J. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw

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WHICH EUROPEAN FIRST RECORDED THE UNIQUE DVĀRAPĀLA OF BARABUḌUR?

In 1910 van Erp made an inventory of the Indo-Javanese sculptures which King Chulalongkorn of Thailand was allowed to take back to Bangkok as a memento of his extensive state visit to Indonesia in 1896. Owing to the First World War the article was not published until 1917. In 1923 and 1927 he wrote two more articles about this group of sculptures giving additional information. The piece the loss of which he most regretted was the unique dvārapāla¹ of Barabudur (see Pl. 1).

According to van Erp this image was first noticed by an unknown visitor to Barabudur who stayed as a guest with the Resident, C. L. Hartmann, in May 1840.² This anonymous person made the following note in his diary, which was later published in 1858³: "A hill almost as high as that on which Boro Boedoer is situated and which rises almost immediately at its foot had for some time attracted my attention. The demang of Probolinggo district, who acted as my guide, took me up this hill and told me that he wanted to show me the 'toekan' (architect) of that beautiful temple. For on the top of this hill stood a solid image of the same appearance and in the same attitude as the guardians at Prambanan but considerably smaller (i.e. only two and a half feet high).⁴ I was most surprised to find this figure here, not merely because it was the only one on this hill but especially because I had not seen any other image of this appearance among the countless sculptures of Boro Boedoer."⁵

Soon after 1851 F. C. Wilsen transported the dvārapāla from the hill to the *pasanggrahan* or rest-house at the foot of Barabudur, with the result that King Chulalongkorn noticed it there and expressed his wish to take it back to Bangkok together with a large number of other images and reliefs.⁶

Prof. J. E. VAN LOHUIZEN-DE LEEUW is Professor of Archaeology and Prehistory, Ancient History and History of Art of South and South-East Asia at the University of Amsterdam. She has published among others *The "Scythian" Period*, 1949, and *Indian Sculptures in the van der Heydt Collection*, 1964. Prof. van Lohuizen may be contacted at 22 van Breestraat, 1071 ZP Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

After his third article devoted to the group of sculptures now in Bangkok, which appeared in 1927, van Erp informed us in 1931 that G. P. Rouffaer had meanwhile discovered that the anonymous diarist referred to above was none other than the well-known antiquarian W. R. Baron van Hoëvell (see Krom and van Erp 1920-1931, II:18). Consequently, the honour of being the first to draw attention to the "unique temple guardian" (see Krom 1923, I:339) of Barabudur was from then on given to van Hoëvell, who saw it on the hillock near the monument in 1840.

In 1937 de Bruyn published his monograph on the painter H. N. Sieburgh, who went to Java in 1836, where he died in 1842 (see de Bruyn 1937). In his detailed discussion of Sieburgh's paintings and drawings he pointed out that one of the drawings (No. 14(6)), depicting a view of Barabudur from the hill to the north-west, shows the dvārapāla in the foreground.⁷ As this drawing was made sometime between 20 November 1837 and 2 April 1839, de Bruyn concluded that Sieburgh saw the image a few years before van Hoëvell and, therefore, was the first European to report on it. Moreover, apart from the drawing, Sieburgh also mentioned the sculpture on p. 237 of his unpublished Ms. entitled "*Beschrijving van Brahmansche Oudheden op het Eiland Java*", which is now deposited in the Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde, Leiden (see de Bruyn 1937:65-66).

In the early sixties, when Dr. Mildred Archer, who is in charge of the Prints and Drawings Section of the India Office Library, London, was preparing a catalogue of the European drawings in her care (see Archer 1969), she requested me to identify the large number of sketches and drawings depicting Indo-Javanese sculptures and monuments.⁸ In the course of this work I came across an unidentified pencil drawing of the dvārapāla of Barabudur (see Pl. 2) which had been presented in 1820 by Dr. Thomas Horsfield.⁹

Horsfield (1773-1859), who was American by birth, went to Java in 1801 as a surgeon in the service of the Dutch East India Company. When the English took over Java in 1811 he transferred to the British service. Encouraged by Raffles, he wrote many valuable reports and explored a large number of archaeological remains. In 1819 he retired to England, and became Keeper of the East India Company's Museum in Leadenhall Street from 1820 until 1859. On joining, he presented all his drawings to the Company's Library (see Archer 1969, II:446).

The sketch of the dvārapāla of Barabudur must have been made by Horsfield soon after 1814. In that year Raffles heard about the existence of the monument and immediately sent out H. C. Cornelius to survey the building. Cornelius was, therefore, the first European to spend a considerable time at the site (see Krom 1923, I:336). The fact that the drawing showing the dvārapāla is part of the collection donated by Horsfield does not necessarily imply that it was made by

Pl. 1. Dvārapāla of Barabudur now in Bangkok (copyright Asian Art Archives, University of Michigan, Breezewood Foundation photograph).

Pl. 2. Drawing by Dr. Thomas Horsfield showing the dvārapāla of Barabudur
(copyright India Office Library and Records, London).

Pl. 3. Drawing by Captain G. P. Baker showing the dvārapāla of Barabudur
(copyright British Museum, London).

Pl. 4. Three drawings by Captain G. P. Baker showing the dvārapāla of Barabuḍur (copyright British Museum, London).

him, for in those days antiquarians continually exchanged material in the same way as we do today with photographs. In addition, they often copied each other's drawings. However, the sketch in question is in Horsfield's typical style and was undoubtedly made by him. From the moment I discovered this drawing in the India Office Library I was, therefore, under the impression that it was Horsfield, and not Sieburgh, who first set eyes on the dvārapāla.

However, during a recent visit to London I discovered four more sketches depicting the image under discussion, this time among the Raffles material deposited in the British Museum (see Pls. 3-4). One of these drawings¹⁰ is identical with that by Horsfield, even down to the measurements of the figure (compare Pls. 2 and 4, left). It is inscribed "Image called Toocan Cayu, or Marangi, on the small hill, close to the North of Boro Bodho in the Cadu District, Java. G. P. Baker fecit May 1815". Captain Godfrey Phipps Baker (1786-1850) of the 7th Bengal Light Infantry Battalion was, like Horsfield, one of Raffles' assistants and was appointed Superintendent of Public Buildings in the Native Provinces of Java in 1814 (see Bastin and Brommer 1979:5, 117-118).

Another sketch in the British Museum showing the front of the dvārapāla (see Pl. 3), also by Baker, judging by the handwriting, is inscribed at the top as follows: "On the top of the hill N.E.¹¹ of Boro-Bodor temple (about 400 yds. distant) Cadu Dist. Java".¹² Below is written: "Bootto called Marangi or Kris Scabbard Maker".¹³ Two more sketches are combined on one sheet of paper (see note 10) and show the front and back of the image (see Pl. 4, right). The former is identified as "Marangi", meaning "scabbard maker". All four drawings are almost certainly by Baker, for although the handwriting on the pictures showing the front of the dvārapāla (see Pls. 3 and 4, right) appears to be different from that on the sketch depicting the image from the side (Pl. 4, left), an examination of all the drawings signed by him shows that he used both types of writing.

As a result of the discovery of these four sketches depicting the image we can no longer be sure that Horsfield was in fact the first scholar to notice the dvārapāla, for unfortunately he not only omitted to identify his drawing but —even more important— he did not sign and date it (see Pl. 2).

From the fact that we now have five representations of the sculpture it is clear that the dvārapāla was known to Raffles and his assistants, though he himself does not mention it in his *magnum opus*. However, in view of the same measurements of two of these pictures the problem remains — did Baker copy Horsfield's drawing or was Horsfield's sketch traced from Baker's? I am inclined to believe the latter, for Baker, who used ink and fairly thick paper, not only supplies us with four drawings and the two names by which the image was known

among the local population, but adds a very precise description of its location "on the small hill, close to the North of Boro Bodho in the Cadu District". In addition he signs and dates one of these sketches. All this creates the impression that he made at least some of his four drawings on the spot. Horsfield, on the other hand, using pencil and thin tracing paper, made only one sketch and did not even bother to identify, sign or date it, presumably because by that time the image was already well known to the small band of antiquarians surrounding Raffles. Consequently, there seems every reason to believe that Horsfield made a pencil tracing on very thin paper from Baker's ink drawing on thick paper and so it was probably the latter who first noticed the dvārapāla. In any case the five pictures undoubtedly prove that Sieburgh was not the first to set eyes on the image and that Raffles and his assistants were fully aware of its existence.

The discovery of the five sketches is also useful in another respect. Elsewhere I discussed in detail van Erp's views with regard to the location of the vihāra of Barabuður, to which the image in question almost certainly belonged (see van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981). If the monastery was situated on the site of the *pasanggrahan*, as Krom and van Erp first suggested, the dvārapāla must at some time have been dragged up the hill, which in itself is an unlikely assumption. Now that we know that it already stood there several decades earlier than was hitherto believed, this removal becomes even less likely. Later on van Erp changed his mind with regard to the site of the monastery and wavered between a location on top of the hill to the north-west of Barabuður and a situation to the west or south-west of Barabuður. In this latter case we would again be faced with the unlikely assumption that the image was later dragged up the hill. Apart from that, we now have a drawing in which the dvārapāla is described as "Booto" (see Pl. 3), undoubtedly on the basis of information supplied by the local population, in the same way as van Hoëvell was told by the dēmang of Probolinggo district that the sculpture represented a "toekan" or Baker was informed that the figure was called "Tookan Cayu" or "Maringi" (see Pl. 4, left).¹⁴ If the image was indeed dragged up the hill at some time before 1815, this could only have been done by the local population, as it is hardly likely that some unknown 18th century European was sufficiently interested in the sculpture to arrange this laborious and seemingly quite pointless undertaking. The fact that the villagers identified the figure as a bhūta gives us every reason to believe that they would never have dared to remove such a "dangerous" image and drag it up the hill.¹⁵ We are therefore now fully convinced that the dvārapāla always stood "on the small hill, close to the North of Boro Bodho", where it guarded the monastery in ancient times and where in May 1815 Colonel G. P. Baker was probably the first European to take note of it.

NOTES

- 1 Krom and van Erp both called this image a rākṣasa, guardian or temple guardian. Although the later Indo-Javanese guardians take on the appearance of a rākṣasa, we prefer to use the word dvārapāla, as this gives a more accurate description of the function of this and other, similar figures.
- 2 Van Erp 1923:497-498, which refers to his note 2 on p. 493.
- 3 Van Erp rightly remarked (see van Erp 1923:498) that, as a result of the delay in publication of this diary, Münnich was, in fact, the first to draw attention to the image *in print* (see Münnich 1845:178).
- 4 The measurement given is wrong, as the height is actually 1.26 metres (see van Erp 1923:499).
- 5 See van Hoëvell [anonymous] 1858:114 (not 109, as stated in van Erp 1923:493).
- 6 For further details about this unfortunate event see van Erp 1917, 1923 and 1927, as well as van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981.
- 7 This drawing was published in Bernet Kempers 1976:15, fig. 8.
- 8 These are mainly to be found in the Horsfield Collection (see Archer 1969, II, *Official and Professional Artists*:446-465) and the MacKenzie Collection (see Archer, *idem*:472-552).
- 9 India Office Library, London, Horsfield Collection, W.D. 958, folio 58, verso (see Archer 1969, II:464).
- 10 British Museum, London, Raffles Collection, no. 1939-3-11-07, folio 74.
- 11 Here Baker made a mistake, as the hill actually lies to the north-west of Barabudur.
- 12 British Museum, London, Raffles Collection, no. 1939-3-11-08, folio 68.
- 13 In this drawing Baker gives the height as roughly 4 feet, which is correct, see note 4.
- 14 This information supplied by the villagers proves that these people were fully aware of the existence of the image in question. Throughout our discussion as to which European scholar first set eyes on and drew attention to the dvārapāla we have therefore carefully avoided using the verb "discover".
- 15 As an example of the fear which such "dangerous" images can inspire, we would remind our readers of the fate of the famous Cāmuṇḍā discovered at Ardīmuljo (see Perquin and Bosch [anonymous] 1929).

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