

GARDENS IN JAVA



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PERPUSTAKAAN

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Preface

Gardens in Java is another book by Denys Lombard, which completes a series of his writings about Java that we can read now. In his study in the area, which he named “Javanized area”, from the western tip of Java Island until the eastern tip of Lombok Island, he had visited and studied no less than 6 locations of gardens. There he can see that gardens as places for pleasure are the integrated part of the history and civilization of the royal courts in Java between 17th - 19th centuries AD.

Gardens in Java is presented as an inheritance that contains details of forms and layouts of their parts. Their architectures and artistic styles show how Javanese architects and artists combined Javanese tradition and cultural elements from other places like China, India, and Europe. Furthermore, the meanings of Gardens in Java are revealed in holistic and rich fashions, after its author discussed gardens in the contexts of textual sources, as well as stories in reliefs in temples or shadow puppets. Gardens become a unique phenomenon in royal courts, which contain not only aesthetical values but also rich in micro-cosmos symbols when portraying the earth and water.

The manuscript of Gardens in Java was handed to us by the *École Française d'Extrême-Orient* (ÉFEO) as the realization of its cooperation with the National Research and Development Centre of Archaeology in the field of publication. We thank the ÉFEO office in Jakarta, which has enabled this manuscript to be published. This work—that was translated into English by John Norman Micksic from its original language, which is broadness and depth of its discussion have kept Gardens in Java actual. In addition, this book is not aimed merely at academicians but also ordinary people who are interested in the garden sites in Java, because an expert will guide them through this book.

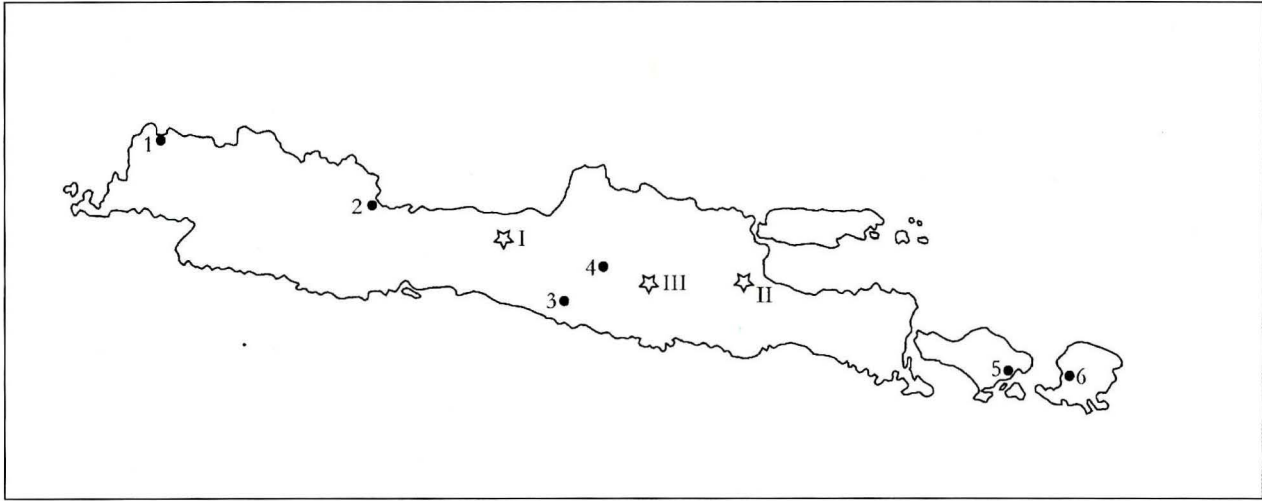


Fig. 1. Situation of the principal gardens of the Javanised area (Sunda, Jawa, Bali, Lombok). I . Banten: Tasikardi; 2. Cirebon: Sunyaragi; 3. Yogyakarta: Taman Sari; 4. Surakarta; 5. Karang Asem: Ujung; 6. Narmada. I. Dieng plateau; II. Mount Penanggungan; III. Mount Lawu: Candi Suku.

GARDENS IN JAVA

Gardens, Persian and Indian on one hand, Chinese and Japanese on the other, have long attracted the attention of Europeans and several important studies have been drawn up on that subject; authors either described their situation and plan, in order to indicate their aesthetic value (garden, place of pleasure), or they emphasized their philosophical significance (garden, microcosm, place of meditation). It would be interesting to ask if there also exist such gardens in Southeast Asia, that intermediate region where Chinese and Indian influences met and combined and, if they do, what place they occupied. In a previous study on the Sultanate of Aceh, I have noted the existence of places of pleasure, in Malacca in the 15th c. and in north Sumatra in the 17th c. It appears that no trace remains of either of them and it is to the contemporary descriptions that we must return. In Java the situation is different and certain “ruins” which survive up to our day permit us to draw more precise conclusions.

I will first give a list of the principal parks whose existence it has been possible to trace, then return to two among them which are of particular interest. Then I will investigate whether the literary texts can provide us with supplementary information.

1. In West Java, about 150 km from Jakarta on the northern coast, the site of the old city of Banten (Bantam on the maps) is found, capital of the Sultanate of the same name. The prestige of the Banten

sultans in the 16th and 17th c. is well known. Their authority extended over all the western Sundanese country as well as over the country of Lampung (South Sumatra). They also controlled the Sunda Strait and the pepper plantations spread about the vicinity. The first European merchants called there on many occasions and we have good descriptions of its port, its markets, and the activities which were conducted there. It is still possible to see there today the walls of the rectangular enceinte of the Surosawan palace, the ancient mosque (with its famous minaret), a Dutch-style pavilion (built in the 17th c. by the “renegade” Cardeel) and the Chinese temple which still contains a dated stele of the Qian long era.

About 6 km southwest of the mosque, in the middle of the rice fields, are found the remains of Tasik Ardi park, the Javanese name of which means “Sea and Mountain”. Today one sees nothing but a large square pool about 200 m. on a side, the brick edges of which are badly damaged. In the center an artificial island is found, where one can still make out the ruins of a two-level stone pavilion, some trees and an embarcadero. Its construction is attributable, with great probability, to Sultan Ageng who reigned during the second half of the 17th c. and was celebrated for his resistance from 1659 to 1684 against the Dutch East India Company¹. We also know that he undertook great irrigation works in the interior and he prepared another pleasure palace near Pontang, on the sea a little east of Banten. This second palace was called Tirtayasa (*Tirta* means “water”, *yasa* is difficult to interpret) and its founder is also known under the name of Sultan Tirtayasa, “Sultan of the Tirtayasa palace”.

2. On the north coast of Java again, but this time about 250 km east of Jakarta, is found the city of Cirebon (Cheribon on the maps), situated right on the border of Sundaland and Java proper². In the

¹ On Sultan Ageng, consult the recent study of Drs. Uka Tjandrasmita, *Musuh Besar Kompeni Belanda*, Jakarta, 1967.

² *Ci* means “water”, hence “river”; *rebon* designates a variety of shrimp; the shrimp is the symbol of the city and one often finds the motif on batik designed in the region.

17th and 18th c. Cirebon had as many as three sultans at one time and one can still see the three palaces where their last descendants live: they bear respectively the names of Kasepuhan (palace of Sultan Sepuh, the “Senior” Sultan), Kanoman (palace of Sultan Anom, the “Cadet” Sultan), and Kacirebonan (palace of “Sultan of Cirebon”, the least restigious of the three)³. The former two are interesting for their architecture; their large rooms present very beautiful woodwork (the woodcarvings of Cirebon are justly famous) and their access courts, albeit of modest dimensions, offer curious constructions in rockwork style. Each contains a small museum where are displayed in particular two state coaches, the form of which according to tradition is directly inspired by those of the emperor of Majapahit; in each case the chair where the Sultan sat is placed as if it were on the back of a fantastic animal with the head of an elephant (with a thunderbolt in the trunk), the wings of a bird and the scales of a serpent; hence the name given to these vehicles, *nagapaksiliman*, that is, the “dragon-bird-elephant”⁴.

Behind the main buildings of Kasepuhan and Kanoman are found interesting gardens where one finds the same “rockwork” decor, which attracted attention in the fore-courts. It consists of small artificial hills, covered with rocks or buildings, the brick frames of which are hidden by decor of rocks set in cement. In the garden of the Kanoman palace people point at a small edifice, which passes for the house built by the first inhabitant of Cirebon, and in the Kasepuhan palace, an artificial cave (the entrance to which is today walled up), where the Sultan retired, it is said, to meditate.

³ One finds a brief discussion of the history of these sultanates and their relations with the Dutch in *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch-Indië (ENI)*, 1917, s.v. Cheribon, p. 474.

⁴ Information on these *keraton* is found in *Oudheidkundig Verslag 1928*, Weltevreden, 1929, p. 129 ff., and plate 8, as well as in *Oudheidkundig Verslag 1931-1935*, Batavia 1938, p. 10, 13, 15, and photos 23 and 24. A photograph of the state coach of Sultan Sepuh is found in W.F. Stutterheim, *Cultuurgesschiedenis van Java in beeld*, Weltevreden, 1926, p. 125, fig. 178.

The gardens are of rather limited size and in a very poor state of preservation. Much more interesting is the site of the ancient garden of Sunyaragi, which is found outside the city, to the south, near the route to Kuningan. This park, which is also called the Sunyaragi “cave” (“Gua Sunyaragi”) appears as a collection of artificial hills, hollowed out for interior passages, still quite well preserved. I will give a more detailed description of it below. The land where it is found belongs to the senior branch and it is said that Sultan Sepuh often retreated here for several days. If one credits the text of the “Cirebon Chronicle”, this garden was constructed in 1741⁵.

3. It is evidently in Central Java, however, where the last heirs of the Majapahit courts flourished, that we find most numerous references to gardens. It was there, as we know, that the political and cultural rebirth of 16th and 17th c. began, and where several capitals succeeded one another of which the last were Surakarta (or Sala), founded in 1743 by the Susuhunan - the sovereign whom the Europeans called “the Emperor of Java” – and Yogyakarta, founded in 1756 the first Sultan, after the treaty of Giyanti had created this new power beside that of the Susuhunan.

At the beginning of the 17th c. however, that is to say before the founding of these two cities, which today compete for the glory of being the true expression of “Javanism”, the chronicles (*babad*) mention the construction of vast parks. It is reported that Panembahan Seda ing Krapyak who reigned from 1601 to 1613, had built in 1605 a large garden called Dana Laya, with a pond (*Segaran ing Sirnabuni*), then in 1610 a second pleasure park called Gading, south of his

⁵ Cf. D.A. Rinkes, “Babad Tjeribon”, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*, 59, Batavia - the Hague, 1911; this is actually Rinkes’ publication of a transcription made by J.L.A. Brandes, with a brief resume of the contents in Dutch. The reference to the date of construction of Sunyaragi park is found at the end of the 36th and last canto (p. 144): “...dupi peling wawangunan Tjirebon Sunja Ragi ika duk paragate babad zaman kali duk olih sewu lawan malih nem-atu lan pandjul sawidak nenem...”; according to the concordance given by Pigeaud, at the head of his *Javaans-Nederlands Handwoordenboek*, the Javanese year 1666 (*séwu nem-atu... sawidak nenem*) began in the course of the year A.D. 1741.

palace at Kuta Gede, and finally in 1611 a vast hunting preserve (in Javanese: *krapyak*), to which he gave the name Beringan. It was in this preserve that the prince met his death in a hunting accident, whence the name by which he was known post-humously : *sedang krapyak*, “he who died in the hunting preserve”⁶.

His son, Sultan Agung (1613-1645), who was long in conflict with the VOC and launched several expeditions against Batavia, was himself a great builder. “The Sultan has two palaces, says the *Babad Tanah Djawi* (ed. Meinsma, p. 145); one is at Karta, the other near the South Sea, where the princess Roro Kidul has been taken to wife by His Majesty”⁷. From one letter written on June 22, 1620, by a Dutchman, prisoner at Karta, we learn that the prince had begun the excavation near his palace of a vast basin (“*een groot water*”) wide as a gun’s range and three fathoms deep. A Javanese chronicle, the *Babad Sengkala*, informs us that in 1556 A.J. (= A.D. 1634-35) construction of another began. In 1637-38 a dam was built on the Opak River to form a small artificial lake⁸ and in 1643-44 another dam (in Javanese: *plered*) which gave its name to a new palace. But of these gardens, and those which succeeded them in the course of the last years of the 17th c. and the early 18th c., nothing more remains;

⁶ Cf. H.J. de Graaf, *De regering van Sultan Agung, vorst van Mataram, 1613-16-15, en die van zijn voorganger Panembahan séda-ing-krapyak, 1601-1613*, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1958, (VK1, 23), p. 22 (*Krapyak’s bouwwerken*).

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 104 (“Bouw van de Kraton Karta, 1614-1622”). On Roro Kidul, see below.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 110-111 (“De uitbreiding van de Kraton”). On a French map of Java which we found separately from the folio-format volume from which it appears to be an extract, and which is entitled: “Carte de l’île de Java, partie occidentale, partie orientale, dressée tout nouvellement sur les mémoires les plus exacts” (Map of the island of Java, western part, eastern part, drawn up after the most exact memoirs; n.d. but very probably from the early 18th c.) is found indicated on the south coast of the isle a little west of “Mataram, capital city of the emperor”, a small inland lake with this explanation: “Rauwe Gadding, petit golfe où le Soessonnan va se promener en chaloupe” (Rauwe Gadding, small gulf where the Soesonan goes for a ride in a launch; it is quite possible that this is the artificial lake mentioned in the texts; the name Gading is mentioned in the *Babad*. We hope to return to this map, which gives us, for the coastal region at least (the interior appears to be all *terra incognita*) some very valuable toponymic indications.

it is even often difficult to place them precisely on a map.

There is one however, more recent but better preserved, which permits us to form a concrete picture of this type of garden: it is the famous Taman Sari, or “Perfumed Garden”⁹, which is found within the very precincts of the palace of the Sultans of Yogyakarta and which the Dutch baptized “Waterkasteel” or “Castle on the Water”, because of a pavilion which was placed in the center of a pond. It was laid out at the time of the first Sultan, Hamengkubuwana I, when the first palace was built, about 1758; although in ruin¹⁰, it can still be the object of a charming visit; below I give a detailed description.

In the vicinity of Yogyakarta, one can still note two old temporary residences, both much more recent than Taman Sari. These are the “villas” of Ambarwinangun (west suburbs) and of Ambarrukmo (about 2 km east of the city, on the road to Sala, right by the large modern hotel of the same name). The second residence, constructed by the 7th Sultan (who retired there after his abdication in 1921) is still in very good condition: behind a vast *pendapa*, or reception room, formed by a broad roof resting only on pillars (with neither walls nor partitions) are found the private rooms and a small pool of water of square plan with, in the center, an octagonal storied pavilion (see photo 1).

This poses the question of whether there exists in the palace of the Susuhunan at Surakarta any garden comparable to Taman Sari. It is known that the two courts of Sala and Yogyakarta were rivals during nearly two centuries in the domains of literature and art, and it is not uncommon to find at one a copy or a variant of something found at the other. It appears unfortunately that the part of the Sala

⁹ *Sari* means, properly speaking, “perfumed essence, aroma”.

¹⁰ Perhaps today one can hope that a restoration will be undertaken in the relatively near future. During his journey to Java in February 1968, Mr. B. Ph. Groslier, conservator of Angkor, proposed to undertake to restore Taman Sari simultaneously with the restoration of Borobudur. From another side, Mr. Pinto da França, Portuguese consul in Jakarta, is equally interested in salvaging a site whose construction is attributed by tradition to a Portuguese architect (see further below).



Photo 1. Ambarrukmo Residence (vicinity of Yogayakarta); the octagonal pavilion (once surrounded by water). Photo J. Filliozat.

palace, which corresponds to the private apartments, remains to this day closed to the public¹¹.

The city of Surakarta formerly possessed a famous garden, the “Sriwedari”; it is today a place of quite ordinary entertainment known mainly for its traditional theater troupe (*wayang wong*) which is said to be one of the best in Java¹². The old residents recall however the old Sriwedari, or “Royal Garden”; at the beginning of the century, the shops, the places of entertainment, the cinemas had not yet invaded the grounds; trees and flowers in abundance gave it a particular charm, and a number of tame animals were collected there. People came there to promenade and meditate, whereas one now comes there as to a fair. The name Sriwedari is borrowed from the *wayang* (cf. below). According to tradition, it was here that it was planned to build a new palace (*keraton*), when in 1743 the Susuhunan Pakubuwana II (1725-1749) decided to transfer his capital to Surakarta (the previous palace at Kartasura having been destroyed and profaned by his revolting vassals). A prediction (*ramalan*) is said to have spread, to the effect that it should be constructed further east, near the Bengawan river. The “emperor” so decided and the first spot was then transformed into a park¹³.

4. I will complete the list by mentioning two other princely

¹¹ The only information we possess concerning the internal organization of the Surakarta *Keraton* (founded in 1743 by Pakubuwana II) is, to our knowledge, that given by V. Zimmerman in an article entitled: “De keraton van Soerakarta in het jaar 1915”, in *TBG*, 58, 1917, p. 305; the text of this article is accompanied by 4 photographs and a large plan in 3 folded sheets. On the sheet corresponding to the central part of the palace, one may remark (1) the presence of a garden (*tuin van de kraton*) of small dimensions, called *Balaretna*, with neither fountains nor basins, but with an artificial hill (*een kunstmatige heuvel*) called *Ngargapura* (no. 70 of the plan and text; p. 321); (2) the presence of a mosque entirely surrounded by water (*een moskee, die voor water omgeven is*), named *Masjid Bandengan* (no. 97 of the plan and text p. 324); but this is only a mosque on an artificial island and not a “submarine” mosque like that of Taman Sari (see below).

¹² This troupe took first prize in a *wayang wong* contest (in October 1967) organized among the main troupes of Java, in Jakarta.

¹³ We owe these details to Prof. Dr. Tjan Tjoe Siem, whom I hereby thank. A plan of Surakarta is found in the guide of S.A. Reitsma, *Van Stockum's Travellers' Handbook for the Dutch East Indies*, The Hague, 1930 (opposite p.240); or in the more recent guide, in In-

parks situated outside Java but in areas where Javanese influence has long been felt.

The first is in Bali. Of probably recent construction,¹⁴ it is found quite near the sea, close to the little port of Ujung on the southeast of the island, on the territory of the kingdom of Karang Asem. There one finds essentially a vast rectangular basin, at the center of which is placed, like an island, an edifice of square plan, massive, with two stories and covered with an imposing pyramidal roof of tiles. To the central mass are joined, front and rear, two projections, also covered by a pyramidal roof. The “island” is connected to the mainland by a long bridge, which crosses the basin on its main axis and is ornamented at intervals by a series of very beautiful arcatures. The last eruption of Agung volcano was particularly destructive to the Karang Asem region and carried away in particular the unique bridge which permitted access from the south. The palace of Ujung is thus temporarily excluded from the tourist itineraries of the island (see photo 2).

The second is on Lombok, which was long dominated by the Balinese¹⁵ and where one finds many traces of Balino-Javanese Culture. It is found at Narmada, about 10 km east of Mataram, and was considered in 1930 to be one of the most beautiful places of the island¹⁶. Perhaps it was this garden which the celebrated entomologist A.R. Wallace visited

donesian, of R.O. Simatupang, *Tamasja Djawa Tengah*, Jakarta, 1961 (opposite p.182).

¹⁴ Its construction is attributed to a “regent” of Karang Asem, and probably took place shortly after the first world war. The palace of Ujung is not mentioned under *Karang Asem* in *ENI* 1917, but it is indicated in the 1930 *Van Stockum's* guide. See our photo 2 and, in the *Ensiklopedia Indonesia* (The Hague - Bandung, 1953) s.v. *Bali*, a very good full-page photograph of the passage giving access to the submarine palace at Karang Asem (*Gerbang Istana Air di Karang Asem*).

¹⁵ Several times in the course of the 18th and 19th c.; the Dutch eventually intervened (“Lombok expedition”) in 1894, in the course of which Brandes “saved” the library of the Cakranegara prince and the famous manuscript of the *Nagarakertagama*.

¹⁶ According to the *Van Stockum's* guide (1930, p. 467): “Narmada is without doubt the most beautiful spot on Lombok... The Balinese decorative art has been given expression here in the carving of doors shutters and window frames, but what makes Narmada's greatest charm is its broad terraced gardens, its lovely ponds and pools, behind which rises a charming little Dewa temple, six terraces high...”

¹⁷ A.R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, 1869, London; republished 1962, Dover-New York, p. 132.

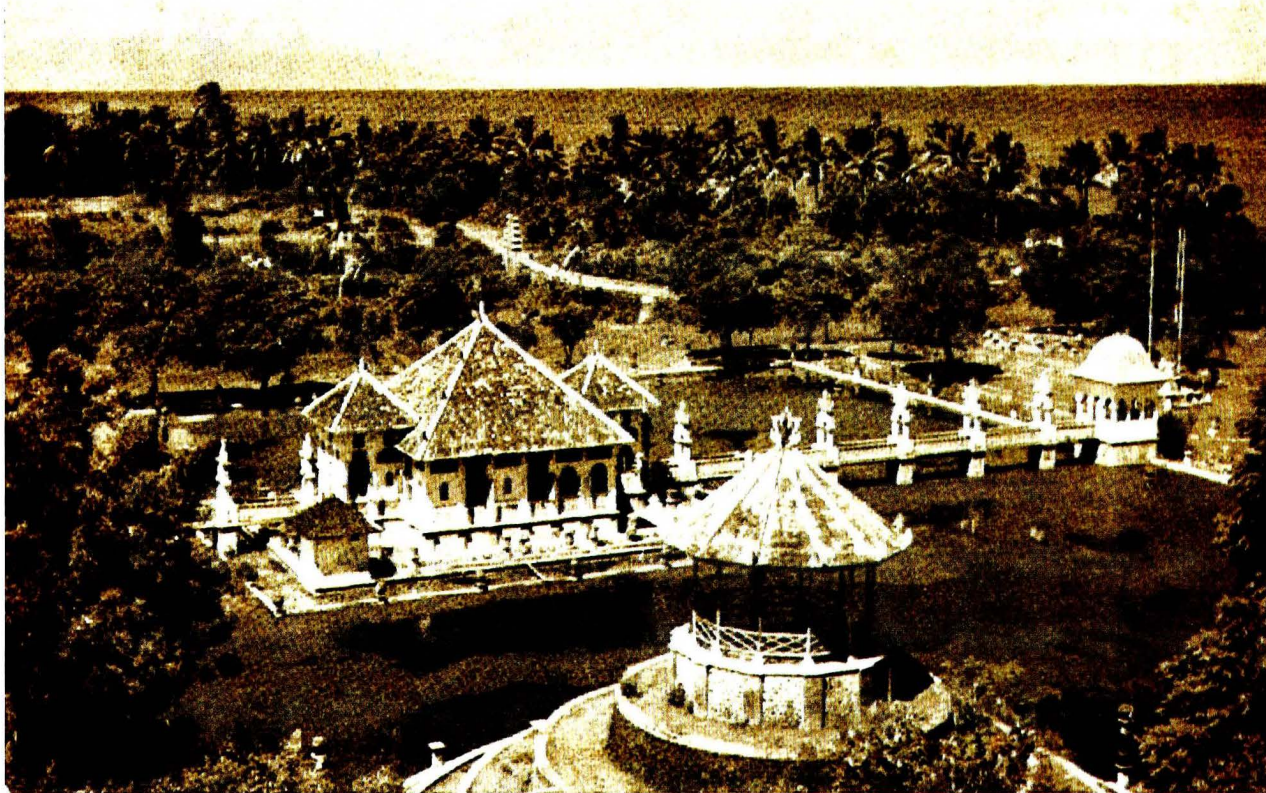


Photo 2. Residence of Ujung (south to Karang Asem, Bali). Postcard acquired in Denpasar

in 1856. We find the following description in his memoirs¹⁷: “A few days afterwards our long-talked-of excursion to Gunung Sari took place... We passed through Mataram... About three miles further, along pleasant byways, brought us to the palace. We entered through a rather handsome brick gateway, supported by hideous Hindoo deities in stone. Within, was an enclosure with two square fish-ponds and some fine trees; then another gateway, through which we entered into the park. On the right, was a brick house, built somewhat in the hindoo style, and placed on a high terrace or platform; on the left, a large fish pond, supplied by a little rivulet which entered it, out of the mouth of a gigantic crocodile, well executed in brick and stone. The pond was well stocked with fine fish, which come every morning to be fed at the sound of a wooden gong, which is hung near for the purpose...”

One cannot be absolutely sure that this Gunung Sari is the present Narmada, because we know there existed other parks in the environs of Mataram (“Cakra Negara” and “Lingsar”) which were badly damaged in the 1894 campaign¹⁸.

We now return to the Sunyaragi cave, then to Taman Sari.

It is a curious thing that the “Sunyaragi Cave” is one of the least known Javanese remains, both for foreigners and for Indonesians themselves. We were made aware of its existence by a brief mention in the very useful guide to West Java published by Keng Po Publications in 1961¹⁹, but our efforts to find fuller literature on the subject were largely unsuccessful²⁰. We can do no more than to give a description of its

¹⁸ A plan of the gardens of Narmada is found in: P. de Roo de la Faille, “Bij de Situatie-Kaart van het lustverblijf te Narmada (Lombok)”, *TBG*, 41, 1899, pp. 416-30.

¹⁹ R.O. Simatupang, *Tamasja Djawa Barat*, Jakarta, Keng Po, s.d. (1961), p. 83 and photograph, p. 84.

²⁰ H.J. De Graaf makes a brief allusion to it in his *Geschiedenis van Indonesië* 1949, p. 178; he gives, without indicating his source, “1744” as the date of construction.

present state. The names we use are those which were remembered by the old caretaker who accompanies visitors. A very much simplified sketch (fig. 2) allows one to form a clearer conception of it.

The various structures are roughly oriented along an east-west axis, between on one side a large esplanade, by which one reached the main gate (on the east) and on the other side a large pool of water, or “sea” (*segara*)²¹, today occupied by rice fields (on the west). In the midst of the rice fields one still sees protruding a small mound, with a brick pavilion on the summit. This is the remainder of an old island.

The structures themselves are essentially of two types: (1) masonry pavilions of rectangular shape and furnished with windows, formerly quite probably covered with tiles, sheltering rooms large enough to accommodate a group for conversation or light meals; (2) “caves” (*gua*) which on the inside consist of a group of rooms, often very small, quite dark, connected to one another by narrow passages, and, on the exterior, appear as mounds of greater or lesser height, made of heaped-up soil (sort of artificial hills) or of stone blocks, previously shaped like rocks and set in cement. Among the diverse parts linked to each other by open air galleries or by masonry passages, one still easily discerns the remains of ancient basins and the locations of small courtyards decorated with stucco and, in the past, with flowers the large pots for which are still well-preserved.

One can distinguish four main groups: (1) on the east, south and north of the entrance, the two “caves”, called Kyahi Sela and Pelangengan (marked A and B on fig. 2); (2) in the center, the large group of the “cave” called Gua Peteng (marked C); (3) on the north of cave C, the “cave” called Gua Padang Hati (marked D); (4) on the west, the cave called “Gua Raja Jumut” (marked E). South of

²¹ The name *kali segaran*, “river of the sea” is still given to a small watercourse, often dry, which winds around the rice fields which now occupy the site of the old *segara*.

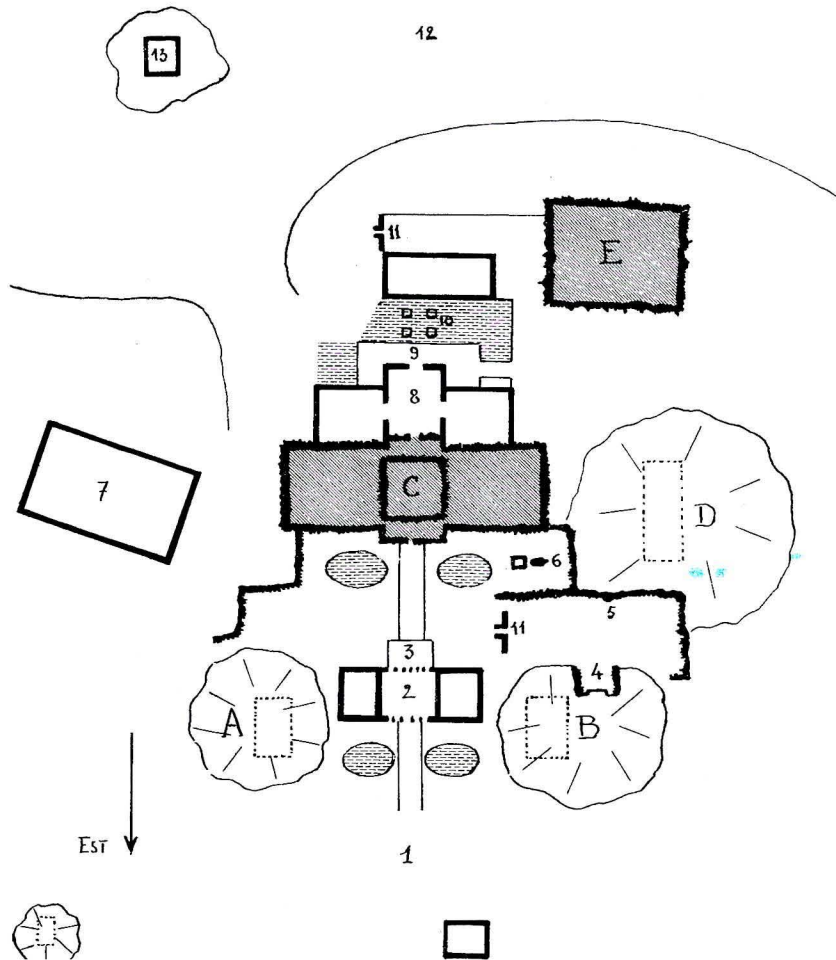


Fig. 2. Sketch indication the general arrangement of the Sunyaragi garden in Cirebon. 1. Esplanade; 2. Ruins of the access pavilion (see photo 3); 3. Perron; 4. Tomb of the *wali* from China (see photo 6); 5. Statue of "Garuda"; 6. Rockwork elephant (see photo 7); 7. Dwelling; 8. Apartments; 9. Terrace; 10. Ancient bridge (?); 11. "Candi bentar"; 12. "Segara" (once a mere, today rice fields); 13. Kiosk on an ancient island.
Cel under a mount, Artificial mountain with rock work decor, Masonry pavilion, Basin.

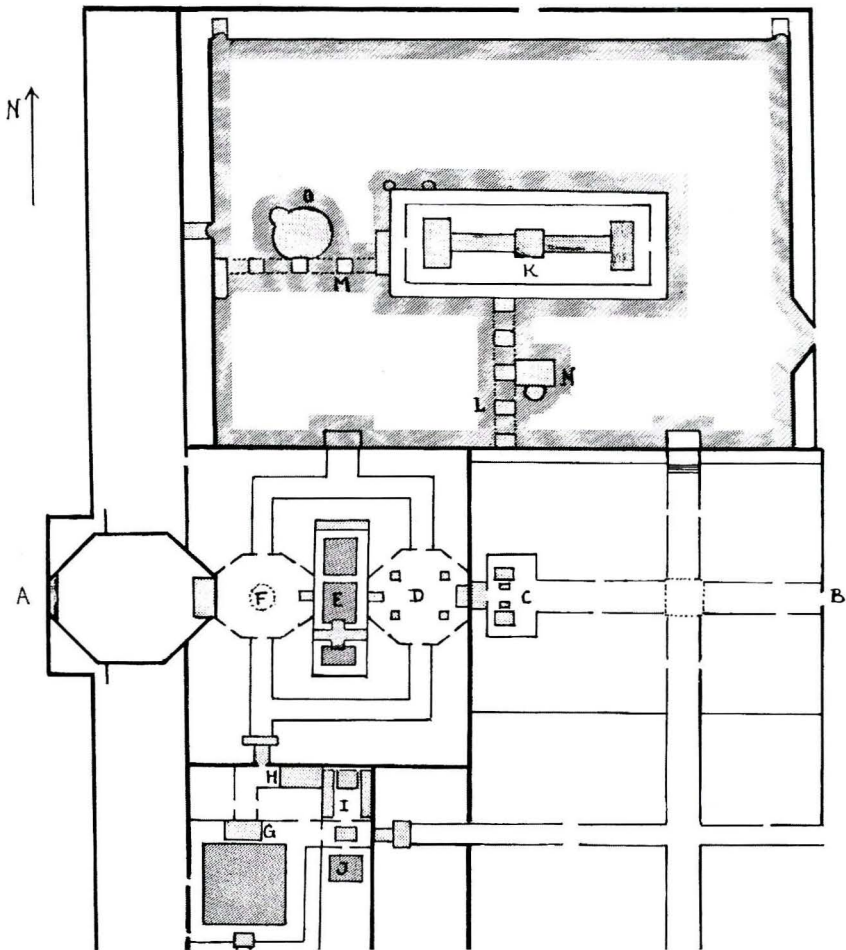


Fig. 3. Map of the Taman Sari in Yogyakarta (after the map published by J. Groneman in his article "Het waterkasteel te Jogjakarta", *TBG*, 30, 1885, p. 412-434).

A. Ancient access to *Taman Ledok*; B. Present access to *Taman Ledok*; C. Courtyard of the *Gedong Gapura Panggung*; D. First octagonal courtyard; E. Pools of the *Umbul Winangun*; F. Second octagonal courtyard; G. *Gedong Gerji*, or "Tailors pavilion"; H. *Gedong Dapur*, or "Kitchen"; I. *Kedaton Pasareyan Dalem*, or "Bed room of the Sultan"; J. *Gedong Lawon* and basin; K. *Kenanga* island, in the middle of the *Segaran*, or grand basin of Taman Sari; L. Access gallery to *Kenanga* island (under the water); M. Access gallery to *Kenanga* island (under the water); N. *Gedong Cemeti*, or "Pavilion of the whip"; O. *Sumur Gumuling*, or underwater mosque.

central cave C is found a large enclosure of old construction, the facade of which is turned toward the old lake to the west, and which is said to have been the residence where the Sultan passed his nights, when he came to Sunyaragi. It is now occupied by the military.

When approaching Sunyaragi from the east, one sees first the ruins of the access pavilion, of brick; one used to reach them by a type of small bridge which passed between two ponds now dry; the facade of the pavilion is completely ruined and nothing of it remains but two masonry blocks pierced by dark winding corridors. On the northeast and southeast of the pavilion there still rise small artificial hills covering caves A and B, symmetrical but probably much smoothed by erosion. Cave B has partly been broken open and one can view from outside what remains of its small chamber, the vault of which only partly remains. Cave A is still intact and one can enter its cell, still dark, by a zigzagging corridor. The disappearance of the entry pavilion's facade means that one can see directly the summit of the main cave C, which once must have been hidden from view (photo 3).

If one crosses the entry pavilion, one finds oneself on a platform formed by a parallelepiped base, the superstructure of which has disappeared. It is a favorable viewpoint to make a first survey of the various parts of the garden. On the west (facing) arises the high facade of cave C, entirely covered by rocks pierced here and there by narrow openings which illuminate the interior (photo 4). On the south (to the left) one finds on a lower level a small courtyard surrounded by well-preserved stonework. On the north (the right) extends a long esplanade, confined by the caves B and D, to which one enters by a "split gate" (*candi bentar*) as one often finds on the bas-reliefs of the Majapahit period, also today in Bali (photo 5). If one embarks on the small esplanade, one sees, on the west, a nicely decorated rock work (with notably a vaguely anthropomorphic figure called "Garuda") and on the east beside hill B a stele devoid of inscription (photo 6). One



Photo 3. Gua Sunyaragi (vicinity of Cirebon); ruins of the access pavilion and view of the main cave (C). Photo D.L.



Photo 4. Gua Sunyaragi; general view of cave C (avec la citerne sous abri); in background to the right, view of cave E. Photo D.L.



Photo 7. Gua Sunyaragi; the rockwork elephant harnessed to the meditation cart. Photo D.L.

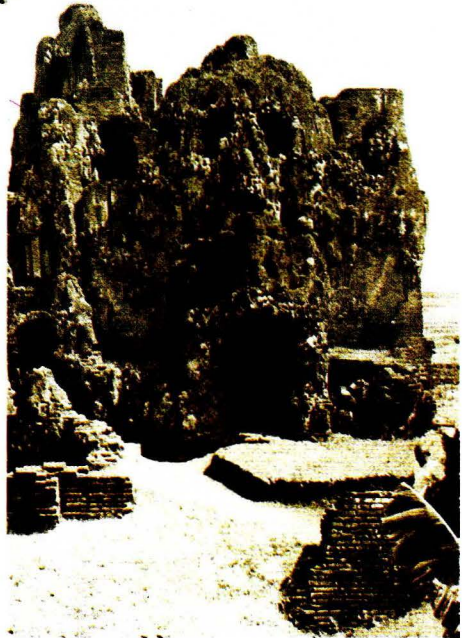


Photo 8. Gua Sunyaragi; general view of cave E. Photo D.L.

another group of dwellings located further west by a bridge of which one can only see the pilings at the base of a depression, in the past submerged. Behind this new group of dwellings, which are now badly ruined, was found along esplanade terminated on the south by a “split gate” (*candi bentar*), comparable in all points with that which I mentioned above.

North of the esplanade rises the imposing mass of cave E (photo 8), the construction principles of which are the same as those of cave C: a juxtaposition of small cells linked together by stairs and extremely narrow corridors, the whole built of brick and covered outside by a “rockwork” decor. The interior labyrinth, interrupted in many places, cannot be followed in the upper parts, anymore, but the ruin makes it possible to form a sufficiently good idea of the inner structure²³.

Cave D, which one traverses on returning east, presents nothing new. On the northwest it is covered by a simple mound, like caves A and B; but, on the southeast, it is furnished with rockwork decor, at the place where it overhangs the courtyard of the elephant and the statue of “Garuda”. The zigzagging passage which traverses there passes but one cell, completely dark.

Whatever the interpretations of the old guide, which are perhaps his own rather than those of the 18th c. builders, it is impossible not to think that the labyrinths, the small and uncomfortable caves, the unusual statues do not appertain to some pleasure park, to some “trianon”, but to a meditation garden of a very particular type. It appears that here we are in the presence of a material

²³ According to the old custodian, this cave is directly connected by two underground galleries to Mecca on one hand, to China on the other; a curious evocation of the two influences, Muslim and Chinese, which are mixed in the concept of the garden. In his study on the “saints of Java” (“De Heiligen van Java I, de maqam van Sjech “Abdoelmoehji”, *TBG*, 52, 1910, p. 566), D.A. Rinkes similarly noted the existence in the south of Sundaland, at Pamijahan, of a natural cave called *masjid*, “mosque”, and considered to be a direct link to Mecca: “*Eene grot, welke door een lange tunnel in verbinding stond met de Zamzampu to Mekka.*” See also: Muhammad Kosasi, “Pamidjahan en zijn heiligdommen”, in *Djawa*, 1938, p. 121-144, with a plan of the cave, p. 133.



Photo 9. Garden and batik; detail of a “taman arum” batik made in Cirebon; the *naga-paksiliman* (dragon-bird-elephant) of Sultan Sepuh wanders through a rockwork decor. Photo. D.L.

representation of one of the mystical itineraries, mention of which is so often found in Javanese philosophy²⁴.

Taman Sari is in no better state than the Sunyaragi cave. However, if the ruins of Cirebon are found to be abandoned, solitary, in the midst of rice fields, which does not fail to give them a certain charm, those of Yogyakarta are found inhabited by a miserable little group of *abdi* (literally “servants” of the Sultan), who settled as they could in the still-intact pavilions, breaking open a walled enclosure here and restoring a roof there. If they severely hinder the imagination of the visitor who endeavors to recall the Sultanic pomp of the past, they have without doubt the merit of “maintaining” and keeping upright that which remains. Have I not seen the magnificent red hibiscus in the old gardens replanted at their own initiative after long desertion?

On the history and early condition of Taman Sari, we are lucky to dispose of several sufficiently precise accounts, notably the account of a Dutch officer, Major Carl Friedrich Reimer, who visited them in September 1791, that is to say at a date when the first Sultan of

²⁴ Let me note here that if the site of Sunyaragi at present appears somehow abandoned, the theme of the “royal garden” still enjoys a certain popularity at Cirebon. I am thinking of the batiks made in the city or its environs (the *cirebonan* as they are called) which still frequently display garden scenes. In contrast to the batiks of central Java, which are mostly decorated with geometric motifs, those of Cirebon frequently select figurative designs. These are the *pagar wesi* (“iron fence”), the *wadasan* (“rock work”, from *wadas*, “rock”), and the *taman arum* (“perfumed garden”) batiks, the themes of which are inspired directly by the decor of the *keraton* or of the Sunyaragi cave. The motif *taman arum* (see photo 9 of a batik from my collection) is particularly interesting because of its evocation of the Sultan’s promenade in his park; clearly recognizable are the rock work, the large flowerpots, and the royal elephant with lightning in his trunk and parasol on his back, a representation of the *nagapaksiliman* chair of which we have spoken above; one also thinks of the meditation elephant in stone reproduced in photo 7. Another motif which presently experiences great popularity, also inspired by a park decoration but of a more “realistic” nature is a small pavilion with, in its center, a bouquet of flowers in a pot, elevated in the midst of a basin full of fish, between a bamboo and a tree with round leaves. The motif is generally reproduced four times in a length of *kain*, twice in one direction and twice in the other (in order to be able to wear it in both ways). The colors are either white and light blue on a dark blue background, or dark blue and brown on a light yellow background.

Yogya, its founder, still lived; he was then 81 and died the following year. The text of his description, found in the Royal Archives of the Hague, has been published by the labors of H.D.H. Bosboom in the *Tijdschrift* of 1902²⁵. Before giving a detailed description of the most recent condition of the park, it seems of interest to me to introduce here the most important passages of Reimer's text.

The palace (Dalem) of the Sultan is surrounded by fortifications... On three sides, one finds a great door... The interior of the palace is a series of gardens, fish-ponds and bathing places; one also finds such a multitude of structures (*een verwarde menigte van gebouwen*) that it is impossible to ascertain their disposition in a single visit. It appears however that the whole corresponds to a unitary plan; that they had, during its execution, kept in mind such a project is particularly evident when one considers the fine group of pools of water and the canals found there. Particularly remarkable is the spring which issues from the foot of the high Chinese tower (*aan den voet van den hoogen Chineeschen Tooren*); one may be assured that this is the spring which led the Sultan to place his palace on this site. The water issues with great force from the ground which in this place is stony; the Javanese masons have skillfully channeled it in a narrow pool and directed the water everywhere they so wished.

Deserving of admiration are the two islands with their pavilions, situated in the center of wide pools, and especially the round temple or mosque (*de ronde tempel of Mesdjid*) of which the Kibla, or place of prayer on the lower storey, lies entirely beneath the water (*maarvan de Kiblak of bedepaalde des benedenste verdieping geheel onder water legd*)²⁶, and is linked by two subaqueous vaulted galleries both to one of the water palaces and to one of the gardens; these galleries permit one to walk along the bottom of the pool for a remarkable distance (*almeede eene aanmerkelyke lengte langs de bodem des vyvers, onder water doorloopen*).

One of the isles is of square plan; the solid facings of its supporting wall rise from the depths of the pool and reach a height of at least 15-

²⁵ "Het verdwenen waterkasteel te Djokdjakarta (uit oude papieren)" by H.D.H. Bosboom in *TBG*, 45, 1902, pp. 518-529. We note that Major Reimer was to be appointed later as Director of Fortifications and Water Inspector; he who speaks is thus an engineer, a "man of his art".

²⁶ He means the *Sumur gumuling*, of which I will speak more later. Note that Reimer speaks of a mosque; the *kibla* is not in fact "a place of prayer", but the direction of Mecca; what is meant here is probably the small *mihrab* outbuilding; see further below.

18 feet above the level of the water; one goes by boat from the quay opposite, one lands directly on the edge of a stairway which begins at water level, and one accedes to a terrace which is in fact a garden, with fruit trees in masonry plots, and flowers in pots. In the middle arises the edifice itself; the lower part of which comprises three levels, all higher than ordinary stories; above is found a square construction topped by a cupola, from whence one has a beautiful view; from the gallery under the cupola one sees all the gardens, pavilions and ponds around, and from the windows of the cupola itself, the view has nothing to obstruct it and can continue as far as the ocean which is south of Java.

After this one proceeds to the second isle, which occupies a much larger area and takes in larger buildings; it would be proper to speak of a series of apartments, where a whole court could reside. They are mainly arranged according to Chinese taste (*grootelijks in den Chineeschen smaak aangelegd*) and surrounded externally by a low terrace, where both vegetables and flowers grow; the floor of the rooms is made of planks and beams, most of the stairs are of stone and what is no less remarkable is that the galleries and ceilings of these buildings are covered with broken vaulted roots (*uyt spits oploopende venwulven bestaan*); like the roofs of Chinese houses, these are made in such a way that neither rain nor fire can damage them. It is even probable that medium-sized bombs would have no great effect on these roofs, which are made of blocks of an excellent limestone, which they extract from a nearby mountain and which is particularly resistant to the action of water. On four sides one can reach the isle by stairs; in the middle of the two long sides are particularly wide steps which lead to the stairs giving access to the main edifice; that edifice comprises a ground floor and an upper story, and long galleries which permit one to go from one end to the other. On the ground floor of the main structure is found a room open on the sides whence one has as charming a view as from the gallery of the first isle. No comforts are wanting; the ladies' dressing-rooms are found fitted out in the little circular turrets and provided with running water (*en de waschplaatsen der vrouwen in kleine ronde torentjes aangebragt; en met doorstroonmend water voorzien*).

A first gallery, located beneath the water, leads directly from this palace to another garden situated nearby (*regluyt naar een naastleegen tuyn*)²⁷; and a second, also under the water, leads one aside to the submarine oratory (*zydelings naar 't ondetwatersche bedehuys*). The Sultan having had the idea one fine day of giving thanks to God, even

²⁷ Reimer does not appear to have entered this garden, which must correspond to *Taman Ledok*; see below.

beneath the water, ordered his master of works to build an edifice which could answer this object. The man chose a circular plan as the best able to withstand the strong pressure of the surrounding water; as it was planned to build two storey, it was necessary to provide space for an interior courtyard, in order to give sufficient light to the ground floor which was below water level. As well as the upper story, the ground floor is thus found to be provided with openings sufficient to admit the necessary light. The lower gallery is circular and furnished with a heavy vault with an 'arabic' arch (*een swaarvenwulfde circulaire gallerie met arabesque boog*). The Kibla, or place where the Qur'an has to be²⁸ is built completely under water (*buyten werks geheel onder water gebouwd*). In the absence of sufficiently skilled workers, when such an edifice is immersed, the pressure exerted on the vertical partitions and the vaults is such that the water necessarily ends up by seeping and leaking in. Therefore the builder has provided the galleries with gutters which collect and drain all this moisture, without which all this construction would before long be flooded.

From the ground floor one enters the central court, where is found the well into which flow together all the drains which collect the water from the leaks. From there one enters the upper story by two stairs; this upper story is in all points identical to the ground floor, with the difference that it is not only open to the interior court but also the exterior, through broad windows. The water from the basin reaches just to the level of the window openings, and the Kibla is half under water. One finds the same precaution concerning the leaking water in the galleries which link this edifice to the other gardens. The galleries are all endowed with a series of small round lanterns which make them as bright as rooms; the air which circulates there is clean and fresh, but very humid...

Reimer's account, which is, to repeat, the oldest which has been preserved (1791), therefore indicates the existence of four groups: (1) the first "island" with its multi-storied tower and its view that looks out on the south sea; (2) the second "island" with its long galleried pavilion; (3) "the submarine oratory", circular in plan, in two stories and connected with the second island by a gallery below the water; (4) "another garden, located nearby", also linked with the second island by a submarine passage, but which Reimer appears not to have been able to visit.

²⁸ This is the upper part of the little turret out-building, the first storey of the *mihrab* of which I will speak below.

It is interesting to compare this description with that of J. Groneman, set down nearly a century later, in January 1884²⁹. At that period the park had already become a ruin. The “first island” indicated by Reimer had completely disappeared as well as all wooden structures; however the majority of the basins still contained water³⁰. The site still attracted the attention of a certain Dutch public and a wooden model was built and sent to Amsterdam, in order to appear at the Colonial Exposition of 1883. Since the majority of the edifices and gardens noted by Groneman are still, if not preserved, at least discernible on the ground, we will follow his description while pointing out the main changes they have undergone since.

Besides, his description has the great merit of depending not only on personal observations, but on the original plans and on two Javanese manuscripts, then already about 15 years old. Groneman says he obtained them from a secretary of the palace, *Mas Ngabehi* Sastra Ukara, who had himself inherited them from his father *Raden Tumenggung* Padma Dirja. In addition to exact information on the old names given originally to the various pavilions, basins and groves, these rare documents gave some indications on the date and the conditions under which the garden was constructed. They pointed out notably that the park had been laid out at the order of the first Sultan of Yogyakarta, Hamengku Buwana I, under the supervision of *Bupati Kyahi Tumenggung* Mangun di Pura, who was assisted by a Buginese from Batavia, *Lurah* Dawelingi; Mangun di Pura himself went to Batavia on two occasions to copy European motifs necessary for his plans; construction had begun in the year Ehe 1684 of the Javanese calendar, which began during the year A.D. 1758³¹.

²⁹ Cf. J. Groneman, “Het waterkasteel te Jogjakarta”, in *TBG*, 30, 1885, pp. 412-434.

³⁰ According to the *Tamasya Djawa Tengah* of 1961 cited above, p. 145, the main destructions took place during the revolt of Diponegoro, between 1825 and 1830 (?) and principally at the time of the earthquake of January 10, 1867. One can easily understand that a seismic tremor took care of the “storied tower” of which Reimer speaks. It is curious nonetheless that Groneman, who was writing in 1884, does not mention the earthquake.

³¹ In *Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in Beeld*, Weltevreden, 1926, p. 131, caption of figure 137, representing a view of the *Waterkasteel*, W.F. Stutterheim also attributes the

In his description, Groneman distinguishes two principal groups, which are easily recognizable now: in the north, the Taman Sari proper, which appears as a vast pool with the island Kenanga and the circular mosque (corresponding to 2 and 3 on Reimer's description) in the middle; on the south, Taman Ledok, or "Lower Garden"³² which appeared as a complex of small gardens and orchards set off from one another by high masonry walls, and connected by paths decorated with large flower pots (corresponding to 4 on Reimer's

design of the garden to the architect *Kyahi Tumenggung* Mangun di Pura, but the date which he gives (1785) is an error for 1758. It is interesting to note that Mangun di Pura sought inspiration from the architecture of Batavia. There certainly existed a number of European-type gardens in the capital of the Indies, the garden of Governor Valckenier (1737-1741) for example, on the route to Ancol (cf. the layout of Heydt, 1739, in *Oud Batavia. Platenalbum*, Bandung, 1935, plate K34) but it is probable that the Javanese architect was mainly inspired by the masonry constructions, Dutch or Chinese, which would have appeared as novelties, if one imagines that, except for Batavia and the Chinese cities along the coast, construction was essentially in wood. The "European palaces" built at the order of Qian Long at Yuan ming yuan in Peking date from the years 1740-1747; there too the essential idea was to build "in stone". After Heydt, the draftsman Rach has left us some interesting watercolors of Dutch parks from the second half of the 18th century; garden of Governor-General van der Parra (1761-1775) at Weltevreden (*Platenalbum*, pl. K 28 and K 29, with at left a rockwork fountain of "Chinese" style (*met Chinesesch grotwerk*), which is not without similarity to some parts of Sunyaragi); garden of First Counselor Arnold Akting, in Gunung Sahari lane (*Platenalbum*, K 33); garden of Counselor Extraordinary M.Th. Higers (*Platenalbum* K 35). These gardens of proper European type, symmetrical, "à la française", do not appear to have inspired directly the Javanese landscape artists. The fact that Mangun di Pura was inspired by "occidental" models explains perhaps the (later) tradition according to which Taman Sari was designed by a "Portuguese architect". Completely unknown to Reimer and de Groneman, this tradition is expressed notably in Van Stockum's Guide of 1930, p. 232: "The next item of interest is Taman Sari (the Water Castle), an Oriental Trianon, built by a Portuguese architect in the middle of the 18th century". It is not rare in Indonesia to see attributed to the Portuguese certain old structures whose exact history is lost. It is difficult to see how this Portuguese architect (coming from Goa? From Macao?) would have reached Yogyakarta in 1758 without leaving any traces in the Dutch documents; until the demonstration of an irrefutable proof, we will retain Groneman's version, and his sources, which attribute its conception to a Javanese architect.

³² Groneman translates as "elongated garden", *lang gelegen luthof*, but the sense of *ledok* is "low, depressed", which corresponds well with the garden in question which lies on a lower level in comparison with Taman Sari itself, and received water from it. There is perhaps a misprint in Groneman's article: "*lung gelegen*" for "*laag gelegen*". The description is to be followed on the map on our fig. 3.

description). Since the water has vanished from the large northern pool and also because many huts have been built up to the border of the two gardens, the distinction is no longer clear in our own day; it is nonetheless still possible to rediscover the ancient plan. The main entrance in the 19th c. was found on the west side of Taman Ledok (A); one crossed a small bastion (with twelve cannons on the terrace) and one reached the first octagonal court, the center of which was occupied by a wooden structure; here lived the *bupati*, or regent, in charge of guarding the gardens. All these have disappeared, and today one enters on the east side of Taman Ledok (B).

One first follows a rather long lane bordered on the right as on the left by masonry walls, which separate it from ancient orchards formerly planted with mango and duku trees, one crosses an intersection formerly occupied by a guard pavilion (*Gedong Gandek* or “Pavilion of the messengers”) presently destroyed, and one proceeds towards a small square occupied by four pavilions (two big ones and two smaller ones) and closed to the west by a massive gateway that leads to the most secrete part of the garden. This door *Gedong Gapura Panggung* or “Pavilion of the terraced door” appears as a masonry cube transversed by a corridor and pierced, right and left, by four small cubicles; it was here that the Sultan had unsatisfactory servants shut up (whence another name for the edifice: *Gedong Peteng* or “Dark pavilion”); the upper part of the gateway is occupied by a terrace, accessible by two stairways, and is crossed along its length by an impressive pediment completely decorated in stucco (photo 10).

This gateway gives access to an octagonal court (D) (photo 11), occupied by four small pavilions (where stood the ladies of the Sultan’s personal guards, the *paranyahi*). This court was once ornamented with flowers planted in twenty-four masonry flower-stands, which are still there. The six sidewalls of the octagon are pierced by posterns, which give access to the adjoining gardens once planted with pineapple, flowers, and decorative foliage. If one now continues west, one discovers a small kiosk, in ruins, and a large

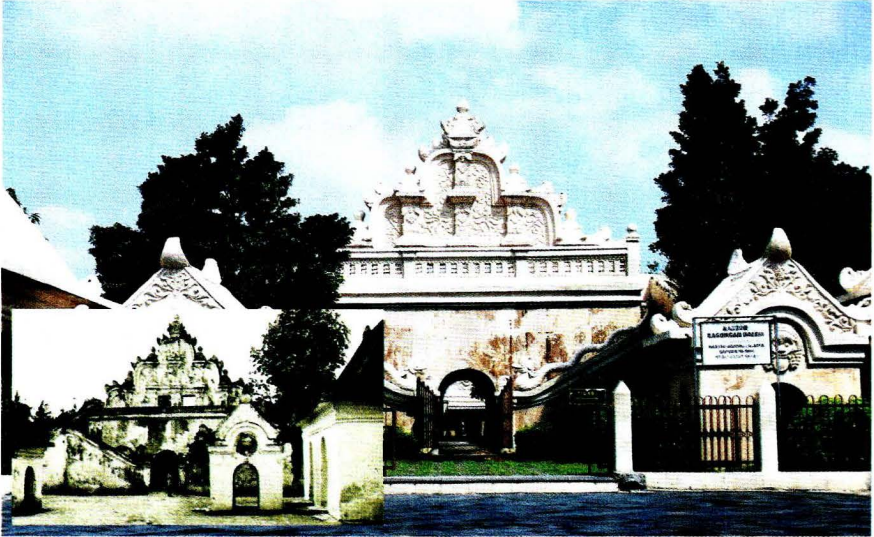


Photo 10 Taman Sari (*keraton* of Yogyakarta); view of the *Gedong Gapura Panggung* from the courtyard. Photo. D.L. & Sandy Ch



Photo 11. Taman Sari; the inside of the octagonal courtyard. Photo D.L. & Sandy Ch

staircase whose fifteen steps descend to the *Umbul Winangun*, or “Fountain of Youth”, a long rectangular area enclosed by a high wall and occupied by three pools.

It is here (E, photos 12, 13 ,14) in the most secluded part of the park, where the Sultan liked to retire and bathe with his women. The water for the pools entered from the main pool of Taman Sari, further north, and spurted from the bottom of the pools through water intakes in the form of mushrooms (from which the name *umbul*, which properly means spouting spring). Only two pools are visible at first, the third one of smaller dimensions being found further south, concealed from view by a small cruciform pavilion (only one of four wings still remains) called *Gedong Panggung Umbul Winangun*, or “Terraced Pavilion at the Fountain of Youth”; there, it is said, the Sultan’s bedchamber was prepared. At the other angle of the rectangle, at the north, is found a small elongated pavilion, the *Gedong Patehan*, or “Tea House”; here the Sultan’s beverage was prepared.

One leaves the *Umbul Winangun* and ascends, on the west, a staircase of fifteen steps, the mirror of the previous one. This one gives access to a new kiosk and a second octagonal court (F), the arrangement of which corresponds to that of Court D. However, in place of four small pavilions, there was nothing but a central tower (*Gedong Lopak-Lopak*, or “Betel-box Pavilion”), now demolished. On the west, the court is enclosed by a high gateway with triangular pediment, with dimensions comparable to the previous one, and also called *Gedong Gapura Panggung* (“Pavilion of the Terraced Gateway”).

Here it is necessary to change course and continue the visit by making our way south. Following a long alley, now bordered by the same masonry flower-stands, one passes between a first garden once planted with flowers (*Kebon Sekaran*) and a second once planted with mango trees and pineapples. Then one arrives at *Gedong Carik* or “Pavilion of the Secretaries” where it is said waited the scribes in charge of registering the guards’ reports. On the south a passage

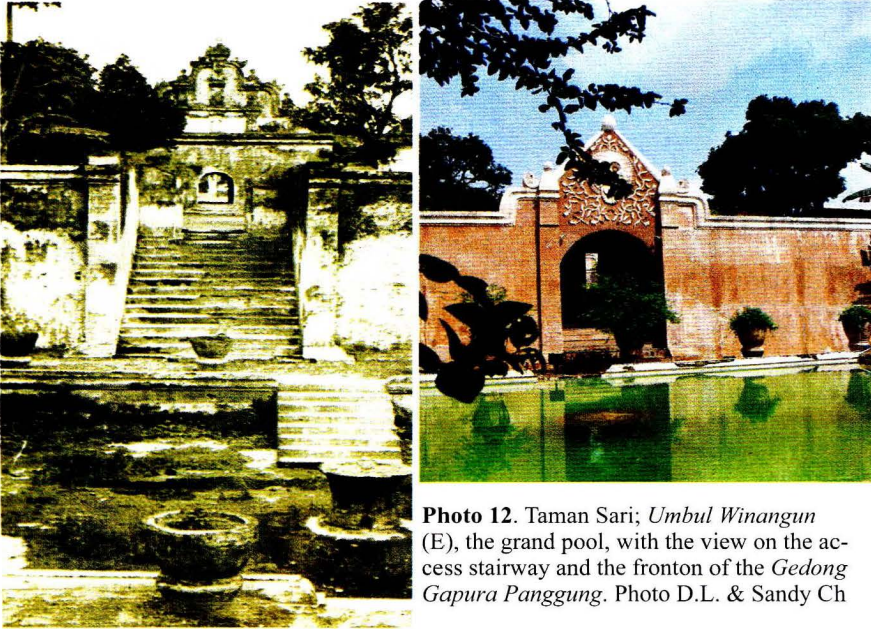


Photo 12. Taman Sari; *Umbul Winangun* (E), the grand pool, with the view on the access stairway and the fronton of the *Gedong Gapura Panggung*. Photo D.L. & Sandy Ch

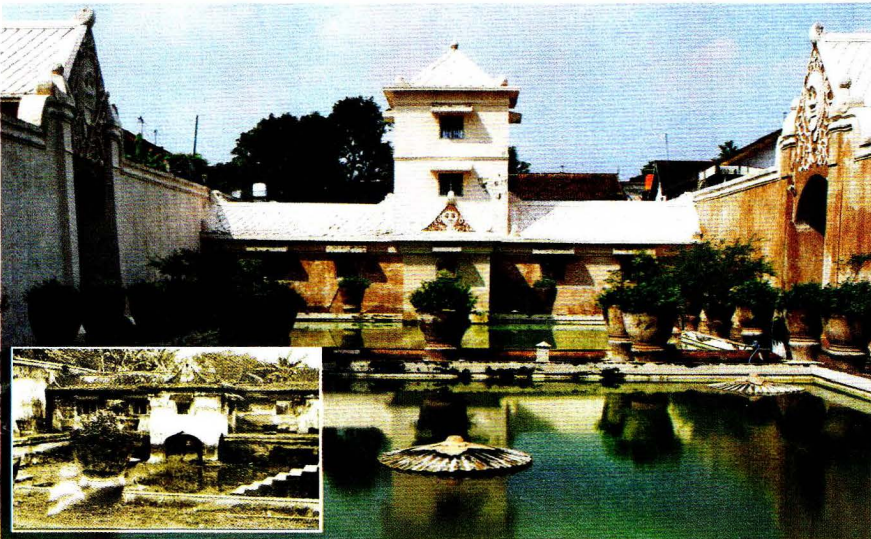


Photo 13. Taman Sari; *Umbul Winangun* (E), the central pool, with view on the *Gedong Panggung Umbul Winangun*. Photo D.L. & Sandy Ch



Photo 14. Taman Sari; *Umbul Winangun* (E), the central pool (foreground to the right) and the grand pool (with view on the *Gedong Patehan*). Photo A. Rygaloff & Sandy Ch

gives access to a short alley passing between the Betel Garden, *Kebon Suruh*, and the Vegetable Plot, *Kebon Sayuran*, to reach the *Gedong Gerji* or “Tailors’ Pavilion” (G). This, like the large pool which was further south, has completely disappeared; their site is partly occupied by the premises of the new hospital. On the east (the left), north of the Vegetable Plot, one still sees the kitchen (*Gedong Dapur*) sadly transformed into a private house (H).

Continuing further east, one reaches a small court bordered on three sides by well-preserved structures (I). On the north is found the Sultan’s bedchamber (*Kedaton Pasareyan Dalem*), and on the sides of the Long Pavilions of the east and west (*Gedong Panjang Kang Wetan* and *Gedong Panjang Kang Kilen*) which, we are told, served for the preparation of the royal meals. As for *Gedong Lawon*, which served as storage place for cloth (*lawon* signifies a sort of cotton fabric) and associated small pool, which were found on the south of the square (J), they have disappeared. It was possible to enter from there into the gardens located in the southeast corner of *Taman Ledok*, all of them separated from one another by high walls and planted with various species (note among others *Kebon Mrica*, or “Pepper Garden”).

Here we leave *Taman Ledok* to visit its neighbor, *Taman Sari*, located further north. The latter appeared essentially, as I have said, as a vast basin, of approximately square plan, called *Segaran* or “Ocean”, with in its center an elongated island called *Pulo Kenanga*³³. This island (K) was reached either by two galleries, built under the water (recall Reimer’s description) and which were oriented, one north-south (L), the other east-west (M), or by one of two boats which were kept on the banks of the pool, one in the northeast corner, in the “Small Boathouse” (*Gedong Panggenanipun Prahu Alit*), the other, larger one, in the center of the western bank, in the “House of the Royal Conveyance” (*Gedong Panggenanipun Titihan*

³³ Kenanga is the name of a flower: *Canangium odoratum* Baill.

Dalem)³⁴. One boarded the boat on the south bank of the pool (north of Taman Ledok), where two wharves were provided and are still visible today; the large Garuda statue which surmounted the western one still exists, although somewhat damaged. The water to fill the pool came from the north, obtained probably from the source whose existence Reimer pointed out “near the large Chinese tower”; it left the *Segaran* on the south by a drain which conducted it to the pools of *Umbul Winangun*, and to the east by a small canal in the open air, which perhaps conducted it to another part of the *Keraton*.

It takes much imagination to envision that which was the *Segaran*. The northern bank is now occupied by a series of quite miserable houses which turn their back so to speak on Kenanga island (their façades being aligned along a lane which goes further north). The northwest corner of the ancient pool is occupied partly by the buildings of a school and partly by water reservoirs built at the beginning of this century, but now abandoned; the northeast corner has become a garbage heap; the southwest corner is divided into lots; the only corner still partly empty is the southeast. However, the access galleries, the pavilions on the island and the round mosque are still in quite good condition.

Kenanga Island (K) still appears as a long rectangular terrace reached by staircases on four sides, the first stages of which began at water level. This first terrace supports a second, of reduced dimensions but higher; it is on this second terrace that the principle edifice rests, the *Gedong Panggung*³⁵ as well as seven small secondary pavilion. *Gedong Panggung* extends in the same way as the island, and consists of five elements: in the center, a square building; on the right and left, two long galleries; at the extremities, two rectangular

³⁴ Groneman specifies that this royal boat was called *Nyahi Kuning*, “The Yellow”; *Nyahi* is basically honorific appellation for women (corresponding to *Kyahi* for men), but it frequently occurs that certain objects (*gamelan* instruments, for example) are so named and personified. As in other Asian countries, yellow is the royal color. *Nyahi Kuning* was a gift from the VOC.

³⁵ According to Groneman, the name *panggong*, “terrace”, was derived from a vast covered balcony found on the south side.

pavilions, one sheltering the Sultan's rooms, the other the queen's. The arches and roofs which Reimer described as solid and massive have today disappeared³⁶ and there is no question of ascending to the upper storey. The small secondary pavilions served as female servants' quarters; according to Groneman, who was probably inspired by his Javanese manuscript, some were workshops where those women made batik.

The famous "underwater" passages which linked the island of Kenanga to the south bank (Taman Ledok) and the west bank are partly preserved. The southern, longer one (L) may still be followed all the way to the end (at least in the dry season, because, the canals which ensure the drainage of water seepage having become plugged, the passage is flooded during much of the year). The gallery still possesses the five light-towers which emerged above the water and provided necessary light. At the height of the third light-tower, the middle one, on the east side, a curious two-storey rectangular edifice opens, furnished with a small annexed tower on the south (N, photo 15). The old maps give it the name *Gedong Cemeti* or "Pavilion of the Whip"³⁷; now it is called more prosaically "Dining Room" (in modern Indonesian *ruang makan*). It is difficult to determine the function of this pavilion, which was inaccessible except by the south gallery. The western, shorter gallery (M) received outside light from only three light towers, now badly damaged; the western part of the passage has become impassable because of a cave-in, but the eastern part still permits access to the circular mosque (O), which remains almost intact and constitutes one of the most astonishing curiosities of these gardens.

³⁶ This disappearance must be rather recent; the photograph published in *Java en beeld* (cf. reference above) allows us to get an insight into the general disposition of the roofs and of their turned-up angles "à la chinoise".

³⁷ The rationale for this name is unclear.

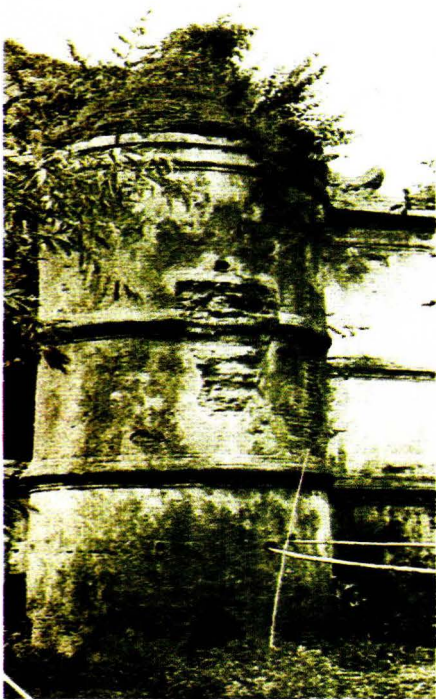


Photo 15. Taman Sari; *Gedong Cemeti* and its tower (N). Photo D.L.

Photo 16. the *Sumur Gumuling* (O); external view (at the level of the upper storey), with to the right the outwork tower (without windows) of the mihrab. Photo D.L.



According to Groneman, it had been given the name *Sumur Gumuling*; *sumur* means “well”, *gumuling* is a form with an infix that derives from the base *guling* meaning “to roll up”, apparently an allusion to the edifice’s circular form. Externally (photo 16) the building appears as a truncated tower (height inferior to diameter), containing a blind ground floor (now partly buried under rubbish and detritus) and an upper story lit by wide rectangular windows. In the northeast one finds a small tower of the same height but much reduced in diameter. From Reimer’s description I infer that the water of the *Segaran* rose just to the height of the first storey and stopped at the bottom of the windows.

Internally (photo 17) the building appears as a round court whose center is occupied by a “well”, *sumur*, now stopped up. The tower is encircled by two circular galleries, one above the other and vaulted, which capture light from inside. The lower gallery presents no peculiarities other than the fact that it connects with the small dark cell which occupies the ground floor of the adjacent tower. I will not again remark on the drainage channels mentioned by Reimer and which are still plainly visible running along the walls. From this first gallery one enters the interior court by four openings. In front of each of these four doors is a narrow staircase of about fifteen steps; the four staircases join in the center of the court to form a small platform, where it is said the Sultan would come to meditate.

The platform is found in vertical plan just above the central well, which should once have collected the water seepage coming from the drains, and, in horizontal plan, just at the level of the waters of the *Segaran*. Stairways and platform stand on a four-part brick vault. From this platform, and this platform alone, it is possible to reach the circular gallery of the upper story; for this purpose one uses a stairway, similar to the preceding ones, but this time singular, which connects, not without some daring, the platform to a bay opened at a slightly higher level. The higher gallery resembles in all respects the lower gallery; it also communicates with a small cell, occupying the upper story of the tower.



Photo 17. Taman Sari; the *Sumur Gumuling* (O); internal view (taken from the lower gallery), with the stairways leading to the meditation platform and the door to the gallery. Photo; D.L. & Sandy Ch

Groneman would see the Taman Sari as nothing but a pleasure garden³⁸, explaining that the *Sumur Gumuling* served only as a place for dance performances: “they dance on the upper story while the gamelan was playing on the ground floor”. Beyond the fact that the general arrangement of the structure renders such a hypothesis as an auditorium or theater very improbable³⁹, we fortunately have Reimer’s text which tells us expressly of a “mosque built to give thanks to God beneath the water”, which is completely in agreement with the disposition of the exterior tower, situated on the northeast, that is to say in the direction of Mecca.

If then we are definitely dealing with a palatine garden, destined of course to be a place of pleasure and entertainment for the sovereign, his wives and his court, we cannot discard the idea that parts of it - the *Sumur Gumuling* in any case - would derive from a more subtle symbolism, whose significance, like that of Sunyaragi, must be sought in what is called *kejawen*, the “Javanese philosophy” or “Javanism”.

³⁸ To the exclusion of all other religious or philosophical functions; cf. p. 416: “De gezamenlijke gebouwen en tuinen dienden den Sultan en zijn gezinnen en hofhouding tot een lusthof of buitenverblijf. Wat er anders van verteld wordt, behoort tot het gebied der vertellingen zonder grond en sonder zin”. (All the buildings and all the gardens were not used by the Sultan and his family in any manner other than pleasure garden and place of recreation; all that speaks of anything else belong to the domain of stories without foundation and deprived of meaning); it is regrettable that we do not know more of the “stories” which Groneman discards rather hastily in the name of his rationalism.

³⁹ Cf. p. 430: “In strijd met andere fabelachtige uitleggingen, dienden de beide omgangen den hofdansers tot oefenplaats. Zij dansten op de bovenverdieping, terwijl de *gamelan* beneden opgesteld was en aldaar door de *niyaga's* bespeeld werd”. (In contradiction to certain fantastic interpretations, the two galleries served in fact as performing area for the court dancers; they danced on the upper story, while the *gamelan* and its musicians (*niyaga*) were installed on the lower level). At Groneman’s period, there were still some people who thought the *Sumur gumuling* was not only intended for dance performances. It is indeed quite possible that certain sacred dances (like the *bedaya*, in which the Queen of the South was said to participate, invisibly) were performed in this place; what I question here is the solely “profane” interpretation which Groneman wants to impose.

We now find ourselves confronted with a series of gardens spread from one end of Java to the other, or to express it better, from one end to the other of the “Javanised area”, which reaches from Banten to Lombok. The more ancient, those of Panembahan Krapyak, of Sultan Agung of Mataram and Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa of Banten, date from the 17th c.; a second group, more recent, must be dated from the middle of the 18th c.: Sriwedari, c. 1743, and foremost Sunyaragi, c. 1741 and Taman Sari, c. 1758, which, in view of their state of preservation, allow us to pose the most interesting problems; the others, more recent (19th or even 20th c.) show how much the princes and regents of Java, Bali, and Lombok remained faithful to tradition⁴⁰.

It appears that this tradition had existed previous to the 17th c. Of all the parks for which I have retraced, if not their precise location, at least their historicity, none is older than 1600. There is room to think nevertheless that others existed much earlier⁴¹. What has been preserved are certain representations on temple reliefs and certain literary descriptions which are too precise to be purely imagination; they must have been inspired by some real model. In iconography, as in literature, on the other hand, the gardens seem to be related

⁴⁰ It would certainly be necessary to attempt to study the grounds for these dates, and put these structures in the context of general history: renewal of states and cultural and economic growth in the first half of the 17th c. and in the second half of the 18th c.? These synchronisms seem verifiable by other means. De Graaf (*De regering van Sultan Agung*, p. 109) notes the possibility of an influence of the architecture of the Cirebon *keraton* on that of the Mataram *keraton* of 1626 (construction of the *sitinggil*). The second “campaign” of garden-building (mid-18th c.) should be placed in the context of the literary renewal which flowered in the Javanese courts starting with the second half of the 18th c. (on this “renaissance” see the catalogue raisonné of manuscripts in the Leiden library: Dr. Th. Pigeaud, *Literature of Java*, vol. I, “Synopsis of Javanese Literature, 900-1900 A.D.”, The Hague, Nijhoff, 1967). It is not certain that the division between the Susuhunan and the Sultan (treaty of Giyanti, 1755) caused, as is usually said, the decline of the principalities and the triumph of the Company.

⁴¹ I am unable to trace with sufficient confidence the actual existence of a garden in the complex of the royal palace at Majapahit, but it is possible to presume the existence of one or even several. The very limited excavations undertaken before World War II on the site of the ancient city (near Trowulan, east of Mojokerto, East Java), have revealed

to certain themes, to certain myth; the study of some examples may allow us to specify the value, the symbolic power which was attributed to them.

First we will recall the celebrated bas-reliefs of Borobudur and Prambanan (8th - 9th c.) where numerous scenes are depicted as taking place outdoors, and set in surroundings of more or less stylized foliage. It is sometimes difficult to say whether a natural (forest, countryside) or “artificial” (park, garden) setting is depicted.

It is with equal caution that we draw attention to the curious “terraced towers” found at many places on the bas-reliefs of the lower gallery of Borobudur; notably in a scene on the north face where we see a celestial being flying above a rather strange landscape made of four of these “towers”, several trees and a pool from which emerges the head of a kind of aquatic monster (photo 18). One thinks of terraced *meru* which to our day are built in Balinese temples and appear like multiple-roofed pagodas, always in uneven numbers. It is true that the bas-relief silhouettes do not resemble the *meru* precisely; the transverse bands do not appear to portray roofs, and it is difficult to interpret the serrated summits surmounting them. Since they are always found associated with an ensemble of foliage, one may ask whether they do not depict some artificial “mountains” comparable to those of the gardens of Cirebon; the connection with the symbolism of the *meru* on Bali, which is usually related to the sacred mountain of the island, would then still be preserved.

In some cases we can be more confident, as the subject of the represented scene itself implies that it deals with a garden attached to a palace. Thus at Prambanan, on the bas-reliefs which decorate the exterior gallery of the central temple dedicated to Siva, and which

traces of a broad reservoir which was perhaps a pool, and the ruins of a brick building with fountains which was perhaps a bathing place (ruin called *Candi Tikus*). The author of the *Nagarakertagama* is very discrete on this question, perhaps because the gardens were not open to him. According to the glossary established by Th. Pigeaud (*Java in the Fourteenth Century*, The Hague, 1963, vol. V, p. 235) the very term *taman* does not appear in the poem. See also: Dr. W.F. Stutterheim, *De kraton van Majapahit*, The Hague, (VKI), 1918.



Photo 18. Borobudur; scene on the lower gallery, north side. Photo D.L.

illustrate the various episodes of the Ramayana, we are sure to find twice the depiction of a park. After Subali's death, Rama, Laksmana, and Sugriwa⁴² hold council; the three personages are represented in two scenes in different poses, the first time in Sugriwa's palace, the second time in his garden. Between the two groups, the evocation of a grove: on the upper register, several trees (with a squirrel) and an enormous potted plant (prefiguring the flower-stands of Taman Sari); on the lower register, three small tame animals, one of which wears a bell around the neck (photo 19).

The other scene takes place in the park where Rawana holds Sita prisoner; it is the moment when Hanuman creeps in to deliver to the beauty Rama's message (photo 20)⁴³. The center of the tableau is occupied by a curious edifice which one cannot avoid comparing with one of the mounds at Sunyaragi: a pile of stones and approximately parallelepiped masses, all covered in foliage and giving a vivid impression of an artificial mountain. In the "frozen cinema" which is the bas-relief, Hanuman is represented in three scenes; the first time his head alone appears very small in the background; the second time he crouches in the very center of the mound, in what appears to be a "cave", and a slave on her knees signals his presence to Sita and her servant who stand upright, left of the tableau; the third time, Hanuman, leaving his thicket, starts a conversation with Sita and her companion (Kala, sister of Wibisana) who are represented seated on a platform at right.

If we now turn to the texts, we find several mentions of gardens in ancient Javanese literature, sometimes accompanied by poetic descriptions. I may cite only a few examples here.

⁴² Since we are in Java, we have adopted the orthography commonly used here to designate the heroes of the epic.

⁴³ A reproduction of this relief is available also: first in J. Kats, *Het Ramayana op Javaansche temple reliefs*, Batavia-Leiden, Kolff, n.d. (about 1925), plate no. XXXV and XXXVI; second, in W. Stutterheim, *Rama-legenden und Rama-reliefs in Indonesien*, Munich, Georg Muller Verlag, 1925.



Photo 19. Prambanan; bas-relief of the gallery of the central Siva temple. Photo D.L.



Photo 20. Prambanan; bas-relief of the gallery of the central Siva temple. Photo. D.L.

First. In canto 10 of the “historical romance” *Rangga Lawe* (edited by C.C. Berg)⁴⁴, at the moment when the hero, Lawe, takes leave of his two wives, Mrtaraga and Tirthawati, before taking part in the combat in which he will lose his life. The former begged him to postpone it, and tells him of the premonitory dream which she had had the preceding night; the three of them had gone together to a park (*ring taman*) to walk; Mrtaraga and Tirthawati had staid to gather flowers; they had already filled a basket, when a crow swooped down on them; in fear, they let go of their basket and all the flowers were scattered. Such disorder in a peaceful garden was a clear sign of ill omen; Rangga Lawe immediately interprets it as an omen of death.

Second. At the beginning of canto 3 of the poem *Sudamala* (edited by van Stein-Callenfels)⁴⁵, the cemetery where the heroic saviour Sadewa has just been tied by the goddess Durga is suddenly transformed into a magnificent park (*kang setra taman dadine*); evil animals, scorpions and centipedes which used to haunt the place are found metamorphosed into birds and the demons of all types which inhabited it become celestial beings. As for Durga, who was none other than the beautiful goddess Uma, victim of a curse, she recovers her original form. Let us note that, in this myth of rebirth and salvation⁴⁶, what is figuring in opposition to a cemetery (*setra*), place of death and destruction, is the “garden” (*taman*), place of

⁴⁴ C.C. Berg, *Rangga Lawe, middeljavaansch historische roman, critisch uitgegeven*, Weltevreden, (Bibliotheca Javanica, no. 1), 1930, p. 132 ff. The “romance” recounts the origins of the kingdom of Majapahit and the victory of Kertarajasa over the rebel Rangga Lawe.

⁴⁵ P V. van Stein Callenfels, “De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansch Kunst”, The Hague - Batavia, (*VBG*, 66), 1925, p. 18. Whatever the date of the text translated by Van Stein Callenfels may be, the myth is ancient, as it is illustrated by the bas-reliefs of Candi Tegawangi (East Java), founded around 1280 Śaka by Rajasawardana, prince of Matahun. The essential theme of the poem is that of Sudamala’s (Sadewa) salvation of Uma who, for a grave sin has been transformed into Durga.

⁴⁶ It must be noted that the story of Sudamala is also found on the bas-reliefs of Candi Sukuh (a sanctuary situated on Mont Lawu, on the border between Central and East Java), one of the most fascinating archaeological sites of Java, which probably served in the 15th c. as a framework for rites of a religion of salvation, linked with Hinduism, but strongly “Javanese”.

resurrection and renewal. The park appears thanks to Sadewa's Supernatural power and the poet describes it as an eden:

*Hantiyanta taman warnnane, hakeh kang sarwa skar, hangsoka sekarripun hangayon, kang bale tajuk amarat, beji ring tengah prnahe*⁴⁷.

Extraordinary was the aspect of this park, numerous the varieties of flowers, magnificent the flowers of asoka; there was a square pavilion and in the middle, a place for a pool...

And it is in the waters of the pool where Uma, freed from the spell which had enchanted her, recovered her form and her old beauty:

Hyang ayu tumungkul mangke, hantyan tumoning sendang, hyang ngayu hangilo sira mangko: listwayu mangke rupanira, lukat malaningsun mangke.

The divine beauty leans over and looks into the water; there she sees her image; beguiling are her features. 'My ugliness has been exorcised!'

Third. In canto I of the poem *Sri Tanjung*, which is as a sequel to *Sudamala* (edited by Prijono)⁴⁸, we find a very poetic description of the gardens surrounding the hermitage of the sage Tambapetra; this "hermitage" is more than a humble retreat; it is large area which the virtue of the ascetic had transformed into, a peaceful asylum. We enter there in the steps of the hero Sidapaksa, whom his king has ordered on a mission to the sage.

"Coconut trees were bordering the path, as high as mountains (*parvata tingkahe*); pavilions of ivory with makaras and lions facing one another were in a row... Water spouted from makaras and goddesses whose statues overlooked the ravine... The road was

⁴⁷ *Sudamala*, canto 3, strophe 4 and 5.

⁴⁸ Prijono, *Sri Tanjung, een oud javaansch verhaal*, The Hague, Smits, n.d. (dissertation, Leiden, 1938). The poem is attributed to one Citragota, who according to Dr. Prijono was probably living in the 16th c. Geographically the legend of Sri Tanjung takes place in the region of Banyuwangi (a small port situated at the far eastern end of Java near the Bali Strait).

paved with red and white stones, on the fringe grew all types of perfumed essences, such a mountain of flowers (*tinaneman sarwa arum, gunung kembang umpamane*); the flowers of the betel blended with the lotus...⁴⁹.

It is in this paradise where in the evening Sidapaksa seduces the proper grand-daughter of Tambapetra, Sri Tanjung, the heroine of the poem. In verses which are among the most beautiful in Javanese literature, the poet evokes at the same time the meeting of the two lovers and the harmony which emanates from the park where they find themselves. The nature which surrounds them is made to harmonize with their passion and participates in its consummation. The passage allows us to understand the emotional potential with which these artificial gardens may be charged⁵⁰.

Praptng taman mangke ni Sri Tanjung, ring made areren, alinggih sireng patani; ki Sidapaksamuwus: "anginanga ariningsun..."

Tanjung arrives at the park (*taman*); in its center, she stops, she sits in the pavilion (*patani*). 'Let us chew betel, little sister', Sidapaksa says to her...

Imbuh ayu mangke ni Sri Tanjung, wwarnayanglelente, rupane apsari murti, sariratap tur lembut, yaya wulan nitih gunung, sumirat ika rupane.

Even more beautiful (to him appears) Sri Tanjung; she seems languid, such a celestial nymph; harmonious and tender her body; like the moon which appears above the mountains, she shines...

Kembang angšana aglar ing batur, sumirat gandane, kusuma kady anegehi, muni kang manuk siyung, asrang swarane karungu, mrak nika anguwuh mangke, tad-arsa muny amlas-ayun, gereh muni asawuran, kady anglipuraken manah...

Angšana flowers bestrew the terrace, spreading their perfume; one would say that the flowers greet her; the *siyung* birds are heard, launching their strident cries, the peacocks sing, the *tad-arsa* utter their plaint; the air vibrates as if to console people's hearts.

⁴⁹ *Sri Tanjung*, canto 1, strophes 16, 17, 19; ed. Prijono, text: pp. 2 and 3; translation, pp. 64 and 65.

⁵⁰ *Sri Tanjung*, canto 1, strophe 54 ff, ed. Prijono, text, p. 8; translation, pp. 72 and 73.

Sumilir ganda ning sekar tanjung, kady anegeh mangke, ganda nikang sanwa sari; ana banyu tinuntun, anut mangke ulamipun.

The aroma of the *tanjung* flowers spreads as if in greeting, also that of all the other perfumes; there is a pool whose water is brought by a conduit, with fish...”

After making love, Sidapaksa invites Sri Tanjung to bathe and both descend into the water...

Tumurun jog mangke saking salu, ni Sri Tanjung mangke, angadeg tepi, ning beji, ki Sidapaksa milu, andulu lange ning ranu, dening ulam akeh katon, bejinya toyanya biru, tunjung bang lan tunjung dwala, sedengnya asuhan sekar.

Sri Tanjung stands up from her seat (*salu*), she descends, here she is on the rim of the pool (*beji*); Sidapaksa follows her and contemplates the beauty of the lake (*ranu*), its many fish, the blue of its water, and the lotuses (*tunjung*), red and white, in full bloom⁵¹.

Fourth. Finally we cite a passage from the *Sutasoma*, in which a marvelous park, the “Ratnalaya”, is dealt with at length. We know that the *Sutasoma* is a long *kakawin* poem composed at the end of the 14th c. at the very moment considered to have been the apogée

⁵¹ The pairing “garden - love”, or if one prefers “love scene in a park”, appears to have been a fertile theme in Javanese literature and to have inspired more than one poet. We can cite in addition the *Dampati Lelangon* or “Divisions of Husband and Wife” (*Verlustiging der Echtelieden*), an erotico-mystical poem composed in Balinese by a prince of Lombok in the 19th century (Anak Agung Kutubana, died in 1870), an illustrated manuscript of which was found after the capture of Cakranegara’s library in 1894; the text has been published and translated into Dutch by I Wayan Bhadra and C. Hooykaas (“Dampati lelangon, balisch gedicht van West Lombok, tekst en vertaling, met inleiding en noten”, *TBG*, 82, 1942, pp. 1-611). The illustrations were first published by C.M. Pleyte in 1912 (*Darmo Lelangon, een koninklijk lied zonder woorden van het eiland Lombok*, Batavia, Kolff), and a second time in a more satisfactory form in 1948 (*Dampati Lalangon, 11 platen naar Balische lontar-illustraties*, Bandung, Nix). The subject of the poem (104 strophes) is the long walk of a young couple across a magnificent park located beside the sea, with pavilions, fountains, and pools. Here too their love is harmonized with the surrounding nature. The author in our opinion certainly had in mind one of the parks in Lombok which already existed at that time (recall the description of Wallace cited above).

of Majapahit, by Empu Tantular, a contemporary of Prapanca, author of the celebrated *Nagarakertagama*. Inspired by an Indian theme which is found in the *Jataka*⁵², Empu Tantular sings of the adventures of Prince Sutasoma, who is none other than an incarnation of Buddha. The text is most particularly interesting for the Siva-Buddhist syncretism which it displays⁵³ and here one finds notably the celebrated expression *bhinneka tunggal ika*, “unity in diversity”, which has been chosen as a motto by the Republic of Indonesia. Now interpreted as an expression of the unity of the Indonesian archipelago, it applied in the original text to the unity of the Buddhist and Sivaite religions, which, diverse in appearance, in fact only express two aspects of the same worship⁵⁴. Less fortunate than the *Nagarakertagama*, which has been the object of several studies and publications⁵⁵, the *Sutasoma* is only accessible, to our knowledge, in a small stenciled edition of twenty-two fascicles published in Bali after World War II by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa⁵⁶.

The evocation of Ratnalaya is found in approximately the middle of the text. After having left the deceptive quietness of the palace of

⁵² The *Mahasutasomajataka* is found delightfully abridged in Foucher, *Les vies anterieures du Bouddha*, pp. 284293; the Pali version is translated in E.B. Cowell, *The Jataka*, vol. V, p. 246 ff. I owe these references to Mr. J. Filliozat, whom I here thank most heartily.

⁵³ On the “fusion” of these two religions see notably K. Kern, “Over de vermenging van Çivaïsm en Buddhisme op Java, naar aanleiding van het oudjavaansch gedicht Sutasoma”, in *Verslagen en Mededeelingen der Kon. Akademie van Wetensch., afd. Letterkunde*, 3e reeks, deel V, Amsterdam, 1888; republished in *Verspreide Geschriften*, IV, The Hague, 1916, pp. 149-177.

⁵⁴ The exact text is (fol. 120 of the Leiden Ms used by Kern): *mangka Tinatva lawan Civatva tunggal bhinneka tunggal ika tan hana dharmma mangrva* “The being of Jina and the being of Siva are one, They are diverse and one at the same time; in the Law is no dualism.” (*mangrva* is derived from *rva* “two”).

⁵⁵ The most recent being that of Dr. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century*, The Hague, 5 volumes, 1963.

⁵⁶ *Sutasoma, ditulis dengan huruf Bali dan Latin, diberi arti dengan bahasa Bali dan bahasa Indonesia*, by I Gusti Bagus Sugriwa, Den Pasar, Pustaka Balimas, 1959, fascicles numbered I to XXI. An Indonesian summary (*Ringkasan tjeritera Sutasoma*) by the same author was published by the same publisher in 1956 (116 stenciled pages). A much briefer summary, also in Indonesian, is found in: Z & Tardjan Hadidjaja, *Kepustakaan*

his father (Sri Mahaketu, sovereign of the country of Astina) in the manner of Gautama, Sutasoma begins a long quest which leads to the summit of Mount Meru; there through much ascetism he is able to resist the tempters who assail him, while the conversations carried on with the sage Resi Kesawa strengthen him in the path which he has chosen. At the urgent request of gods and men, Sutasoma nevertheless agrees to give up his meditations to re-descend to the plain. Then he meets Prince Dasabahu whom he assists in conquering the giant Sudahana, and with whom he becomes friends. Dasabahu invites him to come to his city of Kasipura, with the intention of marrying him to his sister Dewi Candrawati. Sutasoma accepts and a messenger is sent to announce their imminent arrival in Kasipura. The queen, wife of Dasabahu, and Dewi Candrawati come out to meet them and propose to wait for them in the garden Ratnalaya:

*Byatitan ri laris nireki teka ring udyana ratnalaya
Honyekang ghupura pucak mani murub lwir tejaning bhaskara
Sakwahning rasa ramya⁵⁷.*

Their journey will not be described; they are here in the garden Ratnalaya. There was a gopura the pinnacle of which was made of jewels, sparkling like the light of the sun.

All was nothing but enchantment...

The queen enters, followed by Candrawati and her suite and all are in ecstasy before the beauties of the place:

*... Nagakusuma gambir menur campaka
Yekanung midering ranu ryyakika ghurnnang lwir ryyaking sagara
Tunjung bang tarate tengahnya kamalanjrah*

All type of flowers, nagasari, gambir, melati, cempaka, surrounded the lake, the waves of which thunder like the waves of the sea. Everywhere red lotuses, water lilies, and in the middle white lotuses...

Djawa, Jakarta, Djambatan, 1952, pp. 42-46. See also: J. Ensink, *On the Old-Javanese Cantakaparwa and Its Tale of Sutasoma*, The Hague, (VKI, 54), 1967.

⁵⁷ Beginning of canto LXVI; ed. Sugriwa, fasc. IX, p. 59.

*Punti wahwa medar pupus kadi layar mungging tepinya mijah
Pandanus rangkangi pinggi pinggira*⁵⁸.

Banana trees whose buds were just opening, snapped like sails along the shore.

Pandanus followed one another like kiosks, all along the edge...

In groups, the servants bathe in the pools or go to pick flowers; others admire from afar the beauty of the palace which is set in the center of the lake:

*Anyat tang kalangon mihat ri leyeping nuse tengahning ranu
Saksat swargga pininda rupanika himper wisnu loka nurun .
Dening kweh nikanang suwarnna mani rangkang lwir katoneng tawang*⁵⁹

Some were pleased to look in the direction of the island which appeared indistinctly⁶⁰ in the midst of the lake,

It suggested a celestial visitation, the dwelling of Vishnu descended to earth;

There were so many pavilions of gold and precious stones that one would think one was in paradise...

This evocation of “Vishnu-loka” is not just a poetical comparison. We soon learn that it is indeed an actual celestial dwelling, to which mere mortals do not have access. Each divinity has his own palace, including Buddha who is at the center. The forbidden island of Ratnalaya will eventually open itself to Sutasoma and his young wife Candrawati, and all humans will be allowed to enter after them. But let us follow the description which the poet gives us of this paradise. I will permit myself to transcribe here a rather long passage from this little-known text⁶¹:

⁵⁸ Canto LXVI, extracts of strophes 2, 3, and 4; ed. Sugriwa, fasc. IX, pp. 63 and 65.

⁵⁹ Canto LXVI, end of strophe 6; Sugriwa, fasc. IX, pp. 69.

⁶⁰ According to the *Oudjavaansch-Nederlandsche Woordenlijst* of H.H. Juynboll (Leiden, Brill, 1923), p. 495, *leyep* means “somnolent” (*dommelig, dommeland*) but also “faded, indistinct” (*flauw zichtbaar*); the island which should be a certain distance from the bank, appears to those who look at it as a dreamlike vision.

⁶¹ Canto LXVII, strophes 1, 2, and 3; ed. Sugriwa, fasc. IX, pp. 71, 72, and 73.

*Bapra mas kumenar cinandya ruhuring padhu ri tengahikarjja kokiran
Lila marppati ghopuranya sinupit makara kanaka ratna bhaswara
Mwang tekang mani kostubharjja dumilah sumarasahi rikang yaçottama
Ring purwwadi wiçesa weçma kanakanya kadi wahu sake hyangiçwara
Ngkaneng dhaksina dhatra weçma kahidep marakata dumilah nirantara
Ndan ring paççima yeka rakwa ya mahamara bhawana panarkkaning
mulat*

*Nyaçe nguttara tulya weçma madhu çuddhana pasaji nireng waning rana
Ring madhya sphatikendra çuddha winangun grha linaranganing suralaya
Bwat singhasana suryya candra numurub pucakika kadi mrtyu bhaswara
Wwaidhuryatepa neka warnnani wuwungnya mabuka nawa ratna
sangghyata*

Saksat swargga bhatarā buddha paramartha çīwa ri sedheng ing niratmaka

The wall of the compound was of brilliant gold; a *candi* was set at each of the corners and its central part was ornamented with statues.

Magnificent, the four *gopura*, enclosed by their *makara* of gold and gems, sparkling. Splendid, the pearls flashing their fires, as if streaming from the pinnacle of the pavilions.

On the east rose an edifice, of which one would say that the gold had been given by Hyang *Iśwara*.

That of the south was attributed to *Dhatr*; its emeralds never ceased to scintillate.

As for that on the west, to see it one would believe that it was the residence of *Mahamara*.

That on the north was the dwelling of *Madhusudana*⁶², who has the task of greeting courageous warriors.

In the center was set a forbidden, celestial palace, made of transparent crystal.

It served as throne room and shone like the sun and the moon; its pinnacle radiated like a flame.

Its roof was of lapis lazuli, and its ridge-piece multi-colored, displaying the united nine jewels.

It was truly the heaven of *Bathara Buddha* and *Paramartha Śiva*, whenever in their heavenly holiness⁶³.

⁶² Sugriwa translates the names of these four divinities: *Hyang Iśwara*, *Dhatr*, *Mahamara*, and *Madhusudana*, respectively by: “Dewa Çiwa, Dewa Brahma (*dhatr* meaning ‘the creator’), Hyang Mahadewa (another form of Śiva?), and Dewa Vishnu”. Juynboll’s Dictionary (p. 426) clarifies *Madhusudana* by “Madhu-dooder, naam van Krsna”.

⁶³ Juynboll’s Dictionary (p. 316) defines *Niratmaka* as “hemelsche zaligheid.”

I will end this citation there, but the poet dedicates still more strophes to the description of the marvelous palace from which emanates a light such that one always has the impression that it is daytime: “only the lotuses, which close themselves at evening, indicate that night is coming”. The approaches to it are guarded by four crocodiles which are none other than *raksasa* metamorphosed as their punishment.

When Sutasoma approaches the fringes of the lake, the four monsters arise from the bottom of the water, come to him and place themselves at his service. “Be my path”, the Buddha orders them and the four crocodiles transform themselves into four bridges of steel.⁶⁴

Drak çighran waluying wwayar ppatirikang nusa temah wwat wesi

At once they return to the water and become iron bridges which lead to the island from the four directions’.

All Sutasoma’s company betake themselves over the causeways thus improvised. They penetrate the forbidden island and are in ecstasy over its beauties. The divine prince settles there and prepares himself to marry Candrawati. Just as the garden of Tambapetra had been accessory to the union of Sri Tanjung and Sidapaksa, Ratnalaya will offer its celestial setting to the Buddha’s wedding. This is not a matter of a “paradise lost”, but rather of a rediscovered Eden, the whole of humanity finding itself rejuvenated and as if galvanized by this divine marriage⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Canto LXXIII, strophe 2; ed. Sugriwa, fasc. X, p. 55.

⁶⁵ The joy of the crowd is particularly evoked in Canto LXXIV. For the assistants, the sacred wedding being prepared is “like a union of the sea and the mountain, which come to join themselves in the beauty of the garden” (*Byakta lwir leyeping pasir wukircumbana matemu ri ramyaning taman*); and all allow themselves to be overtaken by the contagious passion...

Relinquishing ancient literature, we redirect ourselves now toward the repertory of the *wayang kulit*, or shadow play. It is often difficult to date its information with precision, but here very ancient elements dating from the pre-Islamic period are most frequently discovered preserved. I find at least three *lakon*⁶⁶ where the action takes place in or near a garden⁶⁷.

The first is entitled *Hanuman obong*, “Hanuman on fire”. The episode is derived from the *Ramayana*, and we have already alluded to it above when commenting the iconography of a bas-relief at Prambanan⁶⁸. The scene unfolds in the garden Hargasoka (the “mountain where the flowers of *soka* blossom”), where Rawana holds Sita prisoner. Hanuman succeeds in slipping in there; he is discovered and captured by the giant’s men. They prepare to put him to death by setting on fire his tail, but the monkey succeeds in escaping from them and sets fire to the shrubbery.

The second is entitled *Sumantri Ngenger*, “Sumantri enters into service”. Sumantri receives an order from king Arjunasasra to move the garden Sriwedari (*wedari* means “garden”). He is unable to do it and must appeal to the good offices of his younger brother, who is a deformed being, of whom he is ashamed.

The third is entitled *Bangun taman Maerakaca*, “Build the park of Maerakaca”. This is one of the versions of the marriage of Arjuna and Srikandi. She accepts the marriage on condition that Arjuna first restore the park Maerakaca, which has been ravaged.

⁶⁶ The term *lakon*, formed on the base *laku*, “to act”, is semantically speaking the equivalent of the French term *drame* (drama); it is really an “action”. Generally speaking the *lakon* designates the episode which is performed, and in a wider sense the written text of it.

⁶⁷ These few information about the garden in the *wayang kulit* repertoire stem essentially from a small Javanese tract which was noted to me by Prof. Tjan Tjoe Siem: *Bauwarna wajang*, by R.M. Sajid, Yogyakarta, 1958 (99 p., many figures). This slim work explicates a portion of the extremely numerous technical terms relating to the *wayang*, including a paragraph on “famous gardens” (*namaning petanaman ingkang wonten namanipun*), p. 47.

⁶⁸ See above.

The *dalang*, or puppeteer, frequently lingers long over the description of the park where one of the scenes of the drama is to unfold. For a time the screen remains blank while the audience listens the description of its appearance. This type of description generally take place at the moment when the king leaves his audience hall where he has been deliberating with his ministers or some messenger, to return to his private rooms. This moment is designated by the technical term of *gopura*, because the king crosses the *gopuran*, or portal giving entrance to the gymnasium.

To give an idea of this genre of description, I will translate here a passage from the *lakon* entitled *Kartawiyoga*, according to a play attributed to Ki Reditanaya, *dalang* of Surakarta, published in 1882⁶⁹. Prabu Salja, sovereign of Mandraka, followed by Raden Pamade (another name for Arjuna) has gone to recover his wife, Dewi Setyawati:

The king stops a moment in front of the entry portal and admires the decor, made so that it gladdens the heart. This portal is as high as Mount Sumeru, much higher than the areca trees; at its summit has been set a ruby, as large as a mango, the brilliance of which rivals that of the sun; it can be said to be a second sun. The superstructure is of pure bronze, with a framework of steel and plaques of red agate; the doorjambs are of copper and decorated with flowers; one might say a rainbow which comes to drink the rain falling on the palace. The doors are glass and bear an engraved image of a man and a woman⁷⁰: when they are closed, one would say they were two young loving spouses; when they are opened, two fiancés exchanging promises. On the sides of the gate is represented a forest full of wild animals in painted stucco; the effect is so successful that bucks and does give the impression of being alive. On the right and left of the gate, two

⁶⁹ Cf. Ch. Te Mechelen, *Drie Teksten van Tooneelstukken uit de wayang poerwa* (published in Javanese characters), Leiden, Brill, 1882 (VBG 43). The *Kartawiyoga* is the first of the three texts published. An Indonesian translation by R. Hardjowirogo was published in Jakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1951.

⁷⁰ The *dalang* of Solo had perhaps seen the display room of the keraton whose windows of European manufacture are decorated with engravings (emblem of Susuhunan "PB", surrounded by decorative volutes). Somewhat more distantly, the evocation of the two statues of monsters, armed with clubs, reminds one of the *raksasa* cast in silver plate which are set up, two by two, in front of several gates of the *keraton*.

statues are set up. Their bodies are in bronze, their hair damascened, their moustaches of metallic thread, their eyes made of pearls, their tongues of solid gold and their teeth of silver; in their hands, clubs. Each time the gate is opened or closed, one hears the sound of thunder, as if the two giants were going to attack. Those who see them for the first time cannot believe that they are statues and think thaa they are Cingkrabala and Balaupata, the two deities who guard the gate of Matangkap, in paradise. As for the court of the palace, it is tidy and smooth, the sand there is moist. It is here where gushes the spring whose water, channeled through many canals, flows to all the fountains of the palace and the pools where the ladies bathe. And know that every Monday and Friday after audiences, one can feel how all the water is perfumed; it is the perfume of the flowers which fell from people's hair. The gravel of the path is of scattered agates; when the feet of the ladies tread on them, they scintillate like shooting stars; the jewels which decorate the palace of Mandraka are innumerable; they are such that it is no longer possible to distinguish day from night; at night it is as bright as day, and in the day their brightness is yet greater. How then to distinguish day from night? In the palace, the king holds up a pair of doves; when the doves are fluttering it is day; when they rest side by side, it is night; in the palace of Mandraka, everything is fixed to their rhythm...⁷¹

I will add a final example, taken not from the *wayang kulit* again, but from the *wayang wong*⁷², or theater properly speaking (theater with actors). It is known that this genre developed at a relatively recent time and that originally its repertoire was inspired by that of the shadow play. Whatever may be the exact date of its appearance - 18th century according to some, or only the end of the 19th century - it appears that the apogée of this art coincided with the beginning of the twentieth century (before the second world war); however it may be, what is of interest for us is that people came, perhaps under the influence of European theater, to experience the need for decoration and that certain scenic props represented gardens.

⁷¹ Let us recall that in the garden of Ratnalaya the light was also permanent, and that only the lotuses, by opening and closing, indicated the rhythm of the days and nights.

⁷² One also says *wayang orang*; the significance is the same, but *wong* is Javanese and *orang*, Malay- Indonesian (with the same sense as “human being”, of “man of flesh and bone”).

So it is that in the play printed on the occasion of the performances of the *lakon* entitled *Pergiwa Pergiwati* given at the court of the Sultan of Yogyakarta on the 18, 19, and 20th of March 1939⁷³, a photograph of the scenery in scene 2 of act IV of the second day is found (photo 21). The park Maduganda of the kingdom of Madukara, is evoked there by an octagonal basin and several trees in the backdrop, and a round dozen of large urns with roses and green plants. I translate here - from Dutch - the description of the scenic movements:

The narrator announces that Endang Pergiwa descends into the basin of the Maduganda garden, in order to refresh herself by a bath.

Gatutkaca (the lover of the beautiful princess), who happens to be flying *in the breeze*, sees his beloved entering the garden and hides in the thick trees, in order to observe her at leisure (*vamvaar hij haar op zijn gemak kan gadeslaan*).

Pergiwa arrives and after having dismissed the two servants who accompanied her, takes her bath in the pool. Then she sets herself to gathering flowers. (Air: *Kinanti pamulsarih*).

Gatutkaca, still hidden in the foliage, is inflamed by this sight and cannot restrain himself from flinging flowers at her. At first she pays no attention to them but eventually when he sends her flowers with ants (*bloemen met mieren erin*), she lifts her eyes and sees him. He no longer tries to hide himself, descends from his tree, goes to her and tells her of his love. She gives not the impression of being insensible to them.

They dance a dance of love (Air: *Langengita*); and finally, he carries her away in his arms (*tenslotte voert him haar in zijn armen weg*).

Once again we find here a “scene of love in a park”, which the poet of *Sri Tanjung* so happily recounted for us.

At the end of this overly long enumeration, I hope to have made at least two points. The first is that there existed in Java, as in India,

⁷³ *Tekstboek van de Wajang-wong-voorstelling Pergiwa-Pergiwati te houden in de Kraton te Jogjakarta op 18, 19 en 20 maart 1939*; the play is divided in three “days” (first day: Pergiwa-Pergiwati; second day: the marriage of Raden Angkawijaja with Dewi Siti Sendari; third day: the marriage of Raden Pantjawala), a total of 64 pages and 6 illustrations.

as in other regions of Asia, a consummate art of the garden; the second is that the Javanese have had their own interpretation of the garden.

Perhaps it was convenient to insist on the fact that until a relatively recent date there have been some landscape artists here, competent to conceive and to execute important ensembles. It is a chapter which is overlooked in discussions of the arts of this island. The analyses of the great architectural complexes of the first period of Javanese history, the examination of the great *candi* of Central Java, and of their positions relative to one another⁷⁴, have long ago revealed the point to which their makers had developed a sense of the organization of space: an aesthetic sense, which we still appreciate today, and more important of course, a symbolic sense. But the relative rarity, or more accurately the poor state of preservation of the recent architecture, has frequently led to the conclusion that after the 15th century (and “the arrival of Islam”), Javanese art confined itself to the “minor” domains, the art of metal, art of dyeing and of weaving. One is in fact compelled to note for example that the mosques never have received a decor comparable to that of the mosques of India and of Iran; and that the princely residences, the *keraton* of Surakarta, Yogyakarta, or Cirebon, give us more the impression of country estates than of palaces. Thus the interest of garden plans which combined with some photographs permit us still to surmise what may have been the refinement of the 17th and 18th Javanese centuries⁷⁵.

⁷⁴ Recall for example the great groups at Prambanan, Candi Sewu, or Plaosan Lor, with their central sanctuaries surrounded by several rows of temples; temples which, at least in the case of the Plaosan Lot, where we have the benefit of inscriptions, figured probably as the diverse provinces of the kingdom regrouped around the central authority (cf. Dr. J.G. de Casparis, “Short Inscriptions from Tjandi Plaosan Lor”, *Bulletin of the Archaeological Service of the Republic of Indonesia*, no. 4, Jakarta, 1958, 36 p. and 9 pl.).

⁷⁵ In the same line of thought, one can profitably consult an article by Dr. Th. Pigeaud concerning the grand square (*alun-alun*) situated north of the palace in Yogyakarta: “De Noorder aloen-aloen te Jogjakarta”, in *Djawa* no. 3, 20ste jaargang, 1940. It is one of the

Perhaps yet more important is the insistence on the specific sense which would have been that of the gardens, on the possible connections which linked their arrangement to what is called the “Javanese philosophy” or “thought” (*kejawen*).⁷⁶ For although one may, here and there, discern some foreign influences - European in Taman Sari, where they are overtly indicated’, Chinese at Sunyaragi⁷⁷ and perhaps also at Taman Sari⁷⁸ - we are actually dealing with original concepts whose symbolism cannot be understood if we do recall certain purely Javanese elements. To conclude, I wish to add briefly here a few of these.

very rare studies on the symbolic organization of space in modern Java. It would also be necessary to study whether there do not exist in other regions of Southeast Asia (outside the Indonesian world) an art of the garden which can be compared to this. Mr. B.Ph. Groslier has kindly informed us of the existence of the pleasure palaces built by the king of Siam, Prah Narai, at Lopburi (Lavo), in the 17th c. The small fascicule published by the Ministry of Fine Arts in Thailand, that he kindly sent us (*Guide to Ancient Monuments in Lopburi* by M.C. Subhadradis Diskul, Bangkok, B.E. 2504, p. 20, ill. 13, I map) mentions at least two groups: first, the “residence of Chao Phraya Wichayen”, where it is said Constantin Phaulkon resided; second, the “Yen Pavilion” constructed near lake “Chub Sorn”. Mention is made (p. 20) of drains which took the water of the lake to the city and a water gate, designed by French engineers. One should try to see whether there are traces of ancient gardens in the area.

⁷⁶ See above.

⁷⁷ The important role played by the Chinese communities in the cities of north coastal Java: Tuban, Lasem, Rembang, and especially Cirebon, is well known; in the artistic sphere, their influence is particularly recognizable in the woodwork (wooden carving of Cirebon) and in batik: the dragon motif, “Chinese clouds”, design of the swastika (here called by the name of Chinese origin *banci*), the Eight immortals. It is possible that the “rock work” of Sunyaragi was inspired by Chinese art; the *kelenteng* or Chinese temples of Lasem and Rembang also contain in their forecourts “caves” of heaped-up stone, in a very similar style. We also point out (photo 22) in the precincts of the Temple of the Great Awakening at Cirebon (described by J.L.J.F. Ezerman, *Beschrijving van den Koan Lem-Tempel Tiao-Kak-Sie te Cheribon*, Bat. Gen. Popul. Wetensch. Serie no. 11, n.d.) the existence of a “miniature garden”, certainly of recent construction, reproducing both artificial mountains and “the sea”, (the water being held in front by a glass pane, permitting one to see the “depths”); according to the guardian, the garden once contained a whole series of small statues symbolizing various divinities.

⁷⁸ If one judges by the style of the remaining roofs and the description of Reimer (cf. above).

One will already have remarked the importance which is so to speak primordial, on one hand, of the artificial hills, with their caves and passages, on the other hand of the pools with their water systems. In the terms which designate them, we have constantly seen the terms for the “mountains” (*gunung, ardi, arga*) or for “Sea” (*tasik, segara*). It seems in fact that if for us there is a “park” where there are found collected shrubbery, paths, and water fountains (and, for the Chinese, whenever there is a miniature landscape, visible from a pavilion or a kiosk), the Javanese have sought primarily to juxtapose the two symbols evoking most expressively the two fundamental elements: earth and water.

We must probably here recall the importance of certain natural sites in Java and the hold which they exert on the imagination. Here, as in our European folklore, these are the most ancient “high places”, the prestige of which probably dates from the prehistoric period. In volume II of the most interesting work of Van Hien on “the world of the spirits on Java” one finds a first list of these sites: these are primarily volcanoes (Gunung Sumbing, Gunung Lawu, Gunung Duwur, Gunung Sirah Keting, Gunung Kelir, Gunung Bromo...), caves (Gua Ganges, near Tuban, on the north coast; Gua Kidang, near Karang Bolong on the south coast; Gua Kalak, near Pacitan, also on the south), or crater lakes (Telaga Cebung, at 6,000 feet elevation, in the Dieng plateau; Telaga Kidang, near the cave of the same name, in the Karang Bolong district...); this is assuredly the point of departure for research aiming at the cartography of “spiritual Java”⁷⁹. The abundance of volcanic scenery lent itself most naturally to legendary development.

We know that some of those special sites would have experienced new popularity with Indianization; the ruins which are found there still confer on them today a certain celebrity and they are known

⁷⁹ H.A. Van Hien, *De Javaansche Geestemvereld en de betrekking die tusschen de Geesteen en de zinnelijke wereld bestaat*, vol. II, Semarang, Van Dorp, 1896; see especially pp. 10, 11, and 13.

to the learned world, while other great natural sanctuaries such as that of Karang Bolong for example remain outside such itineraries. Among the “archaeologically acknowledged” sites, I may note first of all the famous Dieng plateau (the name of which is explained as Di-Hyang, “Residence of the Gods”), where are found several small temples said to be the oldest in Java. Van Hien’s catalogue indicates no less than four sites considered as sacred in the Dieng massif alone; three are “natural” (lake, cave, source of youth); the fourth is a very long underground passage, certainly dug by man and named Aswatawa⁸⁰; the function of this corridor has not yet been satisfactorily interpreted.

A second important site is Mount Penanggungan, which is set in eastern Java, south of Surabaya. Its very particular form (four summits surrounding a central summit of 1,659 meters, and between each of the four summits, four others at lower elevations) was noticed by the ancient Javanese who assimilated it to Mount Meru⁸¹. Among the very numerous ruins (over fifty, with various uses and of very different dates, from the 10th to the 15th century), is found the “funerary bath” (*grafbadplaats*) of Jalatunda (A.D. 977)⁸². Above

⁸⁰ Van Hien, *op. cit.*, p. 18: “*Op het plateau van het Dienggebergte in de residentie Bagelen vindt men een ingestort gedeelte van een onderaardsche gang, genaamd “Aswatawa”, vroeger door Hindoes gebowvd... Naar het begriip van de Javanen wordt deze onderaardsche gang bewoond door geesten, die door de bewoners uit den omtrek gunstig gestemd worden door offeranden.*” (On the plateau of the Dieng mountains in the Bagelen Residency is found a collapsed part of an underground passage, named ‘Aswatawa’, built before by the Hindus... According to the belief of the Javanese this underground passage was inhabited by spirits whom the local inhabitants were accustomed to present with offerings’.) The most recent guides give the name “Aswatama”, which is also, in the wayang, the name of Durna’s son.

⁸¹ In the *Tantu Panggelaran*, a very interesting cosmogony edited and translated into Dutch by Dr. Th. Pigeaud (The Hague, 1924) it is recounted how Mahameru was brought from India to East Java; some parts detached themselves during the trip, forming the large volcanoes of Central and East Java: Lawu, Wilis, Kelud, Kawi, Arjuna, and Welirang.

⁸² See for a description of the site, N.J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, The Hague, 1923, vol. II, p. 36; see also A.J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*,

the pool is set a “*candi-form*” pedestal, which was once topped by a stone block of very strange shape. W.F. Stutterheim deserves the merit for having linked this block (found at Trawas) with the pedestal of Jalatunda and having found its meaning; for the details of his argument, we redirect the reader to his brilliant article in the *TBG* of 1937.⁸³ I will content myself here with indicating the essentials of his conclusion. The Trawas cube appears in brief as a “model” of the cosmic mountain, a central “summit” in the form of a *lingga*, flanked by four “summits” of lesser dimensions, and by four others, even smaller, the group of these nine protuberances being surrounded by a snake coiled around the base. The essential thing for us is that the cube (115 cm high) is criss-crossed by a whole set of channels (see the section published with the article). The water which would have come to the summit of the “peak” in the center was channeled across the block, before splashing into the basin situated at the base of the pedestal⁸⁴.

A third site finally is Candi Sukuh (14th-15th c.), found on the slope of Mount Lawu, east of Surakarta⁸⁵, it is a terraced sanctuary,

Amsterdam, Van der Peet, 1959, plates 185, 186, 187, 188.

⁸³ “Het zinrijke waterwerk van Djalatoenda” (The Significance of the fountain of Djalatunda), *TBG*, 77, 1937, pp. 214-250, 3 photos (one of the block at Trawas, a second of a similar block originating from Kediri, now in the National Museum, Jakarta and a third of another *waterwerkstuk* found in the old palace of Karang Asem, Bali), four crosssections permit the appreciation of the canal system inside the blocks.

⁸⁴ Stutterheim connects the water, consecrated in that way, with an episode in the *Tantu Panggelaran* (ed. Pigeaud, p. 64); the gods entrusted with carrying Meru from India to Java stop en route, fatigued by the effort; they risk drinking the water which flows from the Meru itself but it is poisonous (called Kalakuta) and all fall dead; then Parameśwara intervenes, drinks the water of death and chokes; his neck is already covered by a red stain... But he comes back to his senses and stares at the Kalakuta water, which is changed immediately into the water of immortality (*Tatwamrta*); he then pours some of it on the gods who revive and he invites them to continue with the transport of the Meru: “Come, turn again the sacred mount Mandara, that it reach the island of Java, let’s go, children !” (*Ndah puter ta manih sang hyang Mandaragiri, den ikeng nusa Java: Arah, anaku!*); it is the water of immortality flowing from Mont Mandaragiri, which would be symbolized at Jalatunda.

⁸⁵ We already mentioned it about the *Sudamala*, see above.

the highest level of which is occupied (a) by a kind of pyramid, (b) by several series of bas-reliefs, of rather gross but very expressive style, placed along the ground (the iconography of which is principally inspired by the *Sudamala*, *Garudeya*, and by the story of Bima, legends in which one constantly rediscovers the presence of some hero of salvation)⁸⁶, and (c) a very curious construction which could be thought to be a “mountain”, with still perfectly recognizable channels for a water system. Might this water which had circulated along the sacred edifice have served for some ritual consecration? We must be very careful here.

I cannot give here more indications of the mountain sanctuaries, which deserve to be discussed in detail. My aim here was only to give a very brief indication of some points of a long tradition, to which, I believe, the 18th century gardens, although built in the context of a Muslim and European time, were not absolute strangers. It seems to me that the constant attention to the depiction of the sea and the mountain in the vicinity of the *keraton* was absolutely not due to a simple esthetic and profane vanity, nor to some “Promethean” desire to build an artificial microcosm, prefabricated and submissive; rather, it is related to the apprehension of the ancient sovereign, anxious to anchor the world around him and to fix in one spot, by the erection of a *meru*, the “center” which made him a *cakrawartin*. The principal “cave” at Sunyaragi, with the whole water system which flowed from the cistern at its summit, seems to me to correspond, after an interval of some eight centuries, to the “irrigated *meru*” of Jalatunda.

Obviously, times changed and Islam made its presence felt. Mosques are constructed, but these are surrounded by water (Great Mosque of Yogyakarta, mosque of the *keraton* of Surakarta); one is even built under the water, the *Sumur Gumuling* of Taman Sari, with its internal water system, established for technical reasons if one believes the engineer Reimer, perhaps established for symbolic reasons as well if one thinks

⁸⁶ One finds several interesting photos of Candi Sukuh in A.J. Bernet Kempers' *Ancient Indonesian Art*, plates 329-334.

of other known water systems. In Yogyakarta, as in Surakarta, we also find in the 18th c., and without the least contradiction with Islam, the survival of a probably very ancient myth, that of the hierogamy between the sovereign (Sultan or Susuhunan) and Roro Kidul or Queen of the South (that is to say: the south sea of Java).⁸⁷ The fear of the Queen who is blamed for calling to her the swimmers or sailors who are not careful, is still felt today on the whole southern coast of the island (which is in fact very dangerous because of the ocean currents), notably in the small port of Pelabuhan Ratu, south of Sunda⁸⁸. The princes of Yogya and Surakarta were considered able to contact the queen and there was in their palace a tower where they were reputed to meet her⁸⁹. It is difficult to say whether this tower in Yogya was the one which Reimer tells us about, in specifying that from its summit “one could see as far as the south sea”⁹⁰.

I will conclude by underlining the notion of “retreat”, of “ascetism”, which we have met in several examples in the course of our study: in

⁸⁷ I already noted the possible connection between this union and that of the king of Cambodia with the *nagi* which according to Tchou Ta-kouan took place in one of the towers of the palace.

⁸⁸ *Pelabuhan* is formed on the root *labuh*, whose most usual meaning is “to let go, drop anchor”; hence the interpretation of *Pelabuhan Ratu* as “Port of the Queen”. But it happens that the term *labuh* also designates the offering made to the Queen, which is dealt with in the following note. There has perhaps been confusion, supposing that such an offering has ever been made in this bay, which has not been attested. On the old European maps the bay of Pelabuhan Ratu is designated by a name which appears forgotten: “bay of wine sellers” or *Wijncoopsbaai*. Still at present the inhabitants are reluctant to go to this beach on the south with green-colored clothing; it is supposed to be the color of the Queen, who preferentially invites those who sport it....

⁸⁹ At least three rituals are to be noted here; at the time of an enthronement, the highly ritualistic picking of the *wijayakusuma* flower (*Pisonia sylvestris*) some plants of which grow in the island of Nusakambangan (on the south coast near Cilacap); at the time of the sovereign’s birthday, the transport of some of his clothing in procession to the shore and its release afloat. This is the ceremony called *nglabuh* (to abandon, let go); for the Yogya sultans, this ceremony takes place at Parang Tritis, in a rather extraordinary landscape - and certainly unexpected in this part of Java - of sand dunes; at the time of certain celebrations, the performance of certain sacred dances in which the Queen is said to participate invisibly.

⁹⁰ See above. See also the citation of the *Babad Tanah Jawi* above.

Sunyaragi, where we know that Sultan Sepuh liked to go to meditate, also at Taman Sari, where the small platform in *Sumur Gumuling*, suspended between sky and water (just below the well collecting the water of the internal circulation) seems to be still waiting for someone to come here to meditate, *bertapa* as one says in Indonesian⁹¹. The garden in effect was not an “open” space; this is the opposite of a public space; its surface is separated from the outside world, the common world, by high walls which it is necessary to cross by passing through well-guarded gates; it is an enclave, where only superior beings have access and if they enter there it is to live there a more intense life, it is to feel chosen experiences. One might say, ultimately, that the garden is the heavenly oasis where the king comes to live his life as a god.

Assuredly, there he finds at his disposition all the profane pleasures and we rediscover there the connection garden-love, for which literature has furnished good examples. We have seen in the *Sutasoma* that the garden Ratnalaya was in a way inaugurated on the occasion of the union of Buddha and Candrawati. It is with this text in mind that one should admire the now deserted baths of tile *Umbul Winangun*. In pleasure and its excess, there is definitely a means to display oneself as god.

But there also exists another way, diametrically opposed, and it is that of the ascetic: abstinence, privations, macerations being the methods which permit one as surely to transcend the human condition. A very famous text in Java is the passage from the *Arjunawiwaha* (“The Wedding of Arjuna”, a poem which originally dates from the 11th c.)⁹² where it is related how Arjuna retires to a mountain, enters into

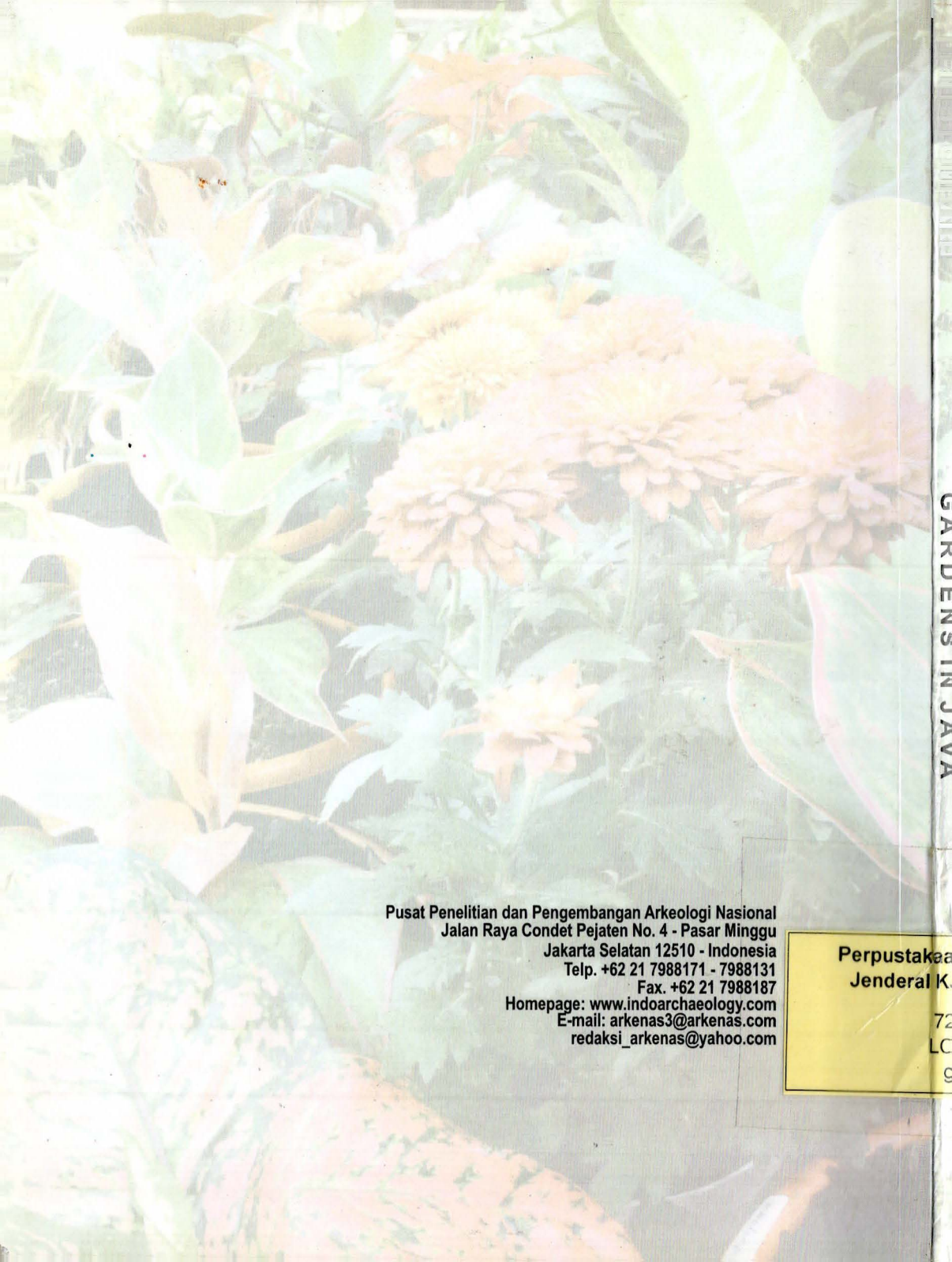
⁹¹ Formed with a prefix on the root *tapa*, which comes of course from the Sanskrit *tapas*. When I first visited Taman Sari in August 1966, an offering composed of five small rice cones of different colors (the white cone in the center) and placed on a banana leaf, was set on the platform; a sign that the *abdi* of the vicinity continue to revere this place.

⁹² See: Poerbatjaraka and Hadidjaja, *Kepustakaan Djawa*, Jakarta, Djambatan, 1952, p. 16, (with a short presentation in Indonesian); Poerbatjaraka, “Arjuna-Wiwaha, tekst en vertaling”, *BKI*, 82, 1926, p. 181-305 (original text and translation in Dutch); S. Pane, *Arjoena wiwaha, disalin dari bahasa djawa koeno*, Batavia, Balai Poestaka, 1940; for a French summary, see L.-C. Damais, “Quelques toiles balinaises de style traditionnel”, in *Atribus Asiae*, vol. XXIV, 3/4, 1961, p. 272.

meditation and resists all sorts of temptations which attack him. This is the archetype of a series of innumerable episodes, which all tell how the hero retires to some solitary retreat (which was quite easy at a time when Java was very thinly populated and almost completely covered with forest) and acquires superhuman power by his meditation. We have seen for example how Sutasoma resisted the tempters before descending to the plain and entering Ratnalaya in triumph.

It is necessary for a sovereign to "recharge" his power from time to time and to intensify by meditation his hold over affairs and men; there is nothing surprising in that he accomplished this trial in the super-terrestrial - and semi-divine - space in his garden.

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