually the *kalambas* in Central Sulawesi are found together with other megalithic object like statues, pit-marked stone, and stones mortars, etc (see the table of finds).



Excavation on *Kalamba* Number 4 in Padang Tumpuara Site, Bada Valley

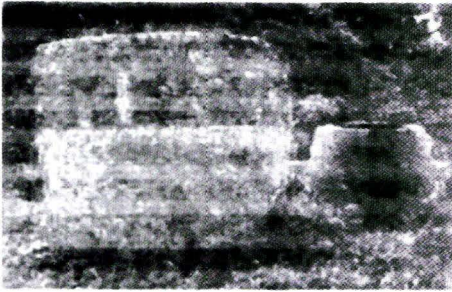


Expose of *Kalamba* Number 4 in Padang Tumpuara Site, Bada Valley

The megalithic remains of Central Sulawesi to be discussed here, concern specifically the *kalambas* from the Bada Valley (Sukendar e.a. 1976), and Besoa Valley (Bagyo Prasetyo e.a. 1995; Dwi Yani Yuniawati e.a. 2000).

Bada Valley is an area surrounded by high hills. It is located at an altitude of about 750 m above sea level, and at a distance of circa 125 km to the southeast of Palu. It falls within the South Lore district, Poso regency. Water is provided by a big river, the Balanta (Lariang) which cuts the valley into meanders, whereas Besoa Valley too is surrounded by high hills and located at an altitude of some 1200-1300 M above sea level. In Besoa Valley many tributaries (*uwei*) with upper streams flowing from various directions and forming the main river (Uwei Torire). In general, these tributaries have a parallel pattern, whereas the main river crosses the valley in meanders. The main river flows convergently at the down- fault of Matutua and penetrating the steep hilly area, so that the North Lore district can be seen created on the Napu and Besoa highlands that for the greater part is still

isolated from the outside world. This area consist for the majority of forest that forms part of The Lore- Lindu National Forest Preserve. Besoa Valley is in the North Lore district, Poso regency. Geomorphologically the valleys Bada and Besoa consist of ultra base rocks with soil on the surface of brown-reddish or yellowish colour that becomes muddy-soft by rain, and hard by the sun or during the dry season. This area is rich in minerals like gold, sulphur, coal, and iron ore. Geologically, the Besoa Valley belongs to a unique geomorphological form. According to Bemmelen this area is by its lithologic structure part of the Poso Zone, being the central zone of Central Sulawesi. Furthermore, Brouwer (1947) placed this area in the group of the "Napoe Basin" that forms an extension of the Pompangeo Formation



Kalamba (PKK-46) in Pokekea Site, Besoa Valley With Decoration of 8 Human Faces Around the Outer Wall



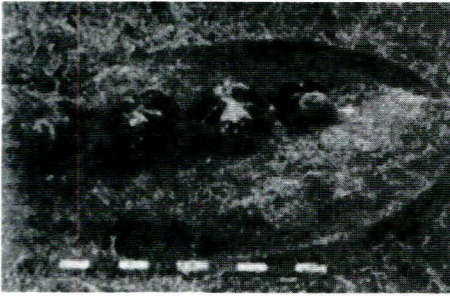
Clustery of *Kalambas*, in Pokekea Site, Besoa Valley

as the effect of granite intrusion in the late Mesozoic or Tertiary (Bemmelen 1970: 403-408). The indigenous population are the Lore tribe speaking the Bada language with the respective dialects: Bada and Besoa. The distribution of megalithic sites in the valleys of Bada and Besoa (Central Sulawesi) can be found in the following table.

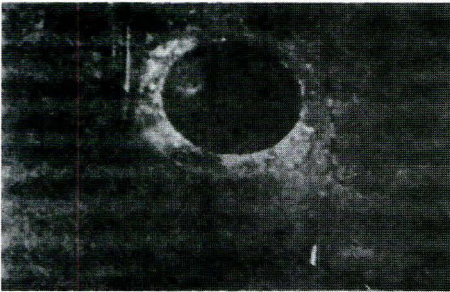
Kalamba is a big sized cylindrical stone vat. Some have covers and others do not. There are big and small ones. There are some which were perfectly carved, and some others are still in unfinished state. Results of surveys show that the biggest *kalamba* in the Besoa and Bada areas is found in the Padang Birantua Site, measuring about 235 cm in diameter and 160 cm high, with a depth of 111 cm, whereas those from Besoa are quite varied, as shown on the Tadulako Site one of it measures about 270 cm in diameter with 142 cm height. In Pokekea Site there are two specimens considered as big ones, each measuring 216 cm in diameter with 180 cm height and 187 cm in diameter with 200 cm height. The smallest *kalambas* ranged between 72 cm in diameter and 92 cm height are found in Pokekea Site.

Before excavations have been carried out, one is still in doubt as to the function of the *kalambas*. Only after Kaudern's excavation in 1938 at Padang Birantua, Bada Valley, and supported by Haris Sukendar's in 1976 at Padang Birantua and Padang Tumpuara, Bada Valley, and writer's in 2000 in Tadulako and Pokekea Sites, Besoa Valley, its function as a burial container is evident. Haris Sukendar excavated not only the inner side of the *kalamba*, but around it as well.

Excavation inside the *kalamba* (no. 3 from Padang Birantua, Lengkeka I Complex), yielded pot sherds of diverse thickness (indicating burials with burial goods), land molluscs, bark cloth-beater, structure of pebbles, grinding stone, pounding stone, fragments of human bones and teeth. The excavation in Tadulako Site yielded (from preliminary analyses) fragments of a human skeleton and skull, teeth, pottery (sherds), and one pebble. These finds were no longer insitu, because previously the local people have cleaned the *kalamba*,



Monkey Decoration in *Kalamba* Cover (PKK-10a), in Pokekea Site, Besoa Valley

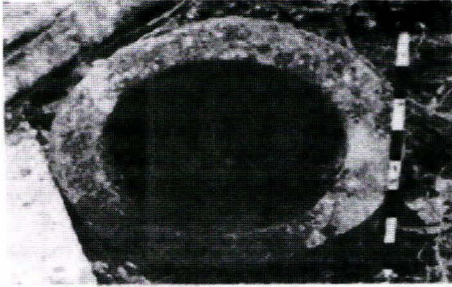


Kalamba (PDH-52) With Knob on the Inside Wall in Padang Hadoa Site, Besoa Valley

but after seeing the human bone remains they put them back for fear of the ancestor's power. Based on analysis towards the right humerus, provisionally it has been estimated that ten (10) individuals were buried in it. But viewed from the amount of teeth, it is possible that they are more than ten. According to Dr. Harry Widiyanto's observation towards the skull cap, it is assumed that the individuals buried in *kalambas* belong to the Mongoloid race. The teeth also indicate that they practised teeth mutilation, and considering the state of the bones and teeth found apparently they also cremated the bones in the *kalamba*. That these people practised cremation is supported by an excavation in Pokekea Site. This *kalamba* did not yield human bones, but instead marks of firing/burning of soil in the *kalamba* and on potsherds are found. As to the absolute date of the human remains it has not been known yet, because C-14 laboratory analysis is still being carried out (Dwi Yani Yuniawati 2000:10).

Haris Sukendar also excavated outside around the *Kalamba* (in Padang Tumpuara Site, Bada Valley), previously dug by Kaudern in 1917-20 (Kaudern 1938) which was not reported. Sukendar succeeded in finding

important artifacts like beads (made of glass and round shaped and white chalcedony of biconic shape), iron implements (adze, spearhead), bark-cloth-beater, whole and fragmentary pottery presenting incense burner, pots, vessel/jar, bowls, etc, and quite plenty of potsherds. They were assumed to be equipment for funerary rituals. These objects were found in a layer that corresponds with the layer outside the *kalamba*, that also contained pottery elements. With these evidences, it is assumed that the appearance of *kalambas* and their contents in association with the soil layers outside the *kalamba* that contains many sherds is related to human activities that resulted in the formation of culture layers on the sites. From these facts it can be concluded that the cultural layers were produced by the people that lived developing the megalithic culture. The findings of metal and glass elements that have played an important role at that time made one assume that the custom of burial in *kalambas* has developed at around the first



Kalamba (PDT-11) without knob on the inside
in Padang Taipa, Besoa Valley

century AD, but by glotte estimation the chronology of sites in the Bada Valley was placed on 500 BC (Masyuda 1971)

Based on comparison of sherds excavated in the sites of Padang Tumpuara and Padang Birantua, Sukendar concluded that the funerary rituals took place close or adjacent to the settlement. Viewing the multitude of human bones found mixed in disarray and results of the excavation of *kalamba* in the Birantua site, it is apparent that the burial system using *kalamba* forms a secondary burial (Sukendar 1980).

III. CONCLUSION

From data collected, it can be said that there is a possibility of a connection between the *waruga* and the *kalamba*, which is quite in accord with a previous statement, which said that *kalambas* can be put on par with *warugas* (Soejono 1977). Because next to their function as coffins, they are also for communal use as is evidenced by the funeral goods and their similarity in decoration (pottery, beads, iron tools, and human figures in straddle style for decoration). But the *waruga* seems to be a later development, because the burial goods they contain tend to be of later date like foreign ceramics and coins, but it needs further investigation by excavation and laboratory analyses for its confirmation.

The megalithic elements found in the *kalamba* sites are more complex by the finding of megalithic statues, pit-marked stones (*batu dakon*), stone mortars, menhirs, etc. On the other hand, none of those elements have been found in the *waruga* sites.

Basically antiquarians and archaeologists as well have to face problems concerning the megalithic, specially the aspects of diffusion its development, similarities, and differences of the remains effected by migrational factors. For some cases like in Europe, this theory cannot be disregarded, particularly since for the time being, diffusionist's explanations have provided the methodological contribution for cultural change from the aspect of transformation of characteristics from one culture area to another. This theory has been applied at Trehervey Quoit which resulted in the conclusion that diffusion forms one of the explanations to see the distribution and differences of megalithic finds in that site (Dark 1995: 192). A similiar method was applied by R.J. Atkinson in the effort of observing technological development in the building of megalithic monuments in Europe (Heggie 1981: 192).

With regard to the origin of the distribution of *kalambas* and *warugas*, up to the present archaeologists have to borrow theories on the linguistic distribution advocated by Kern,

who concluded that the megalithic tradition that has once prevailed in Southeast Asia, East Asia, Indonesia, and the Pacific came from Champa, Cochin China and Cambodia (Kern 1889). This theory was later used by Heine Geldern to support his theory which states that the megalithic culture found its origin in Continental Asia (Heine Geldern 1945: 147-151). Whereas van Heekeren came up with assumptions that the makers of megalithic objects in Besuki, Bali, Flores, and Sumba belong to the same people. They then followed one of the migration routes that came from Southeast Asia, and reaching Indonesia they spread in two directions, one towards Sumatra and the other towards Kalimantan and Sulawesi and later turned southwards to Besuki and Nusa Tenggara (Heekeren 1941:15; Soejono 1977: 166). Kruyt has also speculated that the builders of megalithic objects (including the *kalamba*) in Central Sulawesi belong to the group of people that came by the migration route from the north with its origin in Japan (Kruyt 1932: 14).

Actually from these theories one observes that there are many similarities in the megalithic elements in Asia and the Pacific, among others in its relation to the *kalamba* in Central Sulawesi. The various forms of *kalamba* (with or without covers, plain, but of lower quality in terms of workmanship) have also been found in the Mekhong Valley (Laos) in association with engraved stones (Bellwood 1975)

The megalithic remains created by our ancestors was supported by a social organizational structure, technology, arts, and religion. Without these elements it seemed to be impossible to produce those monuments. A solid organizational structure and a sense of mutual cooperation and unity in the community is imperative. A figure with integrity and wisdom is needed to coordinate the building of those monuments; and viewed from the economic aspect, it is apparent that such undertaking needs means and infrastructure that are no less expensive.

Based on Heine Geldern's (1945) and Rumbi Mulia's (1981) researches it is known that the construction of megalithic monuments is closely related to the effort of maintaining one's esteem and position in the community besides to guarantee the ancestors' spirits tranquility. Besides religion, the building of megalithic monuments also referred to the social esteem, status and position in the community, and the economic condition of the builder. The compact community life - the basis of unity and the concept of mutual cooperation of that period - formed a solid base for the creation of means of worship and religion conform to their concepts for common use.

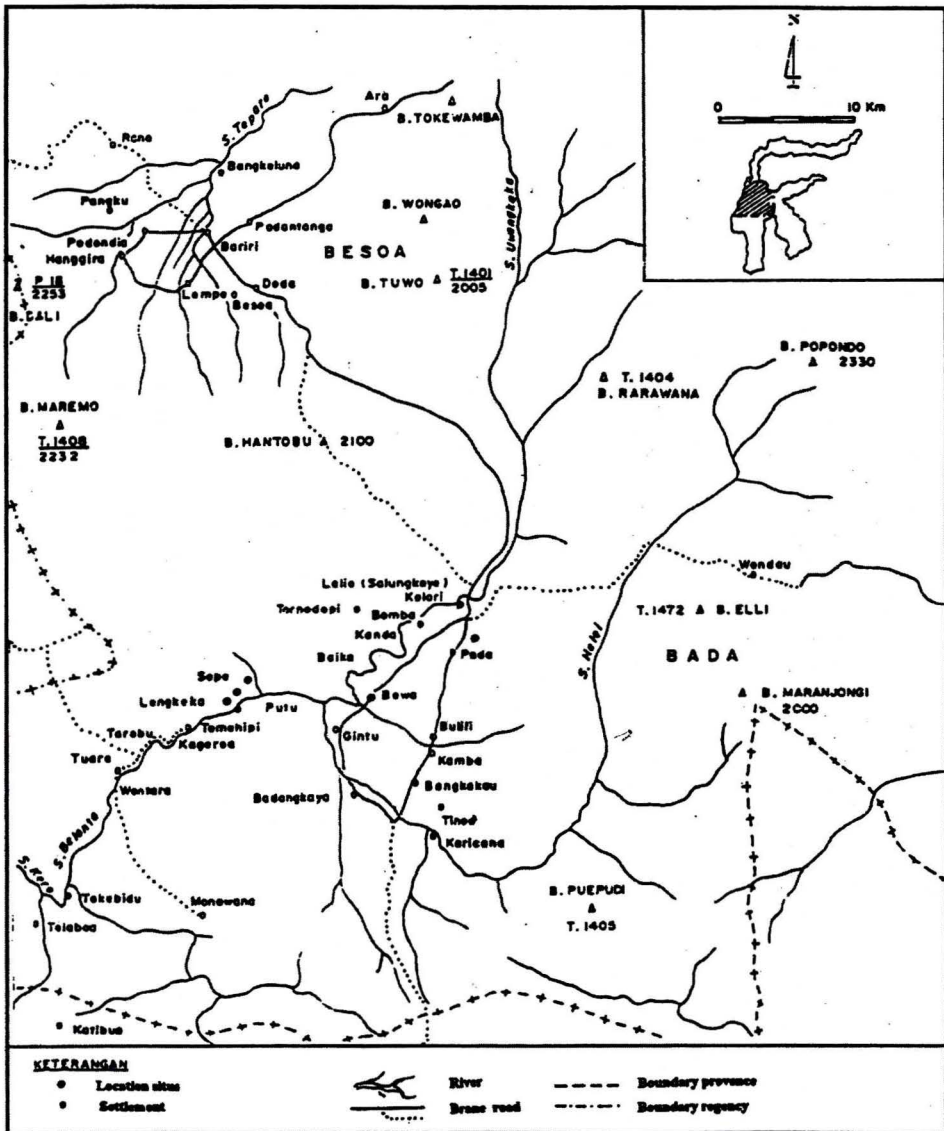


Figure 4 : Locational map of archaeological remains on Bada Valley Central Sulawesi

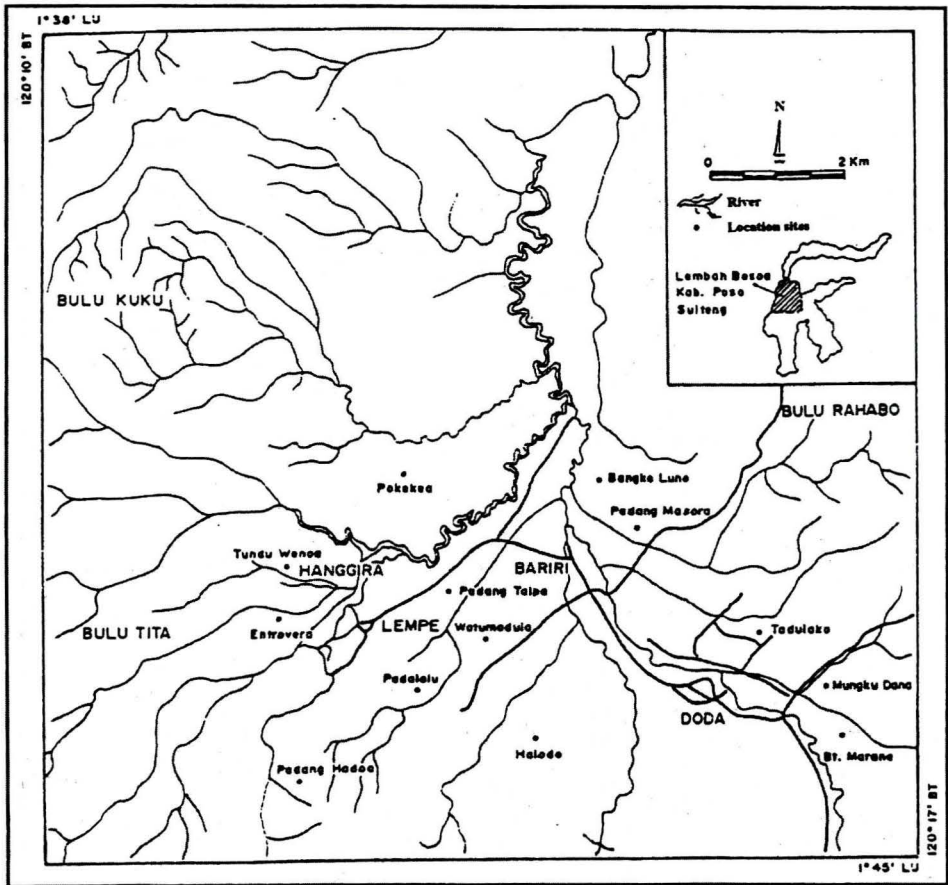


Figure 5 : Locational map of archaeological remains on Besoa Valley
Central Sulawesi

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MAIN THOUGHTS ON ARCHAEOLOGY

Soeroso MP

Summary

Studying the discipline of Archaeology and working in archaeological research activities are like two sides of a coin. To be actively involved in archaeology, we have to understand the essence of archaeology as a science. In the early stages, there was doubt whether archaeology is a science or an art or part of cultural history. But now archaeology has developed into an independent science.

I. THE POSITION OF ARCHEOLOGY IN THE SCIENTIFIC DOMAIN

To study the discipline of Archaeology and working in archaeological research activities are two very different matters. Nevertheless, both are closely related, like two sides of a coin. Someone who wants to be actively involved in the field of archaeology has to understand the essence of archaeology as a science.

As a science, archaeology has a scope, basic concept, objective, rules (theoretically as well as methodologically), research techniques, strategy, etc. that distinguish it from other sciences. All that characterize this specific science can be clearly defined as the paradigm of archaeology.

Naturally the science discussed in this treatise is a modern one, an accumulated scientific system, based on the main principles of transparency, both regarding distinct and accountable methods and application of concept, as well as clarity of data and its treatment which enable reinvestigation.

Viewed substantially, sciences classified as modern can be categorized into four major groups, which are :

1. natural sciences
2. biological sciences
3. social sciences
4. cultural sciences

Archaeology, philology, history, philosophy, anthropology, are some of those belonging to cultural sciences, or at present referred as *Humaniora*. By this classification, it is understood that archaeology forms an independent science with its domain, working procedures, theories, methods, and even experts of its own (Leirissa 1997: 96),

Besides the sciences mentioned above, there is a possibility that relationships among the disciplines are established, so giving birth to new sciences of interdisciplinary nature. Some

examples are ethno-linguistics as a fusion of anthropology and linguistics; sociolinguistics, a fusion of sociology and linguistics; ethnoarchaeology, as a fusion of anthropology and archaeology; geoarchaeology, a fusion of geology and archaeology; and so forth.

The possibility of the establishment of said relationships can also occur in the nature of multidisciplinary, transdisciplinary, and crossdisciplinary. Conform to its name, a multidisciplinary science is one that involve many sciences because of their relationship with the subject of study. A transdisciplinary science is one that is multipurpose in nature, crossing in other disciplines, like statistics, semiotics or semiology. On the other hand, a crossdisciplinary science is a crossing towards the original boundaries of a discipline of science which cannot answer basic questions perfectly, unless there is help from other sciences. In archaeology for instance, the questions on sex, age or length of human life, diseases man suffered, hardness of stone tools, chemical composition of metal tools, etc., clearly need help from other disciplines like geology, metallurgy, palaeontology, medicine, etc. By grouping the respective disciplines into four major groups, each will developed their research methods. The nature of the main topic of study very much influenced its reasoning procedures, the technique of taking, processing as well as interpretation most adequately to be used for natural and biological sciences, very much rely on quantitative approaches, because the topic of discussion is very “objective”, so that it can be expressed in exact numbers. On the other hand cultural as well as social sciences of which the topic of discussion is in the nature of human behavior and thoughts that are highly subjective and tends to apply qualitative approaches that prevent unreasonable interpretation of the researcher.

Archaeology belongs to the cultural sciences group, and as such relies on qualitative approaches, but because the main data comprise artifacts that can be counted, so in its working process it will need quantitative approaches provided that the number of items meet the requirements for statistical work (Edi Sedyawati 1999). In this manner, many phenomena in the field, like similarities or differences in the distribution of artifacts, sites' attributes and others, can reflect certain patterns.

II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Up to the middle of 20th century, the tendency of archaeological studies in the majority of countries concern problems on typology, chronology, and distribution of archaeological remains. This tendency still serve as a model in the Indonesian archaeological circles until now, as can be seen in a number of articles that made efforts to understand and see artifacts as remains of past cultures, and assumed to have an entity of its own.

In showing/presenting an artifact (stone adze, a statue, or a porcelain bowl), for instance, the archaeologist tried to make assessment of shape, material, and the chronology, then assessed the identity of the object. The next step is comparing the object with object of its kind found in other areas or region, then in a framework of a diffusions concept, trying

to explain the origin and direction of its distribution. In this kind of conceptual frame, the areas or regions that have been influenced by said culture are then placed subordinately, so creating terminologies that tend to place the external factors dominantly above the internal factors. In Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, as an example is Coedes' work that he titled "The Indianized States of Southeast Asia". (Coedes 1982).

But this viewpoint finally met with critique from the experts in archaeology. An archaeologist's job is actually not restricted to providing information on what, when, and where only, but he also has to be able to explain the process and direction of culture change as we found it today (at present). Therefore theories and methodology in research has to be developed so that analogical studies, or called etnoarchaeology, should be utilized to understand human behaviour in producing artifacts. The development of this viewpoint finally motivated archaeologist to respond to other matters on the how and why (Sharer and Ashmore 1980: 454-474). This kind of change in paradigm brings about a consequence of change in orientation and working manner, which was formerly artifact-oriented to site oriented, so that archaeological studies that in the beginning was descriptive in nature, needs to be upgraded to an explanative research.

Only with theory, strategy, methodology, and appropriate research techniques can archaeology develop the interpretative power in an effort of achieving the final goal of archaeology, that are reconstruction of culture history, reconstruction of the way of life, and explanation on cultural processes (Binford 1972: 78-89).

Besides, when it is understood correctly, it explicitly contains a distinct fundamental concept, that artifacts cannot only be regarded as an artifact by itself, but exists within a system with other artifacts that are interrelated in the frame of space, time, shape, function, and process. Therefore the existence of those objects has to be seen in relation with their environment in macro scale as well as in semimicro or micro scale (Clarke 1977: 1-32). So, with a holistic, systematic, and conjunctive views as the principles in research, then the ideological, technological, and social systems contained in the archaeological site can be seen individually, or together in a balanced system (Taylor 1948).

Artifacts as the product of material culture, in its relation with the functional aspect, can be distinguished in three classes:

1. technomic artifacts, also called technofact, that directly function in maintaining the existence of a community;
2. sosio-technic artifact, or sosiofact, is an artifact that directly function in a social subsystem of the entire cultural system, which in turn serves as an extra-somatic tool unifying each individuals in integrated groups;
3. ideotechnic artifact, or ideofact, is an artifact of which its functional context is primarily in the ideological component, which marks and symbolizes ideological rationalization of the social system (Binford 1962: 217-225; Timbul Haryono 1984: 7-8).

But this should not be understood that an artifact reflects only one aspect because it does not exclude the possibility of reflecting a combined aspect.

Based on this reasoning, it is easy to understand that artifact (remains of man-made object, that can or cannot be moved), ecofact (objects that are not made by man, but is closely related to his/her activities), and feature (result of human or natural activities that cannot be removed without undergoing changes) become the focus of study of archaeologists. Therefore their acquisition has to be done systematically and scientifically to maintain the quality and validity content as the primary source in the effort to understand human behavior and culture in the past. This has to be emphasized, because actually data obtained by archaeologist are very fragmentary and only represent a small portion of evidences of past activities. Such tendency then gave birth to new reasoning and orientation of archaeologists in the efforts of reconstructing the social system and social relationship in the past. This aspiration then creates the idea of developing a science of archaeology (an archaeological science) that specifically focuses its attention to the problems of the social system and relationship of past communities, which was then known as “ Social Archaeology” (Colin Renfrew 1984: 3).

III. PARADIGM OF ARCHAEOLOGY

Up to the present, the majority of Indonesian and world archaeology have agreed that there are three main objectives to be achieved in each archaeological research. The three objectives represent one model or idea on the domain that elaborates on the priority sequence of the most important attributes to be observed to reach the highest level of understanding on cultural history, man’s way of life in the past, and the process of cultural change (Binford 1972:78-104).

The first objective concerns cultural history, or better known as paradigm of cultural history. Archaeologist that work according to this paradigm try to seek similarities in cultural units of the community, to be able to show the relationships and exchange of its elements, like technology and art, among these groups of people. To achieve this, two principal assumptions have to be kept in mind.

1. The more similarities there are among the artifacts of different groups of people, the closer the relationship and communication that are established between these groups.
2. The distant or close relationship between two groups of people can be measured by comparing similar or different attributes.

In Indonesian archaeology, examples of these efforts can be found in relation with the problem of the spread of Indian culture in Indonesia during the classical period.

However, one should also realize that the paradigm of cultural history is not an idea without reserve. One could question, for instance, the appearance/emergence of similarities

in technology and art in two groups of communities observed. Was it merely caused by the established communication and diffusion rather than due to other processes like invention or void of any communications from one group to the other?

The second paradigm is aimed at reconstructing the daily way of life of communities in the past. The archaeologists that work according to this school assumed that the way of life of the past can be rediscovered when there is the ability of comparing attributes and the pattern of artifacts' distribution in a site with historical and anthropological data. Functional interpretation by comparing the form of a stone tool with a metal knife in anthropology is better known by term of analogy. In archaeology the efforts to reconstruct the manner in which man produced a tool can be achieved by ethnoarchaeological studies (Trigger 1989: 387).

However, it has to be admitted that even with ethnoarchaeological studies, it cannot fully guarantee that the efforts of reconstructing human life in the past can be done perfectly. Facts in the field often show findings of artifacts that cannot be compared with those of the present, besides the occurrence of cultural changes that took place sporadically in the community, due to the different communications network.

The third paradigm made effort in finding the process of cultural change and the factors that caused these changes. In this conjunction, the term "the process of cultural change" has to be understood as a dynamic change, that is, transfer of information and energy into a cultural system, processes that are able to create changes in a structure, an information or essence of a cultural system so enabling in adding new elements from said system. For the experts that hold to this paradigm, a number of procedures to gain an insight on the process of cultural change are employed.

Starting from:

1. The formulation of a classification system of several stages, from the most simple to the complex ones.
2. To look for data on factors that have compelled man to change the system, from the simple one to the more intricate.

Usually, a researcher will look for data in several sites, then he will analyze and see whether the changes that have occurred in an area was caused by difference in time or space (temporal or spatial). It is possible to see the similarities and differences as well in the process of development that occurred in the respective case, and the different factors in each case can be used to explain as why the process of cultural change did not always take the same course. And finally from here on, a conclusion is reached as to the nature of man and culture in general.

Returning to archaeology that places artifacts as archeological data, it has to be realised that anything found by archaeologists actually only represent a small portion of the entire artifacts ever made by man. Many of the archaeological data were destroyed by

time or factors of human behaviour so that those collected are too few with which one can reach an extensive and detailed conclusion.

Therefore there is very little left to work on in the effort of learning the cultural process. One that can be expected is a hypothetical one, stating that actually a man-made object cannot be separated from man's activities in the non-physical sub-system that cannot be directly detected from the artifact.

Each man-made object has to go through the same process, from the acquisition and processing of material, utilization and disposal. Therefore, each artifact represents the result of various activities, so at least there is still hope to obtain information of the respective activities.

Logical framework in Archaeology.

Viewed from its framework, an archaeologist's job in general can be divided into three kinds of activities, which are:

1. To collect data by surveys and excavations
2. To arrange data (for the purpose of taxonomy and classification)
3. To integrate data so as to reach the stage of analysis and synthesis to finally formulate the final conclusion on culture.

From the three steps mentioned above, the final goal of each research that is expected to be gained is the last one, whereas the two first steps merely form the stages that have to be taken to reach the goal.

Before conducting an excavation or survey, actually an archaeologist has to have certain objectives, that are not only related to the collection of antiquities, but they should also be aimed at the result that can be further investigated, to answer particular questions concerning technology, history, and other cultural aspects. So when a finding of an object or a site in a locality did not support the aforementioned objectives, the site is most likely not to be excavated.

Considering that the first job concerns matters that are more technical in nature, attention is more focused on the second job, which deals with the arranging of archaeological data. This does not mean that the first job is not important, because the significance of the second one actually can be achieved provided that the first is done correctly. But, it has to be realized though that difficulties often encountered by archaeologists are in the second job, which concern selecting the best way to formulate classification systems, so that the data collected can be arranged and able to support the solutions to particular problems.

Archaeological Data

The term *data* comes from Latin, which means "something that is given", and it is in the plural form of *datum*.

Essentially, all notion on data used by archeologists distinguish 2 groups, that of a narrow sense and one that of a broad sense.

The notion in a narrow sence, the term data means remains made by man in the past, called artifact, in addition to objects that display the impact of human activities like animal bones and other food remains, charcoal etc., called ecofact, and the spatial position in the ground, called stratigraphy.

In a broad since, the notion of data is not restricted to information on artifacts, ecofacts viewed from the form, kind material, function and its position in the stratigraphical sequence (vertical position), but also its position in the horizontal dimension. So this notion include the distribution pattern, in narrow units (between lots in one space), in medium units (between rooms in one house) and extensive units (between house in one community). The grading of the terms narrow (macro level), medium (semi micro level) or extensive (macro level) can be stepped up, depending on the extent of the universe.

Viewed from the kinds of material, in archaeology there are at least 4 kinds of data that in turn are arranged in 4 different levels in terms of their management and potential as well.

1. Artifact, as the most basic archaeological data. Each artifact is known to possess some characters called attributes. An artifacts attribute consists of material, form/shape, measurement, color, decorative design, use marks, and marks of taphonomic processes (marks acquired by an artifact after it is no longer used). Data processing in the artifacts level cannot provide useful data for the study of culture. According to the most common definition, "culture" includes all learned human behavior, or owned communally by a number of people that live or have lived together, or in other words, behavior made uniform due to the establishment of communications. So, in the artifact level, attributes created by the process of communication, that describes culture, cannot be distinguished from attributes created by the behaviour of the craftsmen or user because of its random taphonomy.
2. Artifacts sub-semblage, a collection consisting of a number of artifacts from a site that related to their function. An example of a sub-semblage are for instance, the bow, arrow, spear, knife that all present their functional value as means for hunting or warfare. Therefore by employing said sub-semblage, an archaeologists is able to test some hypotheses on culture owned by a group of people as indicated by the existing functional relationships of the artifacts.
3. Artifact assemblage, comprise the entire collection of artifacts of the some site. In this level, a rather intricate processing of data can be done, so that the distribution of artifacts in one site can lead to the description of the existing social structure as expressed in the spatial arrangement. The finding of location of the respective sub-semblage artifacts and the ratio of the number of artifacts of each type may provide

- an insight on the spatial utilization and its intensity.
4. Assemblage groups, collections of artifacts found in several neighbouring sites. In this level, the distribution pattern of artifacts, sub-assemblage, as well as the entire assemblage of artifacts are compared to obtain an insight on the general character of a community group. Due to local conditions of the respective sites, these general characteristics can be different from one type to another.

IV. CLASSIFICATION OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL DATA

In archaeology and also in other social and cultural sciences in general, there are two kinds of classification systems, which are analytical taxonomy and descriptive taxonomy. Logically, something that is descriptive in nature is defined as ideal activities that analyze or distinguish one entity (event, problem, artifact etc.) into fractions so as to understand its nature, relationship, and role of the respective fractions.

The difference between the descriptive and analytical nature is not distinctly observable. In archaeology the difference between the two kinds of typology needs to be emphasized because it will be of great influence in the process of explaining the relationships of one type with the other as a concrete manifestation of the current processes among the entire cultural subsystems.

In a descriptive typology, usually only descriptions of objects - classified by their similarities or differences of specific attributes contained in each object - will be found and selected without explanation with regard to the factors that are responsible for the appearance of similarities or differences among the types of objects in the respective categories. From here on the archaeologists cannot learn why specific types have a great number of members, whereas others do not. Therefore a mere descriptive typology will not be able to help a scientist directly in his efforts of drawing a conclusion of past cultures, and will not be able to provide information on the cultural fractions that cannot be observed directly though the artifacts or ecofacts. In other words, an archaeologist should not be content in succeeding to do a descriptive typology as if he has solved the problem. Therefore he has to make continuous efforts to review (re-evaluate) each classification system that has been created as analytic in nature so enabling him to expose the relationships among the different units (at the end). Finally, equipped with only one tested analytical typology, the basis to support a hypothesis can be developed.

V. FORMULATION AND TESTING OF A HYPOTHESIS

Logically, a hypothesis or postulate is also defined as “an information that is experimental which is assumed probably right and used as the basis for explaining various matters, or as an indicator for further research, so that a confirmation by evidences is gained”.

In a scientific procedure, the execution of said definition is actually rather difficult, and even looked twisted. Therefore the easiest way to take is by proposing a zero hypothesis,

that is by proposing a statement that among all variables observed there is no relationship detected. To test the correctness of said statement, an experiment is done by changing the value of one variable and observe the other variables. If the other variable's value also change because of the change of one variable then the zero hypothesis, that states that there is no relationship between the variables observed, is wrong. Therefore logically, the hypothesis is positive, that is the variables do have relationship within a system, so it needs to be supported. The more data source that support a hypothesis, the higher its level of confidence, although it will not achieve the perfect confirmation.

A hypothesis is not an experiment, it only presents one basis to draw a probability, an inference forecast or prediction drawn from the hypothesis. Here one often finds the weak point in the majority of scientific researches, because a researcher is not able to point direct relationships between the results reported and the problem he wants to prove. The problem lies in the inequality of the analytical units with those in the initial hypothesis. To avoid it, and to be able to bridge the proposed hypothesis with the observations done, a bridging argument has to be formulated by proposing a number of inferences that can be gained in the laboratory as well as from excavations of particular sites that are assumed to present related variables.

VI. MODELS FOR APPROACH

In archaeology, a model is understood as fragments of a machine that connect observation with theoretical ideas, that can be used for various purposes and has a very extensive scope. This depends on the level of observation that forms the focus of attention and the manner in which the observed object is to be connected to theory or hypothesis. A model often forms a partial representation that simplifies the observed object by putting aside selectively matters that are of no importance for the formulation of a model. So, a model reflects main factors that are closely interrelated, presenting interesting variables for observation (Clarke 1972: 2):

Therefore a model can be considered as a tool to manipulate data and hypotheses, and can also serve as a tool to visualize, compare, organize, explain or construct, and develop a theory. In archaeology, in general a model that is developed referred to a paradigm developed in other sciences that have a number of developmental similarities with the pattern of archaeological activities. In general a paradigm that developed in archaeology covers:

1. Morphological paradigm, an intensive study on artifacts and assemblage system that often employed numerical statistical and taxonomical approaches.
2. Anthropological paradigm, a study on the pattern and diversity of archaeological data and its relationship with pattern and diversity in the social structure that form the integral form of a system. In general it is related to ethnographic studies.
3. Ecological paradigm, an intensive study on archaeological studies as an integral part of a system of environmental adaptations and ecology in which sites, natural environment, and ecology are enwrapped in adaptational network. Usually this study

- concerns studies on demography and economy, and in particular on flora and fauna.
4. Geographical paradigm, a study on sites as a system of featural and structural patterns in a network of regional site distribution pattern. In microscale it concerns studies on architecture and settlement, and in macroscale it concerns studies on spatial relationships, especially on patterns of activities (Clarke 1972: 2).

Although at present much progress is seen in Indonesian archaeology, it has to be admitted that said paradigm emerged and developed rather late compared to in European and American archaeology. That is due the fact that the archaeological paradigm in Indonesia was born among European scholars that in general have an academic background on philology. Although in the beginning their scientific requirement compelled them to study manuscripts and inscriptions, they later became attracted to study Indonesian ancient history, architecture, and iconography that can provide additional data in their studies. In other words archaeological studies in Indonesia can also be considered as a study on Indonesian ancient history. In effect, specialization in archaeology like Prehistory, Classical archaeology, Islamic archaeology, and Colonial Archaeology that was based on periodization is also similar to the specialization of the science for Indonesian history. Even prehistorical studies that study artifacts that dated from the period prior to the acquaintance with writing, apparently found its reference in historic studies.

VII. CONCLUSION

Summing up the afore mentioned elaboration, it is apparent that there are still much that have not been solved and will possibly leave an impression of doubt as to the position of archaeology in the row of empiric sciences. It has to be admitted though that in the early stages, many people, and even among the archaeologists' circles, questioned archaeology as a science or as art (Wheeler 1954: 2), or part of cultural anthropology, so it belongs in the row of social sciences (Deetz 1971: 3), or even archaeology is anthropology, or none of those all.

Apparently such views/assumptions form the beginning of the development of a field of science that more or less is tied with the experts' views. In Indonesia for instance, archaeology in the beginning was known as a science of ancient history. This is caused by the fact that the majority of scholars that were actively involved were figures in philology and art history.

However, in the course of time, and in line with the revolution of sciences, archaeology also developed. The change of paradigm, approach, and research strategies have formed archaeology as an independent science. But it is inevitable though, that the scientific demands and domain of study contributed to the birth of this sub-discipline of science. So it was that finally many branches of archaeology emerge, like Maritime Archaeology, Public Archaeology, Social Archaeology, Historical Archaeology, and others. Each has characteristics and methods of its own that suited its field of study. However there is a

meeting point of these sub-disciplines, which concerns the object of work. Finally, David Clarke's statement, which said that "Archaeology is archaeology in archaeology", has to be accepted (Clarke 1978: 11).

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MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT SUMATRA*)

Satyawati Suleiman

Introduction

F. M. Schnitger ¹⁾ mentioned many sculptures in his book: *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*. Though we know the places where the images and monuments were found, we regret that detailed descriptions, discussion of styles and cultural relations are lacking. For when we observe the photos of the images, we wonder where they were made. Was there a local school of sculptural art, or were the pieces imported? Were certain styles from another country followed or did the sculptors invent their own style? An attempt will be made in this paper to compare the images published by Schnitger with similar ones from other areas with the aim to find and answer to these questions. More knowledge on the relations of Sumatra with other countries may result from this brief study.

RESEARCH IN SUMATRA

The oldest information on statues and monuments were often provided by Dutch civil servants who in the colonial period were living in the provincial towns of Sumatra. References to these reports are found in the *Tijdschrift Bataviaasch Genootschap*, and in the *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap*, beginning in the eighteenth century. Later on appeared reports on new discoveries in the issues of the *Oudheidkundig Verslag*.²⁾

Transcriptions of Sumatran inscriptions are found in the *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden (OJO)*, in the *Oudheidkundig Verslag* and in Kern's *Verspreide Geschriften*.³⁾ The inscriptions of Sriwijaya were studied by Coedes, Krom, de Casparis, Damais, Ferrand, and Boechari to mention only a few.⁴⁾

Architectural remains were described and discussed by Ijzerman, Stein Callenfels, and Bosch.⁵⁾

Images of Sumatra were discussed by Krom, Moens, Schnitger, Stutterheim, Bernet Kempers, and recently by Nik Hassan Shuhaimi.⁶⁾

Since 1954 when a group of Indonesian archaeologists accompanied by a few foreign scholars made a tour through Southern Sumatra, the interest in Sumatran archaeology was growing, though there were only few activities due to lack of funds. Fortunately since 1974 more funds were available from the PELITA (the 5 years Development Plan). Several surveys and excavations were carried out in Lampung, Palembang, Jambi, West Sumatra, Riau, North Sumatra, Aceh and Bengkulu.⁷⁾

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Thus all the Provinces of Sumatra have already been surveyed. More surveys and excavations will be carried out in the future. Whereas formerly stress was laid on studies of ancient monuments, nowadays ancient seaports are surveyed and excavated. Not only on the Strait of Malacca but also on the west coast on the Indian Ocean. The study of ceramic sherds is now considered to be most important for the dating of ancient sites.⁸⁾

PREHISTORIC SCULPTURES

Sumatra has been inhabited since prehistoric proved by the finds of palaeoliths in South Sumatra and of the so called Sumatra adzes together with human and animal remains in the kitchen refuse hills near Medan, North Sumatra. Neolithic adzes have also been found in the Lampungs and in Bengkulu.

It appears that in the Neolithic period images as objects of worship were already made. All over Indonesia so-called "Polynesian statues" are found. These are images in stiff poses and crudely carved. Rumbi Mulia has made a list of these finds, which were reported in several publications before Worldwar II. This kind of statues was found in Tapanuli, Bengkulu, Lampung and Palembang. More may exist in other parts of Sumatra, but perhaps still covered by dense vegetation. Moreover people in the Neolithic period could have made wooden statues. Even in the historic period there were wooden idols. In the inscription of Dinoyo in East Java of AD 769 it is said that a sandalwood statue of Agastya is replaced by one of black stone.¹⁰⁾

Bronze and iron artifacts were also found in Sumatra, and these were produced during the protohistoric period when no Indonesian inscriptions had yet been made, though foreign sources already began to mention Indonesian islands and places: for example the *Geographike Hyphegesis*, and the *Periplous tes Erythras Thalasses*, which mentioned Chryse, the land of Gold. Suvarnavdipa was the name for Sumatra in the Ramayana and in inscriptions of the ninth and fourteenth centuries.

Gold is found in Bengkulu in mines, while in other Sumatran areas gold is often washed out of the river as in Jambi. Bronze objects could have been made in Sumatra as tin, one of the ingredients for the alloy, is found in the neighbouring islands, of Bangka and Biliton.

In the Pasemah area, in the interior of South Sumatra (Palembang) several statues in dynamic poses were found, some of which were carrying kettledrums, helmets or daggers of the Dongson type. These megalithic statues are likely to have been made when bronze and iron were already in use in Indonesia. The statues are of men riding elephants or fighting elephants, tigers or serpents. They are therefore shown as heroes who are taming the animals. As their dynamic poses could be compared with that of a carving of men and animals on a Chinese tomb of the Han dynasty, the statues are supposed to date back to

Prof.O.W. Wolters who in 1978 and 1980 has participated in two of our Sumatra trips in search of Srivijaya, has been so kind as to read my original paper, and correct my English for which I herewith express my sincerest gratitude

the second century BC. ¹¹⁾

Sculptural art has thus existed in Sumatra since prehistoric times. The base was already there for further development in the historic “classical period”, when Hinduism and Buddhism penetrated Sumatran societies.

ANCIENT SCULPTURES

Schnitger has published many photographs in his *Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra* which are discussed below. Afterwards recently discovered images in Sumatra will then be discussed.

SOUTH SUMATRA

Plate I : Great Buddha of Palembang¹²⁾

It is made of granite, with its double - lotus pedestal it is 3.60 metres high. Both shoulders are covered. Its fragments were found in 1920 and 1928 at the foot of the Bukit Seguntang. Its head was discovered at the National Museum by Schnitger, who brought it back to Palembang.

As it is made of granite, Schnitger thought that it had been made in Bangka where this material is found, as according to him this material is not found in Palembang. But an Indonesian geologist found the same material in the Palembang area ¹³⁾.

The image has been discussed by several scholars. Nik Hassan Shuhaimi wrote an article on it in 1979, entitled: ‘The Bukit Seguntang Buddha: a reconsideration of its date’.¹⁴⁾ He does not agree with Krom, Devaprasad Gosh, Bachofer, Nilakantha Sastri and Majumdar as regards its date, provenance and style. They date it before the 6th century AD, Nik Hassan agrees that Schnitger’s dating (sixth century) is more acceptable. He is of the opinion that its style was influenced by the Pala school of northern India and can be dated to the late seventh and early eighth century AD. Assuming that Palembang was the site of the capital of Srivijaya¹⁵⁾, he concludes that the idea of producing Buddha images according to Pala tradition must have reached Palembang through religious contacts.

Plate III :

Image in gala dress. Museum Palembang. Schnitger gives a description on p. 2: “At Gedeng Sura, between temples II and VI, lay a beautiful image, dating from the 8th to the 10th centuries, 1.18 m high, representing a standing god in festive dress, with ear ornaments, armlets and necklace, a garment with loops on both hips and draperies reaching almost to the ankles; eleven strands of hair fall over back and shoulders: the left leg is slightly bent; head, arms and feet are missing”.

We may add that the image has a *doti* which is shorter on the right leg, than on the left, a characteristic of Diengs images, while the statues of Candi Banon now at the National Museum show the same fashion. The Palembang statue has a girdle with very short ends, which gives the impression that it is older than the Banon images which have longer ends.

These two ends of the metal belt grow longer in the course of time, to end up at the feet on Majapahit statues. Nik Hassan (1908:2) sees an extra piece of cloth which goes down to the knees, but it has the double-loop sashes and no extra piece of cloth. Actually these sashes are the *dodot*, the extra cloth worn at the keratons of the Javanese princes by men and women. In the reliefs of Majapahit¹⁶⁾ the women are wearing it, while they carry the slip over their left arm, like a *saree*-slip. The image of Palembang could have been a Javanese image, but it could also have been locally made.

Plate VI : Bronze Siva.

National Museum. This image could also pass for a Javanese statue. It has a high *jatamakuta*, hairstrands which fall on both shoulders, a long skirt perhaps a *sarong*, not a *doti*, with pleats in the middle, serpent *upavita*, necklace, single armlets, and double bracelets. The back hands carry a rosary and fly-whisk while the front (right hand is) in a kind of *vitarka mudra* and the left hand is bearing a vase.

Plate VI: Bronze Visnu (East Palembang) (Cover)

Visnu is standing on his Garuda bird which has human hands. The godhead is holding a club with *vajra* shaped ends, while a *cakra* is balanced on the upright finger of his right back hand, like the Harihara of Simping at the Museum Pusat in Jakarta which has also this raised finger.¹⁷⁾ The Visnu holds a conch shell in his left back hand and a dagger in his front left hand.

The *makuta* is high and has a kind of diadem in front as in the case of the Majapahit statues. Behind his head are ribbons which are flying upwards, which is also a characteristic of Singhasari and Majapahit statues. The backslab has the form of an inscription slab which is actually a lotusleaf of stone. Though many traits of Majapahit sculptures have been followed, it is obvious that the image was locally made as the dress looks more elaborate than that of Majapahit statues; moreover, in Java Visnu is never standing on the Garuda but sitting: (compare with the Visnu on Garuda in the Mojokerto Museum).¹⁸⁾

Plate VII: Sakyamuni from Mount Seguntang.

The right shoulder is uncovered, the hands are broken. The Buddha is standing on a double lotus cushion, he has a rather slim figure. He looks like the Buddha from Java at the Leiden Museum, published by Bernet Kempers (1933 pl. 26).(19)

Plate VI. Bronze Lokesvara from Mount Seguntang.

Schnitger thinks of Cham influence (p. 3). The two statues published by Schnitger have high chignons in which an Amitabha statue is visible. Their long *dotis* show downwards slanting lines to the left and right. They have both a piece of cloth in the middle of the upper hem of the *doti* like on Cambodian statues of the pre-Angkor period²²⁾. The difference with those Cambodian statues is that they show carefully carved lines, while these two images

have rather schematically drawn lines as if they had been locally made in Palembang after originally imported models or sketches.

Plate VII. Bronze Buddha.

It is seated on a throne in the so-called 'European pose'. It has its right hand in *vitarka mudra* and holds the hem of the robe in its left hand. Bernet Kempers (1933) points out that several Buddha bronzes from Java are seated in the same pose. We are reminded of the Buddha in the Candi Mendut, which is also seated in the same pose, but its hands are in the *Dharmacakra mudra*. It has a nimbus.

The bronze Buddha from Palembang has its feet on a double lotus cushion. The throne itself is also interesting as it has a backing with two pillars with a *makara* on top. The form of the backing is like a triangle with flame decoration on both sides, while the top is like a *ratna*. The *usnisa* is rather low.

Plate VII. Bronze Vairocana.

It is seated in *Vajrasana* pose. The right shoulder is bare, but the flap on the left shoulder is a characteristic of Pala art (Bernet Kempers, 1933). It has a large nimbus. The curls are rather low on the forehead and it has a conical *usnisa* which seems to be separated from the curls below it, by a pearl band. The backing has also *makaras* on both sides. The double lotus cushion is on top of a pedestal.

Plate VII: Bronze Buddha head from Bukit Seguntang.

Schnitger described it as a bronze Buddha head of a South Indian type. It has a bandeau with rosettes.

To me it looks more like a locally - made image with a detail from preangkorian art: the bandeau with rosettes.²¹⁾

Plate VII: Bronze Bodhisattva

It was also mentioned by Nik Hassan in a recent paper (1980:3). He dates it to the same period as the Padmapani from Kerinci, from the 9th century AD²²⁾ He says: It is seated in *rajalilasana* on a double lotus with a pedestal. The same type of ornaments as the Kerinci image are worn but the headdress is much shorter. From its left hand a stalk of a lotus appears to arise and ends up with an open lotus. Behind the image is a large rounded flaming halo with a parasol attached to its top.

We may add to it, that the image could be classified as one which is similar to the type of Hindu-Javanese bronzes showing Pala features from the Leiden Museum. (Bernet Kempers, 1933, pl. 31). The image of Palembang is leaning against a circular disc, which in the case of the Javanese bronzes shows a close affinity to the bronzes of Nalanda, which have it too. But in Nalanda the figures have been modelled on the circular disc, "which makes the images more or less a relieve, whereas Hindu Javanese bronzes are generally

modelled apart from the background” (Bernet Kempers, 1933, p. 68).

The Palembang image has the disc with a parasol on top as do two of the four Javanese bronzes published by Bernet Kempers 1933). The difference is that the Palembang image has no bows and ribbons behind the ears, which the Javanese bronzes have, and this may lead to the conclusion that here again we see a locally made image but with Pala features. Moreover, the way the Bodhisattva is seated is also unique because most images of the kind have their right leg hanging down, whereas this one reminds us of figures seated on thrones in the Borobudur reliefs. Nik Hassan thinks that ‘the way of posture is represented remind us of an "Indo Javanese image" which he finds in Coomaraswamy(1968) pl. CXIX, fig. 363.

Plate VIII. Bronze images of Maitreya, Lokesvara and Buddha

Found in the Komering river near the city of Palembang in 1929.²³⁾ They look like Javanese bronzes of the Sailendra period: with their high chignons (except the Buddha), hair strands falling to the shoulder and, a sash over the chest. But while comparing the Lokesvara with Javanese bronzes I could not find any which, would look nearly similar. But I found that the *Lokesvara* could be compared to the bronze Avalokitesvara from Bidor, Perak (Walles, 1940- p1.79)²⁴⁾ The headdress is similar, the hairstrand’s fall in the same fashion on the shoulder, the long sarong or *doti* has only one belt, there is a tiger skin round the hips and the way the hands are made in the same way. They could have come from the same school.

The Buddha has a rather broad *usnisa*, his robe covers both shoulders, and the draping round the neck looks like a necklace while the lower ends of the garment have the form of a swallow’s tail, which are characteristics of standing Buddhas of Pala art (Bernet Kempers 1933 p. 19) The Buddha has his right hand in *abhaya mudra* while his left hand holds the hem of the garment, like the Sikendeng Buddha. (Bernet Kempers, 1959, pl. 24)

Plate IX: A Siva torso from Tanah Abang

It is identified as a Siva because it holds a rosary. But in most Siva images, the rosary is in the right back hand, while a serpent *upavita* crosses the upper body. But here we see a sash, like on a Bodhisattva. Here again, is a local trend. Interesting are the parrots in garland from Tanah Abang on the same page. They are at the National Museum and made from terracotta. Parrot motifs are found on many Javanese temples, while the use of terracotta for sculpture is found in the Majapahit period and afterwards in the Moslem art of the north coast of Java, but only with floral motifs.

Plate X: Buddha from Bingin, Museum Palembang.

As the Buddha is still unfinished, it is a proof that images were not imported but were made on the spot. Nik Hassan²⁵⁾ refers to it when he disagrees with Schnitger

about the provenance of the standing Buddha of Bukit Seguntang, which according to Schnitger was made in Bangka where there is granite, which is lacking in Palembang.

Plate X: Bodhisattva head from Bukit Seguntang. (p. 3).

The carefully combed hair, and the headband with rosettes may be compared with a head from Angkor Borei from the pre-Angkorian period in Cambodia (Piere Dupont, 1955), pl. XVI²⁶⁾ According to Schnitger the head belongs to the trunk below. It has abroad sash which gives the impression that it is a Lokesvara. It has a long *doti* or *sarong* on, which is unlike that of Javanese statues which grows narrower towards the hem, but it resembles Cambodian statues with their pleats in the middle which are diverging towards the hem. It is also different, from any other image: whereas most stastues have the upperhem of the *doti* or *sarong* below the navel, this image has a very broad belt of cloth covering the whole belly, tied casually in front, while a loop and the two ends are hanging down together. Thus it is not imported from Cambodia, but made after a Cambodian model with local variations.

Plate X: Lokesvara from Bingin. (pl. 3a in this book).

It had originally four arms, but only one arm (back left) remained which is holding a book. It has no jewellery. In its chignon is an Amitabha. The strands of hair are falling on the shoulders. The long *sarong* grows narrower towards the hem, like the Javanese statues of the Sailendra period. It wears a simple belt, tied in the center, It looks similiar to the Bodhisattva from Situlpavuva in Srilanka which has also a long *doti* or *sarong*, a thin belt around the waist and the same figure. It has a high *makuta* with a Amitabha. On both shoulders fall the hairlocks as on the Lokesvara from Bingin (see Devendra 1957, pl. XX)²⁷⁾ and pl. 5b in this book).

Plate XI. Buddha from Solok near Jambi.

Museum Pusat. Both shoulders are covered by the robe. The hands are broken. At the back is an inscription: *Dañ acāryya syūta*, the type of script dating to the 8th century. (Boechari in Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya)²⁸⁾

Plate XI. Bronze Aksobhya from Tungkal.

Seated in *vajrasana* on a double lotus cushion. The right shoulder is bare, the right hand is in *Bhumisparsamudra* and the left hand holds the hem of the garment. The *usnisa* is rather pointed, It looks somewhat foreign.

Plate XI. Makara from Solok near Jambi.

It is one of four makaras now at the Museum Pusat. One of them bears the date 986 (1064 AD) They could have belonged to a very large temple. ²⁹⁾

Plate XIII. Bhairava, from Sungai Langsat.

Its height is 4.41 m. It is standing on a corpse and a skull pedestal. The headdress which is rather bulbous has an Aksobhya image in it, while the god is wearing a tiara and pointed ear-decorations like the Majapahit statues. Besides it has earpendants, armlets; bracelets and armlets in the form of a snake like *dvarapala* images in Java. It is wearing a sarong with skull motif, the lower hem of which ends above his knees while his legs are bare. It is not wearing trousers as Nik Hassan thought (1979) It is also wearing a belt with beaded loops and a jewel decoration in the shape of a kala head from whose mouth an ornamental chain is hanging and ends in a bell. (on plate XVI) A flaming halo is behind the head and shoulder. The image is supposed to be the portrait statue of Adityavarman (Stutterheim 1936).⁽³⁰⁾

On Plate XVI is the Amoghapasa from Rambahan³¹⁾ in Upper Jambi which is located near the border between Jambi and west Sumatra. The Amoghapasa is surrounded by bodhisattvas and Taras. The stone *mandala* is a replica of the loose statues of Candi Jago near Malang in East Java. It was the royal cult temple of King Visnuvardhana of Singhasari which was built for him by his son Kertanegara. The latter sent this stone *mandala* to the King of Dharmasraya in Suvarnabhumi in 1286, which was eleven years after he has lunched his Palamayu expedition. (Stutterheim 1936).

The style of the Rambahan statue is exactly like that of Candi Jago (Tumpang) and the images are flanked by lotusplants, rising from a bulb like in the Tumpang images, which is a characteristic of the art of Singhasari whereas Majapahit statues are flanked by lotus plants rising from a Chinese pot. Nik Hassan discussed the Amoghapasa statue of which also bronze replicas were found, in his paper (1980) He sees however some differences in headdress between the bronze replica and the stone relief commissioned for the Sumatran court, which “would be required to conform to Sumatran dress”

Schnitger has in his book also published a photo of a bronze Lokesvara from Kerinci³²⁾ (pl. 6 a in this publication) It has the right hand in *varamudra* while the left hand hold a lotus. Nik Hassan mentions, in his paper of 1980 that the hand is in *varamudra* and the lotus in the right hand. According to him the headdress is much shorter and no such style so far known to have existed in Java or in Sumatra and the Peninsula.

We may comment on this that the statue looks almost identical with a Padmapani in Thailand, published in *The Sculpture of Thailand*.³³⁾ (p1. 6b in this publication).

RIAU

Though there is a complex of temple ruins at Muara Takus, (pl. XVII-XXI) no statues have so far been found yet. These ruins are considered “important for research on Srivijaya as they are standing near the equator. According to some authors, among others Moens (1937)³⁴⁾ the capital of Srivijaya was here. They base their opinion on I - tsing’s information that a man was casting no shadow at noon.

The most intact of the ruins is the Mahligai stupa which is a tower-like structure of brick, but with an older stone core inside, which is an indication that the monument has undergone alterations in the course of time.

The porcelain sherds found nearby date to the Ming period, but the older temple could have been built much earlier. The Candi Bungsu which is another ruin on the same compound has been connected with a Chinese report that King Culamanivarmadeva of Sanfo-ts'i sent envoys to China in 1003 AD. They informed the Emperor about a new temple in their country and asked him for a name. The Emperor gave the name Ch'eng-t'ienwanshow identified by Westenenk (1919) with Candi Bungsu.³⁵⁾

But there are other theories that the capital of Srivijaya was not there but in another region. I notice that Atisa was studying in Srivijayanagara, in Malayagiri in Suvarnadvipa, which might have been in Jambi, between 1011 and 1023.³⁶⁾

WEST SUMATRA

This is the Menangkabau area which borders on Tapanuli (North Sumatra), Jambi, Bengkulu and the Indian Ocean.

There is now only one ruin of an ancient temple at Tanjung Medan in its north western part; but there have been more in the past. In the same area a new inscription of the Adityawarman periode was found a few years ago (14th century) and a statue of a dvarapala, of the Padang Lawas type.³⁷⁾

The inscriptions of Adityawarman are at Pagarryung, Batu Sangkar, Kuburajo and a few other places. At Batu Sangkar is also the headless statue of a woman with pierced breasts, perhaps a spout figure. On the game compound of the Bupati's residence is a headless statue which I could identify as an Avalokitesvara, as the faint outlines of the tiger skin around the hips are still visible. It has a long *sarong* on, a sash and a belt. It shows a slight *tribhanga* pose. (Suleiman, 1979, p1.57)³⁸⁾ A silver *vajrasattva* was found at Buo. It is now at the National Museum in Jakarta.

BENGKULU.

No Hinduistic or Buddhistic ruins or images have been found in this area⁽³⁹⁾ though it was inhabited since prehistoric times as proved by the finds of neolithic artifacts and megalithic remains. Yet the province has its well known goldmines at Rejang Lebong. At Fort York which was the old British fort since 1685 but which was later deserted for Fort Marlborough, there are many ceramic sherds, not only blue-and-white Ming but perhaps even sherds from an earlier period. This may be an indication that below the site of Ford York was an older one dating back to the Southern Sung period or perhaps earlier. The fact that the river there is the Sungai Serut shows that it was indeed the oldest site of Bengkulu, as it is mentioned in the Tambo Bangkahulu. Future research might reveal images still hidden under the surface like at Kota Cina (see below).

NORTH SUMATRA

The province borders on the Strait of Malacca, in the south on Riau, west on the Indian Ocean and in the north on Aceh.

Schnitger has published 20 pages of photographs (PI XXII to XLII). Besides monuments, most of which are now in ruins or have completely disappeared, there were many statues of *dvarapalas* with high *makutas* (like in Tanjore), a Heruka, a Bhairava and a Bhairavi, stambhas with still unidentified reliefs and some with kala heads and garland-decoration. In *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1930 are also pictures of a female bronze statue and a small Bodhisattva of stone, both in South Indian style.⁴⁰⁾

Plate XXXIV:

The Heruka statue which was found in Biaro Bahal II shows the god dancing on a corpse with in his left hand a staff with a banner attached to it. This find together with finds of tantric formulas on fragments of golden plaques shows that the place was a center for Mahayana Buddhist tantric ceremonies. The kings of Pannai were like their counterparts in Java and West Sumatra followers, of this kind of Mahayana Buddhism. In one of Adityawarman's inscriptions the name Hevajra⁴¹⁾ is found which points to the same kind of worship and ceremonies as were followed in China by Kubilai Khan who was even crowned by the Grand Lama of Tibet and promoted Tibetan Buddhism in his country.

At Gunung Tua which is in the same area where the Bahal temples are standing, a Lokanatha was found with two Taras on one pedestal of bronze. One of the Taras is missing.⁴²⁾ At the back is an inscription which tells that the image was made (*barbwat*) by the *Jurupandai* (mastersmith) Suryya in AD 1039 (Damais 1955). The word *barbwat* is Malay-Batak, which is an indication that the image was made there and was not imported. The style follows that of Cola bronzes of the third decade of the 11th century (Plate XCIX in *Bronzes of South India* by Srinivasan 1963. Srinivasan. P.R. 1969).⁴³⁾ It looks even identical with the Visnu of this picture.

On the border with West Sumatra, in North Tapanuli are temple ruins. In Si Mangambat the temple was made in Central Javanese style and of natural stone. There were kala heads without a lower jaw as in Central Java, parrots in garlands, squatting *ganas* with upraised hands, *trisula* motifs, lotuses in a cubic pattern, winged shells, antefixes, pinnacles etc. (Schnitger 1937, p. 14).

Schnitger (1937 p. 14) also mentions a Siva shrine at Bonan Dolok, as evidenced by a Ganesa. He refers to *O.V.* 1920, pl. 2, which is a report about a trip which Van Stein Callenfels made in 1920. It is indeed a fragment of a Ganesa whose footsoles are touching one another in the style of the Ganesa of Central and East Java, whereas the Indian Ganesas have the right leg in a raised position.^{*)} Van Stein Callenfels⁴⁴⁾ mentions Penyabungan as its location.

*) This way of sitting is mentioned by Satyawati Suleiman in : *Ganesa in Indonesia, Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi* 1980. Jakarta

Recent surveys made by the National Research Center of Archaeology often found in the field no traces of sculptures formerly reported to be there, as so much has been destroyed by nature, man and beast. Fortunately a few pieces are still preserved at the Museum Pusat in Jakarta. There are a couple of Dvarapala heads and reliefs of dancing figures with animal heads from Pulo in Padang Lawas. Perhaps they represent persons performing devil dances like in Tibetan ceremonies. There is also a bronze plaque from Bara (Schnitger, 1937. p. 30).

ACEH

Though Aceh was mentioned in Chinese and Arab sources under the name of Lamuri, Lambry or Lan-wu-li, no Hinduistic or Buddhistic monuments have yet been found. There is one Lokesvara head of stone from Aceh and now at the National Museum in Jakarta, also published by Schnitger. It has three images of Amitabha in its crown, rather large compared with other images in the chignons of Lokesvara in Indonesia and abroad.

RECENT FINDS

During surveys carried out by the National Research Center of Archaeology several statues were seen in the field, which had been accidentally dug out by the population.

LAMPUNG

At Pugungraharjo ⁴⁵⁾ a statue was found, which was seated in *vajrayana*. pose on a lotus cushion. It has a tiara, double armllets, bracelets and a pearl *upavita*. The hands are partly in *dharmacakra mudra* and partly in redemption pose. Though it shows the influence of East Java of the Majapahit period, it seems have been locally made as it has its own characteristics (pl. 1a in this book).

Recently in 1980 a bronze Avalokitesvara was found in the same province, it was dug out from the soil by a farmer. (1b)

It has a high chignon in which a small Amitabha is faintly visible. Its long sarong reaches the ankles and a sash is crossing its chest. It is wearing jewellery, consisting of earpendants, necklace, armllets, bracelets and a girdle made of cloth with very short ends. Around the hips is a tigerskin. The back hands are: right holding a rosary and the left and a book. The front hands are: right in *varamudra* and the left hand is holding a padma.

The high chignon, hairstrands falling on both shoulders and the long sarong makes it into a sculpture in Sailendra style (for the term see Suleiman in *The Art of Srivijaya*, 1980).

SOUTH SUMATRA

At Sarangwati ⁴⁶⁾ in Palembang, an image was found while workers were digging a pond. (pl. 5a in this book). It is a Lokesvara with a high chignon and an Amitabha image in it. It has no jewellery on, which gives the impression that the image is still unfinished. It

shows a slight *tribhanga* pose like the Bodhisattva published in *The Sculpture of Thailand*, 1972, pl. 1). But the headdress is like that of the Bodhisattva of Situlpavuva. (Devendra 1957, pl. XX and pl. 5b in this book).

The Lokesvara from Thailand mentioned here is classified under “Srivijaya style” statues. The Lokesvara from Situlpavuva in Srilanka which has a long skirt with pleats in the middle would fall under the same category, though we would prefer the term “Sailendra style”. Piriya prefers the term ‘Peninsular style’ for this kind of statues. (1977)⁴⁷⁾

JAMBI

A headless statue was found at Muara Jambi (7a). It is a seated female image, apparently a Prajñāparamita as it has the hands in *dharmacakramudra*. Its jewellery: necklace and bead *upavita* reminds us of that of the Singhasari statues. The pattern of the cloth is all of the same kind and resembles that of the image of Simping which is supposed to be the portrait statue of the first king of Majapahit, Kertarajasa Jayavardhana. (Bernet Kempers, 1959, pl. 247).

WEST SUMATRA

In Indropuro, in the southern part of this province, a small bronze Buddha head was found. It has a kind of headband as the curls are sticking out. Though it has the curls of a Buddha it could have been a Bodhisattva. (Suleiman 1977, pl. 4 and pl. 8b in this book)⁴⁸⁾. It reminds us of the photograph in Schnitger’s book (1937, pl. VIII) of the bronze head from Bukit Seguntang which has also a headband.

NORTH SUMATRA.

Kota Cina, which is an area near Belawan, has yielded many ceramic sherds, the oldest of which date back to the Sung period.⁴⁹⁾ Other objects have also been found. Most important are the finds of images; there are two seated Buddhas, one of white granite, the other of black bazalt. They look different from the Javanese Buddhas with their square shoulders, their curls which are rather low on the forehead and their oval lotus cushions. They are akin to the Buddhas in the Tanjore region, some of which are displayed at the Tanjore museum, while other statues of this kind are still to be seen in villages. The black headless Buddha is of the same style. The right shoulder is bare and the robe falls over the pedestal. (See: *Survai Sumatra Utara*: pl. 36, 37 and pl. 10a in this book).

In 1979 two other statues⁵⁰⁾ were found in the same area by inhabitants in the soil. One is a Visnu : it has a *cakra* in the right back hand, while the left back hand could have held a *sanka*. The front right hand is in *abhayamudra* and the left hand is on the hip, features which remind us of Cola style statues in Tanjore.⁵¹⁾ The left hand which is on the hip also holds a lotus flower. The image has a semi-circular necklace, a broad *upavita*, single armlets and bracelets on both arms and footrings. (pl. 11a in this book).

It is wearing a *doti*, the upper hem of which is very low below the navel, and on the

left and right of his body fall the long slips of the *doti*. The pattern of the cloth looks like rosettes between stripes. The Visnu is standing on a broken lotus cushion.

The other image is that of a female person, judging from its round belly. Besides, the *doti* shows stripes or pleats like we see on female images in the Cola style. There is a large bow on its left hip, while on the left and right the slips of the *doti* are hanging down in an elegant manner. The image wears a belt with several beaded loops. The left arm is broken, but the right arm has a armllet and a double bracelet, while the fingers on the right hand has rings, even on the thumb. It has broad anklets and footing. The body is in *tribhanga* pose, much more pronounced than that the Visnu image. (pl. 11b in this book).

Apparently all the statues of Kota Cina show strong Cola influence. As the statues are made of granite which is also locally obtained, they could have been made on the spot either by local artists or by Tamils, settled in Kota Cina. We have still to mention that in Lobu Tua, north of Barus on the west coast of North Sumatra, an inscription was found, mentioning a merchant corporation of fifteen hundred. As the language was Tamil, one may conclude that there was a settlement of Tamils in 1088 AD, the date of the inscription. ⁵²⁾

HISTORIC RELATIONS

Historic relations between Sumatra and other countries may be concluded from the sculptural style of the images found. We have noticed that several images were still unfinished, while other ones were made by local artists, like the Lokanatha bronze of Gunung Tua (Padang Lawas) in North Sumatra. Some looked like foreign images, but had local traits, like the Prajñāparamita from Jambi, the Bodisattva from Pugungraharjo, Lampung, and the Visnu standing on Garuda from Palembang.

Some images could have come from the same school, for example the Avalokitesvara from Palembang and the one from Bidor, Perak; while the Lokesvara from Bingin, Thailand and Srilanka seem to belong to another school.

In Thailand, the statues with the long *dotis* or *sarongs*, which are standing erect or only with a slight bend, with hairlocks on the shoulders, high *makutas* or chignons are usually classified as images, which belong to those which follow the "Srivijaya style". Piriya ⁵³⁾ (1977) prefers the term "Peninsular style", as he noticed that some statues of the Srivijaya style have Pala style features.

a. Sailendra style in Java.

As regards the term, I myself prefer "Sailendra style"⁵⁴⁾ as this kind of style started to exist in Central Java during Sailendra rule (between 750 and 850 AD). Though the Mahayana Buddhist kings were Sailendra *rajās*, their family also had hinduistic members. In fact, their ancestor was Dapunta Selendra who was still a follower of the Hindu religion (Boechari 1966).⁵⁵⁾ After a certain event, one of the king converted to Buddhism and was succeeded by Buddhist kings. (Boechari 1980).⁵⁶⁾

The statues of the Dieng plateau still wear *dotis*, as the right side of the *doti* is often

higher than the left side. This is also the case with the images of Candi Banon, now at the National Museum.⁵⁷⁾

The long skirt or *sarong* with pleats in the middle is seen on the Siva statue of Candi Prambanan which was previously thought to be the funeral temple of Balitung. De Casparis however, thought it had been made at an earlier date as the Sivagrha inscription, of 856 AD, found near Prambanan mentions the founding of a temple, the description of which fits that of the Candi Siwa on the Prambanan compound.⁵⁸⁾

The male persons on the Ramayana reliefs of Candi Prambanan are wearing the *doti* which shows a part of their legs, while the main statue, the Siva, has a long *sarong* (*kain*) on which could have been made of goldwoven cloth. The wearing of this long gala *sarong* became traditional for bronze and stone statues of the Sailendra period, not only the Buddhist statues but also the Hinduistic ones, as for example the Siva statue from Adiwerna (Fontein et al)⁵⁹⁾ and other Hinduistic statues.

Several of the Siva statues have a tiger skin wrapped around their hips. This could have become a traditional feature also for the Avalokitesvara statues, with the difference that the skull and crescent of Siva are replaced by an Amitabha statue, the serpent *upavita* has become a sash, and the attributes are different though even the ambrosia vase is carried by both kind of images in the left fore hand.

The similarity of Siva and Avalokitesvara statues could have started in the Central Javanese period. In the Charter of Kelurak of 782 AD, Manjusri is said to be the same as Brahma, Visnu and Mahesvara.⁶⁰⁾ This tendency to identify a Buddhist deity with Hindu gods is not surprising as members of the same Sailendra family were followers of different religions. And even if they were not of the same family, they seem to have followed the old Indonesian system of *gotong-royong*, which means mutual help but also mutual tolerance. That is the reason why we find the existence of both Hindu and Buddhist temples of the same period all over Central Java. The Dieng temples are often considered to be older than the Buddhist temples of the plains of Sorogedug, but we see on several Borobudur reliefs, temple structures of the Dieng and Gedong Sanga type which are all found in the mountains.

In Sumatra we see the same phenomenon: there are Hinduistic and Buddhist remains in the same areas.

b. Sailendra style in Sumatra

Nik Hassan suggested in 1978 that the Avalokitesvara statue with the tigerskin originated in Sumatra. It appears to me, that the tradition to sculpt the Avalokitesvara statue in the same way as Siva began during Sailendra rule in Central Java. This sculptural tradition was afterwards brought to Sumatra by a member of the royal family of the Sailendras around the middle of the ninth century A.D.

Balaputra was a prince of the Sailendra family who started to reign in Sumatra circa

860 A.D when his name appeared in the Nalanda inscription.

According to Boechari,⁶¹⁾ he is not as de Casparis suggested, the Valaputra of the Sivagrha inscription of A.D. 856. This prince was Balaputra's nephew, the son of his sister Pramodhawardhani. Balaputra might have already been in Sumatra in 856 following his mother who was not a Javanese princess but perhaps a member of the royal family of Srivijaya. But his father was a Sailendra too, though he seemed to be more proud of his grand-father, the king of Java of the Sailendravamsa. But the fact remains that he hastened himself to cultivate close friendship with Devapaladeva who according to the Nalanda inscription of circa AD 860 donated five villages for the maintenance of Balaputra's monastery.⁶²⁾

It is conspicuous that images made in the Sailendra style in Sumatra have so far only been found in Palembang, Jambi and Batu Sangkar, West Sumatra. Several of this kind of images are found on the Malay Peninsula. Yet some of them belonged to a period when the Sailendras had long left Central Java, but they had settled in Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula for they were called the kings of Kataha and Srivijaya in the 11th century Cola inscriptions. The Sailendras might have taken their sculptors and bronze casters with them after Sailendra power was finished in Central Java. Or, there still existed relations between the north coast of Central Java and Srivijaya, even after the center of power had moved to East Java after the eruption of Mount Merapi and the destruction of the road (Boechari 1976)^{*} which connected the capital, which was in the area between Borobudur and Prambanan with the north coast (Suleiman 1978). I have suggested (1978)⁶³⁾ that the Sailendra kings were not rich from agriculture, for the revenues of the seaborne trade must have brought the wealth enabling them to build magnificent temples.

The coastal princes remained loyal to the Sailendras after the center of power was moved to East Java: they were still maintaining the trade between the islands in eastern Indonesia which produced the spices and aromatic woods and Sumatra and the east coast of the Malay Peninsula. This could have been the reason why statues with the Javanese Sailendra style could be found in those parts.

Jambi has statues from the period before the tenth century, for example the Buddha with the inscription *Dañ acāryya syūta* on his back (8th century).⁶⁴⁾ The *makaras* are from the eleventh century. This was the century when Atisa, the reformer of Tibetan Buddhism was studying in Srivijaya in Malayagiri in Suvarnadvipa (1011-1023). Jambi, where Balaputra stayed, (as suggested by Wolters (1967)⁶⁵⁾, could have become a center of religious studies, rivalling the Borobudur until the time of the eruption of Mount Merapi in the third decade of the tenth century.

^{*} Boechari, Some Considerations of the problem of the shift of Mataram's Center of Government from Central to East Java in the 10th Century AD, Jakarta

c. The style of Singasari and Majapahit in Sumatra

The newly found Prajñāparamita image has the style of Singasari ⁶⁶ which is not surprising, as Kertanagara paid special attention to Jambi which is shown by his sending of the Pamalayu expedition in 1275 and of the Amoghapasa image in AD 1286. He did not launch an expedition against Malayu but against Sumatra with the help of the King of Dharmasraya in Jambi. He needed this strategic point to defend Sumatra against the aggression of Kubilai Khan and the newly founded kingdom of Sukhothai.

The statue of Adityavarman shows several Majapahit style traits, such as the long hairdresses⁶⁷, the tiara and the flaming nimbus. But this is not surprising as he was educated in Majapahit and even claimed to belong to the family of the Rajapatni in the inscription on the Candi Jago image of 1343 (Stutterheim, 1936).

d. Cola style in Sumatra

The images found in northern Sumatra are more surprising as they are all made in South Indian, even Cola style. This applies to the statues of Kota Cina as well as those of Padang Lawas.

The king of Srivijaya, Culamanivarmadeva had a vihara made in Nagipattana in the realm of the Cola king. This was an act of friendship around 1005. But in 1017 and in 1023/4 the Cola king raided Srivijaya. In 1023/4 he is said to have attacked at first Srivijaya afterwards Pannai and then Malayur before proceeding to the Malay Peninsula. I have long since thought that this raid was directed against the most important port under the power of Srivijaya in the north, it could have been Kota Cina or at least in that region. I also suggested that the raid against Pannai was not on the east coast but on the west coast, where we see the bay of Siboga (Sriboja?) ⁶⁸ and Lobu Tua where in 1088 a community of Tamils lived. For it was from the west coast that *kapur barus* (camphor from Barus), benzoin, *damar* and other forest product were exported, and not from the east coast.

As regards Tanjore, Sivaramamurti ⁶⁹ found many figures of saints on the reliefs of Cola temples, (1973 p. 38), and other details which reminded him of Borobudur and Prambanan reliefs, which he attributes to the fact that the islands of the eastern archipelago were under Chola sway for at least some time.

e. Srilanka

The Bodhisattva from Srilanka which is made in the Sailendra style is not surprising as in the 9th century monks from Srilanka lived in the Abhayagiri vihara at Ratu Boko near Prambanan, ⁷⁰ It is possible that the image was made in Srilanka after Javanese models.

We may draw the following conclusions:

- 1) the sculpture of Sumatra shows that many elements from abroad Java, Cambodia, India and perhaps Srilanka had been absorbed, but that the sculptors were free to blend imported details with their own traits, for example Pala and Cola styles were

recreated into local styles.

- 2) there was cultural exchange between Sumatra and surrounding countries.
- 3) the statues in Sailendra style were found in Indonesia, the Malay Peninsula and Srilanka because of the historical, political and religious relations during Sailendra rule in Java and Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula from the 9th to the 13th century.
- 4) Cola style is especially strong in North Sumatra, when Srivijaya had its most important ports on the east coast (Kota Cina) and on the west coast (Lobu Tua, Barus, Siboga).
- 5) there should be correlation between finds of images and ceramic sherds for the dating of the statues and the monuments.

NOTES

- 1) 1937 Leiden. See also: *Forgotten kingdoms in Sumatra*, Leiden 1934; *Oudheidkundige vondsten in Palembang*, Leiden. 1936; *Oudheidkundige vondsten in Padang Lawas*, Leiden 1936.
- 2) *Oudheidkundig Verslag*, Batavia, 1912, 1920, 1921, 1930,
- 3) Brandes. J.L.A.: *Oud-javaanshe Oorkonden*, 'sGravenhage 1913; Kern, H. 'sGravenhage, 1917.
- 4) A bibliography is published in: 'Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya. Jakarta, 1979; Boechari in the same publication: "An Old Malay inscription at Palas Pasemah (South Lampung), p 19 - 42.
- 5) Ijzerman, J.W.: *Beschrijving van de Boeddhistische bouwwerken te Moeara Takoës*, *TBG XXXV*, 1893, Batavia; Stein Callenfels in *O.V.* 1920 and Bosch in *O.V.* 1930.
- 6) *Buddhist Sculpture from Sumatra, Peninsular Malaysia and Peninsular Thailand during the Srivijayan period*. London. 1976: The significance of Tiger skin on the Avalokitesvara images, Kuala Lumpur 1977; The Bukit Seguntang Buddha, Kuala Lumpur 1979; Arca Buddha dari Lembah Bujang serta hubungannya dengan style arca di Semenanjung Tanah Malayu dan Sumatra di antara abad ke-9 dan ke-14. *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi*, Jakarta 1980.
- 7) *Berita Penelitian Arkeologi* 2,1976; 4, 1976; 20, 1976. *Bulletin of the Research Centre of Archaeology of Indonesia*, 12, 1977; 14. 1980.
- 8) Mentioned by Satyawati Suleiman: A few observations on the use of ceramics in Indonesia, paper for the Symposium on Trade Pottery in East and Southeast Asia, Hong Kong, 1978; Hasan Muarif Ambary wrote for the same symposium: Discovery of potsherds in Sumatra sites; Hasan M. Ambary: Catatan tentang penelitian beberapa situs Masa Sriwijaya; paper for *Pra Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya* Jakarta, 1979; Abu Ridho, *The collection of foreign ceramic in the Museum Pusat*. 1977, Kodansha; Abu Ridho, The Trade Pottery and their connection with the local history in Indonesia, 1978; Adyatman, Lammers, *Martavans in Indonesia*, Jakarta, 1971; E.E. McKinnon, Kota Cina, a site with T'ang and Sung period association. *Sumatra Research Bulletin*,

- 1973; McKinnon, T. Luckman Sinar, Kota Cina: votes on further developments at Kota Cina. *Sumatra Research Bulletin*, 1974; E.E. McKinnon, Spur-marked Yueh type sherds at Bukit Seguntang, Kuala Lumpur, 1979.
- 9) Rumbi Mulia: Beberapa catatan tentang arca-arca yang disebut arca tipe Polinesia. *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi*, 1977.
 - 10) Krom, N.J. *Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis*, 1931, p. 147.
 - 11) Von Heine Geldern, R: Prehistoric Research the Netherlands Indies, p. 147, in *Science and Scientists*, 1945.
 - 12) See Nik Hassan, The Bukit Seguntang Buddha.
 - 13) Still unpublished report of a geologist, participating in a fieldtrip in July 1978.
 - 14) Schnitger, *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, p. 2, 3.
 - 15) The location of the capital of Sriwijaya was also discussed in a meeting of Indonesian Archaeologists in Jakarta December 1979. See *PraSeminar Penelitian Sriwijaya*.
 - 16) See Bernet Kempers: *Ancient Indonesian Art* (1959). Candi Jawi figures from the Singhasari period show already this kind of fashion. Satyawati Suleiman: *The Pendopo Terrace of Panataran*. Photographs by A.J.Bernet Kempers. 1978.
 - 17) Bernet Kempers (1959) pl. 247.
 - 18) Bernet Kempers, (1959) pl. 202.
 - 19) *The bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese art*, Leiden, 1933.
 - 20) Pierre Dupont, La statue Pre-angkorienne, 1955, *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona, Suisse, p. 52.. pl. XII.
 - 21) *ibidem*, pl. XXII.
 - 22) Schnitger: *The Archaeology of Hindoo Sumatra*, p. 13.
 - 23) Bernet Kempers, (1959), pl. 55
 - 24) Quaritch Wales, H.G.(1940)*Archaeological researches on ancient Indian colonization in Malaya*.
 - 25) Nik Hassan (1979), p. 36 - 37
 - 26) *La Statue preangkorienne*.
 - 27) Devendra, D.T, *The Buddha image and Ceylon*, Colombo.
 - 28) Jambi-Malayu might have been another religious center besides Srivijaya. The town of Malayu was also visited by I-tsing on his way to India and after his return from India.
 - 29) It is still a question, whether these *makaras* were from Solok Sipin or from Muara Jambi, where recently many brick temples, which had been covered by soil and trees for centuries have been cleaned. It appears that this place had been an important religious center after the Pamalayu, as the temples were made in the style of the Singhasari and Majapahit sanctuaries and even before.
Some porcelain sherds found by our survey team in June 1980 date back to the Tang period. There are hundreds of porcelain and local ware sherds on a site near Candi Astano, a few kilometers from Candi Gumpung at Muara Jambi. They represent all

periods: T'ang, Sung, Yuan, Ming and Ch'ing, an indication that there was a settlement and a lively trade with China.

- 30) Stutterheim, W.F. "De dateering van eenige Oost-Javaansche beeldengroepen". *T.B.G.*, 1936. He suggested that the inscription at the back of the Amoghapasa statue was actually referring to this statue, which is said to be like the rising sun: Udayaditya, one of Adityawarman's names. This was also mentioned by Satyawati Suleiman: *The Archaeology and history of West Sumatra*. Jakarta 1977 p. 3.
- 31) Bernet Kempers, (1959), pl. 260, while the bronze plaque of Amoghapasa and his companions is on pl. 258. See also: *Monuments of Ancient Indonesia* by Satyawati Suleiman, pl. 8a and b, p. 50.
- 32) p. 13. Also in *Ancient Indonesian Art*, Asia Society 1971. pl. 25, p. 69.
- 33) Bowie- Diskul-Griswold, 1972. New York, pl. 12.
- 34) Moens, J. L., *Çrivijaya Yava en Kataha*. Batavia 1937.
- 35) Krom, 1931, p. 236.
- 36) See: G. Coedes: *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (1968) p.232, note 61.
- 37) Photos of the *dvarapala* from Lubuk Layang and the statues of the Lokesvara from Batu Sangkar are published in Satyawati Suleiman (1977), pl. 1 and 5.
- 38) It could have originated from another place just as the inscription from Kepala Bukit Gombak which is now also at Batu Sangkar.
- 39) A survey has been made in May 1980 by a team from the National Research Center of Archaeology. It is hoped that more surveys and excavations will reveal also more remains, as the presence of procelain sherds indicate trade contacts at an earlier date than previously thought to exist.
- 40) p. 28. Also in *Amerita Warna Warta Kepurbakalaan* no. 2, 1954 S. Suleiman, Peninggalan-peninggalan purbakala di Padang Lawas.
- 41) Satyawati Suleiman, (1977), p.5. Brandes read it as *povajra* (*OJO* 1913) which makes no sense; my reading of *Hevajra* was approved of by Boechari who was so kind as to read the rubbing of the inscription of Pagarruyung II together with me.
- 42) Schnitger, pl.XI, Bernet Kempers, (1959), pl. 197. Rumbi Mulia (1980), *The ancient kingdom of Panai and the ruins of Padang Lawas*, Jakarta. pl. 21, 22. L.Ch. Damais, *EI*, III IV - 1952. 1955.
- 43) *Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum*.
- 44) Van Stein Callenfels in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1920.
- 45) Published in *Kalpataru* no. 2. 47, 48, *Berita Penelitian Arkaelogi* no 2 (1976) pl. 11 and 12, p. 29:, Survai di Lampung. (photos published by Haris Sukendar).
- 46) Published by B. Bronson: A lost kingdom mislaid in *Field Museum of National History Bulletin*, April 1975, pl 16 - 21. With photo and also in Palembang as Srivijaya, (pl. 11 in *Asian Perspectives* XIXM (1978). Bronson was convinced that as there were only porcelain sherds of the Yuan and Ming period, the capital of Sriwijaya was not Palembang. But surveys in 1978 and 1980 found also sherds from the Tang period, see

- Mc Kinnon, Spur-marked Yuch-type sherds at Bukit Seguntang. One must accept the existence of a settlement which had many trade relations with China already before the tenth century.
- 47) Piriya Krairiksh, *Art styles in Thailand*, Bangkok, 1977.
 - 48) Also mentioned by Rumbi Mulia in *The kingdom of Panai and the ruins of Padang Lawas*, pl. 16, p. 33, Jakarta, 1980.
 - 49) Mc Kinnon, (1972); Hasan M. Ambary (1978)
 - 50) Still unpublished report of the National Research Centre of Archaeology.
 - 51) Srinivasan, (1963), pl. XCI, fig. 154.
 - 52) Krom (1931), p. 304; Coedes, (1968), p. 107, p. 272. note 3
 - 53) Piriya (1977).
 - 54) *Pra-Seminar Penelitian Sriwijaya*, Penelitian Sejarah dan Sejarah Kesenian Sriwijaya, p. 75 - 85, (1977).
 - 55) Boechari, *Preliminary report on the discovery of an Old Malay inscription at Sodjomerto*, Jakarta, 1966.
 - 56) Boechari: *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* II (in press)
 - 57) Bernet Kempers, (1959) pl. 41, 42.
 - 58) Casparis, J.G. de, *Prasasti Indonesia* 11, p. 280-330. A metrical Oldjavanese inscription dated 856 A.D.
 - 59) p1.52, p.83 *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese period*, New York 1971.
 - 60) Bosch, F.D.K., "De inscriptie van Keloerak", *T.B.G.* LXVIII., 1928.
 - 61) Boechari in *Sejarah Nasional Indonesia* (in press)
 - 62) Bosch, F.D.K., "Een oorkonde van het groote klooster te Nalanda", *T.B.G.* LXV, p. 509-588; de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia* 1, p. 24 - 50.
 - 63) Satyawati Suleiman (1978), in: *A few observations on the use of ceramics in Indonesia*.
 - 64) Boechari in *Pra Seminar penelitian Sriwijaya*, p. 28.
 - 65) Wolters, O.W., *Early Indonesian Commerce* (1967) p. 310 note 37. 'From Jambi came missions to China in 853 and 871' (p. 144) He noticed the curious fact that there were no missions from Srivijaya in the ninth century. In fact there were none since 742. But when missions from Srivijaya were absent in China, there were envoys from She-p'o (Java) or the other way around, their missions never overlapped (1967, p. 214).
 - 66) It has the same kind of jewellery and a similar way the upper-cloth (*dodot*) is folded under the body, though it is still small on the Prajñāparamita of Singhasari, whereas it seems to have taken the place of the lotus seat on the Jambi image. It is still a question whether the Muara Jambi image was made on the spot from stone brought there from the area of Bangko or Rambahan, or whether the image was sent from Singhasari, like the Amoghapasa statue of Rambahan. It is possible that the Prajñāparamita was the portrait statue of a female person of the Singhasari dynasty, analogous with the Amoghapasa which is the portrait statue of Visnuvardhana, the father of Kertanagara.

During our field trip to Muara Jambi in June 1980, I learned that the statue was found among the debris of Candi Gumpung when it was cleared of trees and weeds.

It is a large compound where the temple ruin is standing. There is a smaller temple in front of it and farther away a gateway. The compound has a circular wall. This temple is made of brick and has a high base like the Candi Tinggi on the adjacent compound. The Candi Tinggi seems to have been made after the Pamalayu expedition of 1275 as it has the style of Candi Jawi in East Java. It is interesting that inside is an older profile which is an indication that there was an older temple perhaps from the eleventh century. That was the period when the *makaras*, now at the Museum Pusat one of them bearing the date equivalent to 1064, were made.

- 67) Schnitger (1939), Bernet Kempers (1959) pl. 259.
- 68) Siboga is the original name while the Dutch inserted the L; I suggested it in 1977 (*The history and Archaeology of West Sumatra*)
- 69) Sivaramamurti, *Chola temples*, Archaeological Survey of India mentioned by S. Suleiman in "Studi ikonografi masa Sailendra di Jawa dan Sumatra", *Pertemuan Ilmiah Arkeologi*, 1977. Bosch stressed the role of Indonesian pilgrims going to India who returned to their country with sketches and *silpasastras*, to apply what they had learned from Indian *gurus* when they were commissioned to make temples or statues. This was the reason that the Indonesian monuments and images showed traits from Indian art from several periods and several areas in India. *Local genius en Oud Javaanse kunst*. Amsterdam, 1952.
- 70) de Casparis, *Prasasti Indonesia II*, (334 - 343), he discussed it again in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, 1961, p. 241-248.

PHOTOGRAPHS

From Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional

1a, 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 8b, 9a 10a, 11a, 11b.

From *The Art of Srivijaya*

3b, 4b, 6b

From *Ancient Indonesian Art* (A. J. Bernet Kempers)

7b.

From *Bronzes of South India*. (Srinivasan, P. R.)

1 0b.

From *The Buddha Image and Ceylon*. (Devendra, D. T.)

From the author:

9b, 11 C.

BIOGRAPHY

Satyawati Suleiman is one of the senior Archaeologists at the National Research Centre of Archaeology. She has been heading the Centre for a few years till 1977 while at the moment she works here as a research specialist. She has written several books and articles on the Archaeology and history of Indonesia and has participated in many seminars at home and abroad.

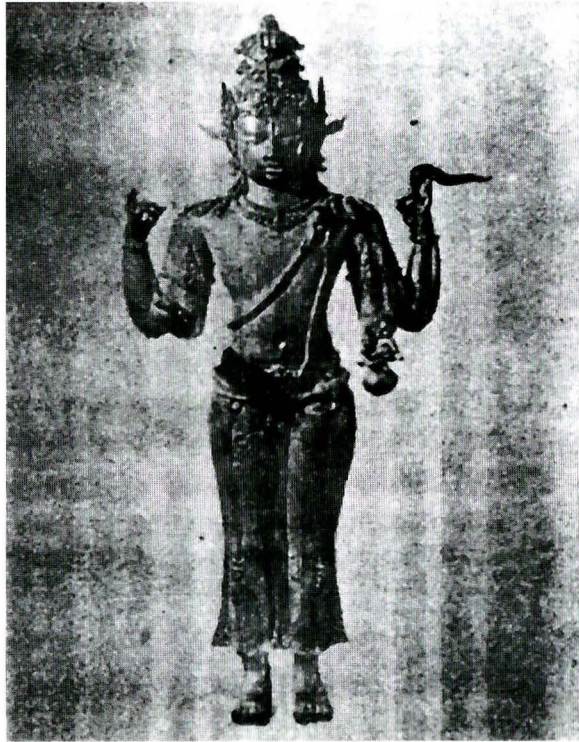
(1981)



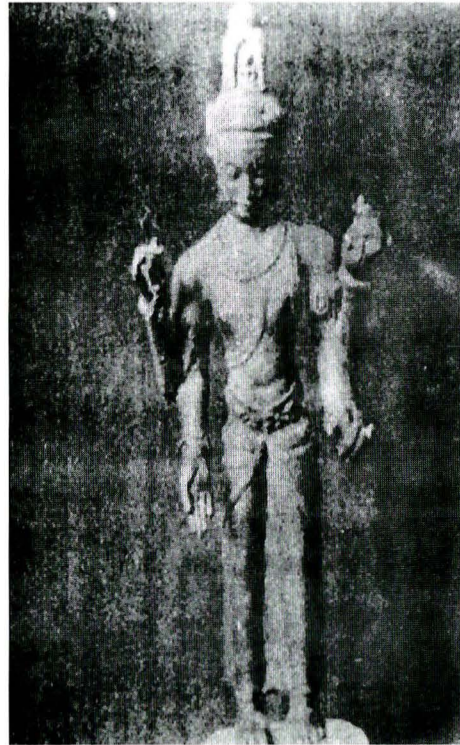
1a. Bodhisattva, Stone, Lampung



1b. Avalokitesvara, stone. Lampung



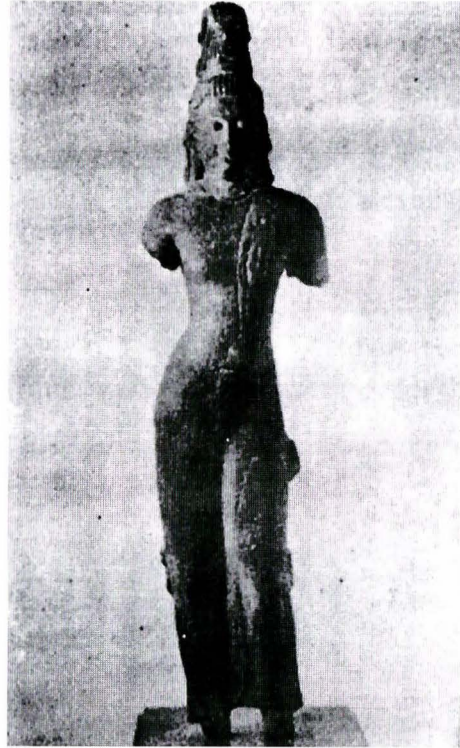
2a. Siva, bronze. Central Java



2b. Avalokitesvara, bronze. Centra Java



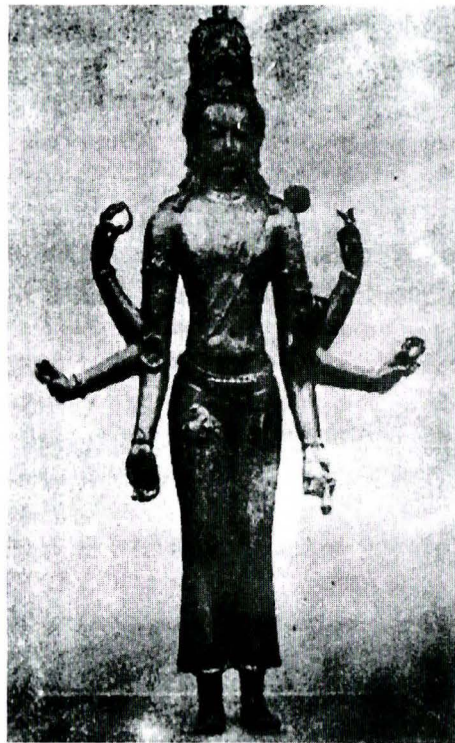
3a. Avalokitesvara. stone. Palembang



3b. Avalokitesvara, stone. Thailand



4a. Avalokitesvara, bronze. Palembang



4b. Avalokitesvara, bronze. Bidor, Perak
Malaysia



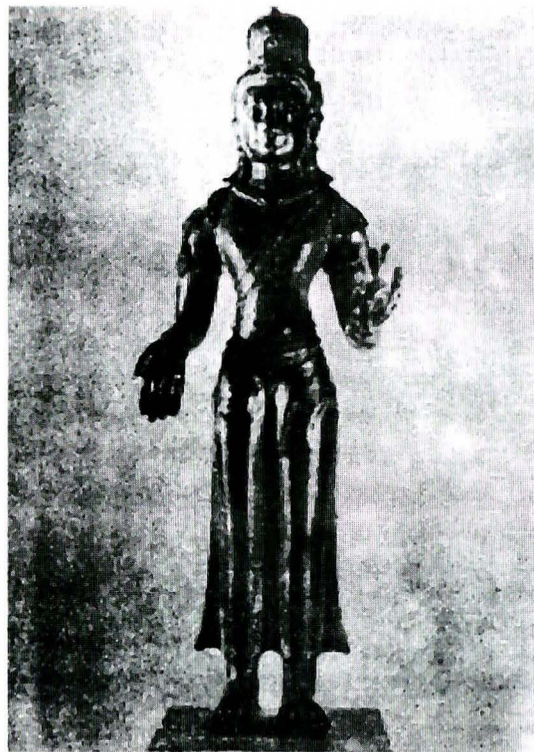
5a. Avalokitesvara, Stone. Sarangwati,
Palembang



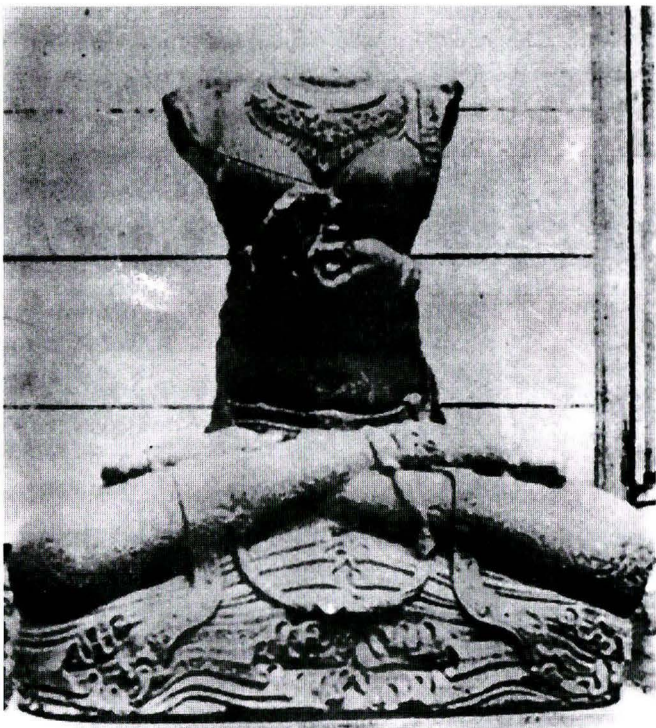
5b. Avalokitesvara, stone. Situlpavuva,
Srilangka



6a. Padmapani, bronze. Kerinci



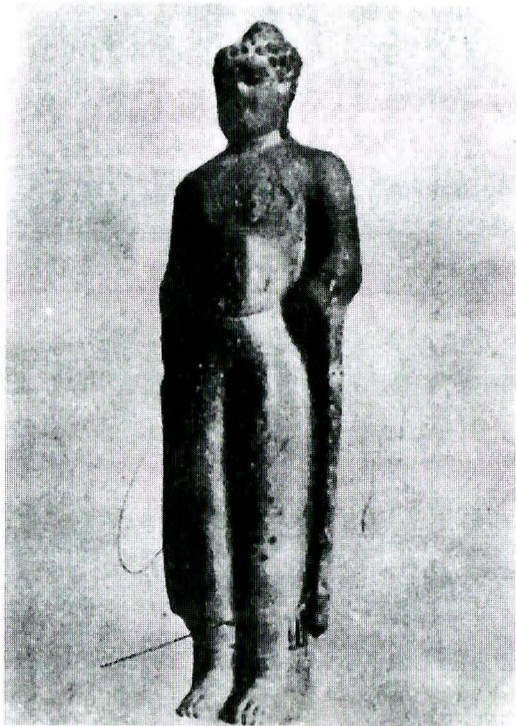
6b. Padmapani, bronze. Thailand



7a. Prajñāparamita, stone. Muara Jambi.



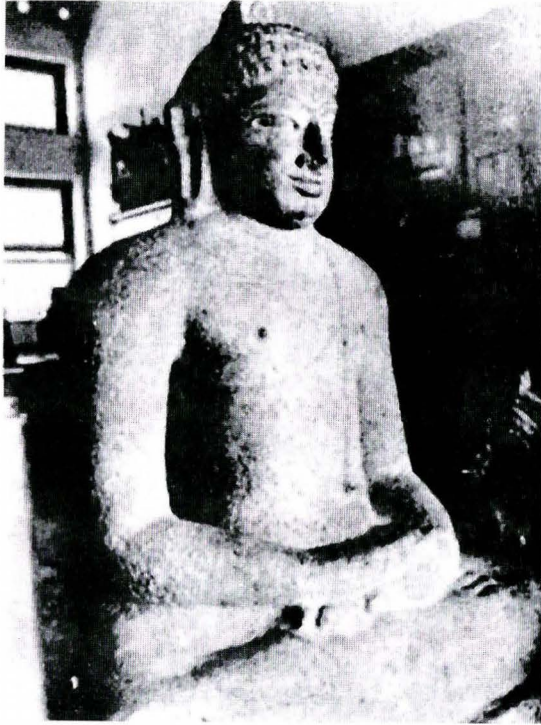
7b. Prajñāparamita, stone.
Singasari.



8a. Buddha, stone. Jambi



8b. Bodhisattva head, bronze. West Sumatra



9a. Buddha, stone. Kota Cina



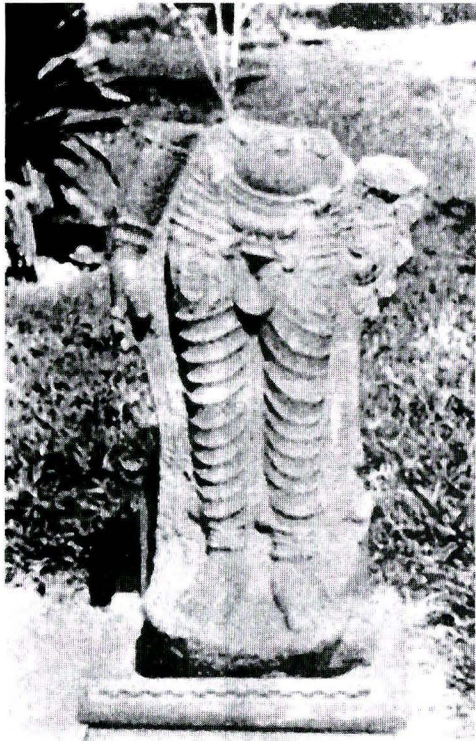
9b. Buddha, stone. Tanjore. South India



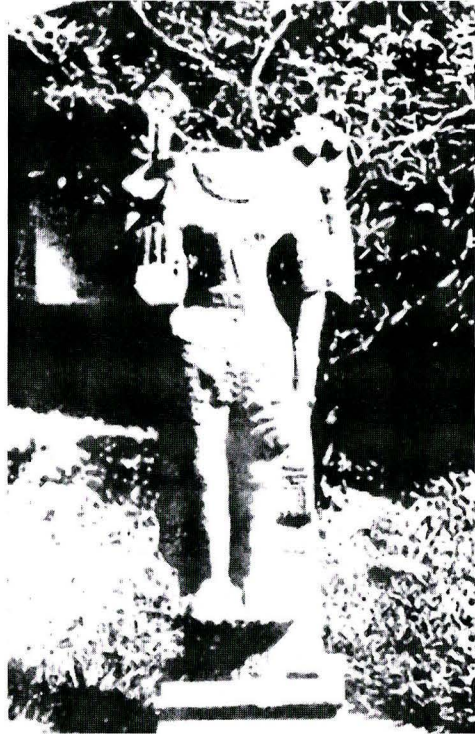
10a. Lokanatha and Tara, bronze. Gunung Tua,
North Sumatra



10b. Visnu and consort, bronze. South India



11a. Lakshmi, stone. Kota Cina, North Sumatra



11b. Visnu, stone. Kota Cina, North Sumatra



11c. Bronze group. Tanjore Museum, South India.

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