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## “The wandering poet”; Depictions on ancient Javanese relief panels

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# “The wandering poet”

## Depictions on ancient Javanese relief panels

LYDIA KIEVEN

### ABSTRACT

There are about 60 panels with narrative reliefs from the area of Trowulan in East Java depicting mountains, rivers, bridges, trees, fields, dwellings, *pendopo*, and palaces. A male figure wearing a cap-like headdress accompanied by a little *panakawan*-like figure, walks along a cobbled path through a beautiful landscape. The figures are carved in the simple style of East Javanese reliefs on Majapahit temples. The predominance of nature, in amazing detail, is unusual compared to other narrative temple reliefs. The exact provenance is difficult to determine. The artefacts are scattered in museums all over the world: the majority in Trowulan, as well as a large convolute in Jakarta, in Amsterdam, and elsewhere. Fixing the order of the panels is a challenge.

This paper discusses two major topics: (A) presenting depictions of landscape and nature in visual art; (B) comparison with Old Javanese texts narrating journeys through landscape and nature. These exercises will provide some conclusions about the function of landscape and nature in the reliefs and their purpose at their original sites. Questions on provenance will also be raised, including the documentation practice of the colonial Dutch and Indonesian Archaeological Services.

A number of the panels have been documented by the OD (Dutch Oudheidkundige Dienst), archived in OD photos entitled “Reliefs from Trowulan”, other panels have been documented as being from the site Menak Jinggo in Trowulan. In my paper, I call the reliefs under investigation the “Trowulan reliefs”. N.J. Krom’s (1923) suggestion of doing research on the convolute of these reliefs has never been undertaken, now 100 years later it is time to do so.

### KEYWORDS

Ancient Javanese art; temple reliefs; Majapahit; Panji; nature in Javanese art.

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## INTRODUCTION

In 2000, a group of art-historians of ancient Javanese art, including the author, worked on these Trowulan relief panels in an attempt to put them into their original order and identify the male figure depicted on them. We were unable to finalize the work. Now, twenty years later, I am taking new steps to try to understand the original story, the function, and the provenance of these beautiful depictions of nature and landscape. The figures and buildings will play equal parts in this analysis. At present, this work must remain incomplete for two reasons: (1) obviously many panels are missing; (2) investigation in museums in Indonesia, and *in situ* at the temples in Trowulan is impossible for the time being because of the Corona pandemic and lack of access to complete inventories. Nevertheless, this paper and its preliminary findings offer a contribution to the understanding of ancient Javanese art as the expression of Javanese social, religious, and political life and the specific role of the natural world in this system. I am now in a position to make some suggestions about the possible "story" behind the panels and to present some examples of matching panels.<sup>1</sup>

My investigation is based on the visual presentations and their comparisons with depictions on contemporary temples as well as on the descriptions in Old Javanese *kakawin* poetry. The recent discussions on "landscape" in ancient Javanese art and literature will lend greater significance to the visualizations of nature in the relief panels. The photos (Figures 1-3) give examples of the challenge of determining matching panels and of the varying quality of the available photographic material.

<sup>1</sup> The idea for this research was born around the year 2000 as part of my long-term investigation into figures wearing a cap in depictions on narrative reliefs on East Javanese temple reliefs. Initially I did not include the relief panels from Trowulan which show a kind of cap-figure, since the headdress is not clear enough and left them open to future research. By chance, two other experts in the field of ancient Javanese art had also come across the topic for different reasons: Brigitte Khan-Majlis, at that time curator for the textile collection in the Ethnological Rautenstrauch-Joest-Museum in Cologne, Germany, and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, at that time the curator of South and Southeast Asian Art in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. We collected material and photos of the slabs in OD photos and private photographs from visits to museums. The total number of photos was around 40 at that time. We tried to fit the narrative panels together using prints of the available photos. At one point we stopped because of other obligations. More than 20 years later it is now time to tie up the loose ends.



From left to right:<sup>2</sup>

Figure 1. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting landscape, cobble stone path, dwellings. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 2. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting mountains, cobble stone path, trees, dwellings. (MNI 425, OD-1655: URL<sup>3</sup> <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:831766>).

Figure 3. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting a man and a *panakawan*, walking on a cobble stone path, in the background mountains and dwellings. (MNI 433, OD-1663: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:827704>).

#### PREVIOUS PUBLICATION AND RESEARCH<sup>4</sup>

Early sources on the panels are: reports of the Dutch Archaeological Service in NBG 1880, W.P. Groeneveldt's 1887 catalogue of the collection in the Museum Batavia (today Museum Nasional Indonesia - MNI), the Dutch Archaeological Service in O.V. (Oudheidkundig Verslag) from 1913, 1914, and 1916. These reports mention that the panels had been dug up in the area of Trowulan. Some were acquired by museums while others were given to private collectors. Detailed data are provided in F.D.K. Bosch (1915). Krom (1923 II: 186-188, III: 185-186) also reports on the panels, based on the earlier sources and on his own visits to the museums.<sup>5</sup> A.J. Bernet Kempers (1959: Plate 288) describes two panels from MNI. Data are provided on the two panels in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam (Catalogue of the Museum 1985) and Albert Le Bonheur (1971) describes a panel in Musée Guimet in Paris. One panel in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is known to the author only through an unpublished photograph.

<sup>2</sup> The abbreviations PIM and MNI are explained in the table below. OD photos are accessible via [www.digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl](http://www.digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl) ([https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/827704?solr\\_nav%5Bid%5D=51badf5aff0b9bbd6488&solr\\_nav%5Bpage%5D=2&solr\\_nav%5Boffset%5D=0](https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/827704?solr_nav%5Bid%5D=51badf5aff0b9bbd6488&solr_nav%5Bpage%5D=2&solr_nav%5Boffset%5D=0)).

<sup>3</sup> All URL accessible in digital collections at Leiden University Libraries.

<sup>4</sup> Detailed references are given in Table 1.

<sup>5</sup> Complete resumé of his reports in the Appendix to this article.



## PANELS AND THEIR PROVENANCE

Sixty-one panels, the objects of my study, are kept in six different places as shown in Table 1.

	Trowulan Pusat Informasi Majapahit (PIM) <sup>6</sup>	Jakarta (MNI)	Surabaya Museum Mpu Tantular (MMT)	Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (RAK)	Paris Musée Guimet (MG)	Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA)
<b>number of p<sup>7</sup></b>	36 <sup>8</sup>	19	2	2	1	1
<b>notes on the p</b>	three fragments of upper part, two fragments of lower half	today 17 in the exhibition; 2 p lost in the exhibition in Paris in 1913, documented by OD photos	complete collection consists of 8 p. 6 of them do not seem to be authentic.			
<b>publications</b>	O.V. 1913, 1914, and 1916; Krom 1923 II; OD photos	NGB 1880:147; O.V. 1913, 1914, and 1916; Krom 1923 II; OD photos; John Miksic 1995: 28.	no publication known to the author. Research is required, by access to inventories.	Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (1985: 168-169).	Albert Le Bonheur 1971: cat. no. 18 245	not published; personal information by Lunsingh Scheurleer

<sup>6</sup> Majapahit Information Centre. The acronyms of the names of the museums in the table will be used in this article.

<sup>7</sup> In the table, p refers to panels.

<sup>8</sup> In 2000, I was kindly provided with an inventory by the former head of the museum, this list encompassed thirteen panels. During my visit in 2015, I counted thirty-five panels, in 2019 two additional fragmented panels had been added to the collection making a total of thirty-six. Brigitte Majlis took a photo of another panel during her visit to the museum before the year 2000. However, I could not find this panel in the exhibition and it is not considered here. In April 2021, I was informed by the Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (BPCB) East Java (personal communication) that no other panels with the kind of depictions under investigation are kept in the storeroom. The total number of the panels on display might indeed be thirty-six. Therefore, either twenty-four pieces must have been added to the collection since 2000 or they were not documented in the old inventory.

	Trowulan Pusat Informasi Majapahit (PIM)	Jakarta (MNI)	Surabaya Museum Mpu Tantular (MMT)	Amsterdam Rijksmuseum (RAK)	Paris Musée Guimet (MG)	Boston Museum of Fine Arts (MFA)
measures <sup>9</sup>			no data available	no data available	no data available	inv. 1970-1 a: h x w: 78 x 47 cm;  inv. 1970-1 b: h x w 78 x 40,5 cm
height	78 cm - 3 p 77 cm - 5 p 75 cm - 2 p 74 cm - 1 p 73 cm - 2 p	67 cm - 6 p 68 cm - 4 p 69 cm - 3 p 70 cm - 1 p				
width	33-53 cm	37-42 cm  p inv.no. 436: 54 cm  p inv.no. 423: 96 cm				
depth	21-35 cm	no data				

Table 1. Panels and their provenance.

PANELS IN PIM TROWULAN AND MNI JAKARTA<sup>10</sup>

The two collections are discussed here in one subchapter since their history, data, and sources overlap.

Some of the panels in PIM and all of the MNI panels are documented in photos taken by the Oudheidkundige Dienst (OD); photographs of panels discovered more recently are not accessible online. During my visits to PIM since 2000, the last in 2019, I managed to take photographs of and document more panels.<sup>11</sup>

The inventory of PIM for the year 2000 mentions: "Museum Mojokerto / Situs Candi Menakjinggo; finder: local community / collection of R.A.A. Kromojoyoadinegoro; year: 1924". R.A.A. Kromojoyoadinegoro was the local

<sup>9</sup> Data on the measurements are based on: Groeneveldt 1887 (MNI inv. no. 423-436); the incomplete inventory of PIM 2000; John Miksic 1995; Le Bonheur 1971; Lunsingh Scheurleer 1985. The archive of the OD photos does not mention the sizes of the panels. Consequently, the measurements included in this table are incomplete.

<sup>10</sup> My detailed information on the previous research and data on the PIM and MNI collections provides material for future research. Although probably tedious for the uninitiated, this comprehensive outline of material has not been published so far.

<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, the PIM list of 2000 does not mention OD numbers and the descriptions are not comprehensive. I did not take measurements during my visits to PIM and my own photographs do not allow measurements to be determined. At this point, matching the OD descriptions with the panels in the collection seemed to be a non-starter. Not all OD photos were accessible when I was writing this article because of the current updating of the digital collections of Leiden University Libraries.

Regent of Mojokerto who collected artefacts from the Trowulan region in the 1910s and donated them to the Dutch colonial government. The objects were housed in the museum in the compound of the Regent in Mojokerto. Later, the museum collection was relocated to the Trowulan Museum, more recently known as Pusat Informasi Majapahit (PIM).

In O.V. 1913/2 (pp. 35, 36), Krom reports on his visit to "*Museum Modjokerto*" and mentions that he saw a large number ("*een groot aantal*") of bas-reliefs which belonged to the series of reliefs from the same building as the reliefs in the Scheepmaker Collection which had been taken to Museum Batavia (no. 423-435; thus 13 pieces).<sup>12</sup> The location of this building is, following Krom, not known.

O.V. 1914/2 (pp. 63-64) mentions twenty pieces: OD-1770-1789, designated as "*bas-relief*", "*Afd. Modjokerto, thans Mus. Modjok*". Referring to this list, the report mentions: "*controleerde ik [...] de plaats van den z.g.n. Menak Djinggo, onder welke eveneens een baksteenfundament gevonden is; de daar aanwezige andesietsteenblokken komen van een iets erachter gelegen plaats*" (O.V. 1914/2, p. 54).<sup>13</sup> O.V. 1916/3 (p. 91) lists five pieces: OD 2559-2563, entitled "*Trawoelan, distr. Modjokerto; thans Mus. Modjok*".

Following the O.V. reports, in 1916 twenty-five pieces were housed in the Museum Modjokerto.<sup>14</sup> Since the inventory of 2000 contains only thirteen entries, twelve pieces had either apparently been given to collectors after 1916 or relocated to other places.

Bosch's (1915: 185) report is puzzling as he mentions nineteen bas-reliefs from the Scheepmaker Collection having been purchased by the Bataviaasch Genootschap and, though not explicitly stated, this probably means that they were taken to the Museum Batavia. I shall not delve deeper into the puzzles in the lists of Groeneveldt 1887, Bosch 1915, Krom 1923, and others and leave this for future researchers.

The original site of the Trowulan panels has repeatedly been stated to be Candi Menak Jinggo located in the Trowulan region. However, in the Dutch sources, this cannot be verified one hundred percent. My effort to track the provenances produces the following picture: Bosch (1915: 196-200) mentions Wates Oempak, Brangkal, Kedoeng Maling, Mengelo, Djabon as the original locations of a number of panels, saying "*vermoedelijk afkomstig uit Trawoelan*" (probably originating from Trawulan). Indeed, these places are all in the Trowulan region.<sup>15</sup> In his report on the site of Menak Jinggo, Krom 1923 II (185-186) mentions a place called Sanggar Pamalangan, located to the east of

<sup>12</sup> See Paragraph II. MNI. Remarkably Krom only mentions numbers 423-435 and not number 436.

<sup>13</sup> In English: "I examined the location of the so-called Menak Djinggo, under which a brick foundation was found; the andesite stone blocks are a place located a little deeper into the hinterland".

<sup>14</sup> At the time of writing this article, digital access at UBL Leiden to the complete convolute of OD photos was not yet possible. Fortunately, P. Lunsingh Scheurleer generously provided me with photocopies of the 25 OD photos.

<sup>15</sup> See screenshot in the Appendix.

Lake Segaran. It is still extant today in the Trowulan region, not far from PIM. Here was found a sculpture of a demon-like figure with wings (1.41 m high), called “Menak Jinggo” by locals (p. 186; translated by Krom into Dutch as “Roode Roofridder”<sup>16</sup>), the name of a character in Javanese mythology. Krom reports on panels depicting landscapes (pp. 186-188) from a site whose location cannot be determined. He says that these panels were originally placed in a continuous arrangement around the walls of a temple base and that some of the panels had been taken to the Museum in Batavia (now MNI), while other panels were kept in the Museum in Modjokerto (now PIM). Two of these panels have a border on the right and two others one on the left. Krom compared them with other temples, for example, Candi Jawi which has a series of three rows of reliefs on three sides of the building and he assumed that the unknown temple in Trowulan would likely have had a similar arrangement: six border panels (three on the right and three on the left respectively). Krom hypothesized that at least two border panels were missing as he had obviously seen panels in the Mojokerto museum as well as OD photos of the panels in Batavia. He stated that it was a pity that the series seemed to be incomplete and that more intensive research was required to match those still extant. Remarkably, he compared some depictions of mountains with monster-like shapes to depictions on Candi Jago – obviously referring to elements in the *Parthayajna* reliefs – and on Candi Panataran – obviously referring to the monster-like clouds in the *Ramayana* reliefs which caused Stutterheim (1925: 199, 1989: 171) to speak of a “magicism” significant in East Javanese art. Krom’s (1923 II: 187) suggestion that further work be undertaken has now been partly met and is presented in this article, nearly 100 years later. However, as I am also unable to produce a finished piece of work, I can only repeat Krom’s recommendation for further research in the future.<sup>17</sup>

NBG 1880 (p. 147)<sup>18</sup> lists a collection of artefacts owned by Mr Scheepmaker from Surabaya, among them fifteen bas-reliefs, and says that thirty-five artefacts (including the bas-reliefs) “can be given to the Rijksmuseum in Leiden”.<sup>19</sup> These artefacts form part of Scheepmaker’s large collection of nearly 200 objects from East Java. The fifteen bas-reliefs for reasons unknown did not go to Leiden but to the Museum Batavia. This must have happened shortly after 1880, since Groeneveldt’s 1887 catalogue of the Museum Batavia lists fourteen entries with inventory numbers 423-436, all of them with the note “Collectie Scheepmaker”.<sup>20</sup> Strangely enough, the catalogue mentions fourteen rather than fifteen pieces so what was the fate of the fifteenth panel? Another inconsistency is Krom’s report (O.V. 1913: 36) which states that panels inventory numbers 423-435 (hence thirteen pieces!) from Scheepmaker’s Collection were given to the Batavia

<sup>16</sup> In English ‘Red Robber-Baron’.

<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, Krom does not mention any inventory numbers in his descriptions of the panels so we do not know if inventory numbers 436a, b, c, d, e already composed part of the convolute at the time he wrote his reports.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix.

<sup>19</sup> See the original text in NBG in the Appendix.

<sup>20</sup> Groeneveldt 1887: ii, v; see Appendix.

Museum. Even more curiously, the list of the photographs in O.V. 1913<sup>21</sup> has entries with inventory numbers 423-436, 436a, b, c, d, e, which means fourteen plus five additional pieces, hence nineteen pieces in total. It seems that panels 436a-e were incorporated into the Batavia set and added to Scheepmaker's Collection. Did Krom make a mistake in his report when he omitted number 436, or was it a typo? OD 1670 shows a panel with the inscription 436, however my investigation has shown that this is actually panel 436d.<sup>22</sup>

Today's exhibition at the MNI includes seventeen pieces: twelve of Scheepmaker's panels (no. 424-435)<sup>23</sup> plus five additional panels (no. 436a-e). Panels 423 and 436 (from Scheepmaker's Collection) were "badly damaged by a fire at the Paris Exhibition of 1931" (Bernet Kempers 1959: 95, plate 288); they were no longer incorporated in the MNI exhibition after 1931.<sup>24</sup> The total number of panels at MNI considered in this study is nineteen.<sup>25</sup> A few of the MNI panels match each other; a few others match with some kept at PIM.<sup>26</sup>

#### PANELS AT MMT SURABAYA

I took photos of eight panels during my visit to the museum in 2011. Six are characterized by their crude carving and the elements they depict like mountain, trees and figures differ from the refined carving seen at the other Trowulan reliefs. The style and iconography of only two of the panels seem to contain features significant to the other Trowulan reliefs and I take only these two into consideration. Both depict parts of a large *pendopo* and one of them clearly matches a panel from Mojokerto (see the photos in the category "buildings", Figures 24 and 25). It seems that some of the panels dug-up were taken to the museum in Surabaya. As for the six crudely carved panels, they might have originated from another building or are perhaps more recent additions.

#### PANELS AT RAK AMSTERDAM

The two panels with inventory number RAK 1970-1 a, b cannot be traced back to their place of origin. "Unfortunately, the only information on the provenance of the two panels in the Rijksmuseum is that they were bought from an [Dutch] art dealer in [...] in 1970. This art dealer was a specialist in Indonesian artefacts. Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer states in a note that the panels had been found shortly before 1970, but no further information is given as to where they were discovered. She could not find any reference in

<sup>21</sup> O.V. 1913/2. "Bijlage T. List der fotografische opnamen", pp. 97-98.

<sup>22</sup> Panel 436 is one of the two which was lost, see Figure 12. I beg the readers' indulgence for the confusing jungle of numbers. The lists by Bosch even add to the confusion.

<sup>23</sup> No data are provided about the whereabouts of any remains or whether they were totally destroyed.

<sup>24</sup> Unfortunately, I could not get access to data to determine whether the measurements mentioned by Groeneveldt are correct.

<sup>25</sup> A list of the numbers of OD photos and corresponding inventory numbers is in the Appendix to this article.

<sup>26</sup> For decades the panels at the MNI were exposed on the walls of the gallery around the large courtyard; a few panels were moved to the new annex building a few years ago.

earlier literature".<sup>27</sup> This information might also throw light on the history of other missing panels. Descriptions of the panels are given below, see Figures 30 and 31.

#### PANEL IN MG PARIS

The single panel in Musée Guimet, Paris (inv. no. 18 245) is described in the museum catalogue by Albert Le Bonheur (1971: 335-336). A male figure with the well-known headdress is depicted on the right-hand part of the panel and, behind him, is the left half of the body of the *panakawan*. Both stand on a cobbled path leading up to the left. Mountains and trees are visible. In the middle of the panel is depicted a tower-temple, the lower part obscured by branches of a large tree. The man holds his left arm below the chest and clutches an object which might be a palm-leaf manuscript *lontar*. The male figure sports a beard and a moustache, which is unusual for men on the Trowulan reliefs. Le Bonheur identifies the man as an ascetic, an assertion with which I do not agree. Ascetics are usually depicted with a long beard and a turban-like *ketu* headdress. Le Bonheur compares the panel to another from Trowulan, on which the man is also holding his left arm below the chest. This panel is indeed similar but the tower-temple is absent.<sup>28</sup>

#### PANEL AT MFA BOSTON

The panel was acquired from the same art-dealer who gave the two reliefs to Amsterdam.<sup>29</sup> The single panel in Boston depicts the right-hand part of a large *pendopo*, filling the complete height of the slab. The *pendopo* has a fluted pillar whose base ends in a kind of posts (*umpak*) standing directly on a double row of stones. The border of the roof is decorated with spirals. A man sits in the left-hand part and a *panakawan* in the right-hand part of the *pendopo*, facing each other.

The picture resembles similar ones in the PIM. However, the *panakawan* is quite tall compared to his other depictions. Remarkable are the beard and moustache, similar to those shown in the MG relief. There are only few reliefs on East Javanese temple walls which show a man with a moustache, for example, on the walls of the Inner Bathing Place in Candi Panataran whom I identified as a companion of Panji (Kieven 2013: 229, 230, Figure 7.46).

#### COMPREHENSIVE LOOK AT THE COLLECTIONS

The evidence of the different heights and depths in the whole convolute – PIM, MNI, RAK, MG, and MFA suggest that the respective panels belong to different relief series. I assume that they were originally either located on different sides

<sup>27</sup> Personal communication from William Southworth, curator of Southeast Asian art at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam 25-05-2021.

<sup>28</sup> See the photo below in Series 2, Figure 11.

<sup>29</sup> Personal communication on 02-06-2021 from Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, who referred to the late Jan Fontein, the then curator at the Museum of Fine Arts. Brigitte Khan-Majlis kindly provided me with a photo of the panel (2016).



of one building or on different buildings. Possibly the panels were arranged in a similar way to those on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran, which consist of six different series.<sup>30</sup> I shall return to my suggestion later. To resume: since the sources available today do not provide exact information about the locations where the panels were dug up or found, for the time being their provenance cannot definitely be traced.

However, all is not lost and the limited material allows a few matching panels to be arranged in order. I present examples of the series to demonstrate (a) the different kinds of motifs – landscapes, people, dwellings, architecture, (b) matching panels, (c) combinations of panels at the PIM, the MNI, and the MMT to show that a number of panels which are now kept in different places did originally belong together, (d) the difficulties and uncertainties met during the arrangement process, among other reasons because of the poor quality of the photos taken by myself.<sup>31</sup>

#### CATEGORIES OF DEPICTIONS AND THEIR ARRANGEMENTS

The major elements and categories of scenes depicted in the sixty-one panels are (see Tables 2-4):<sup>32</sup>

1. Predominant are depictions of landscapes and buildings (37).
2. Roughly half of the convolute has depictions of the man and the *panakawan* (18).
3. Other persons play a minor role (6).

<sup>30</sup> Krom (1923 II: 187) suggests an arrangement as at Candi Jawi, consisting of 3 rows with 6 border panels.

<sup>31</sup> Some cases raise doubts about whether the measurements mentioned in the inventories are correct. For example, there are pieces from PIM (circa 75-78 cm high) which seem to match a piece from the MNI (circa 67 cm); however, this assumption is contradicted by the different sizes (see, for example, Series 1 Figures 5, 6, 7, 8). This makes me wonder if the measurements mentioned in Groeneveldt 1887 and in the PIM inventory of 2000 are indeed correct. In my own photos taken at MNI, I put a scale of 20 cm at the bottom of some panels; according this, the height is indeed 67. In the PIM I also put a scale on some panels and obtained the result of roughly 78 cm. These measurements correspond to those given in the inventories. However, one of the illustrations on the panels from the MNI (inv. no. 423), presented in "The Legacy of Majapahit" (John Miksic 1995: 28), mentions a height of 70 cm. These inconsistencies demonstrate some of the challenges facing this project.

<sup>32</sup> Some of the categories overlap; I have chosen the most prominent.

Categories	Depicted elements	PIM	MNI	MMT	RAK	MG	MFA
1a. landscape & nature total number: 24 p	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• mountains</li> <li>• trees<sup>33</sup></li> <li>• cobbled (flagstone) path winding through the landscape</li> <li>• rivers, bridges</li> </ul>	16 p	8 p				
1b. buildings total number: 13 p	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• dwellings</li> <li>• hermitages</li> <li>• villages</li> <li>• palace</li> <li>• large-size <i>pendopo</i></li> </ul>	4 p	7 p	2 p			
2. a male figure with <i>panakawan</i> total number: 18 p		12 p	2 p	1 p	1 p		
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• the man holding one arm in front of his body<sup>34</sup></li> <li>• - and holding a <i>lontar</i></li> <li>• the male pointing to the front with one hand<sup>35</sup></li> <li>• - and holding a <i>lontar</i></li> </ul>	2	2	1	1		
3. other persons total number: 6 p	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• male and female persons</li> <li>• sitting/standing in or next to a large <i>pendopo</i></li> </ul>	3 p	2 p	1 p			

Table 2. Categories and depicted elements.

<sup>33</sup> I have not done any botanical research for this article. Sri Soejatmi Satari (2008) has carried out some research on gardens in ancient Javanese art.

<sup>34</sup> It might be a *lontar*, but it is not clearly visible.

<sup>35</sup> It might be a *lontar*, but it is not clearly visible.

Border panels: right border panels (Table 3) and left border panels (Table 4)

Right border panels	Depicted elements	PIM	MNI	MMT	RAK	MG	MFA
4 p							
	landscape, dwellings; tentatively connected to the left with a panel showing figures	Trow 767 <sup>36</sup>					
	landscape and panakawan, tentatively connected to the left with a male figure	Trow 168 (OD-1780)					
	fields, river, bridge; tentatively connected to the left with 3 more landscape panels, followed by a figure panel (Figure 15)		MNI 429 (OD-1659)				
	man looking back at a <i>panakawan</i> crouching on the steep path (Figure 31)				RAK 1970-1 b		

Table 3. Right border panels and depicted elements.

Left border panels	Depicted elements	PIM	MNI	MMT	RAK	MG	MFA
3 p							
	male and <i>panakawan</i> , large <i>pendopo</i> , trees (Figure 34)	Trow 628 (OD-2563)					
	dwellings, trees, path (Figure 14)		MNI 435 (OD-1665)				
	dwellings and <i>pendopo</i> of different sizes, trees, path (Figure 22)		MNI 427 (OD-1657)				

Table 4. Left border panels and depicted elements.

I assume there is a consistent arrangement of the panels: a panel depicting the man and the *panakawan* is followed by two panels presenting landscapes and nature as well as dwellings, followed again by a panel with the man and the *panakawan*. Panels with other persons are interludes. In most cases, the persons – be they the man and the *panakawan*, or other persons – fill roughly half of the panel and are surrounded by elements of nature or buildings/dwellings. The direction of movement and the “reading” of the depictions is from right to left (*pradakshina*), based on the postures of the body. The border panels can contain all kinds of scenes – the two men, nature, dwellings other persons.

<sup>36</sup> I use titles “Trow no.” (for example, “Trow 767”) for panels which have the respective number written on the stone.

## ICONOGRAPHY AND STYLE

The iconography and style of the relief depictions, in particular the human figures, are characteristic of the so-called “simple style” of the narrative reliefs of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.<sup>37</sup> This style is different from the “*wayang* style” which displays more elaborate features. Whereas the *wayang* style is used in depictions of *kakawin* stories, the simple style is applied in depictions of *kidung*, including Panji stories. *Kidung* stories and narrative reliefs have a simpler, more down-to-earth character and the depictions of Panji stories in particular have the folk-like character which is also evident in the Trowulan reliefs. The man is depicted with a stiff body posture, clad in simple attire consisting of a loincloth and a girdle, a bare breast, with no or hardly any jewellery. The headgear is roughly reminiscent of the cap which is typical of the Panji depictions on East Javanese temples; however, it is not clearly marked by the sharp edge which is characteristic of the Panji caps.<sup>38</sup> The body is shown in a frontal position, the head in profile usually looking to the left, in a few panels to the right as if looking back. The feet are directed to the left. In all cases the little *panakawan* is depicted to the right next to or behind the male figure. He has the typical iconographic features of *panakawan* in the narrative reliefs of the time. In some cases, the man holds an item in his left hand which, based on comparisons with other East Javanese relief depictions, can be identified as a palm-leaf manuscript (*lontar*).<sup>39</sup>

In twelve of the panels the man holds one arm (in most cases the right arm) in front of his body. This arm position resembles a posture which is known from other East Javanese temple reliefs as a sign of being cold and therefore being an indication a scene taking place at night.<sup>40</sup> However, the identification of the posture in the Trowulan reliefs is not definite. In six of these cases, the man holds a *lontar* in the other hand. In six panels the man points to the front with his right hand; in four of these cases he is clearly holding a *lontar* in the other hand. In total, ten of the eighteen panels depict the man holding a *lontar*.<sup>41</sup>

A very recent find is an extraordinary and well-maintained relief from Candi Selokelir. In a narrative scene depicting four persons, it shows a man with an iconography similar to our Trowulan men, with a moustache and whiskers (see Figure 4).<sup>42</sup> The legs are in the posture of a person longing for

<sup>37</sup> For more elaborate information on the iconography and style of narrative reliefs in the late classical period of ancient Javanese art see: Marijke J. Klokke 1993: 56-68 and Kieven 2013: 51-59.

<sup>38</sup> See the detailed discussion of the “cap-figures” in Kieven 2013. My doubts about the kind of cap in the Trowulan reliefs made me decide not to incorporate these reliefs into my study (Kieven 2013: 130, 133).

<sup>39</sup> Compare, for example, the depictions in the *Sudhanakumara* reliefs on Candi Jago (Kieven 2013: Figure 6.11.), in the *Sri Tanjung* reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran (Satyawati Suleiman 1978: 22, panel 66), and in the *Krishnayana* reliefs on the Main Temple of Candi Panataran (Klokke 2000: Figure 25).

<sup>40</sup> For example, the Gambyok panel, see Kieven (2013: 68).

<sup>41</sup> Since some of the other panels are quite weathered, they might also have depictions of *lontar* which are no longer clearly visible.

<sup>42</sup> I am grateful to Hadi Sidomulyo who provided information on this recently excavated relief and for the excellent photograph.

love (Kieven 2013: 57). This depiction shows an excellent example of a *lontar*: the man keeps it in his right hand and grasps a tip of cloth, maybe the tip of the girdle of his loincloth and maybe this cloth serves as a cover for the *lontar*. While the *lontar* depictions in the Trowulan reliefs are more blurred, since in many cases the stone has not been well preserved, the Selokelir relief provides outstanding evidence of the *lontar*. This relief offers a model for "reading" the male in the Trowulan reliefs.



Figure 4. Relief from Candi Selokelir, slopes of Mount Penanggungan, dug up in 2021 by Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya (BPCB, Cultural Heritage Preservation Center), East Java. (Credit Hadi Sidomulyo, 28-9-2021).

The iconography and style of the depictions of nature on the Trowulan reliefs, for example, the carvings of trees and mountains, resemble other narrative depictions of the simple style. Usually, the storyline of narrative reliefs is determined by people and animals; elements of nature appear to be in the minority and their purpose is to mark the setting and environment of the respective scenes. In contrast to this arrangement, the Trowulan reliefs display the predominance of elements of nature, landscape, and countryside over the figurative depictions. I shall delve deeper into this discussion further down.

The pictures in Figures 5-8 (*Series 1*) show a selection of panels and suggestions of connections. I use a mixture of OD photos and my own photographs, also to show the reader the different options and qualities of access and the resulting challenges. Figure 5 shows a man and a *panakawan* walking along a cobbled path, passing by mountains and trees. The size of the figures is about half the height of the panel. The mountains and trees are depicted in proportionately unnatural sizes. Figure 6 depicts mountains, different kinds of trees, and ravines. Some of the trees are pandanus. A cobbled path on the left might be the continuation of the one on the earlier panel. Figure 7 shows mountains, some trees and in the foreground rectangular clusters filled with



tiny *pendopo*. The cobbled path on the right mid-part of the panel leads to a four-barred bridge over a torrent. The two panels in Figures 6 and 7 vary in width. In the right-hand part of the panel in Figure 8 stands a man holding a *lontar* in his left hand and his right hand pointing to the front. He is heading towards a four-plank bridge crossing a torrent flowing down from above.

### Series 1



From left to right:

Figure 5. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man and a *panakawan*, walking on a cobble stone path, in the background trees. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 6. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting mountain, trees and a cobble stone path. (MNI 436b, OD-1668: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:838985>).

Figure 7. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting mountains, trees, in the foreground dwellings, on the right side a bridge over a river. (MNI 436d, OD-1670: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:829928>).<sup>43</sup>

Figure 8. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man pointing to the front towards a bridge over a river. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).<sup>44</sup>

The panels in Figures 6 and 7 clearly match. I am not sure about the panels in Figures 5 and 6, since the cobbled path does not make a clear connection. At first sight, the panels in Figures 7 and 8 do seem to match, because of the four-plank bridges on each of them. However, the PIM panel is about 78 cm high,<sup>45</sup> while the MNI panel is only 67 cm high. Therefore, they obviously do not fit.

These are examples of some of the difficulties encountered in arranging the panels. Since the exact height of the panels from the PIM and MNI in Figures 5 and 6 is unknown, it cannot be definitely determined if the cobbled path in the panel in Figure 5 fits with the one in the panel in Figure 6. The same holds true for the bridge in the panels in Figures 7 and 8. Only after I found the height of both of the panels did I realize that they do not match. Rivers and bridges are frequent motives on the Trowulan panels and the relief carvers used similar motifs in slightly differing versions. This can also be said for scenes with

<sup>43</sup> The number "436", written on the panel was later changed to "436d".

<sup>44</sup> No. Trow 173 in the inventory of PIM from the year 2000.

<sup>45</sup> Following the PIM inventory from 2000.



mountains and dwellings. It is therefore no wonder that a researcher might fall into some traps.

### Series 2



From left to right:

Figure 9. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, partly damaged, depicting a cobble stone path, hills and large trees. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 10. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting mountains and a cobble stone path. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 11. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man and *panakawan* walking on a cobble stone path, a large tree to the left. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

The panels in Figures 9 and 10 show depictions of mountains, trees of different shapes and sizes, and a winding cobbled path. The panel in Figure 11 shows that the man, followed by the small *panakawan*, are both heading to the left. The little *panakawan* is barely visible because of weathering. They are about to walk up a steep path. The man stands in front of a large tree. No *lontar* is visible in his hand. The reliefs give an example of the different sizes of the natural elements. In particular, the size of the trees in relation to mountains and figures is unnatural.

The three panels seem to match and form a continued series.

Bernet Kempers (1959: pl. 288) describes the two panels in Figures 12 and 13 (*Series 3*) as depicting a temple complex, landscape, and villages. The two panels were "badly damaged by fire at the Paris Exhibition of 1931". The left-hand panel (Figure 12) shows a lively scene featuring both natural scenery and buildings: two rivers embanked with stone dikes, two bridges, clustered fields, groups of dwellings, two six-pillared *pendopo*, enclosed by a wall and the entrance to the complex marked by two turrets. On the outermost left is a figure which might depict a *panakawan* looking back to the right. Then, continuing on the left, the panel would have shown a single male figure.

## Series 3



Left: Figure 12. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting a Candi Bentar and a precinct with *pendopo*, two rivers with bridges, cobble stone paths or dikes, fields, dwellings. (MNI 423, OD-1657: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:838116>; OD-3688: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:4448>).

Right: Figure 13. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting a Candi Bentar and a precinct, part of a large *pendopo* on the right side. (MNI 436, OD-1666: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:828279>).

The right-hand panel (Figure 13) is a compound with a little tiered temple standing between two *pendopo* with four respectively six pillars.<sup>46</sup> The complex is dominated in front by a large *candi bentar*, a split gate, which is known from Candi Wringin Lawang in Trowulan. In the right-hand section of the panel, part of a large *pendopo* is visible, just its base and the edge of its roof. The continuing panel to the right would have contained the rest of the *pendopo*. In contrast to the other panels, the depictions on these two panels are extraordinarily elaborate and naturalistic. Was this a means to highlight the place depicted as an outstanding, possibly sacred site and therefore set apart from the other secular locations in the relief series? Or do the two panels belong to another convolute which would have been carved in a more delicate style?

The different widths of the panels are remarkable. It seems that the carvers did not want to curtail the detailed features of the dramatic landscape. I did not find any panels matching either to the left or to the right. Candi Wringin Lawang is a building in Trowulan supposed to have been one of the main entrances to the capital city of Majapahit. Maybe the depiction does in fact represent this or another main gateway to the former capital. The comparison with another *kraton*- or temple-compound in one of the scenes on Candi Jawi,

<sup>46</sup> For the numbers and kinds of *pendopo* and pillars see further down in the chapter in the section about buildings.

which shows buildings accurately and an enclosing wall in realistic perspective is also remarkable.

The two panels seem to match.

#### *Border stones*



Left: Figure 14. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, left border stone, depicting trees and dwellings. (MNI 435, OD-1665: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:828512>).

Right: Figure 15. Relief from Trowulan, right border stone, depicting fields, dwellings, a bridge over a river. (MNI 429, OD-1659: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:831143>).

Both panels (Figures 14 and 15) show depictions of clustered small dwellings and trees. The panel on the right also shows clustered fields and a bridge. These panels are examples of the repetitive motifs on the Trowulan reliefs, such as dwellings and a bridge, which makes it hard to fit panels together. More examples of border stones are shown below (Figures 22, 30, 34).

#### *Category 1a: Landscape and fields<sup>47</sup>*

MNI (Figure 16) and PIM (Figure 17) both contain one panel with conspicuously realistic depictions of *sawah* wet rice-fields; they are the only reliefs which show people and animals working in the fields in such a detailed albeit tiny portrayal. The fields are depicted in a bird's eye view, the figures appear too large in proportion. Both panels show hills, a cobbled path, and trees. The left-hand one also depicts small-sized dwellings. In the panel in Figure 16, a buffalo walking on the path, is carved naturalistically; two people seem to be busy harvesting. In the panel in Figure 17, the fields are being ploughed using buffaloes.

Panel Figure 18 is extraordinary, showing a man in the foreground hoeing the ground. He is as tall as the wandering man and the short loincloth he is

<sup>47</sup> The categories partly overlap.



wearing identifies him as a peasant or a commoner. All the three depictions resemble present-day *sawah* agriculture in Java, still carried out on small clusters of rice-fields. These panels give the most lively and realistic impression of the countryside, including the activities of country people and peasants.



From left to right:

Figure 16. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting fields, peasants, buffalos, dwellings, hills, a cobble stone path. (MNI 436c, OD-1669: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:828658>).

Figure 17. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting fields, a peasant and a buffalo, hills and trees, a cobble stone path. (PIM, photograph by Arif Santono, 2021).<sup>48</sup>

Figure 18. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man ploughing, trees, dwellings. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015 [= OD-2561]).

#### *Category 1b: buildings, “pendopo”, and dwellings*

The three reliefs (Figures 19-21) show small and larger *pendopo*, dwellings, and what might be hermitages, all carved very delicately. The perspective with which the larger buildings are carved is realistic. The different kinds of buildings are examples of the categories described by Galestin (1936) in his study of wooden constructions on ancient Javanese temple reliefs.

Here I mention just a few: the panel in Figure 19 shows a dwelling in the top left with four little *pendopo* with six pillars in a compound which seems to have two entrances at the front. To the right is another compound with a larger, six-pillared *pendopo* covered by a tiled roof, standing on a stone foundation. In front of this ensemble is another even larger *pendopo*, of the same type as the former, but more detailed. The reason might have been that the carver wanted to depict a *pendopo* belonging to a high-ranking person or to show it as standing in the foreground with a realistic perspective. The sizes of the tree and the hills are disproportionate. At the very front at the bottom of the panel seem to be other buildings, perhaps either little tiered temples or entrance gates.

<sup>48</sup> Photograph taken in March 2021 and kindly provided by Arif Santono.

The panel in Figure 20 also shows part of a large *pendopo* in the lower part of the panel and higher up are two different sized *pendopo*. Again, this arrangement might have been intended to highlight the front *pendopo*. All *pendopo* are of the kind standing on a raised floor with the roof supported by six pillars. The panel in Figure 21 has three large *pendopo*, with four respectively six pillars, surrounded by small clusters of dwellings or little *bale*-type constructions.<sup>49</sup> The man depicted on the right-hand part points with his finger at one of the large *pendopo* and behind him is a weathered fragment of the *panakawan*. It seems as if the man was visiting a residence consisting of a number of *pendopo*.<sup>50</sup>



From left to right:

Figure 19. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting dwellings, a *pendopo*, and elements of nature. (OD-1784: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:839166>).<sup>51</sup>

Figure 20. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting *pendopos* of different sizes, and trees. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015 [=OD-1770]).

Figure 21. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man heading to the left, his hand indicating to the left, large *pendopos*. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015 [=OD-1772]).<sup>52</sup>

At first sight, it seems that the panels match. However, a closer examination of the respective edges reveals the inconsistencies. The left-hand panel in Figure 22 shows dwellings and freestanding *pendopo* of different kinds and sizes, some of them in realistic perspective. The right-hand panel in Figure 23 depicts fields and mountains and at top we see part of a cluster connecting it to another part on the left-hand panel. The mountains, trees, fields, and small clusters are not a realistic portrayal but represent a typical bird's eye view. The clustered

<sup>49</sup> See further down for more information on the categories and different functions of the buildings.

<sup>50</sup> I shall return to the categories of buildings, following Galestin, further down in the text.

<sup>51</sup> Trow no. 176 in the inventory of PIM from the year 2000.

<sup>52</sup> At the time of writing this article, OD-1770/1772 were not accessible in the digital collections of Leiden University Libraries.

fields are reminiscent of a scene in the *Kakawin Arjunawijaya*, mentioning the dikes in the fields (*Arjunawijaya* 22.5-6; 24.1a, b).<sup>53</sup>



Left: Figure 22. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting dwellings, hermitages, cobble stone path. (MNI 427, OD-1657: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:6625>).

Right: Figure 23. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting fields, little mountains and trees, a cobble stone path. (MNI 426, OD-1656: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:839878>).

The clusters of dwellings, scattered in the middle of the countryside might be construed as hermitages. The combination of mountains, trees, dwellings, fields, *pendopo*, and a winding path provides a typical example of the way landscapes were visualized on the Trowulan reliefs. The composition which consists of a mixture of frontal and bird's eye views conveys a lively impression despite the fact the perspective is not realistic.

The two panels seem to match.

In all cases (Figures 24-27) a large *pendopo* nearly fills the complete height of the respective panels.

The panels in Figures 24 and 25 are the only examples I have been able to find which seem to be the two halves of one *pendopo*: a person seated in the left part seems to be the man who wears the typical hair dress and in the right-hand half the *panakawan* sits on a lower level, commensurate with his servant status. They are looking at each other. The *pendopo* is encircled by cobble stones. The architecture of the *pendopo* – elevated floor on posts and a large roof with decorative elements, indicates a high status. The right-hand part of the panel in Figure 25 shows two enclosed dwellings in the background.

The panels in Figure 26 (bottom fragment) and Figure 27 are other examples of the great similarity of motifs, in this case of the *pendopo* and seated figures. The panel in Figure 26 shows a crouching *panakawan* in a posture similar to the one in the panel in Figure 25 and the architecture and the cobbles around

<sup>53</sup> See the verses from the *Arjunawijaya*, quoted further down.



the buildings are also very similar to each other. We could imagine a panel to the right depicting the other half of the *pendopo* with the man sitting in it. In this case, the order of panels would be the reverse of the former ones. The panel in Figure 27 depicts a *pendopo* with a tiled roof and a man who is sitting and looking to the right. I wonder if the two panels fit each other but, since the panel in Figure 26 is only a fragment, it cannot be determined definitely.



From left to right:

Figure 24. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting the left part of a large *pendopo*, a figure sitting in the *pendopo* and watching to the right. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 25. Relief from Trowulan at MMT, depicting the right part of a large *pendopo*, a *panakawan* crouching in front. (MMT, photograph by Lydia Kieven 2011).

Figure 26. Fragment of a relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting the bottom part of a large *pendopo*, a *panakawan* crouching in front. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Figure 27. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting landscape, a cobble stone path, and the right part of a *pendopo*, a figure sitting in the *pendopo* looking to the right. (MNI 430, OD-1660, photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2006).

#### Category 2: Man with *panakawan*

The MNI has only these two panels (Figures 28 and 29) depicting the man and a *panakawan*. All the other panels in the MNI show landscapes and architectural structures. As usual, the man and the *panakawan* are heading towards the left. The panel on the right shows *pandan* palms.



Left: Figure 28. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting a man and a *panakawan* walking along a cobble stone path, a large tree, mountains in the background. (MNI 431, OD-1661; URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:830744>).

Right: Figure 29. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting a man and a *panakawan* walking along a cobble stone path, in the background pandan trees. (MNI 433, OD-1663, URL: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:827704>).

The posture of the right arm held in front of the body in both panels resembles that of the figures in the two Amsterdam panels (Figures 30 and 31). It is not clearly visible whether the man is holding an object in his left hand.



Left: Figure 30. Relief from Trowulan at RAK, depicting two men and a *panakawan*, walking along a cobble stone path, mountains, and dwellings in the background. (RAK 1970-1 A, credit Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).

Right: Figure 31. Relief from Trowulan at RAK, depicting a man looking back to a crouching *panakawan* on a cobble stone path, mountains, and trees. (RAK 1970-1 B, credit Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam).<sup>54</sup>

Both reliefs in Figures 30 and 31 are very well preserved, their sharply delineated carvings depicting figures walking on a cobbled path winding

<sup>54</sup> See: <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/AK-RAK-1970-1-A> and <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/AK-RAK-1970-1-B>.

through a landscape. The left-hand relief shows another man standing next to the man and the *panakawan*. He is a bit smaller in size than the man in front who looks back and holds a *lontar* in his hand. This third person accompanying the protagonists does not appear in any other depiction. One remarkable aspect of the right-hand panel is the posture of the *panakawan* who is crouching on the ground. The man holding a *lontar* in his hand looks back at the *panakawan* as if asking him to get up and follow him. This scene might have been intended to depict a comic episode and to indicate that the walk ahead will be arduous. This panel is also an example of a right-hand border stone.



Left: Figure 32. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a man and a *panakawan* walking along a cobble stone path, mountains and trees, pandanus. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

Right: Figure 33. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting landscape with trees and pandanus. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015).

The two panels (Figures 32 and 33) give an example of the combination of a panel with the man and *panakawan* and a landscape panel. The left-hand panel shows the man, followed by the *panakawan*, using his right hand as if he is pointing to something in front of him; his left hand holds a *lontar*. The right-hand panel shows a landscape filled with trees. Both panels have depictions of *pandan* palms below the upper border. Both reliefs are connected by the winding path which – because of the poor quality of the photo – is not clearly visible in the right-hand panel.

There is a chance that the two slabs match.

### Category 3: Other persons

The panel in Figure 34 shows a *pendopo* in which sit two tiny people, filling the upper half of the height of the panel. The man and the *panakawan* in their usual sizes stand on the right. The panel in Figure 35 shows two figures who are carrying a long object on their shoulders and stand on the left-hand side of a large *pendopo* in which a person seems to be sitting in the left-hand part.





Left: Figure 34. Relief from Trowulan at PIM, depicting a large *pendopo* with two small sitting persons, a man and *panakawan* standing to the right outside of the *pendopo*. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2015 [= OD-2563]).

Right: Figure 35. Relief from Trowulan at MNI, depicting the left part of a *pendopo*, two figures standing to the left of the *pendopo* carrying an object on their shoulders. (MNI 434, OD-1664: URL <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:829582>).

The fact that the panel in Figure 34 is a left-border stone might be an indication that this is the final scene of the journey of the two men. These two panels are also examples of depictions of large *pendopo* in the category “buildings”.<sup>55</sup>

The two panels do not match.



Figures 36 and 37. Work in progress. (Photographs by Lydia Kieven, 2021).

Turning to the open question of the provenance of the convolute of the panels, their different sizes, particularly their heights, underlines the earlier assumption that the panels originally decorated either different sides of one

<sup>55</sup> As mentioned earlier, in several cases the assignment of a depiction to one of the categories can be ambivalent and overlapping.

building or of different buildings. A comparison with the arrangement of the panels on the Pendopo Terrace at Candi Panataran might be useful.<sup>56</sup> The Pendopo Terrace has eighty panels, placed on each of the four sides of the rectangular building. The short southern and northern sides have five respectively six panels each, the long eastern side has thirty-nine panels, the long western side – divided into three sections by the two staircases – has twenty-seven panels.

In this arrangement there are six right border panels and six left border panels. Considering the total of sixty-one Trowulan panels and assuming that about ten or more panels have been lost, the complete number could have been roughly the same as on the Panataran Pendopo Terrace. The building certainly had at least one or two staircases. On a building with one staircase and relief panels on four sides, there would be five right and five left border stones. In the case of two staircases and the relief panels on the four sides – like the Panataran Pendopo Terrace – there would be six right and six left border stones. In either eventuality, the number of extant border panels of the Trowulan reliefs is incomplete. The panels on the Pendopo Terrace at Panataran have different heights, the eastern side and northern side panels are 69 cm and the western side (from left to right) 65, 64, 70 cm, and the southern side 72 cm.<sup>57</sup> In a nutshell, as the Trowulan reliefs also have different heights, they could have come from one building, on which they would have covered different sides. However, it is also still possible that the panels are from different buildings.

The extant border stones of the Trowulan reliefs present the following tentative picture: On the right-hand edge the narration begins with small-sized dwellings or the two men in a landscape. The far-left edge ends with dwellings or a larger *pendopo*. It seems that the two protagonists leave an inhabited or cultivated area and take a long walk through the countryside, heading towards a place at which they enter a village or meet other people; hence, they are going to a certain place. The complete journey is characterized by elements showing landscape, nature, fields et cetera; specific is the path winding through the landscape and marking the connection between the panels and the scenes.<sup>58</sup>

A common characteristic of all reliefs is the mixture of non-naturalistic and naturalistic depictions. Although proportion and perspective are realistic in some cases, especially those of larger buildings, mountains and landscape/natural elements are not in realistic proportion to each other. Some views are frontal; others in bird's eye views. Some elements are depicted in great detail and very naturalistically, among them the cobbled path, bridges and rivers. A few trees seem to be depicted naturalistically, especially the *pandan* palm.<sup>59</sup> In many cases the accurate carving of architectural forms, such as the *umpak* socles

<sup>56</sup> Compare Krom's suggestions on the placement of the panels mentioned above.

<sup>57</sup> I am grateful to Pak Bondan, the former *juru kunci* of Candi Panataran, for taking the measurements for me in May 2021.

<sup>58</sup> A panel depicting the man and the *panakawan* is followed by two panels presenting landscape and nature and dwellings, which are followed by a panel with the man and the *panakawan*. Panels with other persons are interludes.

<sup>59</sup> As mentioned earlier, this article does not offer a study of botanical details.

and ornaments of the ridge – demonstrate the honed expertise of the artists. The man and the *panakawan* are pivotal elements, consistently carved in the same size and with the same attire on all panels.

The iconography and style of the human figures date the reliefs to the fourteenth or fifteenth century. Similar depictions of landscapes are known from other narrative reliefs, for example, at Candi Jawi (end of thirteenth century) and Candi Kendalisodo (circa 1450 CE).<sup>60</sup> Here we find the same kinds of cobbled paths, mountains and trees but these depictions of nature are more detailed than those of the Trowulan reliefs. The reliefs on Candi Jawi in particular exhibit natural elements carved with exquisite delicacy. On Candi Jawi we also find small *pendopo* in the background. The male figure on Candi Jawi shares the same iconography as the one on the Trowulan reliefs but their counterpart on Candi Kendalisodo differs in having the “Panji-cap”-like headdress. The cobbled path winding through the countryside protrudes more on Kendalisodo than on the Jawi reliefs.

The relief series on Candi Jawi (Figures 38 and 39) and Candi Kendalisodo (Figures 40 and 41) tell particular stories. The first is an unidentified narrative and the latter is supposed to depict episodes of a Panji story.<sup>61</sup> In contrast to these, there is some confusion about a certain story-line on the Trowulan reliefs as it seems nothing much is “happening”.



Two reliefs from Candi Jawi:

Left: Figure 38. Relief from Candi Jawi, right border part, depicting a man sitting in a landscape full of mountains, trees, in the background a small *pendopo*. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2009).

Right: Figure 39. Relief from Candi Jawi, depicting a man walking on a cobble stone path, in a landscape full of mountains, trees. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2006).

<sup>60</sup> Kieven 2013: 113-116.

<sup>61</sup> Kieven 2013: 301-310.





Two reliefs from Candi Kendalisodo:

Left: Figure 40. Part of a relief from Candi Kendalisodo, depicting a cobble stone path through mountains, a lake with water spouts. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2019).

Right: Figure 41. Part of a relief from Candi Kendalisodo, depicting a man and a woman standing in a landscape with a cobble stone path along hills. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 1996).



Figure 42. Relief from Candi Jago: scene from the *Kakawin Parthayajna*; Arjuna, hiding behind lush trees, watches Kama and Ratih making love. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2006).

The natural world also features on reliefs which depict *kakawin* stories, for example, on Candi Jago (early fourteenth century) (Figure 42) and Candi Surawana (second half of fourteenth century) (Figure 43). Here, nature is not presented as a complete landscape but has been reduced to details, mostly consisting of single trees. The purpose of the natural elements is to define the setting of the scene in the wilderness and presumably to fill the narrative episodes because of a kind of "horror vacui". Nature provides the background to the episodes which are enacted by human figures. Nature and landscape are not topics in themselves as they are in the Trowulan reliefs.



Figure 43. Relief from Candi Surawana: scene from the *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha*; the heavenly nymphs try to seduce Arjuna who is practicing asceticism on Mount Indrakila. (Photograph by Lydia Kieven, 2006).

#### NATURE IN OLD JAVANESE POETRY

Old Javanese poetry provides a large number of scenes which describe the beauty of landscape. On their journeys, the heroes of the stories or other protagonists, including the poet himself, wander freely in a natural setting. The verses embellish the poem and arouse *langö* – rapture, beauty – in the reader and in the poet, as do erotic scenes and the descriptions of beautiful women. P.J. Zoetmulder (1974) has elaborated extensively on this topic. The earliest and best-known verses on nature are found in Sarga 25 (in particular 25.55-25.105) of the *Ramayana kakawin* of the ninth century, which mention flora and fauna in detail.<sup>62</sup>

There is the Tamasa river: in unison the bees are humming loudly with the *kuwong*,  
 Enjoying the flowers and sprayed with fallen pollen that spreads far over its banks.  
 The slopes of the mountains are covered with the scattered flowers,  
 And any that float downstream always carry away sins if you look – gaze down on it!  
 (Sarga 25.36)

Radiant is the Sarayu - I am overcome with passion when I see it, so lovely and pure.  
 Along the banks are retreats, their ornaments without limit, as the ascetics intend.  
 I see in my mind's eye how the crops are arranged on the dykes, delightfully neat,  
 And the excellent flowers of the *luruk-luruk* have their trees enclosed with a fence of  
 campagi.  
 (Sarga 25.38)

<sup>62</sup> The following quotes from Stuart Robson (2015): *Old Javanese Ramayana*.

The *palasa* tree is fully in bloom but its leaves have already fallen;  
 Its flowers are arranged along its branches - to what could their red colour be compared?  
 It is like the hearts of those overcome with passion, stabbed by Manmatha,  
 That he has put in a row and placed on the tree and thus hung up to dry.  
 (Sarga 25.82)

In the dry fields, clean and level,  
 The *katang-katang* plants are arranged and always in order;  
 The *wunga rumbu* and *rumbi* are inserted in rows,  
 And the thick *wunga landep* are yellow and charming.  
 (Sarga 25.88)

The verses mention hermitages located in natural settings, rivers as sources of spiritual release, flowers as symbols of passion, and well-organized fields.

Numerous other *kakawin* also contain beautiful descriptions of nature. The *Arjunawiwaha* by Mpu Kanwa (eleventh century) describes the journey of the seven *widadari* nymphs to Arjuna's hermitage on Mount Indrakila:

The craggy cliffs above overlooked a ravine, so deep it seemed like the underworld,  
 Waterfalls flung themselves into the depths, bouncing off slippery rocks.  
 (Canto 1:15 a,b).<sup>63</sup>

The *Arjunawijaya* by Mpu Tantular (fourteenth century) relates the journey of the king, the beauty of the countryside littered with hermitages and places of ascetics:<sup>64</sup>

The procession now came to a beautiful scene: an area of dry-fields and rice cultivation;  
 just on the outskirts of the city;  
 a great many people were working there: some harrowing, some making seed plots, others  
 transplanting rice seedlings;  
 on the dikes children were tending many cows, which scattered in all directions  
 [...]  
 After passing through many villages, they came to a charming, splendid pavilion;  
 a large banyan tree with spreading branches grew in the courtyard, birds were fighting  
 over its fruit hanging in abundance;  
 mina birds chattered with each other; reed-warblers noisily darted to one another on the  
 branches; [...].  
 (Canto 22.5-6)

Immediately after passing along the winding mountain road,  
 they descended to a fast running mountain stream, deep, pure and very clear; [...].  
 (Canto 24.1a,b)

Above was the hermitage of the great sage  
 and the convent; on all sides were dry-rice fields;  
 in the neighbourhood of the hamlet were beautiful pavilions;  
 a fountain springing in the front-yard had clear sparkling water.  
 (Canto 23.1)

<sup>63</sup> Robson (2008).

<sup>64</sup> Quotes from S. Supomo (1977 II: 217, 219, 222).



The *Kakawin Sumanasantaka* by Mpu Monaguna (thirteenth century), which narrates the journey of Prince Aja, is another outstanding poem replete with descriptions of beauty in nature, landscape, dwellings, ponds, waterfalls, hermitages, and people (Episodes 4 and 5).<sup>65</sup>

The prince no longer sought his pleasure on the seashore but, without delay, set out on this way to the mountains,  
The fragrance of the *endah* ferns by mountain streams surpassed the perfume of face powder.

[...]

A leaning pandanus covered by creepers was an ideal place which poets frequented to trap birds.

The faultless bough of a *campaka*-tree like a female attendant leant over to gaze into water below her.

[...]

(Canto 37.1a, b; 2a, b)

For a long time, environment descriptions in *kakawin* were considered reflections of Indian life. It was Zoetmulder (1974: 187-188) who stated that it was in fact the real contemporary Javanese environment which underlay the *kakawin* verses: “[...] the poet is presenting a picture of his own country and his own society”.<sup>66</sup> This holds particularly true of the – not Indian-based – *Kakawin Desawarnana / Nagarakrtagama* by Prapanca (fourteenth century),<sup>67</sup> in which the poet Prapanca relates the royal progress of the Majapahit king, Hayam Wuruk, and his entourage around his realm in East Java, describing palaces, villages and religious establishments, mountains, forest and animals. He creates a lively picture of the Javanese world at the time.<sup>68</sup>

*Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa* by Mpu Tanakung (fifteenth century)<sup>69</sup> plays another particular role in Old Javanese literature: It tells the story of a lowly hunter, not a *kshatriya* or member of the aristocracy or a heavenly being as in other *kakawin*. The descriptions of his journey through nature reveal another character which is more realistic and closer to Javanese life. The editors of the *Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa* (A. Teeuw et al. 1969: 46) even suggest a “real” location for the story, the area of the Penanggungan-Arjuna mountain complex in East Java. An intriguing element in the descriptions of landscape and nature is the “idea of viewing the landscape from above” (Teeuw et al. 1969: 46).<sup>70</sup> Quotes from Lubdhaka’s journey illustrate these views. The verses can be directly transferred to the depictions in the Trowulan panels.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Peter Worsley et al. (2013: 121-209).

<sup>66</sup> “Zoetmulder’s discussion of this topic is the most comprehensive so far and has helped to dispel any lingering doubt that ‘the world of the poem’ is not to be located somewhere in India, but in Java” (Supomo 2001: 115).

<sup>67</sup> Robson (1995).

<sup>68</sup> See Th.G.Th. Pigeaud’s outstanding work of 1960-1963.

<sup>69</sup> Teeuw et al. (1969).

<sup>70</sup> Another example is *Arjunawiwaha* 1:15a quoted above.

<sup>71</sup> Teeuw et al. (1969: 46) also makes the comparison between the literary descriptions and the visual depictions on the Trowulan panels.

Canto 2:<sup>72</sup>

## Stanza 4:

His journey took him to the north-east, where the ravines were lovely to look down into;  
The gardens, ring-communities, sanctuaries, retreats and hermitages aroused his wonder.  
There lay large fields at the foot of the mountains, with crops of many kinds growing  
along the slopes;  
A large river descended from the hills, its stream irrigating the crops.

## Stanza 5:

Now there was a village which he also viewed from above, lying below in a valley between  
the ridges.  
[...]

## Stanza 6:

To the west of this were mountain ridges covered with rice-fields, their dikes running  
sharp and clear.  
The gardens were close together and laid out in rows, and the many coconut palms were  
all shaded by mist.  
[...]

## Stanza 7:

To the side of this there was a monastery overlooking a large river, the waters of which  
were deep;  
Its portal stood out pure and clean, and the earthen wall was high, running around it  
without a break.  
[...]

## Canto 3:

## Stanza 1:

A great temple-complex from ancient times rose near a mountain stream, and the path  
there was lonely.  
[...]

## Stanza 3:

The tower-temple soared on high, ant pinnacles served as a gathering-place for weeds;  
[...]

## Stanza 4:

Many of the buildings had fallen in ruins, and all the spouts were choked and flowed  
no more;  
[...]

## Stanza 5:

To the north-east were freshly tended gardens, delighting and refreshing the heart of the  
beholder;  
The steps in the path were overgrown by *kanaka* trees and croton bushes.

## Stanza 9:

*Pandan-wan* trees hung down over the rocks, with an air of sadness, quite wrapped in  
the mist.  
How they longed to be visited by the thunder, which would bring with it the rushing of  
the rain!  
As if downhearted they let their petals droop, petals on which some-one had jotted down  
some poetry in a moment of inspiration:  
For this was admirable as a place for a wandering poet to link together his verses.

<sup>72</sup> The following verses are quoted from Teeuw et al. (1969: 71-75).

## VISUAL DEPICTIONS AND LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS

Many elements in the literary descriptions of the environment and landscapes in Old Javanese poetry equal the visual “descriptions” on the Trowulan reliefs: details such as mountains, plants, ridges, bridges, trees, hermitages, dwellings, fields, and peasants as well as views from above. Nevertheless, it is remarkable that these depictions do not show any animals, particularly birds, which frequently enhance beauty in the texts.

In his discussion of landscape in the *Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa*, Teeuw et al. (1969: 45) points to the correspondence: “[...] we should like to highlight the close relationship between the literary and visual arts of ancient Java. In the past these have often been treated as separate matters, whereas they are not only complementary studies but can be of great assistance in the comprehension one of the other”. I go a step farther by stating that, beyond being merely objects of studies, literature and art themselves are two different kinds of media by which to present a story, each medium conveying a specific function.<sup>73</sup> The performing arts are another medium.<sup>74</sup> One of the focuses in my study of the cap-figures on Majapahit temple reliefs is the analogy between expressions in the literary and the visual media: “The interconnection between the literary and the visual form of art as two different kinds of media for conveying a certain message is in fact crucial to my understanding of ancient Javanese narrative art” (Kieven 2013: 4). Both are specific ways of presenting a story: the story might be written by a poet, told by a story-teller, carved in stone by an artist or performed by a singer or dancer. Many examples illustrate this parallel, such as the *Ramayana* reliefs at Candi Panataran, visualizing episodes from the *Kakawin Ramayana*, and the reliefs at Candi Mirigambar their themes borrowed from the Panji story *Wargasari*. In these cases, there is the transfer of a literary narrative into a visual form. In the case of the Trowulan reliefs, we do not know whether there is a specific narrative underlying the depictions or it is rather an unspecified journey, created independently of a literary source and “only” as a visual presentation.

Undoubtedly, the relief depictions on our panels match situations and details which are described in Old Javanese literature. The verses quoted above show that, for example, the *Siwaratrikalpa* and other *kakawin* correspond to the reliefs in an amazingly detailed way. I repeat a few: “ravines were lovely to look down into”; “gardens, ring-communities, sanctuaries, retreats and hermitages”; “large fields at the foot of the mountains”; “large river descended from the hills”.<sup>75</sup> One particular characteristic feature is the view from above, looking down on the landscape, as described in poetry, which is amply illustrated on the reliefs: they show landscape and nature in a bird’s-eye view.

Another specific motif is the “rice-fields, their dikes running sharp and clear” (*Arjunawijaya* 22.5; *Siwaratrikalpa* Stanza 2.6.). Two panels show little

<sup>73</sup> Kieven 2013: amongst other references pp. 14, 19, 23-25, 331.

<sup>74</sup> Kieven 2013: 47-49, also referring to Edi Sedyawati 1993: 175.

<sup>75</sup> From the *Siwaratrikalpa* (Teeuw et al. 1969). See the verses quoted earlier in this article.



peasant figures and buffaloes working in clustered fields and another panel shows a man who looks as if he is either hoeing or cutting crops (see Figures 21, 22, 23 in paragraph *Category 2: Landscape and fields* above).

A remarkable detail is the *pandan* palm:

"*Pandan-wwan* trees hung down over the rocks, [...] as if downhearted they let their petals droop"; "as a place for a wandering poet to link together his verses".  
(*Siwaratrikalpa* Stanza 9a)

"A leaning pandanus covered by creepers was an ideal place which poets frequented to trap birds".  
(*Sumanasantaka* 37.1a)

The *pandan* palm, characterized by its remarkable form with its pendent fronds, appears on a number of panels, (examples see Figures 3, 19, 20). *Pandan* fronds provided the writing material for the poet, therefore the trees can be considered both an allusion to and a symbol of giving him the inspiration to write his verses. Nature provides a major source of inspiration in the poet's attempt to experience and arouse a vision of beauty for himself and for the reader, in the sense of Zoetmulder's *langö*. *Pandan* palms on several of the Trowulan panels might therefore be understood as a visual allusion to the poet's inspiration-seeking journey.

The panels are filled with depictions of dwellings and rest-houses, as well as palaces and temples, hermitages, some standing alone or in groups and in different sizes. Galestin (1936) provides a guide to identify the various kinds of buildings. The respective architectural structures reflect their specific functions, related to different strata and groups of communities: rest-huts for peasants, villages, hermitages, palaces, and temples. The higher the number of posts (*umpak*) and pillars (four or six or even more), the richer or more important the owner of the *pendopo*. One-pillared small buildings might depict rest-houses (*bale*) in the fields or offering places. An elevated floor supported on posts is an indicator of high status; other pillars directly stand on the ground. The shape of roofs ranges from low- to high-pitched; the latter, elaborately decorated and covered with tiles, in some cases overlapping the sides. Remarkably Galestin identifies many of the buildings as hermitages. On the Trowulan reliefs, clusters of small, almost miniature buildings presented in bird's-eye view, located in the background in between mountains and fields, can be identified as hermitages; these motifs are visualizations of the remoteness of hermitages and depict only complete temple buildings. It seems the reliefs just reproduce scenes of prosperous life and abundant nature.

The correspondence between the relief depictions of landscape on the Trowulan reliefs and the poetic descriptions in the *Kakawin Siwaratrikalpa* is conspicuous. The character of the *Siwaratrikalpa* mirrors the simplicity of the visual depictions of the Trowulan reliefs. In particular, the protagonist Lubdhaka, a lowly hunter, strongly recalls the simple appearance and attire of the walking figure in the reliefs.

The *Kakawin Nagarakrtagama* is another important reference. Rather than being a mythological narration, it refers directly to the historical, political and religious situation of the Majapahit era. The *Nagarakrtagama*, also known as *Desawarnana*, was written by Mpu Prapanca in 1365 CE as an eulogy of King Hayam Wuruk. The poet Prapanca accompanies the king on two long royal progresses around the countryside; the poem unfolds a lively picture of the prosperous, wealthy kingdom during the heyday of Majapahit, describing among other aspects of the kingdom its social and religious life, the countryside and peasants. The king has ensured this prosperity through the auspices of his perfect rule: taking care of his people, taking care of agriculture as the basis for living, taking care of irrigation, supporting religious life, and through donations to religious communities and holy places including hermitages. Hayam Wuruk is the righteous king. The poet Mpu Prapanca is the attestor to and commentator on Hayam Wuruk's progress and therefore of his greatness. The prosperous countryside, dwellings, and religious sites described in the poem correspond to our panel reliefs. Might the man walking around with the *panakawan* and holding a *lontar*-kind object in his hand be interpreted as a poet: As a poet like Prapanca who has witnessed the well-maintained landscape and thriving social and religious life and acts himself as a guide? The repeated depiction of the walking man with the *panakawan* in similar surroundings does indeed create the impression of a long journey.

There is no evidence for a precise dating of the Trowulan reliefs. The narrative reliefs on Candi Jawi and Candi Kendalisodo, as discussed above, demonstrate that the specific way of depicting landscape and the simple style of depictions of the figures was the prevailing style from the late-thirteenth century to the late-fifteenth century. This means that we cannot be more precise in our dating of the origin of the Trowulan reliefs. Since they have been found in the region of Trowulan, the site of the capital of Majapahit, we can assume the early-fourteenth century as the earliest date. In a nutshell, the scenes could be visualizations of Hayam Wuruk's realm or perhaps that of a later Majapahit king. In the latter case, they might have been carved during the historical period of political turmoil in the early-fifteenth century. In this case, the underlying purpose of the decoration of a building in the area of the capital of Majapahit could have been to re-arouse the glory and prosperity of the heyday of Majapahit under King Hayam Wuruk. In any case, the presentation of prosperous, fertile, well-irrigated fields, well-maintained dwellings and temple compounds, and religious life would have been reflections of the king's glory - whether real or imagined.

By and large, the selection of the scenes depicted on narrative temple reliefs is a means to convey a certain message (Kieven 2013: 13). On the Trowulan reliefs, the number of panels depicting landscapes far exceeds, in fact, almost doubles the number of depictions of the two walking figures and of meetings in *pendopo*. Nevertheless, landscape, countryside, and nature are highlighted as major topics, not just as settings for certain narrative scenes. Nature does not witness a narrative, but a person acts as a witness of nature.

Who in fact is the man wandering about the countryside on the Trowulan panels? The major protagonist is the man accompanied by the *panakawan* and, in a minor number of instances, some other figures. Since the exact placement of the specific scenes showing these other persons in the series cannot be determined and since the whole set is incomplete, the issue of a storyline remains an open question. Does the journey depicted even refer to a real landscape in East Java which could be identified, as has been suggested to be the Penanggungan-Arjuna mountain complex for the *Siwaratrikalpa* (Teeuw et al. 1969: 46)?

Many *kakawin* narrate journeys and peregrinations of protagonists and poets. Poets describe themselves as wandering in search of mystical experiences. "The places where one would expect to find poets were always solitary spots of striking beauty, far from the crowds and bustle of court-life" (Zoetmulder 1974: 171). "[...] we have the stereotyped image of the poet as he appears in *kakawins*. There we see him, wandering amongst the beauties of nature, through the mountains with their wooded slopes, their steep ravines and sweeping views, along rivers winding through valleys [...]. It is in such surroundings that he hopes to find inspiration for his poems, and these are the scenes amid which he makes his abode and establishes a hermitage in which he is able to perform ascetic practices".<sup>76</sup>

The purpose of writing the poem was to arouse *langö*, in both the poet and the reader which could be done, among other activities, by describing nature's beauty and erotic interludes. This begs the question of whether the visual presentation of the beauty of nature on the Trowulan reliefs was also intended to arouse *langö*. I assume that the literary expression of imparting *langö* parallels the visual expression. I also suggest that the beauty on the Trowulan reliefs is meant to arouse *langö* in both the viewer and the wandering man who might be the "poet". In this sense, the poetry as a *candi bhasa* (*Arjunawijaya* 1.2b) is transformed into a *candi bhasa* in visual art.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, the reliefs can also be considered as a transposition of the *Nagarakrtagama* expressing the power of the king. These two sides – sacral-esoteric and profane-political – are indeed characteristic of both Old Javanese literature and narrative reliefs, I suggest these two sides are also manifest on the Trowulan reliefs.

A number of scholars have discussed landscape and countryside in Old Javanese literature, a few of them also looking at the visual depictions in ancient Javanese art, in particular the Trowulan reliefs. In his discussion of landscape and beauty, Zoetmulder (1974: 126-187, 187-214) states two major points: the surroundings described in the *kakawin* are based on realistic contemporary Javanese life and do not give a picture of Indian life; the beauty of nature and landscape is a means to coalesce with the realm of the deities. In his study on "landscape in Early Java", Tony Day (1994), on

<sup>76</sup> Zoetmulder 1974: 170, referring to Mpu Panuluh's *Hariwangsa*.

<sup>77</sup> Zoetmulder 1974: 185, 213-214.

several points referring back on Zoetmulder, compares literary descriptions and relief depictions of landscape and nature. By referring to verses from the *Kakawin Ramayana*, *Hariwangsa*, *Sutasoma*, and *Siwaratrikalpa* and looking at relief depictions, he concludes: beauty of the landscape in poetry is (a) a manifestation of the process of unity with the gods and (b) a manifestation of the king's rule. On one hand, the beauty of landscape is part of a religious concept – the mystic and spiritual experience which imparts *langö* as a means of achieving unity with the gods in Zoetmulder's sense; on the other hand, the beauty of landscape is part of a political concept – the experience of beauty as an apotheosis of the rule of a righteous king.

Referring to the "view from above", as described in the *Siwaratrikalpa*, Day (1994: 187) notes that, "Not every representation of a natural scene in early Java implies a view from above, but a significant number do, like the relief of rice fields [...]", and further on: "The point of view in Java is non-naturalistic and symbolic: it is that of the gods or of those who meditate on mountain heights in order to contact divinity". Turning to the reliefs, he argues that although the landscape is not shown in a realistic perspective, other examples of reliefs do show that artists and carvers did indeed know to do this and were capable of depicting perspective in ancient Javanese art.<sup>78</sup>

Adrian Vickers (1999: 36), referring to Day, reasons: "What Day does show is that in the *kekawin* literature, as in the reliefs, nature is viewed from above as it is ordered by the gaze of the poet and sculptor. Both artist and poet act as a proxy for the king whose role it is to regulate nature and turn it into rice-fields (*sawah*), pleasure gardens (*taman*) and other fertile sites of human activity". Further on Vickers (1999: 37) says: "Ancient Javanese representations, Day implies, seek to locate a divine ordering in which people can follow their king, so they observe nature and the way it has been shaped into settlements. People who do this, or who wander in the mountain forests marked out with temples and pleasure pavilions, do so in order that they can take part in the processes of unity with the gods". It is the ideal king who provides the setting for the people searching for unity with the divine. "Landscape in early Java is a record of where its kings have placed their immortal footsteps. What kings made visible as 'landscape' they claimed as a world naturally they own" (Day 1994: 202).

Touching upon another aspect – "nature" vs. "culture", which means the opposition of wilderness vs. cultivation – Day (1994: 198) argues that, "every representation of 'nature' in early Javanese art is already a 'landscape' implying the king's implicit, ordering presence within the natural world". In his study of the *Sumanasantaka*, Peter Worsley (2012) discusses a similar opposition from another perspective by using the categories "society" vs. "wilderness".<sup>79</sup> The journey of Prince Aja, the protagonist of the *Sumanasantasa*, passes through five different spaces: 1. palace, 2. countryside, 3. seashore, 4. forested mountains,

<sup>78</sup> Day does not explicitly mention an example. Here I indicate the depiction of a *kraton* or temple complex on the reliefs on Candi Jawi.

<sup>79</sup> See also Worsley 2005.

5. world of gods (Worsley 2012: 151-152). Palace and countryside represent human society, seashore and forested mountains represent wilderness, before eventually reaching the world beyond. While the countryside is ordered by humans, the wilderness is "beyond the reach of royal authority and courtly decorum. [...] It was also a place of great natural beauty" (Worsley 2012: 155). In this wilderness there are hermitages. As far as I understand Worsley, there is a progress from the cultivated world, proceeding to a higher step which is the untamed world providing experience of asceticism and rapture, reaching the final upper goal of unity with the divine. This is different from the process described by Day whom I understand as stating that it is the king who first orders the world which then provides the possibility to reach unity with the divine.

Beyond the topic of nature and landscape, a look at the essence of the writing of *kakawin* might give further insight. Worsley (2012: 163-164) referring to and summarizing Supomo (1996):<sup>80</sup>

Supomo argues that poets authored their *kakawin* epics in a state of ecstatic rapture (*alangö*) induced by apotheosis with their tutelary deity. What a poet wrote was imbued with the authority of this deity. [...] their poems were *candi bhasa*, 'temples of words' [...]. Kakawin poets were, to use Berg's expression, 'priests of literary magic' whose purpose was to influence their contemporary world - at least those aspects of their contemporary world designated by the allegorical references woven into the fabric of their poetry.

Is the man wandering through cultivated nature and in the wilderness a poet seeking to write a *candi bhasa*? Is he a witness to the prosperity brought by the king's rule?

#### CONCLUSION

My overall question in this article is articulated by Day (1994: 194): "What has motivated the creation of such representations [of landscape] in the first place?" To phrase it in different terms: What are the role and function of the depictions of landscape and the natural world on these reliefs which differ significantly from anywhere else and are to be found nowhere else in ancient Javanese art?

My discussions and considerations provide a tentative picture: There is both a political-profane dimension and a religious-sacral dimension. The reliefs are an illustration of the realm of the king, of his perfect rule, of the wealth and prosperity of the country, his care of his people, as a kind of visual display of the *Nagarakrtagama*. The protagonist walking on his journey through this realm witnesses the order bestowed on wild nature which has

<sup>80</sup> See also Supomo's (2001) article on contemporary life as depicted in the *Sumanasantaka*. Other authors having discussed issues of landscape, countryside, agriculture, nature, contemporary life: N.C. van Setten van der Meer 1979; J. Rigg 1991, Sartono Kartodirjo 1992; Jan Wisseman Christie 1992, 2007; P. Boomgard 2007; Sri Soejatmi Satari 2008, and others; also a few paragraphs in Kieven 2013: 58-59, 113-116.



been tamed and cultivated by the king. The audience, viewing the reliefs follow the protagonists in their walk along the relief series on the walls, are themselves witnessing the perfect rule of the king. This experience will then be transferred when they go on a journey through the countryside themselves and witness the royal power.

The same holds true for the sacral dimension: The protagonist in the relief depictions indicates that both tamed and untamed nature are manifestations of the Divine order and as places in which unity with the Divine through *langö* can be experienced, as a *kawi* does on his journey. Those looking at the reliefs do the same as they walk along the relief series and they will be able to have the spiritual experience when they walk in true nature.

Therefore, in both cases: Nature is the medium through which experience of a higher knowledge is conveyed, transferred through the protagonist as an intermediary who connects the everyday world with a world beyond. Those viewing the relief walls only need to follow and do the same as the protagonists do: Walk through nature, see and feel its beauty, watch, sit down, visit dwellings and hermitages et cetera.

The bird's-eye view emphasizes the experiencing of nature as an entity. In only a few instances does this view direct the eye to specific outstanding natural elements; in most cases it conveys a general glance through which the eye can spot, detect and select details. It offers the viewers many options which can differ from one person to another: Some might be attracted by the dwellings, others by ravines, others by trees, yet others by hermitages, others by the invitation to write verses and seek rapture. Nevertheless, one could not get lost: The connection is the path winding through all depictions, be this along mountains, bridges, dwellings. And one is always guided by the man who sometimes even raises his hand to indicate the path in front of him. The persons on the journey could not get lost.

We cannot determine whether the dichotomy between the profane and the sacral was deliberately intended by the creators of the reliefs. However, based on earlier reasonings (Kieven 2013: 4, 19, 20), I state that visual as well as literary art might always have different levels of functions and symbolism: on a basic level, the "watching" and "reading" might just provide pleasure and, after having stepped through a process, on an advanced level it might arouse deeper insights into certain aspects. Independent of the profane or sacral function of the original site, I suggest that the elaborateness of depictions of nature on the Trowulan reliefs is the key to an interpretation: Nature is its own topic in itself, as it also was in Old Javanese literature, both a means to experience the power of a ruler and to experience spiritual knowledge. This seems to be independent of the original function of the building.

In the walking man, I recognize the same function I ascribe to the Panji figure in the Panji stories reliefs: Panji as an intermediary between the mundane and the supra-mundane world. On the Trowulan reliefs, it is not the narrative which conveys a message but the medium is the natural world itself. The walking protagonist is just a means to attract the attention of and

confront the viewer with the option of a deeper insight. Crucial is the simple character of the man who connects with the common people. The pointing gesture of the male figure can be seen as a simple indicator of his role in directing the visitor to keep going and follow the figure to witness the well-maintained king's realm but can also be seen as pointing to the higher level of experiencing the search of the Divine.

Both Day's perspective of the ideal rule of the king as an immanent prerequisite of the spiritual experience and Worsley's perspective of a continuous process from cultivated via wild nature to the spiritual unity with the Divine can be applied to my understanding of the role of nature on the Trowulan reliefs.

The specific interpretation of the male figure as a poet is just an option which might add to the understanding of the symbolism in the reliefs. By holding the *lontar*, searching for beauty and observing nature to create *langö*, the man acquires inspiration from nature to pen his beautiful verses. The frequent depictions of the pandanus palm could underline the role of the poet. Again, the depiction of the poet has the same function as an intermediary like Panji: He addresses the visitors, prepares and helps them to proceed to a higher level. Literary medium and visual medium correspond with each other.

On a more mundane level, I want to raise another option of interpretation: the male figure could represent a tax-collector *mangilala drawya haji*, who is often mentioned in Old Javanese texts and in inscriptions. He would have held a *lontar* on which to make his notes on the taxes. The *sima* tax collectors had a special status in ancient Javanese society, standing both outside the palace community and outside of the villages (Kieven 2013: 100).<sup>81</sup> Their journey through the countryside would have documented and manifested the rule of the king in a very concrete and profane way.

I consider the *panakawan*, the constant companion of the male figure, as just a typical feature on the narrative reliefs of the East Javanese period, on which he commonly accompanies the protagonist. Here, he might even highlight the folk-like character of the man and emphasize the role of inviting common people to follow the journey.

Concerning the open question of the original site of the panels, I can do no more than present considerations, speculations and suggestions. I recognize the option of a similar arrangement to the arrangement of reliefs on the Pendopo Terrace of Candi Panataran: It also seems reasonable that the original placement of the relief panels was on the sides of a *pendopo* terrace and not on the walls of a sacral temple. We do not know whether the building was part of a temple complex or of the outer court area. Even the confusing data on the find-places and the moves to which the slabs were subjected, noted in the early publications between 1880 and 1923, do not clarify anything. More archaeological information about the site is required.

<sup>81</sup> Wisseman Christie (1986) did extensive research on the topic of *sima* and *mangilala drawya haji*.

Whatever the case may be, the Trowulan reliefs are outstanding, lively presentations of Javanese life in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and present a hymn of praise, be this to the king, society and nature or to the Divine. Hopefully, the many unsolved problems might be seen in the light of opening doors for future research.

#### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BPCB	= Balai Pelestarian Cagar Budaya
MFA	= Boston Museum of Fine Arts
MG	= Paris Musée Guimet
MMT	= Surabaya Museum Mpu Tantular
MNI	= Jakarta Museum Nasional Indonesia
NBG	= Notulen van den Bataviaasch Genootschap
OD	= Dutch Oudheidkundige Dienst
O.V.	= Oudheidkundig Verslag
PIM	= Trowulan Pusat Informasi Majapahit
RAK	= Amsterdam Rijksmuseum
ROD	= Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië

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## APPENDIX

*List of OD photos, used in the article, and corresponding inventory numbers at MNI, which are based on the catalogue by Groeneveldt 1887*

OD photo number	Inventory number in Groeneveldt	Height following Groeneveldt in cm	Notes
1653	423	67	additional photo: OD-273, only showing the right part of the panel
1654	424	67	
1655	425	69	additional photos: OD-275: nos 426 and 427 next to each other
1656	426	68	
1657	427	68	
1658	428	67	
1659	429	67	
1660	430	69	
1661	431	68	
1662	432	68	
1663	433	69	
1664	434	67	
1665	435	70	
1666	436	67	identic with OD-274
1667	436a	--	
1668	436b	--	
1669	436c	--	
1670	436d	--	number written on the bottom of the panel: 436
1671	436e	--	

## References concerning data about the reliefs from Trowulan (screenshots)

NBG 1880:

c. Deelt mede dat de collectie beelden enz., van den Heer SCHEEPMAKER te Soerabaja afkomstig, thans, voor zooveel de oudheden betreft door hem, en wat de munten enz. aangaat door den Heer Mr. J. H. VAN DER CHYS is nagegaan, waarbij gebleken is, dat alles overeenkomstig den door Dr. VAN LIMBURG BROUWER opgemaakten inventaris is geleverd.

De oudheden bestaan uit:

- a. 14 steenen beelden,
- b. 20 andere voorwerpen van steen,
- c. 15 basreliefs,
- d. 12 bouwkundige ornamenten,
- e. 14 tempajans van gebakken aarde,
- f. 2 kruiken van gebakken aarde,
- g. 9 potten van gebakken aarde,
- h. 10 schotels en kommen van gebakken aarde,
- i. 1 beeldje van verguld brons, vermoedelijk Parvati,
- j. 1 bronzen schild met medaillons,
- k. 3 bronzen schoteltjes,
- l. 10 bronzen klankstaven van een *saron*,

W.P. Groeneveldt (1887)

Langs dezelfde wegen is de verzameling sedert weder belangrijk in omvang toegenomen, zoodat ze nu zeker ruim driemaal zoo groot is, als toen Friederich ze beschreef. Voornamelijk dient vermeld te worden de aankoop door de Regeering der collectie van den Heer Scheepmaker te Soerabaja (zie Notulen 1880 pag. 147, waar het cijfer 14 der steenen beelden als 147 moet gelezen worden). Die collectie, bestaande uit bijna 200 beelden en andere voorwerpen van steen, 45 stuks aardewerk en eenige diverse voorwerpen, meestal in Oost-Java (ongelukkig echter zonder nadere aanwijzing van herkomst) bijeenverzameld, is voor het grootste deel in onze verzameling ingelijfd.

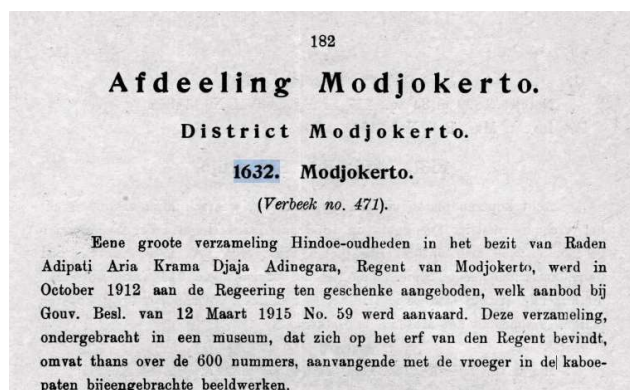
GEWESTEN.	Steenen beelden 1-341	Andere steenen voorwerpen 342-464b	Metalen beelden 481-779	Andere metalen voorwerpen 780-1856
Kadoe	45	4	17	12
Madioen	8	6	11	21
Kediri	6	—	3	27
Oost-Java in het algemeen (collectie Scheepmaker)	73	42	1	2
Madura Sumatra's				

*Catalogue inventory numbers:*

423. Basrelief. Rechts een torenvormig gebouw (stoêpa?) en daarbij twee opene gebouwtjes van twee verdiepingen (wihara's?). In het midden wegen met groote steenen en eene kronkelende beek, waarover op twee plaatsen een brug van drie naast elkaar liggende boomstammen of groote bamboes. Links rijstvelden, een omheind dorp en boomen. Breed 96, hoog 68. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
424. Id. Twee omheinde dorpen tegen een berg met een oplopend voetpad van groote steenen. Breed 40, hoog 68. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
425. Id. Berg, waarop twee dorpen, hoog aan een steilen weg van groote steenen gelegen. Breed 41, hoog 69. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
- 426 en 427. Id. bestaande uit twee aan elkander passende stukken. Links een dorp en daarboven een tempel. Hooger op nog twee dorpen en verder rijstvelden. Te zamen breed 70 en hoog 68. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
428. Id. Rijstvelden te gen een berg, en daartusschen een weg van twee rijen groote steenen; onder en boven boomen. Breed 37, hoog 67. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
429. Id. Beneden een beek, waarover eene brug van drie boomstammen [130] naast een grooten boom. Boven een dorp met boomen en rijstvelden. Breed 37, hoog 67. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
430. Basrelief. Links een huis met eene buitengalerij, waarin eene zittende persoon (van te groote afmetingen, zoodat het hoofd het dak raakt). Rechts tegen een berg een pisang-tuin met omheining van gevlochten latten. Breed 41, hoog 69. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
431. Id. Landschap, waarin op den voorgrond twee personen, de eerste groot, de tweede klein (heer en dienaar?), achter elkaar loopend. Breed 42, hoog 68. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
432. Id. Twee gebouwtjes, een huis en een open koepel, op neuten eenigszins van den grond gebouwd. Breed 33, hoog 68. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
433. Id. Twee personen, een groot en een klein (heer en dienaar?), achter elkaar loopend op een voetpad, met een berg en dorpen op den achtergrond. Breed 39, hoog 69. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
434. Id. Rechts een gedeelte van een groot huis en links een kleiner; daartusschen op den voorgrond twee personen, die te zamen een lang peervormig voorwerp (zak?) aan een stok dragen. Breed 32, hoog 67. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
435. Id. Beneden een boom waaronder personen zitten; boven dorpen en geboomte. Breed 35, hoog 70. — Collectie Scheepmaker.
436. Id. Tempel met inspringenden trap. Daarnaast eene omheinde ruimte met een poort als toegang en meerdere kleine gebouwtjes er in. Breed. 54, hoog 67. — Collectie Scheepmaker.<sup>49</sup>

*F.D.K. Bosch (1915)*

*ROD 1915: 182*





ROD 1915: 183

Lit.

- Krom. Eenige gegevens over de Hindoe-oudheden van Oost-Java (naar het MS. van Hageman, 1861—68) Bijdr. Tl. Ld. en Vlkk v. N. I. deel 72 (1916) p. 444 en noot 1.  
 Notulen 1893 p. 85 en Bijl. XVIII No. 721b.  
 Vorderman, Bijdragen tot de kennis der Oudheden van Java, Tijdschr. Bat. Gen. XXXVI (1893) p. 494 sq.  
 Notulen 1899 p. 11, 76, 141, 142, 171 en Bijl. XX No. 392g.  
 Notulen 1900 p. 22.  
 Knebel, Beschrijving der Hindoe-oudheden in de afd. Madjakertá, Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1907 p. 18 sq.  
 Notulen 1910 p. 98.  
 Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1911 p. 20, 21, 22, 27, 31 sq. en pl. 163—165.  
 Rapp. Oudh. Comm. 1912 p. V en pl. 9. Over stichting van een Museum te Modjokerto en aanbieding aan de Regeering.  
 Oudh. Versl. 1912 p. 78 en 79.  
 Krom in Notulen 1913 p. 68 c. Over basreliefs uit de coll. Scheepmaker.  
 Oudh. Versl. 1913 p. 35 sq., 65 en 94.  
 Oudh. Versl. 1914 p. 4 sq., 58, 60, 61, 207 en 208.  
 Oudh. Versl. 1915 p. 5, 70 en 71.  
 Oudh. Versl. 1916 p. 85 sq.; 88 sq. Over aanwinsten.  
 Catalogus Mus. Modjokerto No. 160, 169, 170, 171, 172, 177—179, 183—185, 202, 203, 301, 302, 334, 380—382 en 403.  
 Invent. Mus. Bat. No. 3671 en 4010.  
 Abklatsch O. B. No. 238—241, 244 en 249.

ROD 1915: 185

**1637. Trawoelan.**

(Verbeek no. 460).

Op een ommuurde begraafplaats, die aan elke zijde een gapoera heeft, het graf van „Poetri Tjampa”. Aan het voeteneinde een steen met het jaartal 1370 Çaka. Op een afzonderlijke begraafplaats het graf van Brawidjaja, bij een ander graf twee lingga's als grafsteenen. Op een heuvel van steenen met aarde overdekt stond vroeger een Rakṣasa, Menak Djingga genaamd, thans in het Museum te Modjokerto, evenals een vrouwenbeeld (kinnari?) dat zich ter zelfder plaatse bevond. Op een plek genaamd Koeboeran panggoeng (vgl. Verbeek No. 459) een slecht onderhouden tjoengkóeb op een heuveltje, te bereiken langs een trap van Madjapahit-steenen. Van een zeer grooten vijver (segaran) is alleen hier en daar een stuk van de beschoeiing overgebleven. Een beschreven steentje van 1325 Çaka, opgegraven in de sawah, en een onbekend bronzen beeldje (vierhoofdig) opgegraven in een riettuin, opgenomen in het Museum te Batavia. 19 basreliefs, door het Genootschap aangekocht uit de collectie Scheepmaker, zijn ook van Trawoelan afkomstig. In het Museum

ROD 1915: 196-197

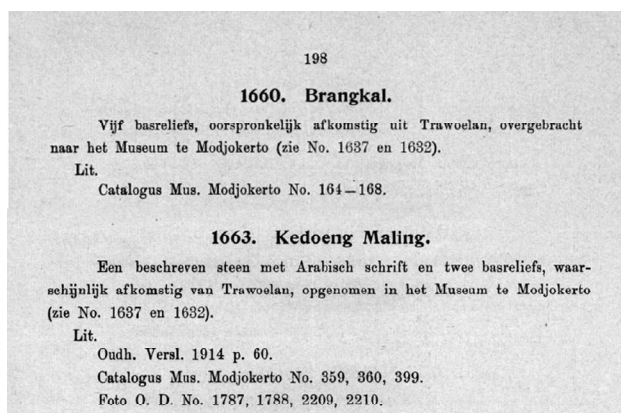
**1655. Wates Oempak.**

Op een heuveltje te midden der sawah's vele roode Madjapahit-steenen. Twee baksteenen, een met een wajang-figuur, de andere met ornament, vier basreliefs, een fragment van een tempeltje, een Polynesisch beeld (bovengedeelte), een geornamenteerde steen, een dito neut, een vrouwenbeeld als spuijer en een geornamenteerde aarden lingga, opgenomen in het Museum te Modjokerto, benevens een neut. Drie basreliefs van Trawoelan (zie No. 1637) hebben een tijd lang in deze desa gestaan.

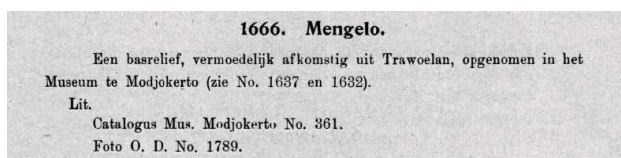
Lit.

- Catalogus Mus. Modjokerto No. 251, 253, 427, 683—690, 726, 734.  
 Foto O. D. No. 1773—1775.

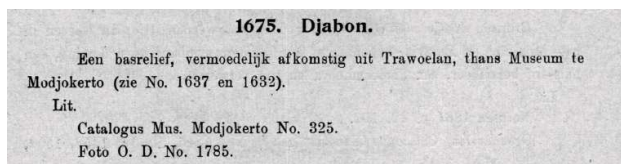
ROD 1915: 198



ROD 1915: 199



ROD 1915: 200



Eveneens van Trawoelan afkomstig (al staat de juiste plaats niet vast) is een merkwaardige reeks reliefs (bv. plaat 67), oorspron-

hoofd-motief, verder den makara met opgeheven en naar voren gekrulde slurf, dan een gevleugelde schelp, ook een pauw met wijd uitgespreide vlerken. Dan zijn er nog dierpanelen en andere versierde fragmenten, die een hoog denkbeeld geven van de kunst van dit monument. Naar hetzelfde museum zijn de twee groote beelden overgebracht, die eenmaal op deze steenmassa stonden, en die, gelijk blijkt uit den vorm en de behakking aan de achterzijde, niet als losse stukken bij het monument geprikt hebben, maar deel hebben uitgemaakt van den bouw, waar zij uit de wanden naar voren traden. Het grootste, 1.41 M. hoog (de voeten ontbreken), hetwelk in den volksmond bekend is als Menak Djingga, de populaire Rooie Roofridder, stelt een gevleugelden rākshasa voor. Het gelaat is geheel monsterkop, met uitpuilende oogen en grijnzenden bek met slaganden; het haar golft in krullen achter den diadeem. De kleeding is het vorstelijk ornaat met alle gebruikelijke versierselen; een slang doet dienst als kastekoord en de rechterhand omvat een dolk, terwijl de linker een kleedlip vasthoudt. Breed staan de vleugels naar buiten uit, geornamenteerd met in spiralen gewonden ranken tusschen sierlijke randen, terwijl verder naar boven, naar beneden en naar opzij, de uitstekende veeren den geheelen achtergrond vullen. Daar de aangrenzende steenen, waarop zich de vleugels en veeren hebben voortgezet, verloren zijn, gaat van het beeld slechts ten deele de indruk uit, dien de beeldhouwer gewild heeft; toch is het ook zoo een ware koning der verschrikking. Het andere beeld, iets kleiner, is dat eener kinnari, met het bovenlichaam eener vrouw. Ook zij is rijk versierd; het hoofd wendt zij op bevallige wijze zijwaarts. Hoewel deze figuur niet rechtstreeks in verband staat met den Menak Djingga, als welks pendant zij geldt, bewijst haar bewerking, dat beide beelden ongetwijfeld van het zelfde monument deel hebben uitgemaakt, een monument, dat zeer zeker ook de plaats van herkomst is der bovenbesproken hoekstukken. Alles is van een geheel overeenkomstige kunstopvatting, waar wij zoo straks wat meer van zullen zeggen.

Eveneens van Trawoelan afkomstig (al staat de juiste plaats niet vast) is een merkwaardige reeks reliefs (bv. plaat 67), oorspron-

kelijk lange, aan één stuk doorlopende, teerlingversiering van een tempel-soubasement uit andesiet, thans in de samenstellende steenblokken uiteengevallen en gedeeltelijk in het museum te Batavia, gedeeltelijk in dat te Madjakēta terecht gekomen. Dat is wel jammer, want hoewel de reeks allerminst compleet is — hetgeen men reeds daaruit ziet, dat er slechts twee steenen met afsluiting door een vlakken post rechts en twee met afsluiting links bij zijn, terwijl wij bij een monument met een versiering als bv. Tjandi Djawi minstens drie versierde wanden, en dus zes afsluitingen te verwachten hebben — zijn er toch bijeenbehorende gedeelten te vinden, en die zijn dan soms juist over beide musea verdeeld<sup>1)</sup>. Het is niet meer mogelijk de geheele reeks te reconstrueeren, nog daargelaten, dat bij de stukken, welke wij met behulp der foto's als bijeenbehorend opvatten, toch nog nameting en onderzoek van de origineelen noodig zou zijn om tot definitieve resultaten te komen. Doch wel valt er iets te zeggen over het typische karakter van het hier weergegevene. Voor een groot deel is er een tocht van enkele personen voorgesteld door een zeer gevarieerd landschap; men ziet den weg zich kronkelen door bergen en bosschen, rivieren zijn overbrugd, ook bewerkte velden en dorpen worden gepasseerd, en desgelijks zijn er steden afgebeeld.

Het is begrijpelijk van welk een belang dat alles is: men krijgt hier Java voor zich, zooals het er toen ter tijde uitzag. Een tjanđi-bēntar, juist opgezet als Wringin-lawang, geeft toegang tot het terrein van een heiligdom, welks muren bastion-monumentjes dragen en waarop allerlei bouwwerken staan; een waterdoorlaat tusschen twee torentjes regelt den loop der rivier; ompaggeerde velden dragen hun gewas, de landbouwer is met zijn ossen aan het werk, sawah's en tēgalan's zijn te onderscheiden, evenals de woningen der landelijke bevolking en de paleizen der groote stad, met hun complexen van pēndapa's, paviljoenen en andere gebouwen, door muren en poorten van elkander gescheiden. Ook de bergtafereelen zijn leerrijk, en wel vooral omdat men hier, zij het nog slechts in

<sup>1)</sup> Bv. Madij. 173 en Bat. 436; M. 175 en B. 429.