

TINEKE HELLWIG AND
ERIC TAGLIACOZZO, EDITORS



THE INDONESIA READER

HISTORY, CULTURE, POLITICS

The Indonesia Reader

THE WORLD READERS

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Edited by Tineke Hellwig and Eric Tagliacozzo

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Acknowledgments

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We are very glad that this book is finished, the more so because it gives us the opportunity to share our passion for Indonesia and its people with others. There are a number of people we wish to thank for their continuous support and encouragement. At Duke University Press, we are first and foremost indebted to Valerie Millholland, who as the editor of the book patiently guided us through this whole process over a long time. We also need to thank Miriam Angress, Alexis Pauline Gumbs, and Neal McTighe at Duke University Press who generously helped us in a number of ways with their technical and administrative skills and insights. Our research assistants, Manneke Budiman and Heather McLoughlan, chased down copyrights and images, wrote to publishers, and performed a number of other time-consuming tasks. Without them the preparation of the manuscript would have taken much longer. We are grateful to Manneke Budiman, Oiyen Liu, and A. van de Rijt for their assistance with the translations. We also thank Jaap Anten, Marieke Bloembergen, Karel van der Hucht, Korrie Korevaart, Betty Litamahuputty, Mienke Mees, Willem van der Molen, Dolores Puigantell, Ling Xiang Quek, Henk Saaltink, Dirk Verbeek, and Wil van Yperen for all the help they provided to us in a variety of ways.

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A Note on Style and Spelling

This anthology contains works from many different periods, authors, and points of view. Some of the language may sound awkward or inappropriate to contemporary readers. However, except for some careful abridgement and editing where necessary for clarity, we have chosen to retain the original wording in the interest of preserving tone and of reflecting the historical context in which each work was written. Those familiar with the history of Malay and Indonesian (*bahasa Indonesia*) will notice the variations in the spelling of names and commonly used words, among others *oe/u* (Soematra/Sumatra), *dj/j* (Djakarta/Jakarta), *tj/c* (Atjeh/Aceh), *j/y* (Surabaja/Surabaya).

For the sake of readability we use the term Indonesia (and the adjective Indonesian) to refer to the geographical region that is present-day Indonesia, even though for some periods under discussion Indonesia as a political entity did not yet exist.

Introduction

In 1883 at the Amsterdam Colonial Fair the Dutch erected a pavilion to showcase the wonders of their flourishing, sprawling colony, the Netherlands East Indies, now better known as Indonesia. A number of exhibits displayed the different cultures, societies, and artifacts of the Indies' varied peoples. An entire transplanted Javanese village formed the centerpiece of the exhibition. It was replete with Javanese peasants, but Sundanese and Sumatran people were also on view, revealing a variety of their cultures and lifeways. In precolonial times these widely divergent ethnic groups would never have considered themselves as part of any discrete political construct; in the postcolonial era many of these peoples' descendents might question the same assumption. But at that moment, at the turn of the twentieth century, the Dutch trumpeted the existence, and indeed the creation, of a unified Dutch East Indies as a victory and as an achievement: a triumph over disorder and a feat of coerced unity in the face of centuries of supposed anomie and unrest in a very remote corner of the world.

More than one century later Indonesia is the largest archipelago nation-state in the world, and its almost eighteen thousand islands both separate and link the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Only six thousand of these islands are inhabited, but the word Indonesians use to refer to their "homeland" or "fatherland" is *tanah air*, meaning "land and water," indicating the significance of both elements to national identity. Indonesia's population of 230 million is rich in cultural diversity, and since earliest times the island dwellers have sailed across the seas to build networks among the various societies. The waterways divide but also bind communities.

Indonesia's western part is located on the Sunda Shelf that is geologically part of Southeast Asia's mainland. The Sahul Shelf in the east (West New Guinea) was once part of Australia. A fault line in the Indian Ocean runs west of Sumatra, where the India Plate dives beneath the Burma Plate. Tectonic activity causes frequent seismic tremors: the December 26, 2004, earthquake with a 9.15 magnitude on the Richter scale and the subsequent tsunami of gigantic proportions resulted in the loss of lives of thousands, not only in Indonesia.



Map of Indonesia.

The islands are shaped in two arcs of active volcanoes with deep troughs between them. They are part of the so-called Ring of Fire that runs along the Pacific Rim flowing onto the west coasts of North and South America. The catastrophic 1883 eruption of Krakatoa was destructive to humans, the natural environment, and weather patterns around the globe. Yet volcanic ash provides fertile soil that guarantees sufficient food crops for the populace. On Java, where two-thirds of today's population are concentrated, people say that if one plants a broomstick, a lush tree will soon flourish. The Javanese worship Mount Merapi in central Java with reverence and awe, as it is always spewing smoke or ash, rumbling at times as if to convey a message to the surrounding residents. They usually respond promptly with offerings to the volcano's spirits.

The archipelago straddles the equator over three thousand miles. The tropical climate brings high humidity throughout the year with two seasons, a dry one and the monsoon. The islands' mountain ranges were originally covered by dense and inaccessible jungle. Differences in altitude correspond to cultural variation and distinct power relations between *hulu* and *hilir* (upstream and downstream) societies, as well as between coastal, lowland areas in which trade and commerce prospered versus mountainous inland communities



Vendor with chili peppers. Photo by Dolores Puigantell. Indonesian food can be very spicy depending on the region. Chili peppers (*cabai* or *lombok*) are the main ingredient in hot pepper sauces known as *sambal* for which an enormous variety of recipes exist. *Cabai rawit*, a small green pepper, is exceptionally spicy. Chili peppers are widely believed to stimulate the appetite, and it is not uncommon to see an Indonesian eat just a plate of white rice with *sambal*.

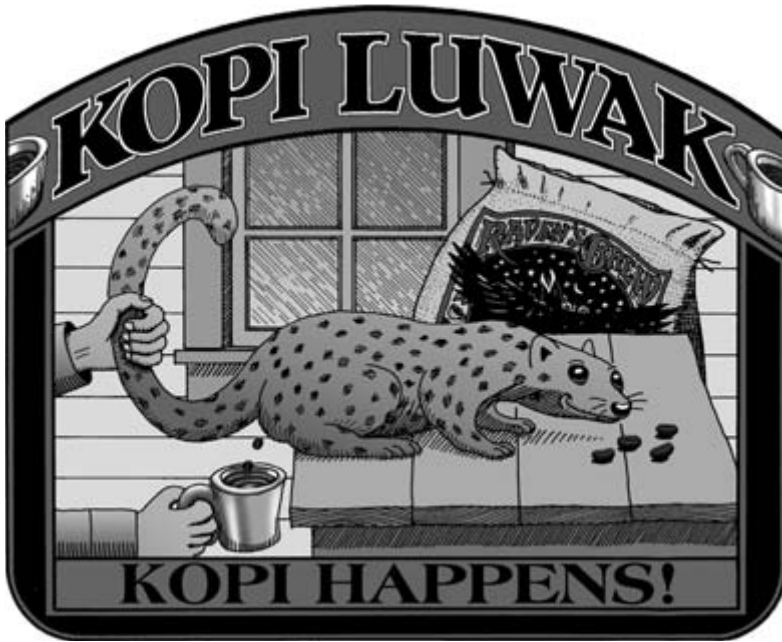
with more “tribal” peoples. In this tropical region one only finds eternal snow on Puncak Jaya, the highest peak of 5,039 meters in West New Guinea.

Many visitors to Indonesia are overwhelmed by the natural beauty of its environment. The lush rain forests, the tremendous diversity in flora and fauna, the dazzling colors and aromatic smells captivate newcomers. This is the land of the stunning bird of paradise, the monstrous Komodo dragon, of pungent durian fruit and exotic spices much sought after by people in Antiquity: nutmeg, mace, cloves, and pepper. In the past indigenes could rely on an abundance of timber and forest products such as resin, sandalwood, and medicinal plants. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, however, a rapid depletion of the forests as a result of increased population and logging, some of it illegal, has occurred. Virgin forests were turned over for agricultural use to produce rice, grown in terraced *sawahs* (wet rice fields) on the mountain slopes, and subsistence crops, but also trade commodities such as coffee, tea, cocoa, sugar cane, tobacco, indigo, and a range of palm products. Deep in the ground Indonesia is rich in natural resources such as oil, gas, tin, copper, gold, and bauxite. Beneath the ocean’s surface one encounters a mosaic of colorful

marine life: Indonesians have for centuries harvested the plentiful bounty of the sea to sustain their diet.

Indonesia's strategic location along the main sea routes between East and West made it a crossroads for travelers, material, and ideas. Foreign ships passed across the waters for hundreds of years, and some seafarers stayed a while after reaching the safety of the islands' shores. Europeans were among those who settled with no intention to leave. They gained positions of power, and in the end colonial rule defined Indonesia's boundaries. Negotiations with the Netherlands after the Second World War determined how the borders of the nation-state were to be drawn. As children learn in a nationalist song, the country stretches "dari Sabang sampai Merauke"—from Sabang, on the tiny island We, at its most northwestern tip, to Merauke on the south coast of West New Guinea. Sabang and Merauke represent two geographical extremes: one is located in the devout Muslim province of Aceh, the "Verandah of Mecca," while the other forms part of the Melanesian world of Papuans. They also signify political trouble spots: regions in the periphery that long resisted—and continue to resist—European colonialism and integration into a Java-centric sovereign state. Their respective independence movements have led to violence and civil war, causing endless human suffering.

Using *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity) as the nation's motto, the nationalist agendas of postcolonial politicians have aimed to respect cultural diversity and to balance out wide regional heterogeneity. A myriad of ethnic groups, speaking more than four hundred languages and dialects, adheres to a range of values and beliefs. Yet almost all of these people can now converse with one another in *bahasa Indonesia*, the national language constructed out of Malay, which was used for market interactions over centuries. *Bahasa Indonesia* now perhaps serves as the best index of the achievement of a modern nation, where before there was only allegiance to village and to town, or in some cases to the notion of people on a particular island having some sort of connection with each other. Ethnic and racial stereotyping persists, however, particularly among the Javanese with their often strong sense of superiority. Bataks and Madurese are considered *kasar* (rude), while Moluccans, Dayaks, or Papuans on the so-called Outer Islands are often looked down on as "uncivilized." Immigrants are easy targets of othering too, and at times they fall victim to racism and violence. Chinese immigration is the most prominent besides that from India and the Arab world. Chinese scholars, mostly Buddhist, moved to the archipelago during the first millennium of the Common Era. Some centuries later Chinese men settled down and married local women. Their offspring, referred to as *peranakan* (Chinese-Malay), remains a



Logo of *Luwak* Coffee (*Kopi Luwak*). Copyright and trademark by Raven's Brew Coffee. Anyone who orders "a cup of Java" in North America will get a cup of filtered or espresso coffee. Indonesians, however, do not at all associate Java with coffee. They consider Toraja coffee from the island of Sulawesi to be exclusive. Moreover, in Indonesia most people do not drink filtered coffee but *kopi tubruk*, strong coffee made by pouring boiling water over coffee grounds in a glass. However, one of the most exquisite types of coffee with prices up to \$600 per pound is *kopi luwak*. A *luwak* is a nocturnal animal that resembles a civet cat. It has a special taste for the ripe fruits of the coffee bushes and knows how to pick the sweetest coffee berries. The animal digests these and then excretes the hard beans. For centuries villagers have collected coffee beans from *luwak* dung, processed, roasted, and consumed them. *Luwak* coffee is rare and known to be delicious.

visible minority. *Peranakan* families who have lived in Indonesia for generations deconstruct any notion of racial and cultural essentialism. Their very existence raises not only the question of Chineseness but also asks: Who is, or can claim to be, Indonesian?

Outside the archipelago certain cliché images of what Indonesia stands for also persevere. The shadow puppet theatre, or *wayang*, is an acclaimed Indonesian art form, even when its best-known characters such as Arjuna, Kresna, and Duryudana originate in Indian mythology. Many Westerners recognize the gamelan music that accompanies a *wayang* performance as typically

Indonesian. Another stereotype, particularly in North America, is the famous “cup of Java,” which holds the promise of a taste of fine coffee. But generally Indonesia is known as the fourth most populous nation after China, India, and the United States of America. It is also the largest Muslim country, a fact particularly emphasized in the Western world since the September 11, 2001, attacks on the twin towers in New York. Bali scores high in the perception of the West as a “tourist paradise” and the “island of the gods.” The Balinese adhere to their version of Hinduism, their everyday lives filled with ceremonial customs. The Dutch colonial administration came to Bali only in the early 1900s, but once it was established, Europeans and Americans flocked to the island east of Java, exoticizing its culture, traditions, and art forms. It became an artist’s heaven and a dream holiday destination. Tourism boomed, and some foreign travelers to Bali would return home not even realizing they had been in Indonesia. However, the stream of visitors came to a halt when Islamist terrorists carried out deadly bomb attacks in October 2002. Bali’s economy has since plummeted, experiencing the severe effects of the post-9/11 world.

One of Bali’s attractions is its aesthetic ritual, expressed through music, dance, the visual arts, and daily offerings of colorful flowers and incense. Religious practices leave a considerable mark on society. Lifestyles and values, morality and normative behavior are primarily guided by prescriptions of the faith. Before the major world religions arrived, belief systems on the islands included animism and the worship of ancestors, spirits, and supernatural forces. The islanders lived in close harmony with nature, and women played a prominent role in social and kinship relations. Married couples often resided with the bride’s parents or relatives; in a bilateral system children belonged to both their mother’s and their father’s families, and some societies were explicitly matrilineal. Women were visibly present in the village’s public life and had decision-making power in the (household) economy.

Shifts in indigenous socioreligious patterns first occurred when Hinduism and Buddhism found their way southeastward from India. These religions amalgamated with one another and with existing beliefs into new local versions. Islam trailed behind the Indian religions. It, too, was adopted, adapted, and culturally transformed. Islam in Indonesia differs from that in the Middle East in the way it has incorporated pre-Muslim thought and practice and devotees have adjusted the doctrine to their needs, at times creating their own folk version of the religion. Islam arrived in the archipelago peacefully, traveling with merchants and reaching Aceh first. Marco Polo noticed Muslims in this region in 1292. Over the centuries it gradually spread further east when increasing numbers of local rulers converted to the new religion. Those in the coastal areas embraced Islam first, as they had the most contact with foreign-

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Minangkabau family in front of their traditional house, West Sumatra, 1910. Photo no. 2423, courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

ers. By the late seventeenth century sultanates could be found from Sumatra to as far east as Sumbawa, northern Sulawesi, and the Moluccas.

Europeans brought Christian missionaries who were mostly successful in more isolated, upland areas that had not yet converted to Islam. Churches were able to proselytize the local population only if they left room for native spirituality or traditional rituals. All in all one finds in Indonesia's multilayered syncretism many complexities in terms of religion, culture, and social relations. It shows in the matrilineal and matrifocal kinship system of the Islamized Minangkabau of western Sumatra or in the popularity of Hindu tales as performed in the *wayang* among Muslims on Sumatra and Java. In general Islam as practiced in Indonesia has been remarkably tolerant of other religious elements still found in daily life, though this has begun to change in some communities, often to the alarm of many local peoples themselves.

When a few small ships from Portugal docked in the Moluccas in the sixteenth century, they had found what they were looking for: the famed Spice Islands. These ships had traversed the entirety of the Atlantic, crossed the vast Indian Ocean, passed through the Muslim-dominated seas of the Indies, and had finally dropped anchor in several tiny bays. They had been in search of spices that grew nowhere else on earth but here. The Portuguese were

followed by the Spanish, and the Spanish by the English and the Dutch until the latter managed to evict all the others and erect an imperfect monopoly on the trade in these items to the other side of the world. Control over the tiny islands of eastern Indonesia became a matter of financial and political life and death. At one point the Dutch exchanged one of the small remaining English islands in the Moluccas for an island of their own in the distant New World—New Amsterdam, now better known as Manhattan. It is difficult to think of a more apt example of Indonesia's centrality to the processes of history. Yet visits to modern Manhattan and to Pulau Run, the Moluccan island in question, would likely fill one with a sense of the unpaid debts of the past because of the latter island's poverty.

The first two centuries of Dutch presence, from 1600 to 1800, marked the age of mercantilism dominated by the *voc* (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, the United East Indies Company). The founder of Batavia (in 1619) and the *voc* governor general, Jan Pieterszoon Coen, once remarked “*ende dispereert niet, . . . daer can in Indiën wat groots verricht worden*” (and do not despair, . . . something magnificent can be achieved in the Indies). The *voc* administered its trading posts in the Far East from Batavia. It allowed, even encouraged, Dutch bachelor men to engage in sexual liaisons with local women. Similar to *peranakans*, their mixed race progeny, a significant “class” of so-called *Indos*, would confound any concept of racial purity or sense of “true” Indonesian—or for that matter, Dutch—identity.

The Dutch began to unify some of the islands under their coercive control, forging alliances with indigenous rulers. In 1800 a phase of state colonialism set in after the bankruptcy of the *voc*. Travel took on a different importance, because voyages were rarely neutral in intent—something was usually there to be “won,” whether this was commerce, knowledge, or actual territory for the expanding colonial state. The intensified administration and exploitation of natural resources and the labor force meant huge profits for the Netherlands and a pauperization of the indigenous peoples. The latter were ethnically divided and therefore in no position to oppose colonialism. No inhabitants of this huge archipelago would have thought of themselves as forming part of a large political project. The Dutch, on the other hand, were determined to impose their will even on remote areas. To maintain race and class privileges they made hierarchical divisions between Europeans, *Indos*, so-called foreign Orientals (i.e., Chinese, Arabs, and Japanese), and *inlanders* (“natives”). The unhappy legacy of these race relations can still be felt today, particularly in the tensions between Indonesians and Chinese. The Dutch also added another layer to Indonesia's mosaic, namely, one of Dutch-European bourgeois values and modernity.



Rice drying in Kampung Naga, West Java. Photo by Dirk Verbeek. Rice is Indonesia's staple food, except for on some eastern islands and in West Papua, where sago porridge (*papeda*) is traditionally the primary food item. Rice is grown in wet rice fields called *sawahs* with their intricate irrigation systems, as well as in dry fields. Women plant the seedlings one by one by hand, spending days on end with their hands and feet in the mud. At harvest time men and women work side by side under the glaring sun. On Java and Bali people believe that Dewi Sri, the goddess of fertile soil, guarantees food for the population.

The Japanese occupation in 1942 marked the abrupt end to the Dutch East Indies. The Japanese interned Europeans and Australians in prisoner of war camps, while they rallied for support among the Indonesians using "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" propaganda. The new occupiers trained the younger generation in military organizations. Japan desperately needed Indonesia for food supplies (especially rice), its natural resources, and labor. Two days after Japan capitulated, on August 17, 1945, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed Indonesia's independence. Since then the postcolonial nation has lived through three distinct periods: 1945–65 under President Sukarno, 1967–98 under President Suharto, and *Reformasi*, from 1998 onward. For many Indonesians Sukarno (1901–70) lives on as the nationalist leader who successfully discarded the yoke of colonialism. He was an effective orator and populist who used his captivating charisma to sculpt his own personality cult. Different political factions challenged Sukarno's authority, especially when he tried to

balance nationalism, communism, and Islam during the last years of his presidency. The film *The Year of Living Dangerously* (1982, by Peter Weir) represents this turbulent time in great detail, showing the intricate networks behind the political drama about to unfold. Suharto succeeded Sukarno after a failed coup attempt that triggered months of violence and mass killings targeting alleged communists. He steered the country toward development and a capitalist economy under increasingly tight military control. Suharto (1921–2008) projected himself as the benevolent father (*Bapak*) of the nation. Yet by the end of his thirty-one years in office he and his family members were accused of large-scale corruption, collusion, and nepotism.

With a state ideology called *Panca Sila* (the Five Pillars) Indonesia circumvented becoming a Muslim state. Indonesia has faced serious challenges to establishing political stability, democratic order, and a sound economy in the past sixty years. Presently a great many residents still live below the poverty line, and glaring inequalities segregate the rich from the poor, the educated from the illiterate, urbanites from rural villagers. During Suharto's presidency multinational investors were invited in, yet blatant corruption meant that only a select few benefited. The woeful lack of infrastructure time and again indicates that Indonesia still has to go a long way to secure higher standards of living for all its citizens. Yet the political turning point of 1998 has proven that transformations can take place, even in a relatively short period. There is more freedom of speech, a more democratic system, and more openness to debate political issues or critique authorities than ever before. Human rights find more protection than in the past. Yet a fair society in which everyone has equal access to quality education and health care and in which the less fortunate can count on social and financial support through government programs remains a goal to be realized. It is unfortunate that Indonesia usually makes headlines in the international media because of natural or other disasters: earthquakes, flooding, volcanic eruptions, forest fires, plane crashes, or sinking ferries. While the country's sheer size and geographical constitution can prove a hindrance to good governance and prosperity for all, Indonesia seems to be evolving in the right direction.

At the turn of the twenty-first century most Indonesians feel part of something larger than themselves. This shift in cadence and attitude demands some kind of explanation of how Indonesia came about, where it now stands, and where it may be heading in the future. *The Indonesia Reader* attempts to answer some of these questions. The *Reader* is made up of some one hundred selections encompassing literary texts, paleographic inscriptions, sailing instructions, newspaper clippings, personal documents, photographic images,

and more. A good number of them have been translated into English for the very first time to make them accessible to a nonspecialized audience. The editors—a historian and a scholar of literature teaching at universities on either side of North America—have brought these selections together over the course of several years of searching in Indonesia, the Netherlands, and other places where repositories of relevant information are particularly rich. Inevitably, we had to make subjective choices, and the sources in this book present a small fragment of available materials. They can thus only tell an imperfect and incomplete story. Yet taken together they show some of the arc of Indonesia's histories and societies over the centuries, from geographic, cultural, political, economic, and religious points of view. The *Reader* is a primer for anyone who wants to know why Indonesia looks the way it does today.

The book is split up into ten sections of more or less equal size, largely ordered chronologically, though sometimes set up more thematically. Part 1 looks at the earliest incarnations of Indonesia's past—what we know, what we do not, and how we have come to these determinations as an intellectual community studying the thousands of dispersed islands over a long period of time. Part 2 dwells on the early modern period of Indonesia, a time when trade, travel, and contact with the outside world began to pick up in terms of pace and frequency. The following section, part 3, focuses on indigenous voices in this transitional period, as the various cultures of the world ultimately collided with each other in the warm waters of the archipelago. Part 4 specifically puts travel under the lens: the opening of the vast new spaces of the archipelago to the searching eyes of the West, particularly in the nineteenth century. This was a time when Europe was still testing the possibilities of colonialism, as it was unclear how fast and how far the imperial project might reach, especially in outstretched places like the Indies. Part 5 treats the high colonial period of Indonesian history through a series of documents chosen to highlight the complexity and totality of establishing Dutch control. Parts 6 and 7 take the reader into the twentieth century, into the final decades of colonial administration and the Second World War, which signified a major turning point in Indonesia's history. The last three parts then present selections from the postindependent period. Politics and the sociocultural climate during the presidencies of Sukarno and Suharto are examined in separate chapters. The book ends with a section on contemporary developments and on the most recent changes that have taken place since 1998.

It is our hope that *The Indonesia Reader* provides historical, political, and cultural insights, as well as a critical understanding of Indonesia's complexities. We have included a broad range of points of view, the voices of common

people, those of men and of women, but also those of rulers, politicians, scholars, activists, and public figures—Indonesian as well as non-Indonesian. Indonesia is a fascinating part of the earth, and it deserves much broader attention. The *Reader* aims to help those who are interested in this unique country to discover more about its culture and history in a rapidly changing world.

I

Early Histories

The earliest history of Indonesia is shrouded in myth, legend, and doubt; we have very little idea what Indonesians two thousand years ago thought, and only a slightly better idea of what they did in their daily lives. Texts from this period are almost nonexistent; a few inscriptions, carved in stone, are all that remain until about fifteen hundred years ago. The archaeological record complements this scriptural paucity, but even here the clues are few, and often difficult to untangle. It is clear that there were small Indonesian societies in the first five hundred years of the Common Era (CE), but they were scattered throughout several of the archipelago's islands, and it remains unclear how much they had in common. Certainly there was some degree of contact among them, and even between these communities and the outside world. The presence of high-fire beads, ceramics, and iron-slag heaps attest to this outward-cadence for trade even from the earliest times.

In the second half of the first millennium CE some of the polities began to grow and to become more complex as state or protostate organizations. In remote eastern Borneo, the first written inscriptions that still survive today appeared; they were written in South Asian Pallava script, though the language spoken through the stones was actually ancient Sanskrit. Inscriptions appeared after this in several places in Java and in Sumatra, always linking this burgeoning world of archipelago statecraft with India, where complex civilizations had appeared centuries earlier. Chinese travelers, wandering the long trade routes between their homeland and India, where many of them voyaged to read the great Buddhist books of learning, also began to leave records of complex societies in the "lands beneath the winds," as they later came to be known. Seafaring Persians and Arabs eventually completed their accounts, leaving tantalizing glimpses of a succession of polities spaced out among equatorial islands like a string of pearls.

The ambitions that began to take shape during this era unmistakably owed much to Indian societies half an ocean and many months of travel away. Some of the first Indonesian kingdoms were Hindu, while some were Buddhist, but

the majority seems to have taken on a syncretic character with attributes of both these religions. Rulers held absolute power in their small domains: they took whichever daughters of their populations inspired their fancy, and they extracted taxes in rice, produce, and labor for the greater glory of themselves and their kingdoms. Stone buildings began to be built for religious and state purposes, first on a rather small (yet beautifully intricate) scale, like the temples of the lush Dieng plateau in central Java, later on a massive scale, such as the Buddhist Borobudur and the Hindu Prambanan, also in central Java. These two temple structures and their adjacent complexes range among the finest examples of early religious architecture in the world. That both these structures can be found in Indonesia shows how far the archipelago's native genius had come in a very short time.

The Borobudur and Prambanan, though clearly influenced by Indian religious thinking, are unmistakably Indonesian buildings. In their architectural symbolism and in their narrative sculptural friezes they espouse worldviews that are Indian, yet their conception and execution as local religious monuments also clearly marks them as Indonesian. In this they represent a process of borrowing and adaptation occurring throughout parts of the archipelago at this time, as local peoples imported foreign ideas yet constantly recast them into local idioms. Several of the early kingdoms in Java grew larger and larger and were gradually able to hold sway over more peasants and the rice they produced, in turn feeding the construction of more religious buildings. Medieval Java, particularly eastern and central Java, became fairly littered with ornate stone temples. The remains of these structures still survive today, surrounded by the rice fields of farmers whose ancestors' labor contributed to their building.

In the seventh century, with the growth of Srivijaya—a maritime kingdom probably centered on southern Sumatra, though with radials of authority in other places as well, including the Malay Peninsula—Indonesian kingdoms started to become more ambitious in their suzerainty. Srivijaya traded with many places, including a number of polities far from Southeast Asian shores such as India, Arabia, and even distant China. The rulers of Srivijaya demanded stringent taxes for the right to pass through the choke point of the Straits of Malacca, which they controlled, and this stranglehold on economic geography brought these men many riches. It also brought them many enemies. In the early decades of the second millennium CE, Chola navies from southern India sacked Srivijaya, and though the kingdom survived for another two centuries, the apex of its power had passed. Majapahit, a land-based power in eastern Java, became the most vigorous kingdom in this island world for most of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Though its rise to power

was based on its control of a largely fertile landscape, Majapahit also quickly became a maritime power, trading for spices, slaves, and gold all the way to New Guinea.

It is tempting to see in these early centuries of rule a story with two main themes: cultural transmission and adaptation from the outside world, particularly from India, and the political expansion of local, rice-based states that ended up as regional maritime empires. These processes happened, and they do constitute the main story lines of parts of the archipelago, but the realities of this thousand-plus-year period were infinitely more complex. Many “Indonesians” scattered in the hills and swamps, or living their lives quietly in remote, untrafficked islands, had little to do with these phenomena or with the changes they brought. They continued to eat local products, sew their own clothing, and worship their own local gods, which they called by their local names. Yet a sea change was undeniably sweeping the archipelago, eventually incorporating increasing numbers of its people.

The Kutei Inscriptions in Borneo

Anonymous

The earliest writing preserved in the entire Indonesian archipelago occurs on seven stone pillars found in the region of Kutei, eastern Borneo, dating from the fifth century CE. The inscriptions were written in Sanskrit, the language of high culture in India at the time, and the script was derived from Pallava, a writing format from southern India in contemporaneous use with the Kutei inscriptions. The inscriptions tell the story of King Mûlavarman and his community in eastern Borneo, replete with descriptions of merit-making activities, gifts of objects (“tawny cows and sesame seeds”), and itinerant Brahmins. Though spare in what they describe of Borneo society as whole, these stone-pillar etchings offer fascinating windows into what this ancient society thought was worth recording, namely, the virtuous activities of the (locally) all-powerful king. The language and script of the inscriptions link this isolated outpost of Indonesia with India of the same epoch; the names and concerns expressed show that a diasporic Indian orbit already existed in monsoon Asia at a very early date. There is every chance that these seven inscriptions constitute only a fraction of many others produced at the time, but that have long since perished.

Anonymous, Inscribed Stones from Borneo, ca. 400 AD

All seven of these inscriptions (five of which are reproduced here) come from the region of Kutei, in the eastern portion of the island of Borneo. They are undated, but on the basis of their writing style have to be associated with a date not later than ca. 400 AD.

A

The illustrious lord-of-men, the mighty Kundunga, had a famous son, Asvarman by name, who like unto Amshumang, was the founder of a noble race. His were three eminent sons resembling three sacrificial fires. Foremost among these three and distinguished by austerity, strength, and self-restraint was the illustrious Mûlavarman, the lord-of-kings, who had a Bahusuvarnaka

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Kutei inscription. Photo no. 1625, courtesy of KITLV, Leiden.

sacrifice performed. For that sacrifice this sacrificial post has been established
by the eminent Brahmins.

B

When the illustrious and eminent prince King Mûlavarman had given a gift
of twenty thousand cattle to the Brahmins who resemble the sacrificial fire,
at the most sacred place, namely Vaprakeshvara, for that deed of merit this
sacrificial post has been made by the priests who had come hither.

C

Let the foremost priests and whosoever other pious men [there be] hear of
the meritorious deed of Mûlavarman, king of illustrious and resplendent
fame [let them hear] of his great gifts: Bahudâna, Jîvadâna, Kalpavrkshadâna,

and Bhûmidâna. For these multitudes of pious deeds this sacrificial post has been set up by the priests.

E

Hail to the mighty king, the illustrious Mûlavarman of exalted rank, whose gifts have been recorded at this holy spot after he, the most excellent king, has bestowed on Brahmans the gifts of water, ghee, tawny cows, and sesame seeds, as well as eleven bulls.

F

The illustrious king Mûlavarman gave away in charity a heap of sesame seeds together with a multitude of lamps. This sacrificial pillar has been engraved upon [and set up in commemoration of] those two [gifts].

The Shadow of India

Upendra Thakur

It was clear to anyone studying the roots of Indonesian civilization that the archipelago owed much to classical India, a place that exported culture in the form of religion, epics, and architecture to large parts of Southeast Asia. Indonesia's moniker "Insulindië" and parts of the Southeast Asian mainland's designation as "Indochina" in Dutch times point to this identification of Southeast Asia with India. Many interpreters of these ties, which involved shipping, trade, and the movement of itinerant priests (known as Brahmins) overstated the importance of India for Indonesia, however. Upendra Thakur's text leans in this direction, though much pertinent information on how Indian inscriptions and institutions traveled from one place to the other is also presented. Thakur's writing is representative of a debate on so-called Indianization, which has been waged for more than a century. In it some scholars attribute less (and some more) to India as a cultural influence on distant Indonesia. The text is useful for getting a sense of the debate, and also for its disentangling of the many strands of Hinduism and Buddhism that came to the archipelago—in different forms—over a long period of time.

1

Unlike their modern counterparts the ancient Indians were a people of great enterprise. Since the time of the Indus civilization they made great strides in various walks of life. Zealous seekers of truth and love, they speculated upon the various problems of life in this world and beyond, and in the process they developed great religions of India—Brāhmaṇism and Jainism and Buddhism—to give direction to the Indian way of life. And, all this stock of knowledge, in the course of time got transmitted to other parts of Asia through trade and missionary activities of the preachers.

In spite of the efforts of a section of scholars to minimise, from time to time, the extent of Indian influence on South-East Asia, "the evidence for their importance is there for all to see and cannot be controverted." The countries of South-East Asia and Central Asia were so politically and cul-

turally influenced by the Indians in early times that most historians in the beginning described those regions as "the extended part of India," "Greater India," "Further India," etc. Though it is difficult to endorse such extreme claims of the so-called "Greater India School," there is no doubt that such influences did occur and play a significant part in the development of the various cultures of this region. Sylvain Levi feels that some of the true Indian masterpieces were produced in foreign lands such as Cambodia and Java (Malay Archipelago) under foreign inspiration, reflecting the marvelous Indian genius.

Thus, the story of the Brāhmaṇa and Buddhist missionaries who went to various countries of South-East Asia to propagate their religion and culture is a fact of human history which eloquently speaks of the realization by races of their affinity of minds, their mutual obligation of a common humanity. Such a rare event did happen and the path was built up between the Indians and the people of South-East Asia and East Asia in an age where physical obstruction needed heroic personality to overcome it and the mental barrier a moral power of uncommon magnitude. It reminds us of the great pilgrimage of those noble heroes who, for the sake of their faith, their ideal of the liberation of Self, accepted banishment from home and all that was familiar to them. Many perished and left no trace behind. A few were spared to tell their story: a story not of adventures and trespassers whose heroism has proved a mere romantic excuse for careers of unchecked brigandage, but a story of pilgrims who came to offer their gifts of love and wisdom, a story indelibly recorded in the cultural memory of their hosts.

Against this background it may be interesting to note that the two Indian religions—Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism—with their many sects and sub-sects played a very significant role in South-East Asia in early times. The numerous inscriptions and art objects that have been found in different parts of this region throw considerable light on the various aspects of these religions. Unfortunately these inscriptions have not been studied from a religious point of view: they have been chiefly utilised as a source of political history. On close scrutiny one finds that most of the inscriptions, particularly those in Cambodia and Java, are religious in character, and their chief object is to describe some religious *foundations*. For instance, of all the countries of South-East Asia, the philosophical activities were most pronounced in Java from where religious texts of great importance have come down to us which form an invaluable treasure of Indo-Javanese literature. These records, as a whole, present a clear picture of the general tendencies of these religions in those countries, some of which patronized Śaivism, some Vaiṣṇavism, some both and yet others Buddhism.

2

As we know, after the commercial intercourse of the first century and the traces of a somewhat deeper penetrating Indian influence from the beginning of the second century, the settlement appears to have become an accomplished fact in the fourth century A.D., and by the beginning of the fifth century A.D. Brāhmaṇism had already firmly planted itself in the Malay Archipelago (Java, Sumātrā, Bali, and Borneo: modern Indonesia).

We have a very interesting eye-witness (contemporary) account of a small state in the Malay Peninsula which throws light on a colony in the making, named *Tuen-suin* by the Chinese. It says: "Its market was a meeting-ground between the east and the west, frequented every day by more than ten thousand men, including merchants from India, Parthia and more distant kingdoms who come in large numbers to carry on trade and commerce in rare objects and precious merchandise. It contains five hundred merchants' families, two hundred Buddhist and more than a thousand Brāhmaṇas of India. The people of *Tuen-suin* follow their religion and give them their daughters in marriage, as most of these Brāhmaṇas settle in the country and do not go away. Day and night they read scriptures and make offerings of white vases, perfumes and flowers to the gods." In the Malay Peninsula, the Brāhmaṇas formed an important element of the population and the Brāhmaṇical rites and ceremonies were in great favour at their courts. And, of these islands, the island of Bali was the most important centre of Brāhmaṇism which still retains its old Brāhmaṇical culture to a considerable extent. It was here that the onrushing wave of Islam met with a dismal failure and could not penetrate into the soil of this island. Bali still affords a unique opportunity to study Brāhmaṇism as it was "modified by coming into contact with the aborigines of the archipelago."

3

Thus we find that the two religious systems of India took deep roots in its soil during the early period of Indian settlements. So far as faith, beliefs, and religious practices are concerned, the colonies in the far East were almost a replica of the motherland. But the indigenous faiths and beliefs did not vanish altogether, they were partly eliminated by, and partly absorbed into, the higher and developed system. But, in some respects the latter was also affected and moulded by the former.

As we know, in Java, Buddhism—particularly Mahāyāna—led to the erection of the famous Borobudur *stūpa* and several other magnificent temples. In Eastern Java the religion has left a prominent trace in Candi Jago and other



Statue of Ganesha,
Prambanan temple. Photo
by Dolores Puigantell.

small temples scattered all over the island. The same thing may also be said of Sumātrā. In fact, the international character of Buddhism gave Suvarṇadvīpa a status and importance that brought it into intimate contact with India and other Buddhist countries. As a result, the Śailendra kings had cultural exchange with the political powers and the Buddhist preachers from Bengal such as Atīśa Dīpamkara of Bengal (eleventh century) and Dharmapāla of Kāñchī, an eminent *ācārya* of the Nālandā University (seventh Unt.), went to Suvarṇadvīpa which was an important seat of Buddhist learning and culture. The study of Buddhist literature in Java is proved not only by the discovery of important Buddhist texts but also by the sculptures of Borobudur and other religious monuments which pre-suppose a wide range of knowledge in its various branches.

A study of the Buddhist iconography in Java explains the absence of any material modification of its principal tenets and beliefs, which is best illustrated by the appearance of the entire hierarchy of the Mahāyānist deities in almost identical forms and names, e.g., Ādi-Buddha and Prajñāpāramitā,

Dhyānī Buddhas and Mānusi Buddhas, the Bodhisattvas and the Tārās, with the familiar postures, called *mudrā*, of the images. It also shows that besides the image of Gautama Buddha, the images of Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara were most popular in Java and Sumātrā, though Maitreya and Mañjuśrī were also very familiar. In other words, with minor modifications here and there, their entire Mahāyānist pantheon seems to be well represented in Java. Besides this, as in India, so in Java also, we come across the later phases of Mahāyāna Buddhism, such as the adoption of Hindu gods in the Buddhist pantheon, introduction of minor deities of terrible appearance and the development of Tantrika cult and mode of worship and gradual rapprochement between Mahāyāna and Brāhmaṇical religions.

Thus it can be safely concluded that Tantricism which flourished later in Eastern Java had already its beginnings in the early tenth century A.D., while the Palas were ruling in Bengal. The Tantrika teachers played a very prominent part during the reign-period of Airlangga and Jayabhaya (eleventh to twelfth centuries A.D.) in Java, and in the thirteenth century this cult found its two great devotees in king Kṛtanagara and Ādityavarman of Java and Sumātrā respectively. The accounts of these two kings, the images of Bhairava, Heruka, and other Tantrika gods and goddesses, as well as the Tantrika texts provide an unmistakable proof of the nature and extent of this degraded form of Buddhism in Java and Sumātrā of which the Dutch scholar Moens has given a very scintillating account.

According to Moens, king Ādityavarman was a great follower of the Bhairava cult and he is said to have indulged in *Kapalika* practices. He assumed the title of *Viśaḍharanī* after performing the highest consecration ceremony (according to the Bhairava cult) which included a human sacrifice in the cremation ground. Whatever the real nature of his *sadhana*, his inscriptions leave us in no doubt that he was a follower of *Tantrayāna* and indulged in its obnoxious practices. He looked upon himself as an incarnation of Bhairava and his queen that of Mātangiṇī, one of the ten Mahāvidyās.

The last phase of Mahāyāna marked a syncretism of the different gods of the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. In India, while on one hand there was a growing tendency of rapprochement between Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism (e.g., the joint representation of Śiva and Viṣṇu: Hari-Hara), on the other hand, there was also an attempt at synthesis between Vaiṣṇavism and Buddhism by regarding the Buddha as an incarnation of Viṣṇu. With the development of *Tantrayāna*, however, these identities assumed a more definite form.

Similarly, the close association between Śiva and the Buddha was a characteristic feature of the Javanese religion as is evident from the Tāntrika texts such as the *Kuñjarakarṇa* and the *Sutasoma*. According to Kern, in modern

Balinese theology, the Buddha is regarded as the younger brother of Śiva, and there is a close rapprochement between the two doctrines. A similar Śiva-Buddha cult also existed in Java. Latest researches in this field have shown that Śiva, Viṣṇu, and the Buddha were all regarded as identical and so were their Śaktis. Here, again the point is well illustrated by the case of Kṛtanagara who called himself *Narasimhamūrti*, an image of Viṣṇu in the incarnation of *Narasimha*. He was also known as Śiva-Buddha and was represented after his death by an image of Śiva-Buddha. His father king Viṣṇuvardhana was also represented after his death by the images of both Śiva and Buddha, while the cousin of the latter who also shared the royal honours with him was called *Narasimhamūrti*, but was represented by an image of Śiva. All these evidences point to the popular belief that all these gods were identical. This is further supported by the growing popularity of the image of Hari-Hara during this period. It may be noted here that king Kṛtarajasa, the son-in-law and successor of Kṛtanagara, is represented by a fine composite image of Hari-Hara.

A more popular but degraded form of the Mahāyāna doctrine in Java is preserved in the *Kamahayanana Mantranaya* which contains a short preamble followed by forty-one Sanskrit verses with Javanese commentaries elaborating the Mahayanist conceptions of the various Buddhas, particularly *Bajrasattva*, the chief of all the Buddhas. The esoteric character of the teaching is clearly indicated by a verse which forbids the devotee to communicate the secrets of *bajra*, *ghanta*, and *mudrā* to those who do not belong to the *Mandala*. On the whole, the text is throughout devoted to the exposition of the *Tantrayana* or *Vajrayana*, both in its theoretical and practical aspects.

Besides Java, the island of Sumātrā has also preserved some very interesting remains of Buddhism. We have already noted above some of the characteristic traits of this religion in this area which has yielded important archaeological finds having direct bearing on this religion. The ruins of brick temples, called *biaro*, are found in large numbers in the Highlands of Padang and Tapanuli. Some of them are fairly large, for instance, *Biara si Pamutung* at the mouth of the Panai river, containing Buddhist images. Ruins of stone-temples exist in the residency of Palembang. Besides the temples, we have a fairly large number of Buddhist *stūpas*, such as those of Tanjung Medan and Muara Takus in which golden plates with mystic syllables in Nāgarī script were discovered. We have also numerous *Dagabas*. The images from the Highlands of Padang, Tapanuli, Palembang, and Jambi contain stone images of the Buddha, Bo-dhisattvas, and minor deities like Haruka, etc.; a silver image of *Bajrasattva* (from Buo); stone images of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Nandī, Brahmā or *Trimūrti*; and bronze images of Gaṇeśa and Kubera. Moreover, we have a large number of Buddhist inscriptions, especially of Ādityavarman in the district of Fort Van

de Capellen, the very centre of Minangkabau. The existence of Buddhism in Borneo is indicated by the ruins of temples and detached images, but it is very difficult to assign any approximate date to them. Thus, we have evidences to show that besides Java and Sumātrā, Buddhism was preached and spread by Indian missionaries in some other islands of Malay Archipelago, particularly Bali and Borneo. But as Brāhamapism was a more vigorous and widely popular religion in those areas, Buddhism could not make much headway and disappeared from the scene very soon.

The Genesis of Indonesian Archaeology

R. P. Soejono

Only a few countries are as rich from an archaeological point of view as Indonesia, which is littered with remains from a long and fascinating past. Early European visitors to the archipelago marveled at structures they came upon, which seemed to indicate that there had been complex civilizations in the region with the capacity to build monumental architecture. R. P. Soejono was one of the first indigenous chroniclers of the archaeological tradition in Indonesia, and he held a strong interest in the history and evolution of the science, questioning its development and directions over the decades. He outlines here a framework for studying the history of archaeology in the archipelago, which links the earliest Dutch efforts at preservation and classification with postcolonial developments as Indonesians began to sort out their own archaeological patrimony. The writing here explores the state of archaeological knowledge in the Dutch colonial period and shows how early Western attempts at understanding gradually gave way to a more complex, multifaceted project of knowledge carved out by later colonial overlords of the region.

Characteristics of the Phases of the Development

Since its inception as an amateurist activity until its present status as a branch of science demanding special instruction and the execution of tasks in an institutional framework, archaeology in Indonesia has gone through a definite evolution. This development up till now can be divided into a number of phases, each with its distinct characteristics.

The first was that of registration (description) of early remains, without any coordination by an organization authorized to carry out archaeological activities (up to and including the nineteenth century). The second phase was that of the beginning of the institutionalization of archaeological activities, so that archaeological tasks could be defined and their implementation supervised (beginning of the twentieth century).

The consolidation of archaeological activities, both through the stimulation of the compilation of archaeological data and the formulation of hypotheses

relative to all kinds of archaeological fields, is the mark of the third phase of the development (which lasted until the outbreak of World War II).

The fourth phase is characterized by the continuation of archaeological activities with the aim of filling in “gaps,” as well as the perfection and/or creation of all kinds of theories and methods (from Independence until the present).

Developments before the Twentieth Century

In its earliest stages, before attaining the status of a science, archaeology in Indonesia showed several facets in its development. The first acquaintance of ancient objects was made through the localization and descriptive explanation of these artifacts, sometimes accompanied by an explanation of their historical background. This background was partly mythological, based on the beliefs of the local people. This kind of descriptive activity can be said to have already been carried out by Prapanca, as witness several cantos of the *Nāgara kertāgama* (Krom 1923: 1, 2, 47; Pigeaud 1960: iii).

With the arrival of Western power in Indonesia, there was an increase in the descriptions of ancient objects and remains. These descriptions were made by Westerners intrigued by the curiosities (*curiositeiten*) which they found on their wanderings through the Indonesian Archipelago and by their predisposition to write about whatever appeared important to them (cf., inter alia, Rumphius 1705). Such facts which they considered strange and worthy of description were first and foremost those in connection with local traditions, history, and the economic situation, and also several kinds of prehistoric remains. The category of people writing about their experiences and the “curiosities” of Indonesia comprised persons from different professions, such as merchants, scholars, soldiers, civil servants, nature lovers, travellers, etc. (cf. Koentjaraningrat 1958: 15–48).

The observations on prehistoric remains by people from these different walks of life are generally of a descriptive nature, being concerned with what they came across on their travels (Krom 1923: 1–43). These descriptions, which were initially in the form of reports (eighteenth century), were later supplemented with more accurate observations of prehistoric remains, such as, for instance, the measurements in respect of Prambanan by F. van Boeckholtz in 1790. The foundation of the *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) in 1778 exercised a great influence on research into the history, traditions, and prehistoric remains of Indonesia.

The nineteenth century showed an increase in activities in several archaeological domains. Apart from the more extensive observations with regard to ancient remains, especially temples, the methods of dealing with the problems posed by these ancient remains were also more advanced. The archaeological activities were of a documentary nature with particular emphasis on temples, taking the form of drawings (H. Cornelius, H. N. Sieburgh, C. J. van der Vlis, F. C. Wilsen), photographs (J. van Kinsbergen), inventories (F. Jung-huhn), restoration (e.g., Mendut), and excavations (the temples on the Dieng Plateau). Surveys began to be carried out systematically by people who produced descriptions which have remained important sources on these antiquities until the present day (J. F. G. Brumund, C. Leemans, W. P. Groeneveldt, R. D. M. Verbeek, J. Crawford, T. S. Raffles, etc.).

The methods evolved in Europe were also tried out in Indonesia, viz. the technique of making glass negatives of the Borobudur monument by A. Shaefer in 1845, which was clearly unsuccessful.

In the prehistoric field (Soejono 1969) several activities stand out which were considered important in the nineteenth century, such as the grouping (classification) of rectangular axes (C. N. Pleyte and others) and the concentration of interest on megalithic remains (H. E. Steinmetz, etc.) and bronze kettledrums (J. J. A. Worsaae, A. B. Meyer, and others). One most significant achievement of prehistoric surveys/research was the discovery of *Pithecanthropus Erectus* by E. Dubois at Trinil in 1891.

There was as yet no interest manifest in the Islamic past in the nineteenth century. Activities in this field took the form of reports of discoveries of ancient gravestones in Aceh (1884) and a plan for the documentation (drawings, photographs, rubbings) and restoration of these remains (Tjandrasasmita 1977).

As regards the historical background of these ancient remains, either temples or megalithic remains and bronze objects, there was a tendency to consider them as Hindu works. This was a consequence of the archaeological activities by the British in India, the results of which were widely disseminated, and the presence of similarities between the design of temple complexes and the images of gods here and those found in India.

The increase in systematic interest in relics from the past in the nineteenth century also involved attempts at establishing special organizations in the field of prehistory, such as the foundation of the *Commissie tot het Op-sporen, Verzamelen en Bewaren van Oudheidkundige Voorwerpen* (Commission for the Discovery, Collection, and Conservation of Ancient Objects) in 1822, which was apparently unsuccessful in performing its task. An attempt by the private sector to assist with prehistorical research was the foundation

of the *Archaeologische Vereeniging* (Archaeological Society) in 1885, chaired by the engineer J. W. IJzerman. The latter succeeded in exposing the foot (sub-basement) of the Borobudur temple, which was obviously decorated with Karmawibangga reliefs, and at present is covered by the lower terrace.

In summary, the nineteenth century witnessed the development of archaeology in Indonesia in the direction of a systematic discipline. The basis for the work had been laid by the Dutch in the fields of documentation, restoration, excavation, and interpretation. These activities were parallel with the developments in Europe in that century (Daniel 1950), where the advances in prehistoric research took place step by step, to be applied subsequently to regions outside Europe, such as Western Asia, Egypt, India, Southeast Asia, and Indonesia itself. In fact, by about the middle of the nineteenth century the principles of archaeology had been formulated in Europe, which represented the centre of the development of this science. These principles were: the application of the Three Age System to ancient objects, diffusion and homotaxis, typology, the comparative method, synchronization techniques, and the technique of stratigraphic excavation. Only a few of these principles were successfully applied in Indonesia (inter alia, diffusion, typology, and homotaxis). The reason for this was that practitioners of archaeology in Indonesia were by and large amateurs who were not able by themselves to fully grasp the development of the methods of prehistoric research in Europe which had turned archaeology into a profession (C. J. Thomsen, Mariette, A. H. Layard, H. Schliemann, and others).

The Developments until the Middle of the Twentieth Century

The main focus of nineteenth-century archaeology was the classical field, and this situation was continued in the twentieth century until the fall of Dutch power in World War II. In the meantime, the need for an organization to tackle the prehistoric domain had become pressing, and in 1901 the *Commissie in Nederlandsch Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madura* or O.C. (Commission in the Dutch East Indies for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura) was instituted. The name of this commission already points to its limited powers and research scope, so that it was unable to function in a satisfactory way as a research body. Underlying the establishment of this commission was the unfinished state of the antiquities in Java, which had not been subjected to careful and systematic examination, and the realization of the necessity of a special organization similar to those already in existence in Indochina and India. The improvement of this commission was only effected in 1913. Because the commission was hardly functioning any longer after the

death of J. L. A. Brandes (chairman of its board), an official organization was created and confirmed by the Government of the Dutch East Indies, which was named *Oudheidkundige Dienst* or o.d. (Archaeological Service), with N. J. Krom at its head. The o.d.'s tasks, authority, and staff were extended in order that its prehistorical activities might have the proper results.

The establishment of the o.c., later consolidated as o.d., which was able to undertake prehistorical investigations in an effective manner, is certainly an important step in the development of archaeology in Indonesia. Considering the extent and many-sidedness of archaeological activities, a centre for the planning and direction of these activities is an absolute must.

Since the existence of an institutional centre for the development of archaeology in Indonesia, there have been obvious improvements in prehistorical research in various respects. What became an important precondition for archaeological activities was the publication of research results, which from the earliest period of the foundation of research organizations was systematically directed in the form of the *Rapporten van de Oudheidkundige Commissie* or R.O.C. (Reports of the Archaeological Commission), later continued as *Oudheidkundig Verslag van Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch Indië* (Archaeological Report of the Dutch East Indies Archaeological Service) or R.O.D. Important results of archaeological work are contained in these journals, including personal notes and administrative affairs, as well as research findings and scientific articles, so that progress in archaeological work can be traced in a continuous way. Thus, there is a basis for continuing and improving activities considered incomplete or unsatisfactory.

The creation of the Archaeological Service in 1913 as an official board for carrying out archaeological activities has opened new perspectives in the development of archaeology in Indonesia (cf. Soekmono 1977). First of all schedules had to be drawn up which when completed would cover archaeological fields in every part of Indonesia (and not only Java and Madura), and the technical manpower for the implementation of these plans brought up to strength. This manpower (H. Leydie Melville, P. J. Perquin, J. J. de Vink) was employed in the domains of inventorization and documentation (photographs, drawing), which have been stimulated since the early days of the o.c. The field which received the o.d.'s special attention was the restoration of Javanese temples. There were obviously differences of view regarding the execution of these restorations. On the one hand there was the desire to restore on a limited scale as far as remains of such monuments were still present, and the important point here was a reconstruction on paper only (Krom). On the other hand there was a tendency to conduct restorations as far as possible in accordance with what could be justified on the basis of a reconstruction plan

(Brandes, Bosch). Especially when F. D. K. Bosch was in charge of the o.d. in 1916 there was conspicuous progress in temple restoration in Java. The restoration activities resulted in the formation of a permanent technical staff especially for the restoration work, and this staff was to reside at Prambanan.

As the archaeological organization reached maturity, there was an extension in interest to other fields of archaeology, apart from improvement in the activities in classical archaeology. Thereupon the o.d. directed its special energies to tackling Islamic remains (P. J. Moquette), prehistoric remains (P. V. van Stein Callenfels), and the remains of the Portuguese and the Dutch East India Company (V. I. van de Wall). The investigation of the inscriptions which was pioneered in the previous century by R. M. Th. Friederich, Cohen Stuart, Kern, and others was stimulated more and more. The scope of the investigations was also extended and archaeological activities were carried out in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Bali, the Lesser Sunda Islands, and the Moluccas.

Archaeological activities were also supported financially by prominent people outside the o.d., namely by civil servants and experts from other government institutions and from private circles. The position of archaeology in Indonesia became more stable still after the Dutch East Indies Government promulgated the *Monumenten Ordonnantie* (Ancient Monuments Conservation Act) (1931), which offered ancient remains protection against various general acts aimed at causing damage to, removing, or destroying ancient remains and their sites.

The improvement in research and other activities in the different fields of archaeology also gave rise to theories/hypotheses regarding the elements surrounding antiquities which were connected with the history of their creators, the period of their development, their distribution, the style of their art, their social and religious function, and so on. Especially Bosch's hypothesis concerning the role of the Indonesian people itself in the construction of the temples (Bosch 1919) overthrew the views whereby the Indians were the architects of these buildings and the Indonesians were only their labourers. These Indonesia-centric theories were supplemented more and more by the views of other scholars (Krom, Stutterheim, etc.). Other landmarks of the development of archaeology here were the publications of basic books on the Jago, Singasari, and Panataran monuments by Brandes (1904, 1909), the Borobudur by Krom (1920) and Van Erp (1931), together with Krom's work on Hindu-Javanese history (1929, 1931) and Hindu-Javanese architecture (1919, 1923). A period of growth in archaeological activities from the scientific point of view occurred when the o.d. was headed by W. F. Stutterheim (1936). But

at the same time a decline in fieldwork occurred, caused by a shortage of staff and the economic crisis which struck in those years.

It may be said that archaeological activities of an institutional and scientific character were very productive in the twentieth century until the outbreak of World War II in East Asia, although only a Dutch professional cadre was active in this field. The organization which supervised the archaeological programme was not large, but was made up of a core of Dutch workers capable of directing their activities to various areas and fairly extensive regions.

Archaeological work in Indonesia stagnated during the Japanese occupation and the Revolution. During the Japanese occupation only the technical staff at Prambanan was still able to carry out its tasks of restoration and excavation, in particular at the Prambanan and neighbouring temples, until the Revolution.

In the meantime the Dutch army occupying Jakarta re-organized the O.D. again in 1947. It should be noted that in 1945, at the time of rising against the Dutch army, many documents which had been collected in Jakarta since the beginning of archaeological activities in Indonesia (archives, photographs, glass negatives, drawings and books, as well as a collection of research objects) were destroyed or disappeared.

Javanese Inscriptions

Himansu Bhushan Sarkar

By the mid-eighth century in Java, inscriptions were starting to look different from earlier prototypes found in Borneo and Sumatra. Language began to get more complicated, and the clear early reliance on Indian forms began to be replaced by a more hybrid style that elevated Javanese concerns. The Sañjaya inscriptions from Canggal, dated very precisely to October 6, 732 CE, show the beginnings of these changes. Though still clearly influenced by Indian forms, the actual diction of the Sañjaya inscription differs from its almost purely Indian antecedents. Descriptions of a “body [that] dazzles like gold and whose matted locks are comparable to the flames of the fire” are more sensuous and fuller than earlier writings; “he, who lies on the surface of the watery bed, the petal of whose eye-lotuses are red though meditating,” evokes a very different image than the more prosaic writings of earlier inscriptions. It is clear that the Javanese of this period were beginning to experiment with their own styles, not abandoning Indian templates, but rather increasingly bending them to their own purposes. When we are told that the local Javanese king named Sanna has “the splendor of the bright color of gold that has been smolten in the flaming fire” and that he has “great arms, big thighs, and (a) head upraised like the mountain peaks,” we believe it. These are the boasts of a vigorous new civilization flexing its muscles.

*The Inscription of Sañjaya from Canggal, Central Java,
Dated October 6, AD 732*

(1) When the year of the Saka king that is brought to numbers with four, five, and six [654] was passed, on Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month, which follows [the tithi] Bhadra, in [the month of] Kartika, while the lagna stood under Kumbha in the part called “fixed,” the king [who is] the illustrious Sañjaya, for obtaining tranquility, established on the hill, a linga [i.e., phallus] with [all] auspicious marks.

(2) He who is a Sun in the darkness of the world; who had for his crest jewel the Moon on his matted locks which are beautiful by the surging waves of the Ganges; on whose body dazzling with the brilliance of ashes,

scatters its brilliance the necklace of snakes; who is praised by the gods with graceful and soft palms [of their hands] folded in the form of a vessel; he, Siva, may bestow on you the most perfect bliss!

(3) May that irreproachably beautiful pair of feet-lotuses of the three-eyed one [Siva] which are constantly praised by the greatest of gods and demons and other with their bent crowns which are [comparable to] the bees [that kiss the lotus]; whereof the slightly copper-coloured petals are the toes and whereof the end is decorated by bright filaments or rays [issuing] from the nails, may [that pair of feet] grant you perpetual bliss!

(4) May the three-eyed one [Siva] whose matted locks are adorned with the crescent moon, who, by reason of excess of His divine attributes, is a receptacle of great, and even wonderful, things; who, given to solitude, by his renunciation [of all things] always creates the wonder of yogins [i.e., ascetics]; who, by his eight-fold bodies and through compassion but not selfishness, sustains the universe; may he, the lord of [all] beings, protect you!

(5) May the self-created Lord [Brahma], the object of worship of the world, whose pair of feet-lotuses are revered by the gods; who has fixed the regulations of the world to the post of the Vedas; who is the source of religion, worldly prosperity, and desire; whose body dazzles like gold and whose matted locks are comparable to the flames of the fire of his own body; may he, the lord of Yogins, the venerable one, reward you with success!

(6) May he, who lies on the surface of the watery bed, the petals of whose eye-lotuses are red through mediation; who is behymned by the gods for protection; who is always frowningly viewed by the goddess Sri on seeing the beauty of her own image reflected on the side levels of the jewels on the upturned crown of the king of serpents; may he, the lord of Sri, grant you prosperity!

(7) There is a great island called Yava, abundantly supplied with rice grains and other seeds and rich in goldmines; that [island] is acquired by immortals [by mantras] and other means; where there is a wonderful place dedicated to Sambhu, a heaven of heavens, surrounded by the Ganges and other holy resorts and laid in a beautiful woodland habited by elephants, existing for the good of the world.

(8) In that excellent island called Yava which is the great mark of foot-prints of Purusha, there was a king of very noble lineage of the name of Sanna who was of established reputation and who, by means of conciliation and gift, ruled the subjects in a proper way, out of attachment, just like a father [taking care of] the child from his very birth and who with

his enemies subdued, protected the world for a long time with justice like Manu.

(9) He [the king] named Sanna, the [very] Moon of the family, while thus ruling over the goddess of royalty, having, in the fullness of time, gone to enjoy happiness in the heaven which is the accumulated results [of his meritorious deeds]. [Then] the earth, separated [from him] roamed in grief for being bereft of her lord.

(10) The one who sprang from him was like the [Mount] Meru and possessed a wealth of manifold qualities: he has the splendor of the bright color of the gold that has been smolten in the flaming fire; he has great arms, big thighs, and head upraised like the mountain peaks, and has the shelter of his high-raised feet on the kings of stable dynasties obtaining on the earth.

(11) The illustrious king called Sañjaya, who is beautiful and respected by the assembly of the learned as an adept in the subtle meanings of Sastric lore; who, excelling in bravery and other virtues, has, like Raghu, overthrown many circles of feudal lords; who is like the sun in fame and whose splendor spreads in all regions; he, the son of Sannaha, the very life of his sister, is [now] ruling the kingdom justly.

(12) While he is ruling the earth which has for her girdle the waves of the seas and for her breasts the mountains, people can sleep on the roadside without being startled by thieves or by other fears. And men rich in fame, always earned in plenty [the three aims of life, namely,] religion, worldly prosperity, and the objects of desire. Certainly Kali is crying much in despair as no sign of [Kali's] limbs is shining [i.e., is in existence].

What Was Srivijaya?

George Coedès

George Coedès is perhaps the most important of the early scholars of the twentieth century who really started to put the study of classical Indonesia on a firm, scientific basis. Coedès was a paleographer and a critic of old texts, yet he also kept track of advances in the archaeological record, and on the basis of these two branches of knowledge he put forth the first coherent descriptions of Srivijaya. Srivijaya was the first sizeable kingdom in the archipelago; it existed between the seventh and twelfth centuries and was probably centered around southern Sumatra, in the area of what is today Palembang. Unlike concomitant kingdoms in Java, Srivijaya left almost nothing by way of architecture: a few scattered sites and some well-worn stele are all that survive of it. Yet there was textual evidence, and Coedès was the first to piece together divergent texts from India, China, and Southeast Asia to form an integrated account of what this vast polity may have looked like. Coedès's contemporary H. G. Quaritch Wales was trying to interpret the scattered evidence about Indonesia's first great maritime kingdom at the same time. In the selection that follows, Coedès replies to Quaritch Wales's assertion that Srivijaya may in fact have been centered on the Malay Peninsula, rather than in southern Sumatra where Coedès had done most of his own work.

In recent years, the history of Sriwijaya has undergone many ups and downs. Following my article published in 1918, the equation *Śrīwijaya* = (*Che-li*)-*fo-che* = *San-fo-t'si* = *Zābag* = kingdom of the *Śailendra* = kingdom of Palembang, upheld by the authority of Vogel (1919) and Krom (1919, 1926) and by Ferrand (1922), was uncontested for a decade. The first attack was launched in 1929 by Stutterheim, in the booklet where he showed that the Sailendras were a Javanese dynasty. More recently, in 1933–1934, R. C. Majumdar attacked this equation from a different angle, by trying to prove that the Sumatran kingdom of Sriwijaya had extended its domination as far as Nakhon Si Thammarat at the end of the eighth century, as that shortly afterwards it was absorbed by the *Jāwaka* kingdom, the Chinese *San-fo-t'si*, whose capital was in Nakhon Si Thammarat, and which was governed by the Sailendras of Indian origin.

The name of *Jāwaka*, in the form of *Zābag*, was applied by Arab sailors to all possessions of the Sailendras, which from the end of the eighth century onwards included Java, and extended in the eleventh century throughout Sumatra and the entire Malay Peninsula.

Wales takes up this theory, modifying it on certain points, and completing it. He accepts the Chinese accounts placing a state named *Śrīwijaya* in the seventh century (I suppose he is thinking of *Fo-che*), but he doubts that the suzerainty of this kingdom could have extended throughout the Malay Peninsula and that the Wat Sema Muang inscription of 775 implies this suzerainty. To explain the presence on the Peninsula of this inscription in the name of a king of Sriwijaya, he proposes one of the following alternatives: either the Peninsular kingdom of *Jāwaka* had already absorbed the Sumatran kingdom of Sriwijaya by 775 and taken its name, or the country of *Jāwaka* also bore, independently, the same name, *Śrīwijaya*. Whatever may be the origin of the name Sriwijaya, inasmuch as it designates the region of Chaiya, Wales bases this new geographical location of Sriwijaya firstly on the archaeological richness of the site, secondly on its toponymy (*Chaiya* = *Jaya*; *Sivivha i* = *Śrīwijaya*, the name of the hill situated south of the village), and lastly on some rather unclear phonetic considerations: "A difference in the native pronunciation of the word Sriwijaya in the region from its pronunciation in Sumatra might well account for the Chinese form *San-fo-t'si* being applied to the empire from the tenth century onwards, while in the seventh and eighth centuries the Sumatran state of Sriwijaya had been referred to by the Chinese as *Fo-che* = *Che-li-fo-che*." While admitting that the existence of an independent kingdom named Sriwijaya in Sumatra in the seventh century was likely, Wales considers that Majumdar's research and his own has clearly demonstrated that this Sumatran kingdom did not in following centuries attain the importance that I myself and other authors have attributed to it.

It can be seen that the problem is becoming more and more complicated, and the situation is in no way simplified by Stutterheim's latest theory (1935), which would tend to locate Sriwijaya (*Che-li-fo-che*) at Indragiri in Sumatra. I think the time has come to separate the undoubted improvements which have been brought to the initial equation since 1918 from the untenable hypotheses whose absurdity must be demonstrated. I shall take the terms of the equation one by one, and will indicate for each of them the certain facts concerning them.

Śrīwijaya. In 683–686 this name appears in three inscriptions in Old Malay, one from Kedukan Bukit in Palembang, the second from Karang Brahi in the Jambi hinterland, and the third from Kota Kapur in Bangka: in