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The Oldjavanese bathing place Jalatunda

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THE OLDJAVANESE BATHING PLACE JALATUNḌA

PREFACE

The following more or less loosely connected chapters dealing with the bathing place Jalatunḍa were intended originally as part of a comprehensive monograph on the monument, to be composed by the present author and, insofar as the architectural part was concerned, by the Inspector of the Archaeological Service in the Netherlands East Indies, B. de Haan. Unfortunately, his all too early death in 1930, followed by the economic depression which entailed a practically complete dismantling of the Archaeological Service, prevented the execution of this plan for a number of years. So, in 1945 and 1948, in order to avoid 'making the best the enemy of the good', I published two finished chapters of the projected work,¹ expecting to publish the remaining ones shortly after. However, owing to various circumstances, the revision of these chapters and preparing them for the press had to be delayed till after my retirement so that only now they see the light.

In the meantime an important change in the original project had occurred. Whereas my intention had been to include in the monograph a discussion of the location of Jalatunḍa in the whole of ancient Javanese art, this ambitious undertaking was replaced by a more modest one: a discussion of the problem of the continuity of that art. This change was necessitated by the fact that for the location in question it would have been inevitable to inquire into the relation of Jalatunḍa not only to the art of Central Java, but also to that of the eastern part of the island. As to the former, no serious difficulties were encountered, thanks to the availability of a sufficient number of data allowing to trace that relation pretty accurately. With regard to East Java, however,

¹ *De spuierreliefs van Djalatoenḍa, Cultureel Indië*, VII, 1945, pp. 7-42; *De laatste der Pāṇḍava's, BKI*, 104, 1948, pp. 541-563 (= *The Oldjavanese bathing place Jalatunḍa*, I. *The Reliefs*; II. *The last of the P.* in: *Selected Studies in Indon. Archaeology*, 1961, pp. 4-107).

the situation was quite different. The question whether the art which has flourished here is connected in some way or other with that of Jalatuṇḍa, would necessarily have led to a comparative study which, for lack of much-needed preparatory investigations in this field, would have involved practically all problems of the origin and evolution of that art throughout a period of five centuries — a study which would have carried me far beyond the scope of the present work. So it is mainly the continuity of Oldjavanese art which I have had in view when placing the style of the architecture and sculpture of the bathing place against the background of the preceding art of Central Java, while the problem of the location of Jalatuṇḍa in the whole of Oldjavanese art was only touched upon in cases where the subjects treated pointed plainly and convincingly in an eastern direction.

As a matter of fact, the present publication and the articles mentioned above do not form a self-contained whole showing the significance of the monument to full advantage. They have to be supplemented in the first place by Stutterheim's important essay on the bathing place as a means of expressing a profound symbolism,² and, secondly, by Pott's explanation of the meaning of one of the most important parts of the sanctuary: the top-piece of the central terrace.³ Yet, as all this would still have remained incomplete without an architectural description of the monument, I have availed myself of this opportunity to publish De Haan's description of it written in 1923, supplemented and modified in accordance with the particulars, especially pertaining to the central terrace, which have become known since 1923.

De Haan's description was accompanied by a set of architectural drawings, the blueprints of which were most obligingly placed at my disposal by Mr. R. Soekmono, the present Director of Archaeology in Indonesia. In addition to the reproduction of one of these in fig. 2, I have ventured to make a drawing of the front view of the central terrace as it must have appeared in its original state when the cone-shaped top-piece was still in place (fig. 3). This drawing has been based on the cross-section of the terrace published by Stutterheim in 1937 after his recovery of the top-piece in Trawas.

Insofar as the above mentioned expedients might be deficient in giving an adequate idea of the high standard of tenth century Javanese

² W. F. Stutterheim, *Het zinrijke waterwerk Djalatoeṇḍa*, TBG, 77, 1937, pp. 214-250.

³ P. H. Pott, *Yoga en Yantra*, 1946, pp. 37 ff.

art of which Jalatunda is the sole exponent, reference must be made to the more graphic representations of that art given by the photographs, several of which are published here for the first time.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to Professor A. J. Bernet Kempers, former Director of Archaeology in Indonesia, for his kindly placing at my disposal the notes he made on Jalatunda while he was in office.

I. THE ARCHITECTURE

(BASED ON DE HAAN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT)

Introduction

The bathing place Jalatunda is situated in a rather out of the way spot: in one of the woods covering the western slope of the Gunung Penanggungan, about 50 km to the south of Surabaya and 25 km to the south-east of Mojokerto. According to accounts of early visitors, the monument was very difficult to reach, but at present it is easily accessible on horseback or on foot by two routes: starting from Trawas past the desas Penanggungan and Sendang, or starting from Ngara past the desas Sedati, Srigading, and Bliting.

As appears from Wardenaar's drawing made about 1815 (Pl. 2), and from the descriptions by more recent visitors, the monument has been long in a deplorable condition of decay which is not surprising considering its centuries of exposure to the destructive forces of the huge trees and the thick brushwood which had grown on and round it and with their roots had wrenched the stones from their joints, destroying elsewhere large parts of the walls by dragging them along in their fall.

Nevertheless, the poor condition of the bathing place, noticed by the first visitors, cannot be imputed to nature alone. Who was it that levelled the western wall of the main basin to the ground? Who dugged up from that basin the stones fallen off from the central terrace and threw them carelessly on one big heap? And who removed the spouts from the central terrace and placed them in a row along the western side of the main basin (see Krom, *Inleiding*, III, pl. 46), so that all subsequent visitors were led to believe that these pieces belonged there? Most probably they were the same Moslem fanatics who knocked off the heads of the human figures represented on the spout reliefs.

Fig. 1. Plan of the bathing place. *a* main basin; *bb* corner basins; *c* first terrace with spouts; *d* second terrace with spouts; *e* top-piece.

After the first survey of the monument in 1920 had shown that a huge banyan tree had shot up on the eastern wall, endangering the upper part of it with its inscription, and that the northern and southern walls were so perilously inclining forward as to be on the point of falling into the main basin, the necessary repairs were made in 1921 and 1923. Following the removal of the vegetation, the northern corner basin was completely repaired and the central terrace as far as possible; the inscription, originally on the northern part of the back-wall and found again in 1921, was brought back to its former place, and a number of fragments of the throne were replaced in the axis of the monument.

Although the exploration of the site had revealed important data on the structure and decoration of the bathing place, too many parts of it were missing to allow application of the method of reconstruction which was carried out successfully elsewhere. So all that remains of Jalatunḍa is a dismal ruin giving the present visitor but a faint idea of the monument as it was ten centuries ago, and even more difficult it must be for him to imagine the beauty it would have acquired if its planner could have finished his work in all details.

The outer walls

The monument is cut out of the mountain side as it were, and is situated exactly on the points of the compass, with its front turned to the west. The water basin measuring 16.70 by 11.60 m and forming the ground-plan of the bathing place was originally enclosed by four walls, three of which partly stand on end (Pl. 3-5). As De Haan's investigation has borne out, there is no adequate foundation under these apparently massive walls. What must pass for it is limited to one course of bricks resting upon a course of boulders. So the alarming sagging of the walls is less surprising than their holding out somehow for ten centuries. This they did notwithstanding the fact that their interior, too, is far from solid, especially the lower part. This part consists of an outer and an inner wall with a filling of brick and earth, no lying stones having been used for connecting these walls firmly. In this respect, the much narrower upper part of the walls shows better workmanship. Here the width of the courses of lying stones equals the width of the wall so that an adequate connection is ensured.

The eastern, most important wall, constituting the background of the sanctuary and separating it from the outer world, is treated in a sober way. The plain surface is interrupted only by a broad cornice and by two inscriptions placed on slabs protruding slightly and chiselled in stylized characters 0.60 m high. The first of these, on the southern half of the wall, represents the date 899 (śaka), and the other, on the northern half, reading *gěmpěng*,⁴ was recovered and restored to its original place in 1921.

At present, the back-wall is crowned by the cornice just mentioned, but originally it was higher as appears from Wardenaar's drawing (Pl. 2), where, above the cornice, a substantial piece of plain wall can be seen. In spite of the inferior quality of this drawing — in which i.a. the cornice is placed too low — there is no reason to doubt its reliability on this point. In the first place it is evident that the upper part of the throne, in the axis of the monument, was originally encased in the wall as its lower part actually is. Moreover, the existence of the wall's

⁴ Of the various explanations of this word proposed in the course of time, the most likely is that of F. H. van Naerssen who pointed to a place named Gěmpěng, situated in the neighbourhood of Bangil near the coast of East Java, and mentioned in an inscription published by him (*Oudjav. oorkonden in Duitsche en Deensche verzamelingen*, 1941, p. 75). Unfortunately, if the inscription actually refers to that place, it remains unexplained what connection it has with the event leading to the foundation of the bathing place in 899 (śaka). See also Th. P. Golestin, *Hiranyagarbha*, 1964, p. 77.

upper part is proved by the fact that one stone is still seen to be lying on the still existing part (Pl. 3, to the right of the throne). Although Wardenaar's drawing does not inform us about the height and the coping of the wall, we may assume that the missing part was as high as the part still extant, and that it was crowned by a cornice composed of the large coping stones a number of which were found in the heap of stones on the western side of the main basin.

Of the southern wall of the basin only the eastern half reveals a part of its original construction. This half formerly met the back-wall just beneath the cornice halfway up its original height, while its other extremity came to a dead end against the rear of what Brumund has called a 'turret', but is actually a pilaster buttressed against this extremity and only slightly higher than the wall (Pl. 9a, b). From this pilaster, the wall continued on a lower level, sloping downwards towards the west where it joined the western wall on a level which cannot be determined. There are no indications that there have been more pilasters than the one still extant and its pendant in the (missing) part of the northern wall, so that Brumund's supposition that the wall had turrets at regular intervals is not admissible.

The only nearly finished detail of the pilaster is shaped as the upper half of a lotus-cushion, while its lower part probably had still to be hewn out of the undecorated square block of stone underneath. The cushion is topped by a crudely sculptured, spherical crowning piece the front and upper side of which are flattened which may point to an intention of placing one or more objects in front and/or on top of it. According to De Haan, it is not impossible that, for occupying one of these places, the beautiful top-piece of Pl. 1 — to be dealt with later — comes into consideration. Of course, lacking the necessary supporting evidence, this supposition cannot be accepted without reserve.

Though the eastern part of the northern wall has fallen down almost completely and its western part, too, is badly damaged, the rigorously symmetric layout of the bathing place makes it certain that this wall was the exact counterpart of the southern one, and that its eastern part also ended in a pilaster.

As we noted, already, the western wall was levelled to the ground by one of the first visitors, obviously on purpose. All that we know of it is at what level the water flowed out of the main basin, this being indicated by the drain still found in its original place.

There remains the puzzling question whether or not there were one or more entrances in the wall giving access to the main basin. When excavating the foundation of the wall, De Haan noticed that there was nowhere an enlargement forming the base of a stepping stone leading to a possible entrance. This, in addition to the fact that in the surface of the foundation there is a groove made to fit the teeth of a superposed layer of stones, two of which, 0.40 m high, were found again during the excavation, shows clearly that with this layer a level was attained that, without the help of a stepping stone, could not be ascended or descended properly. Though these indications form no watertight proof of the absence of entrances, they do make such absence highly probable.

The corner basins

In the walled-in main basin three parts jut out: two basins in the north- and southeastern corners and, in the axis of the monument, the central terrace which is considerably larger (fig. 1).

Of these basins the northern one was in desperate condition. The foundations of the southern and western walls had almost wholly sunk away and the walls themselves had crumbled down to a large extent. During the repairs executed in 1923 the foundations were renewed, the southern wall was repaired for the greater part and the western one as far as possible. The necessary data for these works were found at the junction of the eastern and northern walls where the projection of the wall, the height of the frieze, and the width and profile of the cornice could easily be determined.

The inside measurements of the basin, 2.45 by 1.75 m, are much smaller than the big volume of the outer walls, nearly 1 m in width, would suggest. The upper part of the western wall was left open in the middle, so as not to obstruct a view of the back-wall with its garuḍa-figure. The width of that opening could not be determined exactly by means of the still existing parts; probably it equalled that of the southern basin which gives the necessary certainty on this point.

During the excavation of the site no stones were found belonging to the upper part of the back-wall of the basin, so that all hope of restoring it in its original form must be given up. As a matter of fact, the most important part of the wall is the garuḍa-figure put up 1.44 m above the floor-level of the basin and serving as a spout (Pl. 7a). Originally, on either side of it there were two other spouts; the northern one has fallen down, and the southern one is still present in the shape of a square block of stone slightly rounded off at the edges.

The basin in the southeastern corner of the main basin is somewhat larger than the northeastern one. For the rest it is its exact counterpart. At the beginning of the restoration, its condition was still reasonably good so that only those parts needed repair where the walls had sagged or were put out of joint.

The major difference between the two basins lies in the treatment of their back-walls (Pl. 7). At the southern basin, the place of the garuḍa is occupied by a nāga-figure placed in a niche composed of roughly hewn, upwards receding blocks of stone topped by a three-pointed crowning piece. On either side of this niche there are square blocks of stone shaped like those flanking the garuḍa, but not serving as spouts. They are placed under the bases of two chaṇḍi-like little structures consisting of a square body and a three-pointed crowning piece, and showing in the middle of the front an opening formed by two triangles through which one looks into an empty space. Right over the niche containing the nāga-figure, there is a much smaller, rectangular niche crowned by a lintel which on both sides reaches beyond the sideposts and is adorned with a medallion in the middle

Fig. 2. Cross-section of the central terrace.

Fig. 3. Front view of the central terrace.

The central terrace

This terrace is nearly square and its western wall projects 5.65 m into the main basin (fig. 1; Pl. 4 and 5). From the base upwards the walls show: a flat plinth, a slightly receding list, and a high layer of stones decorated full length with rock ornament, except for the northeast corner where the ornament is lacking, and the adjacent panel where only its contour is indicated (Pl. 4). With this layer begins the vertical division of the terrace walls in alternating projecting broad panels and receding narrow incisions, a division which is continued in the next three courses of flat stones and finally reappears in the spouts crowning the terrace walls.

Of the two inscriptions belonging to the terrace, the first one, reading *udayana*, is still in its original place, i.e. in the southeast corner of the

terrace, on the third layer of flat stones mentioned above (fig. 2, Pl. 6), whereas, at first, the place of the second inscription, recovered in 1923 and reading *mragayavatī*, could not be ascertained. Although it was evident that it must have belonged to the same layer of stones as the udayana-inscription, because its dimensions and type of characters were the same, it was also clear that it could not have been its counterpart, in which case it should have been placed in the northeast corner of the terrace. This was impossible, because the original stones were still present in that part of the wall. In the meantime, it could be proved on architectural grounds that the inscription could only be located in the southern wall of the terrace. Subsequently, this was confirmed in a welcome way when the explanation of the spout reliefs had revealed that both inscriptions had served as captions to the reliefs placed right above them, in this case to one of the two scenes represented on the south side of the terrace (reliefs nos. XIV and XV) in which a princess, named Mṛgāvatī (the Mragayavatī of the inscription) is the principal character.⁵

As to the placing of the spouts, it has already been pointed out that, before the beginning of the restoration, they stood in a row at the west side of the main basin, thus suggesting to all previous visitors of Jalatuṇḍa that they served to drain the water of this basin. Curiously enough, none of these visitors ever remarked that in the southeast corner of the central terrace, right above the Udayana-inscription, there was an ornamented stone provided with a spout opening and standing on the wall of the terrace in what apparently was its original place. Now the pair of small feet visible on this stone and obviously belonging to a human figure, proved to fit exactly one of the pieces lining the west side of the basin by which it was proved not only that the stone in question formed a whole with that piece (Pl. 6), but also that all the spouts on the west side of the basin had originally been placed on top of the walls of the terrace.

⁵ *Cult. Ind.*, VII, pp. 15 ff., 20 ff. (= *Sel. Stud.*, pp. 61 ff., 66 ff.). — Recently, Gālestin called attention to the fact that in Budhasvāmin's *Bṛhatślokaśaṃgraha*, which may be dated in the 8th or 9th century, the form Mṛgayavatī occurs which evidently stands much nearer to the word *mragayavatī* found at Jalatuṇḍa than the Mṛgavatī of the Kathāsaritsāgara. This might point to a version of the story followed by the sculptor which had the form Mṛgayavatī as the name of Udayana's mother (*Hiraṇyagarbha*, p. 73). No doubt this suggestion is much more likely to solve the problem than my own conjecture that the name of the inscription might be taken as an abortive attempt at sanskritization of a name derived from some unknown Indian dialect.

On architectural grounds it could further be established that the total number of spouts had been sixteen, and that five of them had been placed at the north and south sides, four at the west side, and two at the north- and southwest corner of the terrace (fig. 1). Out of this number, the spouts at the northwest corner and the two adjacent ones at the north and the west side (V, VI, VII) are missing.

For an explanation of the relief scenes on the spouts it was of crucial importance to ascertain their original sequence. For this purpose a curious method could be used. During the excavation of the muddy bottom of the main basin, a small head of a human figure was found at the west side of the terrace, close by its plinth. This led to a thorough investigation the result of which was that, beside many other fragments including noses, mouths, cheeks, foreheads, and other parts of human faces, sixteen small heads were discovered which proved to fit as many figures in the reliefs. So the finding-places of these fragments made it possible to establish approximately the sequence of the reliefs. For instance: close to the middle of the southern wall of the terrace four small heads were found: two of a man, one of a woman and one with a diadem, which proved to belong to the persons in the relief representing the abduction of a princess by a garuḍa. Hence it could be assumed that this relief had stood right over the place where these fragments were found, and that it had been the XVth of the series. Afterwards the placing of the reliefs as deduced from these indications could be verified and amplified by means of the explanation of the scenes represented on the reliefs, so that, finally, with only one exception, the original sequence of the pieces was established beyond any doubt.

The second terrace

What none of the early visitors to Jalatunda could have guessed is that the terrace as they saw it had once served as the base of a much smaller one. This only became apparent when, during the restoration, out of the parts found on the site, this terrace could be reconstructed (Pl. 8a). From this it appeared that it had in common with the first terrace the crowning of the walls by spouts, here three on each side and four at the corners. As these pieces are unfinished and badly weatherbeaten, not much more can be said about them than that, in shape and ornamentation, they resemble the rock ornament on the base of the first terrace. The representation of a woman on one of these pieces will be discussed later (Pl. 8b).

The water supply to the spouts in question was effected by means of a stone conduit leading from the back-wall of the bathing place to the back-wall of the second terrace where its broken-off remainder is clearly visible on Pl. 8a.

The top-piece

The second terrace in turn once served as a base of a sculpture which, as was proved convincingly by Stutterheim in 1937, originally formed the top-piece of this terrace, and was removed from Jalatunḍa to Trawas by an unknown visitor (Pl. 9c). It is cone-shaped and composed of a lotus-cushion on which a cylindrical column, 1.15 m high, is placed; crosswise round this column there are four medium-sized ones, 0.53 m high and, between them, four still smaller ones, 0.42 m high. At its base, this group of columns is encircled by the body of a serpent whose head is turned backwards and is crowned by a jewel.

By means of the conduit mentioned above the water, after having been led from the back-wall of the bathing place to the centre of the second terrace, rose through the channels in the columns and, welling up at their tops, flowed into the small basin between the base of the top-piece and the spouts of the second terrace, from where, through these spouts, it passed into the slightly larger basin between the second terrace and the spouts of the first terrace, to be finally drained through these spouts into the main basin.

The throne

The throne is put up high against the back-wall and is treated as soberly as the central terrace (Pl. 3-5). Its basement projects with a broad front and consists of a high plinth and a frieze divided into seven panels separated from each other by narrow incisions, five of them being placed in front and two at the sides of the frieze. The front panels are crowned by two roughly hewn blocks of stone, a rectangular and a triangular one, forming a combination which, both in dimensions and in shape, strikingly resembles the spouts of the first terrace. So it may be conjectured that they were intended to be provided with relief scenes, just as the spouts, so as to form a series which, either independently or in continuation of the existing series, would have represented a story or legend, connected in one way or other with the bathing place.

In 1923 it was possible to replace a considerable part of the throne, thanks to the fact that in this part of the back-wall an oval 2 m high and 1.90 m broad, has been cut out, which indicated exactly how the layers of stones fitted into one another. Moreover, the teeth and grooves of the fragments were still in their proper places and yielded the necessary indications for their replacement.

No doubt the oval just mentioned was to form the backslab of an image which, by occupying the highest place in the axis of the monument, would have been given the honour due to its supreme significance. In view of this, it is the more regrettably that, during the exploration of the site and its nearest surroundings, not a single part of this image was found, which leads us to assume that it was one of the many parts of the monument whose execution was planned, but not carried out for lack of time and/or means.

Finally, the question arises whether the throne was intended for a standing or a seated image. It is pretty clear that the answer must be in favour of the latter alternative. This we may infer from the close resemblance of the Jalatunḍa throne to that of the Bělahan bathing place. The backslab of the former should only be bordered by an edge of flames to become quite identical in shape with that of the latter. Moreover, at Jalatunḍa, in the place where at Bělahan a lotus-cushion is found, there are two blocks of stone, one on top of the other, which obviously were to be sculptured in the shape of a cushion of the same dimensions as the Bělahan one. When, finally, we observe that at Jalatunḍa the proportion between the width of the cushion and the height of the backslab equals that at Bělahan, there are enough indications to make it sure that, just as at Bělahan, the god worshipped at Jalatunḍa was represented by a seated image (for the Bělahan image see Krom, *Inleiding* III, pl. 47).

II. JALATUNḌA IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

The discovery of Jalatunḍa, like that of many other ancient Javanese monuments, dates from the British interregnum in the colonies, and is due to the well-known collaborator of Cornelius, the ensign-engineer J. W. B. Wardenaar. About the year 1815, when carrying out Raffles' instruction to examine and sketch the antiquities of Majapahit, he also visited the bathing place on the Gunung Penanggungan and there performed some operations which brought to light inter alia a stone ash-urn with its contents. Some particulars about this first survey of

the monument — which Raffles' standard work does not mention at all — come from oral (?) communications made by the discoverer 25, 32 and 36 years after his visit to Jalatunḍa to respectively Sieburgh, Van Hoëvell and Brumund. From his own hand we possess only his drawings reproduced carelessly in Van Hoëvell's work and representing respectively the date 899 (Śaka) on the back-wall, the ash-urn with the small golden plates it contained, and the central terrace with part of the southern back-wall.⁶ Our Pl. 2 is a reproduction of the original of Van Hoëvell's plate which was recovered only recently.⁷ It is executed in colour and was made after a sketch drawn on the spot. In spite of the unreliability of this picture in various points — so, for instance, the foliage round the spout opening in the back-wall and the smoothly rounded walls of the central terrace are pure inventions — it has at least some archaeological importance. This is due to certain details which, either by their presence or by their absence, testify to the condition of the monument in its earliest known state, before nature and, not to forget, the visitors coming after Wardenaar, changed that condition for the worse.

In literature, Jalatunḍa makes its first appearance in 1836 in a short note by Domis that, at 'Jollo', he had discovered a bathing place, "the building of which had already collapsed, and where, in niches, some images with beautiful leaf-work were still to be found".⁸ These 'images' must refer to the figures of the nāga and the garuḍa over the corner basins.

For a better understanding of the following descriptions — among which especially that of Sieburgh is marked by confusion and inexactness — one must consider that, before the restoration, there was no indication whatever of what was to become apparent later on: that the central terrace originally formed the base of a second terrace supporting in turn a top-piece, as it described in the foregoing. This could give visitors the false impression that this terrace, onto which a stream of water was — and still is — pouring from the back-wall (see Pl. 3), was a 'bath' (Sieburgh) or a 'basin' (Brumund), so that there were three of these altogether: the one of the central terrace and the corner basins.

⁶ *Reis over Java, Madura en Bali*, II, 1851, p. 107, 110.

⁷ This original was acquired by the Royal Institute at The Hague and is now in its collection. The photograph of Pl. 1 I owe to the kind intermediary of Dr. H. J. de Graaf.

⁸ *De Oosterling*, II, 1836, p. 94.

A second source of confusion, to be found in the removal of the spouts from their original place on the central terrace to the west side of the main basin, has been dealt with above (p. 191).

The misleading impressions gained by early visitors from the ruinous state of the monument I have tried to correct as far as possible by bracketed references to the groundplan in fig. 1.

The first circumstantial description of the bathing place is due to Sieburgh⁹ who visited it in 1840.* Having expressed his admiration for it: "In centuries gone by, the fountain must have been a paragon of lofty architecture, not because of its extraordinary size, but because of the massiveness of its parts, its majestic proportions and noble style", he continues: "Against a steep slope, a spring was to be found ... in the middle of a rock-face. This rock-face [?] was given a most beautiful architectonic aspect in the shape of a massive balustrade, from which two wings project, embracing an enormous basin [a]. From the back-wall three separate baths jut out independently. The main basin [a] consists of one large basin [c] and two smaller ones [b, b]. They symbolize the source of the Gangis; from here the holy water flows into the main basin. The urn from which the water springs (according to the Vaishnavas) is carried by the man-eagle Garuda, but, in front of the main basin [back-wall] that Garuda also carries the deity Vishnu himself. This image ... is now at Trawas and it seems to have been there for some years already, for it has grown entirely into the tree against which it was placed ... In former days the balustrade embracing the main basin on three sides and fencing it off on the front side, formed [on this side] a series of images, serpents and dragon's heads, spouting water into [from] the main basin. Some of these sculptures must have been uncommonly well executed. Bas-reliefs testifying to this are still to be found there. At Trawas, a specimen of these sculptures is a small figure of a woman ... representing Varuni and standing comparison with Greek sculpture".

This is followed by an account of the discovery of the ash urn: "During British rule, Mr. Wardenaar visited Joelotundo for the first time and had it cleared in order to make a picture of it or to discover stone-inscriptions. Beforehand, he had drained the basin until it was

⁹ J. V. de Bruyn, *H. N. Sieburgh en zijn beteekenis voor de Jav. oudheidkunde*, 1937, pp. 181 ff.

* Sieburgh's description is written in hardly intelligible gibberish which I have not tried to reproduce in English. The translator.

empty. The Javanese, who were busy clearing away the fallen stones, accidentally had also broken up the floor of the basin [c], and to his great surprise he discovered there, in the centre of the largest bath [c], a small sarcophagus submerged under water. That gentleman still owns this sarcophagus and, though it certainly cannot make any claim to beauty, it is one of the most important antiquities ever found in Java".

Finally, there is this note on the 'Varuni' statuette mentioned above: "... among the sculptures I have found fragments which I venture to say are the very best to be found in Java. This is especially true for a small devi-statuette, nearly one and a half feet high, of an excellent attitude and form; the posture of the lower part of the body reminds us of the Venus of the Medici. In her left [right] hand, she holds a round ball or *potolo*. I have had no opportunity to see all the details of this statuette, as it is now immured near a waterfall at Trawas, so that it is only possible to see its front side ... The face, hands and feet are exquisitely shaped. I wanted to carry off this beautiful statuette, but as, at my first attempt to dislodge it, the feet broke off, I left it in its place".

Some of the above statements will be discussed in our iconographical description of the bathing place. Because of the unfavourable weather, Sieburgh had to give up his intention of making a picture or a drawing of the monument. From his hand we possess only drawings of the date 899, of the 'Varuni' statuette (Pl. 9d) and of the image of Viṣṇu on Garuḍa from Bêlahan which he erroneously believed to have come from Jalatunḍa.¹⁰

In 1844 Junghuhn confined himself to noticing "some images in niches at the bathing place Jollotundo, in the middle of the wood to the north of the mountain Dipenanggungan",¹¹ which is followed by Van Hoëvell's circumstantial account of his visit to the monument in 1847.¹² His architectural description tallies almost completely with the condition of the ruin before the restoration. "At the foot of the [eastern] wall" — he says — "there are three plateaux [c, b, b], big square compartments, the central one being somewhat larger than the other ones. Over each [one] of these plateaux there is a *naga*, a kind of serpent's or dragon's head, from which a jet of clean water spurts onto the plateau. ... The three plateaux are placed on a square terrace [a], the foremost part of which is bordered by a wall, only a few feet

¹⁰ De Bruyn, *o.c.*, pp. 153, 177 ff., 183.

¹¹ *Tijdschr. v. Ned.-Ind.*, II, 1844, p. 377.

¹² *Reis*, II, 1851, pp. 107-115.

high, composed of trachyte blocks. The sculpture of that wall especially attracts the attention by its fineness and artistic execution... I sent to Batavia a piece of that wall...; it is now in the museum of the Society of Arts and Sciences, where it must strike the eye of every visitor, if only for the remarkable fineness and naturalness with which the artist has chiselled the *siraps* of the roof of the building represented on it".

The piece sent to Batavia is the upper part of the XIIIth spout, registered in the museum collection under no. 397.¹³

On the finding of the ash urn Van Hoëvell has the following to say:¹⁴ "As long as thirty years ago, Mr. Wardenaar, during the excavation of the square on which the water pours down [c] found a kind of urn deep in the bottom... He was the first to open it and to find in all its compartments ash and remainders of burned bones. In addition to these, the central compartment appeared to contain a round gold box, closed by a loose lid. In two other partitions, there were small thin silver plates, half worn away, while the six others contained small thin gold plates... In all the compartments silver coins were scattered.

The older period in the literature on Jalatunda ends with the description by the Rev. Brumund who visited the monument in 1851.¹⁵ He records some details deserving attention as amplifications or corrections of the accounts of his predecessors.

On the bathing place itself he remarks: "Right in the middle of the back-wall, a square dilapidated basin, measuring about 40 square feet [c], projects into the main basin [a]. To the right and left of it, there are smaller basins [b, b]. The water of the right hand one streams from the head of a dragon or serpent... Round about it, there are niches and some foliage. The water of the left hand basin pours through an opening into a scalloped bowl on which aquatic plants are sculptured and which, below, is entwined by the figure of a serpent or dragon [garuda]. From this bowl the water streams into the square basin.

¹³ *Cat. Mus. Bat.*, 1877, p. 125. Besides this piece, the following reliefs were sent to the Batavia Museum: IX, X, XI, XIII (lower part), XIV and XV, registered under Nos. 5843, 5839, 5842, 5844, 5841 and 5840 (*TBG*, 64, 1924, p. 660-1). The reliefs IV, VIII remained at the site, while I, II, III and XVI were replaced on the northeastern and southeastern corners of the terrace (Pl. 4 and 5). Nos. V, VI and VII were not recovered.

¹⁴ *O.c.*, p. 112.

¹⁵ *Indiana*, II, 1854, pp. 217-228.

Brumund is the first author who noticed the 'turret' on the southern wall "showing alternately recessing and projecting mouldings and being crowned with a small spire, the lingam, if you wish to use that word. One of them, to be found on the right-hand wall, is still partly intact" (see above p. 194).

It is noteworthy that Brumund, although not mentioning the spouts on the western side of the main basin, does record some sculptures of minor importance which he found between the shrubs: "... what remains of them is but a pair of human figures sculptured as a unit out of a single block of stone and more than half life-size. One of them has lost its head, and both of them are so badly weathered and mutilated that it is impossible to identify them. One passes them when being on the point of entering the main basin. They may represent a mother with her child on her arm, or a husband and wife, or Orestes and Pylades whom neither time nor death could separate". Most probably, this is the same sculpture discovered in 1921 between the roots of a huge banyan tree close to the northwestern corner of the main basin. "It is entirely entwined by the roots" — De Haan writes — "so that very little of it is visible; it seems to represent two figures embracing each other".¹⁶

Finally, there is this account of the find of the ash urn: "The urn was found by Mr. Wardenaar in the middle basin [c]. It had been so deeply buried and it was so firmly closed that the overflowing water had not entered it. It is square, hewn out of one stone, and contains nine compartments. In these rests of burned bones and ash were found. When it was opened for the first time, a distinctly discernible strong smell of combustion came upon the finder".

III. ICONOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

Apart from the series of sixteen spout reliefs, originally placed on the three free-standing walls of the central terrace, narrative sculpture is only represented at Jalatuṇḍa by the two figures over the corner basins and by some stray pieces of uncertain origin found on the site.

¹⁶ De Haan adds (*Oudheidk. Versl.* 1921, p. 149): "In order to bring the whole image to light it would have been necessary to fell the huge majestic banyan tree. As this would have spoiled the picturesque aspect of this part of the bathing place, the tree was judged to be of greater value than an unfinished, broken image".

The figures over the corner basins

Although the garuḍa and its surroundings over the northern basin have badly suffered from weathering and decay, the vigorously sculptured and beautifully stylized group pleasantly enlivens the dreary aspect of the bathing place in its ruinous state (Pl. 7a). Only the head, the breast, the forelimbs and the wings of the bird are represented. The head is turned to the right, that is in the direction opposite to that of the garuḍas of the chaṇḍi Kiḍal^{16a} and the Viṣṇu image of Bēlahan. Moreover, it is distinguished from these figures by the absence of haircurls, a diadem and other ornaments, save the one hanging down from the ear which, however, does not show the usual disc form, but is a cone-shaped pendant. Curiously enough, the upper part of the beak seems to consist of two parts, an upper one curled up at its end, and a lower, snub-nosed one in the ordinary place. The left arm is bent and ends in a claw holding a round object (a fruit ? compare the garuḍa on the eastern façade of Kiḍal) serving as a spout, while the right arm is bent backwards and holds a similar object functioning likewise as a spout. The wings of the bird, composed of two bundles of feathers perpendicularly rising upwards and meeting at the top — the 'water-plants' of Brumund's description — are laid against the back-wall where they form the framing of a slab showing a rounded upper side and, at about three quarters of its height, a round opening which has no connection with any water-supply so that it cannot have served as a spout. In front of this slab, a cult object must have been placed on the small lotus-cushion which is hidden behind the bird's head. This object was not recovered during the restoration of the monument and, as none of the first visitors to Jalatunḍa mentioned it, we may safely assume that it had disappeared already one and a half centuries ago.

As to the question what this object might have been, it is evident that an image of Viṣṇu or some other deity cannot come into consideration, because the very small dimensions of the lotus-cushion and the backslab would point to an image of too small a size in comparison with the garuḍa's head. The group of nāgas which the garuḍa on the southern façade of the chaṇḍi Kiḍal bears on its head must be eliminated, too, as the nāga is already represented at Jalatunḍa by the figure over the southern basin, it being unusual in iconography to represent the same figure twice on one and the same monument. Another

^{16a} *Publicaties v. d. Oudheidk. Dienst*, 1925, pl. 7.

- reason for ruling out the possibility that the figure of a god or nāga was placed on the lotus-cushion is found in the fact that in either case the function of the round opening in the backslab would remain unexplained. The only possibility left is that the object in question was an amṛta-jar, like the one that is borne by the garuḍa on the eastern façade of the chaṇḍi Kiḍal. The size of this object presents no objection, for, if the proportion between the jar and the bird's head was the same as at Kiḍal, its top must have reached to
- the highest point of the bird's feathers, while its nāga-shaped nozzle must have been on the same level as the round opening in the backslab. If we now take into account that the nozzle of the bronze specimens of the jar, well-known from museum collections, was used to fill it with amṛta (holy water), not to empty it, as has been supposed generally,¹⁷ it becomes very likely that at Jalatuṇḍa the nozzle of a (bronze ?) jar was intended to fit into the opening in the backslab so that it became possible to fill the jar from the outside.

Over the southern corner basin the counterpart of the garuḍa is put up in the shape of the head of a nāga, placed in a niche (Pl. 7b, c). It bears a flat, liṅga-shaped crown jewel and has big staring eyes, between and over which some curly ornament is wrought. Behind the head and the neck the hood of the serpent is spread out, while from the earlaps spherical ornaments are hanging down linked together by a string with an indistinct object in its middle.

The spout figures discussed above deserve our special attention not only because they represent the earliest phase of East Javanese sculpture, but also because they may inform us about the identity of the image intended to be placed on the throne in the axis of the monument.

In this connection we have to consider that, whereas at the chaṇḍi Kiḍal the amṛta-myth is represented in three groups of images which successively strike the eye of the visitor when making the pradakṣiṇā round the temple, at Jalatuṇḍa the main motif of the myth, the enmity between garuḍa and nāgas culminating in their contest for the amṛta, is represented by placing the two arch-enemies in the same visual plane and by stressing the contrast of their natures in making them occupy opposite places to the right and to the left of the axis of the monument. If we now compare this disposition with that of the Bêlahan

¹⁷ The jar was emptied through its pointed top. See on this topic the present writer: *Jaarb. Bat. Gen.*, II, 1934, pp. 110-114; Th. van Erp. *Maandbl. v. Beeldende Kunsten*, 114, 1941, pp. 230-2; Th. P. Galestin, *BKI*, 114, 1958, pp. 81 ff.

image where representatives of the *garuḍa* and *nāga*-world are rendered in fierce combat, while over them, impassive and majestic, the supreme god *Viṣṇu* is enthroned, we may surmise that, at Jalatunda, too, it was the image of this god that was to symbolize the principle in which the *dvandvas*, the contrasting powers in nature represented by *garuḍa* and *nāgas*, were abolished and reconciled in a higher unit. We then should imagine this image as conceived in a seated pose, four-armed, and equipped with the same attributes as at Bělahan, but, unlike this image, without the *garuḍa* and *nāga*-figures under its feet, as these were represented already over the two corner basins.

Stray pieces

On each side of the throne there is a low pedestal obviously intended for bearing a small image. If according to our supposition the main image was to personate the god *Viṣṇu*, these two images most probably were to represent the same goddesses who flank the *Viṣṇu*-image of Bělahan: his consorts *Lakṣmī* and *Śrī*, in this case, however, executed on a much smaller scale than at Bělahan. Now among the stray sculptures there is only one that might have occupied one of these pedestals, i.e. the statuette, one and a half foot high, of which Sieburgh not only made a drawing (Pl. 9d), but also commented on in, unfortunately, so confused and contradictory a manner that it is impossible to make out where and in what condition he found it (see p. 204). If its origin was Jalatunda, as Sieburgh suggests in an ambiguous way,¹⁸ and it was afterwards transported to Trawas, where he saw it "immured near a waterfall", it may once have occupied one of the pedestals flanking the *Viṣṇu*-image, most probably the one to the left, as the body of the goddess is slightly turned to the right. At any rate, the round object in the right hand of the image, whatever it may represent — a 'potolo', according to Sieburgh — does not oppose an identification with *Lakṣmī* or *Śrī*. If we may rely upon Sieburgh's excessive praise of the piece and upon the drawing he made of it, it was well worth being elevated to a rank on a par with the *Viṣṇu*-image, the main object of worship at the bathing place.

Among the stray sculptures the *nāga*-shaped spout of Pl. 8d cannot have been part of the monument as we know it. It is sculptured in the same vigorous style as the *nāga* over the corner basin, but, unlike this

¹⁸ De Bruyn, *o.c.*, p. 178.

piece, it shows no less than three pairs of 'horns', the first sprouting above the jaw and hung with a globular ornament, the second implanted behind the eyes after the fashion common with the makara, and the third pair being so badly weathered that only their ends are visible. Apart from the serpent bearing a crown jewel of the same *līṅga*-shaped model as that over the corner basin, there are no distinct points of comparison available for locating the sculpture in time and place.

This remark also holds good for the two compositions which were reconstructed from fragments found on and near the site, and are represented on Pl. 10 c, d. Not much more can be said about them than what this plate shows: both compositions are made up of rocks, the first having served as the framing of a niche, the other as the crowning of some part of a building.

There remains to be discussed the most beautiful and interesting piece of sculpture found among the débris at the bathing place.¹⁹ It is a wonder that it was noticed by none of the visitors to the monument before the restoration, and that only now, by means of a photograph, it is introduced in the history of Oldjavanese art (Pl. 1). About the original place of the piece nothing is known with certainty, it being a mere guess that once it was placed on top of the pilaster of the south wall (p. 194).

The most conspicuous part of it, a medallion bearing a narrative scene, to be discussed presently, is placed against a background composed of huge rock-formations rising high on either side of the medallion and resting on low pedestals. Partially covered by the top of the medallion is a list of square blocks bearing a list of oval motifs on which the proper top-piece is placed. This piece shows the *līṅga*-shape familiar from East Java and is provided at its base with a triangular conglomeration of weather-worn rocks.

As to the medallion in question, the representation it bears surpasses in vividness of action and graceful shaping all that is to be found in Javanese art, ancient and modern: an archer, before performing his martial exploit, has tied up his loin-cloth in a short noose hanging down between his legs, while his *slendang* with its swallow-tailed end is floating high in the air over his head. With his body bending forwards and his feet wide apart, he is pictured at the moment he has shot an arrow from the bow which he grasps tightly with his left hand pressing

¹⁹ Registered under No. 5845 in the Batavia Museum (*TBG*, 64, 1924, p. 661).

it full length against the rocky bottom, whilst his right hand is still in the place from where the arrow was shot a moment ago, that is to the left of the archer's head of which the upstanding curly locks of hair are faintly, and only partly, visible. In the left hand upper corner of the relief one sees the head of a second person, probably the archer's servant. His body is shielded by a round buckler and obviously he is the bearer of the emblem in the shape of a senté-leaf which fills the whole left hand upper corner of the relief.

Since the original place of the piece is unknown, the question whom the archer represents and what is his target cannot be answered satisfactorily. The fact that his head is not surrounded by a nimbus (*śiraścakra*) rules out his identification with a god and, at the same time, makes it probable that he represents one or other legendary hero. As a matter of course, the first person to come to mind here is Arjuna, who not only is the owner of the magic arrow presented to him by the god Śiva, but who also is the most famous of Udayana's ancestors whose exploits are pictured on the spout reliefs. We must leave it at that as long as no fresh evidence turns up to corroborate this conjecture.

IV. THE PROBLEM OF THE CONTINUITY OF ANCIENT JAVANESE ART

Introduction

When Krom, having come to the end of his 'Introduction to Hindu-Javanese Art', looks back upon the way he has covered and formulates his conclusions from the foregoing descriptions and observations, he mentions in the first place the unity of that art. After a few introductory remarks, he says: "Of that art . . . we watched . . . its development and course and, during a period of more than seven centuries of its history, it remained always that same art with its peculiar, its typical character. It is possible and even probable that foreign influence has left its traces not only in the beginning, but also in more recent periods, but that influence has never been strong enough to change any essential part of its character. Its continuity is uninterrupted from the Diëng and Kalasan to Macan putih. For practical purposes it is convenient to distinguish between a Central and an East Javanese period, for each of them, as we know them now, shows undeniably its own, clearly

distinct characteristics. This circumstance, however, must be ascribed principally to the fact that there is a gap of several centuries between the most recent Central Javanese monuments and the moment when, in East Java, we are again confronted with a regular sequence of works of art. The fact that, on the one hand, the latest Central Javanese monuments show some East Javanese peculiarities and that, on the other hand, the earliest East Javanese sanctuaries exhibit special Central Javanese characteristics, goes far to prove that the continuous line was not interrupted, and that the distinction we make between Central and East Javanese art is nothing but a natural difference which the lapse of so many centuries has brought about. It is the gradual development in an Indonesian direction of an art based on Hindu tradition, the slow javanization, which is to be observed in the cultural field as well. So, however distant its extremities may be, Hindu-Javanese art remains one and indivisible, and we may even state that the Balinese temple artist of our days does nothing but continue the work of the architects of the Diëng”.

So far Krom. It was necessary to quote him in full, because his opinion on the continuity of ancient Javanese art, as far as I am aware, has never provoked contradiction — even Stutterheim kept silent on this point ! — and, consequently, has always been accepted as an unassailable maxim. Meanwhile, nobody can fail to notice that the continuity theory, as proposed by Krom, labours under an irremediable weakness. For, when in this theory, in order to explain the fact that the Central and East Javanese monuments “have their own, clearly distinct characteristics” — which is an euphemism for saying that they are as far apart as the poles — it is argued that we are concerned with a natural difference, due to the development of the art during several centuries — a development hidden from our eyes — this explanation is based on nothing more than a supposition, the correctness of which remains to be proved. And so the question arises whether or not East Javanese art is in a direct line with its predecessor which flourished in Central several centuries earlier.

Although Krom visited the bathing place several times, it is not surprising in view of its ruinous state — the stones having fallen from the walls and being scattered all over the site; the spout reliefs covered with moss and for the greater part invisible — that Jalatunḍa does not occupy an important place in his stylistic observations and conclusions. Yet in every respect it is worthy of that place, considering that the monument is situated on a watershed in place and time: on

the one hand, it may be called East Javanese from the mere fact that it lies in East Java, on the other hand, chronologically, it is so much nearer to Central than to East Javanese art that one is tempted to incorporate it in the former.

The important question is now whether Jalatunḍa forms a link between the two arts in question or, if not, what consequences this entails.

The architecture

At the outset it must be stated that the special requirements Jalatunḍa had to fulfil for performing its task as a sanctuary and as a place of worship have determined the conception of its plan in its entirety and in every part. These requirements confronted the architect with the uncommon and thorny task of planning a monument which, in the shape of a bathing place, should serve simultaneously as a sanctuary for ancestor worship, as a deposit for the ashes of a princely person, and as a perpetual source of the liquid of immortality — a task which must have put his ingenuity and artistry to a severe test. So, in view of these manyfold functions, it is not surprising that Jalatunḍa distinguishes itself considerably from other Oldjavanese bathing places. Nowhere a back-wall is found rising to such a height or provided with two inscriptions in places so conspicuous, and nowhere a throne has been put up in a corresponding position dominating its surroundings, not to speak of the whole lay-out of the monument with its intricate system of water-supply and its central terrace exhibiting a wealth of narrative sculptures.

Although these distinctive qualities are sufficiently numerous and important to mark Jalatunḍa as a monument unique in its kind in ancient Javanese art, this does not obscure the fact that, apart from these qualities, there remains a bathing place of a well known type. Central Java must be left out of comparison, since the few bathing places there, simple in ground-plan and scantily ornamented as they are, have little more in common with Jalatunḍa than the rectangular shape of their basins. In East Java and Bali, however, one of the most characteristic parts of Jalatunḍa: the central terrace projecting as a peninsula into the main basin, is found again in the shape of the so called *balé kambang*. This common feature comes to the fore most clearly in the chaṇḍi Tikus, where the central terrace not only shows a ground-plan and a vertical division similar to those at Jalatunḍa, but

also bears on its walls a series of spout figures through which the water, welling up from the middle of the central terrace, flows into the main basin (Krom, *Inleiding* III, pl. 69). Moreover, Jalatuṇḍa and the chaṇḍi Tikus have in common two small bathrooms, respectively in the northern and southern corners of the main basin.

It appears from the above that the architecture of Jalatuṇḍa contains certain elements forming the beginning of a tradition which, though bound to express itself in various ways, is clearly traceable throughout the subsequent periods of East Javanese and Balinese art.

Another point requiring attention is that the Central Javanese so called 'classic' profile of basements and other structural elements consisting in a combination of an ogee and a semi-circular list has completely disappeared at Jalatuṇḍa, it having been replaced by profiles of rectangularly cut lists alternately recessing and projecting after the fashion common in east Javanese architecture.

Even more striking is the fact that of the great wealth of ornamental motifs current in Central Java, such as lotus scrolls, strings of pearls, celestial trees, jewels, atlantes, animal figures and so on, not a single one has found its way to Jalatuṇḍa. This is noticeable especially in the case of the Central Javanese ornamental motif par excellence, the kâla-makara-arch. One would have expected to find it first of all around the figures over the corner basins which, so to say, demanded a framing in Central Javanese style. However, neither here nor elsewhere the tradition, so strongly rooted in Central Java, has been continued on this point. Moreover, not only the combination of kâla and makara is absent at Jalatuṇḍa, but also each of the monster-heads separately. Even the makara, despite the fact that in Central Java it fulfils so important a task as a spout (Barabudur !), was not employed as such at our bathing place. For the outlet of water from the central terrace, spouts of a quite different type were used, and the only proof that the architect still had a faint memory of the makara is to be found in its presence among the rock formations on the central terrace.

The spout reliefs

About the architectural conception of the central terrace Stutterheim remarked²⁰ that this part of the monument must be understood as "a tripartite, terraced pedestal which is adorned with antefixes along the cornices", and supports a crowning piece "in the shape of the

²⁰ TBG, 77, 1937, p. 237.

summit of the huge, holy, and famous Mahāmeru". So, according to Stutterheim, in origin and essence the monument would resemble the ancient Asiatic terraced pyramid on the top of which the deity was seated, in this case the object of worship represented by a ninefold group of liṅgas.

Apart from the relation between a Javanese structure such as the central terrace at Jalatunḍa and the ancient Asiatic zikkurat, as supposed by Stutterheim — a relation which still has to be proved — his understanding of the central part of the bathing place as a terraced pyramid no doubt holds good. What matters here above all is the fact that Stutterheim has recognized in the form of the spouts placed on the two steps of the terrace the ornamental pieces called 'antefixes' in western architectural nomenclature. At Jalatunḍa these antefixes appear in the shape of oblong rectangles topped by obtuse angles, a form which has strongly influenced the compositions of the reliefs.

The composition

This form necessarily induced the sculptor to divide the surface of the reliefs into halves by dropping a perpendicular from the top angle and to accentuate the axis thus formed by grouping the figures symmetrically on each side. In XIII and XIV this axis is the trunk of a tree separating the left and right halves of the scenery, while its crown forms a natural and ornamental filling of the upper angle of the relief. On other reliefs a wall (VIII), a standing or a seated human figure (II, IV), or a pillar of rocks extended in the rosary hanging down from the brahmin's hand (III) is used to accentuate the axis.²¹

The human figures

Another factor which has influenced the sculpture of the reliefs is to be found in the relatively high relieveo in which the various scenes are executed. The space thus created between the fore and background of the reliefs could be utilized by the sculptor for a free rendering of the human figures. He depicts them full face, viewed from behind (XIIa), three-quarter face (Ib, VIIIi, Xc), and in profile (XIIIe); he lets them stand and move freely and easily, without inclination to reduce them from the three-dimensional to the two-dimensional plane.

²¹ For reproductions of the spout reliefs mentioned here and in the following paragraphs see the present author's *Selected Studies in Indon. Archaeology*, 1961, plates 3-16.

Of course, this unconstraint does not preclude a good deal of stylistic convention. So, for instance, we may guess that the gesture of despair of the woman XIa and the proud attitude of the man IXe is not due to the invention of the sculptor, but to a tradition prevailing in his time, prescribing how sentiments, affections and emotions had to be rendered. For want of contemporaneous objects of comparison it is impossible to be more explicit on this point.

When after these observations of a general character we now examine the human figures more closely it becomes apparent that, in comparison with their Central Javanese predecessors, they have undergone a remarkable metamorphosis. Whereas on the reliefs of Barabudur and Prambanan the ideal of male and female beauty is marked by a rather stocky body, a softish musculature, and a preference for the seated inactive pose, at Jalatunḍa these qualities suddenly give way to an excessive slenderness and litheness of body and limbs, enabling the principal characters to move about with a grace and vividness unknown in Central Javanese art. Meanwile, this metamorphosis is much less conspicuous in the reliefs I-IV than in VIII-XVI, as the figures in the former show less mobility and are more coarsely built than in the latter. Whether this results from the unfinished condition of these reliefs or from their being executed by another sculptor, must remain an open question.

Personal ornaments

The human figures at Jalatunḍa distinguish themselves from the Central Javanese ones in other respects too. Of the ornaments the latter used to adorn themselves with, hardly anything is left in our reliefs. Except some armlets and wristlets (Ib, IIc, IIb, IXb, c, XIIIb), the men and women appearing on the scene are deprived of all ornaments. In view of this, it is the more curious that, though the earlaps of these persons are not seldom pierced and show the oblong form caused by wearing heavy ear-pendants (XIIIc, d, XIVc, XVb), these ornaments themselves have been omitted, obviously on purpose. The only exception to this soberness in attire is the seated person IXg who is adorned with ear-drops, breast-string, bracelets and a precious hair ornament.

Dress

In the matter of dress the human figures are as soberly equipped

as in wearing ornaments. In XIV, XV and XVI the male attire is restricted to an obliquely striped kain, tightly wound around the hips, pulled up at the front, and drawn over the upper edge. From here it hangs down in a swallow-tailed lappet, while at the back it forms a big, graceful loop.²² In addition to this, XIVc shows a narrow slendang thrown over the left shoulder. In the heat of the fight represented on X, the loin cloth of Bhīma is pulled up, exposing his genitals, which are beset with the same knobs as are seen in other East Javanese Bhīma-figures.²³ On the badly weathered relief VIII, the standing man q seems to wear knee-breeches under his loin cloth. From XIVb and XVd it appears that the female attire consists of a kain reaching from the waist to the ankles, tied up above the hip, and leaving sufficient material behind the body to form a graceful train there.

Hair-dress

The male hair-dress is described by Stutterheim as a "gelungan bent sideways and made of the hair of the person himself, and not of curling horsehair, as is the case in the wayang and inter alia in the reliefs of the *chaṇḍi Panataran*".²⁴ This, however, is at variance with the fact that the gelungan of VIIIc and d, IXh and XVIa, whose faces are depicted in profile, shows no sideways deviation, and elsewhere it is placed now the left (VIIIr, IXk, Xh, XIVb, c, XVIa), now to the right of the head (IXa, b, c, h, i), which is not in accordance with the strict customs that admittedly prevailed in ancient Javanese society with regard to hair-dress. Moreover, the *jaṭāmakuṭa* of the

²² Cp. Tj. G. R. Soekawati, *Hoe de Baliër zich kleedt*, 1926, p. 6: "The body is covered with an undergarment (*klamben, wastra*) of native weave, sometimes batik work or printed cotton. It is about 3 yards long and 1 yard broad; is passed over the back, underneath the arms so that there are two equal ends in front of the body which are tied together in a loose knot on the chest whereupon the loose ends hanging between the legs are pulled backwards. The garment is kept from sagging by a string of cloth which passes underneath the arms and is wound several times around the body. The end it kept in place by sticking it under the windings of the cloth. Over this undergarment the *saput* is worn."

²³ W. F. Stutterheim, *Een oud-Javaansche Bhīma-cultus, Djāwā*, 1935, pp. 37-82.

²⁴ *BKI*, 89, 1932, p. 266. Asked about this point, Dr. Poerbatjaraka told me at the time that, in his opinion and in that of other connoisseurs of the shadow play, the *gelungs* of Arjuna, Bima, and other heroes of the wayang purwa are considered to be composed of their own hair and not of horsehair, as supposed by Stutterheim. — The drawings of hair-dresses reproduced here were made on the spot by the photographer of the Archaeological Service, the late J. J. de Vink.

brahmin XIIIc who is represented full face is placed on the left of the head, although, as a matter of course, it pointed to the back of it. These facts make it very likely that what was seen by Stutterheim as a *gelungan* on the side of the head, must be regarded as one of the many instances in which an object, hidden from view, was made visible to the spectator by bending it forwards so that it would coincide with the vertical plane.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

The principal characters display an abundance of hair, spreading radially from the forehead, forming rows of elegant waves and curls and, at the back of the head, is rolled upwards spiral-wise (figs 4, 5). Obviously we have here the precursory shape of the hair-dress depicted *inter alia* in the reliefs 1, 4, 9, 16 of the *chaṇḍi* Surawana, the shape which in turn found a direct continuation in the *gelungan supit urang*

of the modern wayang. So a line of development is traceable, beginning at Jalatunda and ending in the modern shadow play.

Further, it must be noted that the hair-dress of IXa, b and XIIId is crowned by a circular comb (fig. 6); that of Xa and e, and of the women XIa and XVd has come loose and hangs down over the shoulders in stylized curls, and that of the woman on XIV is similar to that of the man standing beside her. The complicated hair-dress of the seated figure IXg is laced in at the back of the head by means of a (gold ?) ornament, shaped like a basket or a vase and filled with a bunch of flowers and leaves.

A category apart is represented by the hair-dresses of the brahmins. The cylindrical jaṭāmakuṭa of XIIId is kept in shape by a strip of cloth, knotted on the crown and then wound tightly around the cylinder (fig. 7). A similar hair-dress is seen in the Panataran reliefs, where it is worn *inter alia* by Jambavat at his meeting with Hanuman.

The cylindrical hair-dress of the brahmins IIb and b in the unfinished relief I is so much shortened that it appears as a broad disk, while from this disk, as shown by Ia, a bundle of loop-shaped pieces of cloth (?) come out and, pointing backwards from the head, float high in the air.

The surroundings of the principal characters

The absence of personal ornaments at Jalatunda is rivalled by the equally complete absence of palaces, pavillions, thrones, carriages, palanquins, and all other things belonging in Central Java to the indispensable paraphernalia of the royal state. What passes as a throne in the right hand corner of VIII is a short-legged bench bearing a lotus-cushion and standing on a square dais, while of the other throne-like seat, that of figure IXg, only the upper part, consisting in a huge oval back-piece, crowned by three layers of foliage, is left. The princess of XIa is sitting on a kind of rustic bench, the couple of lovers in XIb on a balé. All these objects are very soberly fashioned and lack all ornamentation.

Finally, the absence of all pomp and ostentation in the surroundings of the principal characters at Jalatunda manifests itself nowhere so clearly as in that they, unlike their Central Javanese predecessors, appear on the scene alone, without being escorted by the train of dignitaries and servants so essential for marking their princely rank. One could try to explain this by pointing to the narrowness of the

space to be filled which hardly permitted the representation of a greater number of person than was strictly necessary. However, when on VIII we notice the presence of no less than eighteen persons, no servants or other attendants being amongst them, it becomes evident that the difficulty of crowding the reliefs with people did not exist for the sculptor or, at least, was not insurmountable to him. Consequently, the absence of all retinue of the princely persons depicted corresponds with the other indications of utmost soberness in rendering court-life on our reliefs.

Buildings

For a detailed description and analysis of the buildings depicted on our reliefs reference may be made to Galestin's well-known thesis.²⁵ The explanation of the reliefs which followed this publication has not opened new vistas as to the character and purpose of these buildings, with the one exception that Galestin's query whether the two small buildings in the right hand lower corner of XV are hermitages, must be answered in the affirmative, as appears from the meaning of the scene represented.

Weapons

For informations about the weapons used on Java in the tenth century only the reliefs IX and X are of some importance. The drawn bows of IXe and Xa have not much to tell. The falchion of Xd and h resembles that of the monkey-king in the suite of Rāma on his arrival at Lañka, represented at Prambanan. Here it is carried with the outside on the shoulder from which it follows that only its inside was sharp. The rectangular shield behind which Xc takes cover is slightly bent; that of the warrior Xd who is trampled under foot is composed of what seems to be two oblong boards or pieces of wicker-work, rounded off at the upper edge and fastened together by means of cords or rotan. Though it is not a weapon, the arched harp, *makaravīṇā* on XVI, deserves our attention as an interesting link in the history of musical instruments in Java.²⁶

The rock ornament

In ancient Javanese art, no other monument is known which is

²⁵ *Houtbouw op Oost-Javaansche tempelreliëfs*, 1936, pp. 48-54, 206-215.

²⁶ J. Kunst, *Hindoe-Jav. muziekinstrumenten*, 1927, p. 16.

Pl. 1. Monumental top-piece found among the scattered fragments at Jalatunđa.

Pl. 2. Picture of the central part of the bathing place made about 1815
by J. W. B. Wardenaar.

Pl. 3. The bathing place in its present condition.

Pl. 4. Northeastern corner of the central terrace.

Pl. 5. Southeastern corner of the central terrace.

Pl. 6. Southeastern corner of the central terrace with the udayara-inscription (on the flat stone partly in shadow). Above it, an ornamental stone showing the feet of the person depicted on relief no. XVI.

a

b

c

Pl. 7. *a*. Garuḍa-figure over the northeastern corner basin; *b*. Naga-figure over the southeastern corner basin; *c*. The same with surroundings.

a

b

c

d

Pl. 8. *a*. The second terrace; *b*. Spout of the second terrace with female figure; *c*. Another spout of the second terrace; *d*. Nāga-figure found among the stray pieces at Jalatuṇḍa.

a

b

c

d

Pl. 9. *a* and *b*. Front and back view of pilaster of southern wall; *c*. Top-piece of the second terrace; *d*. Drawing of statuette called 'Uma' or 'Varuni' by Sieburgh.

a

b

c

d

Pl. 10. *a* and *b*. Rock ornament of the first terrace; *d* and *e*. Reconstructions of parts of a building not belonging to the bathing place.

decorated with rock ornament so profusely as is Jalatunḍa. Here it appears not only on the reliefs as it does elsewhere in Java, but also on the panelled frieze of the basement of the central terrace, on the lintel of the niche of the southern corner basin, and on several stray pieces whose original place could not be determined (Pl. 10c, d).

On the frieze just mentioned, where the rock ornament displays its most elaborate and luxuriant shapes, the stone in the northeastern corner of the terrace has remained flat, while on the adjacent panel only the outline of the ornament is indicated (Pl. 4). It consists of an isosceles triangle in the middle with, on either side of its base, a right-angled triangle and, in each of the two spaces between these three figures, the apexes of isosceles triangles. It is not difficult to recognize in this scheme the mountain or rock motif used regularly as an antefix in Central Javanese art. More in particular it reminds us of its five-pointed variant of the Prambanan type, though there is this slight difference that at Jalatunḍa the five summits are of the same height, whereas they are stepped at Prambanan.

The sketchily indicated rock ornament on the unfinished panel represents the basic form underlying almost all compositions in which rocks were used (Pl. 10a, b). This appears most clearly from the frieze of the central terrace where everywhere the five triangles of the diagram are discernible, corresponding respectively to an isosceles rock in the middle, two right-angled ones on either side of it, and the summits of two rocks rising up between these three formations.

The rock ornament filling the five triangles shows the arabesques and volutes well-known from East Java. The main constituent part is a stout curl which gradually tapers to a point and is topped by a smaller curl twisted in the opposite direction. In places, upon the bulges of the volutes, clusters of globules have sprouted, looking like sucking-cups, but more likely representing some kind of buds or rosettes of flowers (Pl. 10a).

Whereas on most panels the rocks are placed side by side without showing anything particular, in the middle of the piece illustrated on Pl. 10b a male person can be recognized, represented in caricature with crooked arms, clenched fists, wide-spread legs, and a curiously shaped head vaguely resembling the pommel of a kris handle. Similar figures are used as corner pieces, represented in profile, with the lower part of the body stretched backwards (Pl. 10b, left corner), while, in one case, the manikin has transformed himself into a highly stylized makara-figure (Pl. 10b, right corner).

The rocks filling the smaller triangles give no rise to observations, except in two places where they are substituted by, respectively, a cylindrical object resting on an oblong platform (Pl. 10a, to the left of the central rock), and a scene showing, in miniature, a staircase hewn out of the rock and leading to a plateau on which a headless little man is lying prostrate resting on his left elbow (Pl. 10a, to the right of the same rock).

Generally, the rocks on the spoutreliefs are more capriciously shaped than those on the frieze, although the tendency of adhering to the diagram is perceivable here too. See *inter alia* the rocks on XI.

The spouts of the second terrace are too much weathered or left in so unfinished a state that no ornament can be distinguished clearly. That it was nevertheless planned to use the five-pointed rock motif for the ornamentation of these pieces, is proved by one of them whose upper edge shows the significant five points of the diagram (Pl. 8c).

As to the formations illustrated on Pl. 10c, d, apart from some modifications called for by the special function they had to perform in the building(s) of which they were part, they are no exception to the rule of being shaped according to the scheme of the five-fold basic form.

As on the frieze, on the second terrace there is a little scene hewn out of the rocky background (Pl. 8b). Here it shows a cavern surrounded by curly rocks in which a woman is figured who, with head bending forward and hair hanging down her back, stretches out her hand into a pool or well, the water of which flows away through an opening in the wall. Obviously we have here before us an episode from some tale about a princess finding a ring or some other trinket in a charmed body of water.

The fact that Jalatunda represents the earliest stage in the development of the rock ornament in East Java draws out attention to the remarkable transformation this ornament underwent in its transition from Central to East Java.

To start with, it may be recalled that in Central Java rocks are conceived in two conventional forms: on the Barabudur-reliefs they appear as pyramidal formations of various height, with curved or curled tops and V-shaped hoops around their bodies, at Prambanan sporadically also in this form (fig. 8d), but everywhere else as cubic or prismatic formations usually beset with a more or less luxurious growth of mosses, herbs and shrubs, and ranging in size between tall, spanking pillars and low inconspicuous blocks of stone. Like the rocks

Fig. 8. *a-e* rock formations in Central Javanese art: from the reliefs of the Śiva temple, Chaṇḍi Prambanan; *f-h* rock formations in East Javanese art from the reliefs of the chaṇḍis Jago, Surawana and Panataran respectively.

at Barabudur, these formations are not seldom ringed in by hoops, sometimes of a considerable height and put up around the top and the base of the pillars (fig. 8a-e).

If we now compare these Central Javanese rocks with their counterparts in the East Javanese reliefs from the post-Jalatuṇḍa period (fig. 8f-h), the former undeniably show the character of things inanimate, whereas the latter, with their curls, volutes and arabesques, rather seem to belong to the vegetal kingdom. On account of this important difference, the question arises whether Central Javanese tradition in this matter was brusquely broken off in favour of an entirely novel style, or that a line of gradual development is traceable leading from Central to East Javanese art.

As we know, Brandes decided in favour of the latter alternative by showing how, in his opinion, the development took place.²⁷ Starting from a prismatic rock formation on a Prambanan relief, the upper surface of which is overgrown with a mossy vegetation, he compared it with a rock formation on the Panataran relief of Hanuman's bath in the sea and pointed to the "upstanding parts" both of them have in common, "while the curls have undergone a change at the base as well as at the top, resulting in an even more exuberant display of all sorts of cloud-like wriggings than at Prambanan".

Although in these words Brandes did not express himself any too clearly, it is evident that he regarded the "upstanding" — i.e. the pillar-shaped — "parts" as forming the link between the Central and East Javanese rock formations, and that in the curls and volutes of the Panataran relief he saw the final stage of the development of the mossy vegetation he had observed at Prambanan.

Fig. 9.

Fortunately, the correctness of Brandes' view can now be demonstrated with the help of the data provided by Jalatuṇḍa. In this connection, the first thing to be noted is that, in several instances, the rocks on the spout reliefs and on the frieze of the central terrace do not rest on the ground, but are placed upon one or more cubic or prismatic bases, one edge of which is usually turned towards the spectator (fig. 9). The size of these bases differs

²⁷ *Premier congrès intern. des Etudes d' Extrême-Orient*, Hanoi, 1902, *Compte rendu analytique des séances*, 1903, p. 34; *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singosari*, 1909, p. 34.

considerably, ranging between that of a stout pillar, several times higher than wide (on the right hand edge of III) and that of a low pedestal (Pl. 8b), whilst for the greater part of the rocks have no base at all.²⁸ It remains to note that the edges of some of the bases are slightly convex and sometimes are bordered by a shallow groove.

As it is evident that these bases form the continuation of the Prambanan rock pillars to which they are closely related both in form and in function — even the narrow grooves just mentioned are found again at Prambanan —, it is not difficult to follow step by step the process of development of the Central to the East Javanese rock motif. In this process the bathing place represents the interesting intermediate state in which the prisma-shaped pillars of Prambanan have either disappeared or changed into higher or lower bases, while the vegetation has outgrown all natural bounds and shows in the shape of bulky, spirally-wound figures. Finally, the task of depicting rocks, formerly fulfilled by the pillars has been taken over by the vegetation growing on them. The former have disappeared altogether, except in a few cases as observed by Brandes, while the latter freely display the capricious windings and contorsions which contrive to become the rock-depicting elements par excellence in all later periods of Javanese art.

Fig. 10.

Beside the rockformations just mentioned, there appear on the Jalatunda reliefs some differently shaped ones which have no successors in the later periods of East Javanese art. Amongst them are four specimens (two under the upper edge of XV and two at either

side of the head of XIVc) resembling a bulging, laced up sack, or rather a big fruit (fig. 10). That actually a fruit was meant, i.e. a fruit-shaped rock, becomes clear when it is considered that these 'fruit-rocks' are resting on prismatic bases, which points to their having the same origin as the 'volute-rocks'; in other words, that a flower-bud or something

²⁸ These pedestals also appear on the relief of Mleri (*Djāvā*, XV, 1935, p. 131), where they are much higher than at Jalatunda. The formations on top of these pedestals certainly do not represent low clouds as Stutterheim believed (p. 136), but rocks of a simpler design than the Jalatunda ones, represented as they are by one single volute without any secondary curls.

similar, growing on a rock-pillar of the Prambanan type, has developed so excessively that it achieved an existence of its own.

There are some other peculiar formations which may represent rocks. Two of them are clearly visible in the middle, under the upper edge of XV (fig. 10), while the third is hidden behind the wing of the garuḍa at the right hand upper corner of the same relief.

Stutterheim, who first called attention to these figures,²⁹ described their form as resembling a horizontal capital letter H, and compared them with similar figures occurring on a relief of the Selamangleng rock hermitage. As the latter appear in the presence of two undulating lines representing nebulous clouds, and the H-figures themselves on close inspection consist of four such lines, Stutterheim was inclined to interpret the Jalatuṇḍa and Selamangleng figures as hazy clouds, indicating a certain hour of the day or some local condition.

Against this explanation it may be argued that, at Jalatuṇḍa, the two figures on XV serve as pedestals of two 'volute-rocks' and of one 'fruit-rock'; moreover, that along the outlines of these figures we notice the same groove as is found on the bases of rocks. If then we compare these figures with a Prambanan rock of small height, showing an upper edge and base encompassed by outstanding hoops (fig. 8e), it becomes very likely that the former has been derived indirectly from the latter, which means that once again we are confronted with an evolution which, starting from an inconspicuous detail, resulted in the creation of a peculiar kind of rock.

Jalatuṇḍa and Central Javanese art

In the first quarter of the tenth century, when the centre of Javanese political power and culture shifted from Central to East Java, occurred the remarkable phenomenon that the first manifestation of art in its new surroundings on the Gunung Penanggungan showed so radical a break with the classical tradition as to make it apparent that the artisans of Jalatuṇḍa were not apprenticed to those of the classical style.

In our foregoing observations, we found a first instance of this break in the architecture of the bathing place where the classic ogive-semi-circular profiling appeared to be substituted by rectangularly cut lists, foreshadowing the profile current in all later East Javanese architecture.

Another major difference was found in the fact that none of the great variety of Central Javanese ornamental motifs is encountered at

²⁹ *BKI*, 89, 1932, p. 269 f.

Jalatunḍa, this being most notable in the case of the *kāla* and the *makara* which, both separately and in combination, appeared to have fallen in total oblivion.

Our astonishment about the absence of so many old acquaintances from Central Java is only slightly tempered by the sporadic occurrence of cases in which a line of development leading from Central Java to Jalatunḍa is discernable. For what must strike us above all is not so much this continuation as the fact that certain stylistic elements, in general use in the classical period of art, on their reappearance at Jalatunḍa, have changed almost beyond recognition. An instructive instance of this is provided by the five-pointed rock motif which, after having been used as antefix in Central Java, suddenly appears at the bathing place not only in the quite new function of decorating the frieze of the central terrace, but also has undergone so profound a metamorphosis that the rock itself has disappeared, except for a few inconspicuous remnants, while the task of rendering rocks has been taken over by the vegetation.

As to the reliefs, there is no lack of Central Javanese reminiscences either. According to Galestin,³⁰ the buildings on XIV and XV remind us in some respects of Central Java, but in other details make us think rather of East Javanese constructions. On our part, we have made similar observation when discussing other stylistic elements. However, these scarce signs of Central Javanese origin or relationship are far outweighed by the contrast existing between the Barabudur and Prambanan reliefs on the one hand and those of Jalatunḍa on the other. This contrast is the most striking in the rendering of the principal characters over there and here: in Central Java full-bodied, adorned after the Indian fashion with personal ornaments and other symbols of their high rank, escorted by their train of dignitaries and servants, making their appearance in royal surroundings with the obligatory palaces, thrones, carriages, palanquins and other paraphernalia; and at Jalatunḍa the complete opposite: the human figures being slender, lithe and mobile, soberly dressed, devoid of all personal ornaments, unaccompanied by dignitaries or servants, placed in surroundings from which all elements of a foreign Indian culture appear to have been banished.

This contrast between two styles which are hardly half a century apart, is so striking and astounding, moreover, so incompatible with

³⁰ *Houtbouw*, p. 206.

the current opinion on the continuity of ancient Javanese art, that consideration must be given to the possibility that the sculptor of the Jalatuṇḍa reliefs or his commissioner has aimed at a specific effect, that is to say, that the reliefs were conceived intentionally in such a way as to have nothing in common with, even should form a contrast to, the style prevailing in the foregoing period.

There is occasion to stress this possibility more strongly when, once more, we pay attention to the peculiarity noted above (p. 216), which, however insignificant on the surface, seems to betray a definite intention: It has been pointed out that in the ear-laps of the heroes and heroines on the reliefs, though pierced and elongated, the ear ornaments themselves are omitted. This warrants the conclusion that, if these ornaments were omitted intentionally, the same may have been the case with the rest of the attire and the surroundings of the persons represented, in other words, we begin to surmise that the appearance of these persons which has struck us by its utmost soberness might appear to be the outcome of a conscious endeavour to create a contrast with the current tradition.

There would be little sense in putting forward the above suggestion, unless definite reasons were imaginable why the Jalatuṇḍa artists were induced to deviate willingly and knowingly from what had been law and rule up to their time. One of these reasons may be found in the fact that, with the founding of the bathing place, an act was performed whose importance for the ruling dynasty could hardly be overestimated, an act by which a period of history was consciously brought to an end, and a new era was equally consciously inaugurated.

In addition, there was a circumstance which more specially may have occasioned the creation of something quite new and uncommon, a 'reversal' of the current tradition. As has been argued elsewhere,³¹ Jalatuṇḍa was founded as a funeral sanctuary for the Pāṇḍava ancestors of Udayana who played his part in Javanese and Balinese history, and, at the same time, was identified with the famous legendary hero of that name, while the scenes on the spout reliefs illustrate certain events from the lives of these ancestors. Now the fact that these scenes are located in the far-off, mysterious realm of those heroes long since dead may have provided the artists with a motive to create a sharp contrast between the realm of the living, the scene of action in the Central Javanese reliefs, and the gloomy sphere of the dead in which the events

³¹ See note 1, p. 1.

represented at Jalatunḍa were enacted, a contrast bringing about a transformation of the principal characters of Central Java, conceived after the Indian way of rendering royal life, into the *preta*-like figures populating the indigenous, poorly furnished scenery of the Jalatunḍa reliefs.

If, for a moment, we take for granted the 'reversal' suggested here, we may perhaps go one step further and assume that not only the reliefs, but also the architecture of the monument came under its influence, in other words, that an intentional contrast was achieved between the richly ornamented style of the Central Javanese monuments and the architecture of Jalatunḍa, devoid of all traditional ornamental motifs.

Needless to say that, for lack of arguments to corroborate it, the above explanation of the 'reversal' at issue must remain rather hazardous, but even if these arguments were to be discovered, it is most unlikely that the new style of art breaking ground at Jalatunḍa would have had no other origin than in an intentionally achieved reversal of the style that preceded it, not to speak of the even more unlikely supposition that it would have been created *ex nihilo*. The only way out of this dilemma is to assume that the Jalatunḍa style was not new at all, but had already a history behind it before appearing at the bathing place. This means that it continued an earlier style, the existence of which was not known and could not have been known up to now, because it was withdrawn from view by the court architecture which made use of stone for its foundations, these being the only ones of which remains are left.

So it is for us to inquire into the possibility of the existence of an art alongside that of the court-circles, an art which would have flourished in the shadow of the monuments built of lasting materials, and would show sufficient relationship with that of Jalatunḍa to explain the latter from the former.

The sculpture of the reliefs

What this sculpture has to show is the result of a successful effort to depict a number of diminutive scenes in the volcanic stone, a material which by nature was not suited for that purpose. In fact, when we see the smallest details being executed almost free from the background as if there were no danger of the brittle stone splintering of — see e.g. the right arm of XVIa, the sword of Xh, the arms and head of XIa

and so on — it becomes evident that the technique, used here for working the stone, was intended originally not for this material, but for one not subject to the danger in question, that is wood or clay.

As for the former material, it is hardly necessary to point out that the method of piling up layers of stone as practised at Jalatuṇḍa is incompatible with the nature of wood-construction, let alone that wood is utterly unsuitable for making basins and *pancurans*. Consequently, there is only the possibility that parts of the monument, especially the spout reliefs, have undergone an indirect influence of wood-sculpture, an influence next to nothing of which is known since hardly any Old-Javanese woodwork has come down to us.

With respect to the use of clay, however, we do not depend upon guess-work, considering the fact that ancient Javanese buildings of brick or stone were not seldom decorated with terra cotta ornamental pieces, this being the case, inter alia, with the chaṇḍi Gunung Gangsir which dates from about the same time as Jalatuṇḍa. Moreover, there are a good many objects of baked clay scattered all over Java and dating from various periods, which testify to the fact that in Java clay plastic art was cultivated of old and had attained a high standard.

Taking all this into account, there can be no serious objection to the supposition that a technique borrowed from clay plastic art underlies the sculpture manifested at Jalatuṇḍa.

Jalatuṇḍa and East Javanese art

At this point there would have been a proper occasion for comparing this sculpture with East Javanese plastic art, in the first place with the inexhaustible store of terracotta objects of the most various kinds and purposes which, thanks to the activity of Mr. H. Maclaine Pont, were discovered on the site of the ancient capital Majapahit. If such a comparison had then revealed a definite relationship between the former and the latter, it would have provided a solid basis for further inquiry into the place of Jalatuṇḍa in the development of East Javanese art. This would have led us to a stylistic examination of the antiquities which, chronologically, come next to Jalatuṇḍa, those of Mleri and Selamangleng, and from there to the art of Singosari, Majapahit and Bali.

This should have been our working-plan roughly outlined, but as its execution would have led us too far afield — as was stated already in our Preface — it must be left to future research.

In the circumstances we must restrict ourselves to a review of the facts which, in our foregoing observations, have made it increasingly clear that, though the way from Jalatunḍa to Central Java may be blocked, that to the East lies wide open.

This became apparent in the first place in the architecture of the monument which has in common with East Javanese art the negative characteristic of the absence of all ornamental motifs and forms of profiles used throughout the Central Javanese period, while, secondly, in a positive sense, the bathing place shows so typical an East Javanese element as the *balé kambang*, being the first in the architectural history of Java to incorporate it in its plan.

In the sculpture of the spout reliefs there is no lack of clear indications either. This is especially the case with the human figures in their being equipped with a slenderness of body and a style of hair-dress which foreshadows the representation of these figures in all later art.

The next outpost of East Javanese art is found in the way of rendering rocks. As to this, we have followed the transformation of the vegetation growing on the Central Javanese pillar into the volutes and curls which, in the reliefs of Jalatunḍa and all later monuments, have taken over the part of depicting rocky formations.

And what ultimately is perhaps the most important fact: the process of gradual javanization which, as is generally accepted, eastern Javanese art in the course of five centuries was subjected to, appears to have started at Jalatunḍa with the banishing of almost all elements of Indian origin and their substitution by the objects from the artists' own indigenous surroundings.

It goes without saying that the above observations on the most striking common features of the arts of Jalatunḍa and East Java, do not pretend to exhaust the available material and to take the place of a comparative investigation encompassing all points of major and minor importance.

Anyhow, the evidence gathered so far suffices to carry the conviction that the theory of the continuity of ancient Javanese art is only maintainable on condition that its starting point should not be sought in Central Java in the last quarter of the eighth century, but is transferred to the east and to the point of time when with the foundation of Jalatunḍa quite a new style of art emerged from an unrecorded past. And so the presentation of facts given by Krom: that Javanese art is one and indivisible, and that one might even state that the Balinese

temple artists of our days are only continuing the work of the architects of the Diëng, requires correction in the above sense.

The last question to be answered is how to explain why the development of the art, after showing an even and undisturbed course in its Central Javanese period, was cut off in so abrupt and radical a way that with the foundation of Jalatunḍa a new era was ushered in.

Apart from other, unknown factors which may be held responsible for this break in the tradition, the main cause can certainly be found in the shift of the centre of power and culture from Central to East Java, which was completed about half a century before the foundation of Jalatunḍa.

Though the political and economic consequences of this shift are far from being known exactly, it is evident that the dwindling of building activity to be observed in the tenth and subsequent centuries points to circumstances in which the rulers then in power had to concern themselves with quite different matters than the foundation of sanctuaries.

Under these circumstances, it is only natural that the professional knowledge and skill in the field of architecture and sculpture, which had developed prosperously in Central Java, suffered severely from lack of employment during the transition period as it did for a long time after, and that, although not disappearing altogether, they had sunk to a fatally low standard. Consequently, when the slack in building activity was interrupted locally and temporarily by the foundation of Jalatunḍa, it is no wonder that, in the architecture of the monument, all reminiscences of the previous style of building appeared to be effaced, and that so far as the sculptural part of the work was concerned, the artisans had recourse not to tradition, but to the living presence of their indigenous surroundings, for the representation of which — as we have supposed — they applied the technique borrowed from clay plastic art current in their days.

If, actually, a novel style was introduced in the way suggested here, its creator could certainly not have foreseen that his initiative was the starting point for a process of javanization destined to influence the art in centuries to come with steadily growing power.

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