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TRACING PATTERNS OF TEXTILES IN ANCIENT JAVA (8TH–15TH CENTURY)

by

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in the

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Professor Sylvia Tiwon

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ABSTRACT

TRACING PATTERNS OF TEXTILES IN ANCIENT JAVA (8TH–15TH CENTURY)

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Few attempts have been made to study the numerous textile depictions in Java from the eighth to fifteenth centuries, also known as the Hindu-Buddhist or the Ancient Javanese Period. This thesis seeks for the textiles that inspired these depictions and considers their techniques. It also traces the evolution of particular patterns in Java over time. To do so, I employ close art-historical analysis of works of art and draw supportive materials from archaeology, epigraphy and literature, as well as ethnography.

After the introductory chapter, Chapters One and Two focus each on a different textile pattern: the connected circles and the overlapping circles patterns. These chapters follow the evolution of the patterns with particular interest to search for connections to current textile tradition in Indonesia. A similar approach of inquiry is applied in Chapter Three to a type of short sleeve jacket. Chapter Four investigates the depiction of weavers in Ancient Javanese textual and visual sources.

This study of textile depictions will underscore the global connection between Java and the outside world, particularly China and India, from where many prototypes of the textile images originated. The study will also reveal that these images, in addition to being historical records, were also ornamentations, which the Javanese artists were adept at translating, decontextualizing, and re-contextualizing—as a whole or in part—into the local aesthetic and usage.

FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

> "Is there a future to the study of Indonesian textiles? I think we may only just have begun to comprehend the field, especially when it comes to a historical understanding."
>
> Ruth Barnes, *Five Centuries*.[1]

The original inspiration of this thesis came from my involvement in the 2008 exhibit *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles: the Mary Hunt Kahlenberg's Collection* at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.[2] Despite the show's modest size of a two-gallery space, the exhibition was groundbreaking. On view for the first time were Indonesian textiles with radiocarbon dates of mid-fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries. These dates are much earlier than people expected, given the low-survival rate of organic materials in Indonesia's tropical climate of high humidity and heat. The close-to-miraculous preservation of these textiles certainly did not happen by chance. They were family *pusaka* or heirlooms that had been carefully guarded and passed on through five or more generations. *Pusaka* are always highly charged objects, laden with much spiritual significance, and often served as status symbols for the family.

The earliest textiles on display were four fifteenth-century weavings: three originated from Sulawesi and one was collected in the Komering River area in South Sumatra. The material and the technique of the Sulawesi pieces are in line with expectations of traditional textiles from that region: the yarns are cotton, and the pattern is created by warp ikat technique. While the Sulawesi pieces are believed to have been local weavings, however, the Komering piece is exceptional for the area in which it was found, and the cloth was considered an import from Java. The patterning technique is weft ikat on plain weave, with a combination of silk warps and cotton wefts. The pattern depicts intricate proliferations of tendrils and abstract geometric forms, interworked with subtle images of deer and birds (fig. 2.52). The long ends are embellished with gold bands. The intricacy of the pattern speaks for highly controlled dyeing and weaving. Later I discovered that the Komering piece is not alone. There are five other weft ikats bearing identical materials, design, and color. One was found in Bali (fig. 2.53). The presence of the duplicates and the very high quality of the

[1] Ruth Barnes, ed., *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles: The Mary Hunt Kahlenberg Collection* (Munich; New York: Delmonico Books/Prestel, 2010), 32.

[2] I was then assistant curator of the Costume and Textiles department.

weaving and dyeing suggest that these pieces were produced in workshops as opposed to households.

These early weft ikats act as a bridge between textiles in the past and the present. They provoke the following questions: How do their patterns and techniques relate to traditional Indonesian textiles today? And what precedes them? These questions eventually led me to the investigative path that underlies this study: to trace textile-related patterns on objects and architectures from the Ancient Javanese Period (8th–15th centuries). In 1980, H. W. Woodward had already titillated scholars with the possibilities of deciphering textile patterns on the Ancient Period's architectures and sculptures.[3] Thus, it is to Woodward's direct call and to the prompting of Ruth Barnes, quoted above from the introduction of *Five Centuries of Indonesian Textiles*, that this study responded.

The approach in this study took some time in the making because the materiality of the stone and metals on which the images are depicted, and the function of the images as decorative ornament, resisted straightforward interpretations. In the end, the implication of the study became larger than what I had envisioned. It is no longer only a study of textiles, but, just as important, ornaments. In their state as ornaments, these images traversed across cultures between foreign places and localities, and back and forth across media, from textiles to objects, and back to textiles.

This research has introduced me to the awe-inspiring world of ancient Java of which I was previously unaware. I am grateful for the assistance of many individuals whose support made possible the completion of my graduate work. First and foremost, I am indebted to my two primary advisors, Joanna Williams of the University of California, Berkeley, and Marijke Klokke of the Leiden University. I thank them for their unrelenting guidance and trust. Their own research projects have been inexhaustible sources of inspiration. I wish also to recognize the help and encouragement received from the rest of my dissertation committee members, Beate Fricke, Patricia Berger, and Sylvia Tiwon. I am much indebted to Ruth Barnes for her advice during the early developmental stage of this thesis. I have also received countless assistance from my old Javanese guru, Yosephin Apriastuti Rahayu, and I have greatly profited from many conversations with Rens Heringa, Francine-Brinkgreve, Véronique Degroot, Heidi Hinzler, and Sofia Sundstrom. I would like to especially acknowledge Jochem van den Boogert and Natalie Ong for their constructive readings of multiple draft chapters. Last, but not least, I thank my closest friends and family who have endured patiently many erratic moments and schedules in the last few years. I am forever grateful to Linda Howe who took care of me as if I were family, and to Didier Maclaine Pont and Weihua Yan, who have been my constant sources of emotional support. My final toast goes to my sons, Alexander Yan and Ethan Yan, the main pillars of my life.

[3] Hiram Woodward, "Indonesian Textile Patterns from a Historical Point of View," in *Indonesian Textiles: Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1979 Proceedings*, ed. Mattiebelle Gittinger (Washington: Textile Museum, 1980), 15–35.

A NOTE ON TRANSLITERATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The spelling system used in this thesis follows the Indonesian orthography. Words that are derived from Sanskrit will not have diacritical marks, and v will be substituted by w. For example, Bodhisattva is Bodhisattwa, Durgā is Durga, Gaṇeśa is Ganesa, etc. Sanskrit spelling is maintained only for book titles or when the word directly refers to Sanskrit texts and contexts. Foreign words derived from Indonesian language and Sanskrit, such as *candi* and *kakawin,* will not have plural forms. Where Indonesian words have entered English usage, such as ikat, batik, and sarong, they will not be italicized. In addition, following the English convention, they will have plural forms by adding *s* at the end of the words. All dates, unless indicated, refer to the Common Era.

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

"There is no innocent eye." Ernst Gombrich, *Art and Illusion.*[1]

Background

The archipelago of Indonesia is a gentle arc of more than seventeen thousand islands that are strung across the equator for three thousand miles, and surrounded by the Indian Ocean, the South China Sea and the Pacific Ocean (Map 1). Terrain on these tropical islands is diverse, from the low-lying coasts to the rain forests to the high mountains. Some of the islands fall within the region of the Ring of Fire (Sumatra, Java and Bali), where active volcanoes are prominent fixtures of the natural landscape. In the past, these topographical features divided the islands into pockets of living habitations, which fostered regional textile traditions.[2] Settlements of large social groups congregated near mountains, rivers and seas to take advantage of the natural resources associated with each geographical region. Waterways were the main facilitators for intra-regional barter as well as trade with faraway lands, through which people, knowledge, and material goods travelled. For these reasons, textiles produced at port cities on different islands may share more common traits than those created in two locales within the same island if one was on the coast and the other in the mountain region.

The field of study of Indonesian textiles flourished in the post-1990s as many anthropologists and ethnographers carved out their own specialized niches. Embedded in the discourses is the question about intra- or inter-island influences that had bearings on the patterns and techniques of today's traditional textiles. [3] The majority of the textile studies attend to the period from the

[1] E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion: A Study in the Psychology of Pictorial Representation* (London: Phaidon Press, 1962).

[2] The importance of textiles in the socio-religious lives has become a favorite subject for ethnographers and anthropologists. For a historical summary of the scholarships of Indonesian textiles, see Ruth Barnes, *Five Centuries*, 27-32.

[3] To name a few studies that had the most influence in my own research: Ruth Barnes, *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera: A Study of an Eastern Indonesian Weaving Tradition* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1989); Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Urs Ramseyer, *Balinese Textiles* (London: British Museum Press, 1991); Roy W. Hamilton ed., *Gift of the Cotton Maiden: Textiles of Flores and the Solor Islands* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1994); Traude Gavin, *The Women's Warpath: Iban Ritual Fabrics from Borneo* (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1996); Geneviève Duggan, *Ikats of Savu: Women Weaving History in Eastern Indonesia*. Studies in the Material Cultures of Southeast Asia, no. 1 (Bangkok:

sixteenth century onwards, which marks the advent of the Dutch involvement in the spice trade in South and Southeast Asia and the widespread development of Islam in Java. Some scholars also looked beyond Indonesia to assess the impact of cultural transmission from foreign countries, in particular from India, China, and the Middle East.[4] These studies have shown that some of the most coveted commodities of exchange in the archipelago were Indian textiles, of which the most highly prized was the double ikat *patola* from Gujarat, North India.[5] Since these discoveries, there has always been the question of what came before the *patola* and what would local textiles have looked like prior to its influence?

We know very little about modes of local textile production and the circulation of imported textiles in pre-sixteenth-century Indonesia. The biggest challenge in researching earlier textiles, or any organic object, is the dearth of the actual materials. So far, only a handful of fifteenth-century Indonesian textiles are known, along with a small number of fourteenth- to fifteenth-century Indian trade cloths.[6] Despite the virtual absence of physical material, however, evidence of textiles remained in the carvings and engravings on durable inorganic media such as stone, brick, metal, and precious metal. This thesis brings into focus the textile and textile-related images from Indonesia's earlier past, with an aim to map some of the early impetus of textile making and trace the threads of continuity of the textile tradition to the present.

The period under examination covers about eight hundred years, from the early eighth to the late fifteenth centuries, which I will refer to from here onwards as the Ancient Period.[7] Scholarly convention divides it into two phases. The first is the Central Javanese Period (early 8th century–928), which denotes the time when the court ruled from Java's interior, centered around the Yogyakarta-Magelang and Yogyakarta-Prambanan district; the second is the East Javanese Period (929–1527), which marks the eastwards shift of the court towards the coastal area, where it settled in the port region of the Brantas delta. The East

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White Lotus Press, 2001); Sandra Niessen, *Legacy in Cloth: Batak Textiles of Indonesia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2009); Rens Heringa, *Nini Towok's Spinning Wheel: Cloth and the Cycle of Life in Kerek, Java.* (Los Angeles: Fowler Museum at UCLA, 2010).

[4] Notably, Robyn Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia: Tradition, Trade and Transformation* (Singapore: Periplus, 2003); Ruth Barnes, "Indian Textiles for Island Taste: Gujarati Cloth in Eastern Indonesia," *Ars Orientalis* 34 (2004): 134–149.

[5] The first study that made an enormous impact in our understanding about the influence of Indian *patola* on Indonesian textiles is Alfred Bühler, "Patola Influences in Southeast Asia," *Journal of Indian Textile Histor* 4 (1959): 4–46; Also see Alfred Bühler, Urs Ramseyer, and Nicole Ramseyer-Gygi, *Patola Und Gĕringsing: Zeremonialtücher Aus Indien Und Indonesien: Führer Durch Das Museum Für Völkerkunde Und Schweizerische Museum Für Volkskunde Basel: Sonderausstellung, 1975/76* (Basel: Museum für Völkerkunde, 1975).

[6] These textiles were scientifically dated through carbon 14 analysis. See John S. Guy, *Woven Cargoes: Indian Textiles in the East* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998); Barnes, *Five Centuries.*

[7] There is no consensus for the naming of this period. Literature variably calls it the Classical Period, the Hindu-Buddhist Period, or the Pre-modern Period. Each of the terms brings its own complication. For further discussion, see Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, and Marijke J. Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes: A Catalogue of the Exhibition in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam with a General Introduction* (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1988), 1.

Javanese Period can be further divided into three dynastic periods: the Kediri Period (up to 1222), the Singhasari Period (1222–1292) and the Majapahit Dynasty (1293–c.1500). The culture of the courts during the Ancient Period has been characterized as Indic, for it borrowed many concepts from India, especially those pertaining to the religious, political, artistic, and literary spheres.[8] Some elements of these Indic concepts can still be recognized in the traditional arts of Java and Bali today.[9] The last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Java, the Majapahit Dynasty, collapsed at the end of the fifteenth century under the pressure of burgeoning Islam. Fleeing Javanese courtiers found refuge in Bali, which had already been a vassal of the Majapahit Dynasty since the fourteenth century.[10] Thus, Indic court culture continued to flourish there, ending only in the nineteenth century.[11] For this reason, I turn to material evidence from Bali, more than Java, for some of the missing links between the textile patterns in the Ancient Period and the current features seen on modern-period traditional textiles.

From the art history perspective, the field of Indonesian study had oscillated between two polarized approaches. Early efforts saw scholars contextualizing the court culture of Java and Sumatra through the lens of the more familiar Indian culture. The term "Indianization" received much attention in colonial scholarly discourse to explain the impact of Indian influence on Southeast Asian culture. The approach, of seeing India as the norm against which everything is measured, did provide a useful preliminary frame of reference, but it was flavored with a negative bias towards Indonesian arts as the imitator and, thus, degenerative. It also bore the innuendo that the receiving culture had accepted the Indic influence through indoctrination, similar to the process of colonialism.[12]

In reaction against this negative judgment, later scholars from Indonesia and the West steered the field in the opposite direction away from the India-

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[8] Helen Creese prefers the term Indic court to Hindu-Buddhist and Hindu-Javanese courts because of its religion-neutral tone. See Helen M. Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World: Marriage and Sexuality in the Indic Courts of Java and Bali* (Armonk, NY: Sharpe, 2004).

[9] Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke studied the dress mode of metal statuettes and identified South Indian mode of dress, characterized by the multiple swags of waist sashes at the front and the two ends of the sashes drape on the sides of the body. See for example the catalog number 9 and 19 in Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*. Such mode of dress is still used for the official attire of the courts of Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

[10] The 1365 court poem *Desawarnana* lists Bali as one of the dependencies of the Majapahit Dynasty: *ri Bali makamukhya tang Badahulu mwang I Lwu Gajah* (*Des* 14:3b). See Stuart Robson, *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).

[11] For discussion about the Indic courts in Bali, see Helen M. Creese, *In Search of Majapahit: The Transformation of Balinese Identities* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash Asia Institute, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1997).

[12] The "Indianization" concept proposed by N. J. Krom and George Coedès, although now discredited, had profoundly influenced the field and produced fruitful counter-reactions. See N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1920) and George Coedès, *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1968).

centric point of view. Fueled by national pride, some put pressure on mobilizing the concept of "localization" whereby local inhabitants were active agents who, of their own will, selectively adopted certain aspects of Indian culture while rejecting other parts.[13] Another popular academic perspective saw the Indian influence in Ancient Java as a veil that concealed the indigenous culture, which continued to persist, perhaps at a lower strata. It further said that the autochthonous culture re-surfaced in the East Javanese Period with a renewed creative energy that gave birth to fresh artistic and architectural styles, along with a proliferation of court literary productions.[14] Needless to say, the reality of the making of a culture is a very complex and ongoing process. Understanding it requires paying attention to both local creativity and foreign cultural transmission that are constantly at play and affecting one another.

Current research embraces both a wider global perspective and an in-depth study of local particularities. This hermeneutic approach accounts for the customization of the adopted cultural elements on the local soil, which explains the discrepancies between the Javanese forms from the Indian 'norms'. Robert Brown, for example, explored the unique strategies employed by Javanese artists to conjure up sacred spaces within the Borobudur temple's narrative reliefs, and showed how they deviate from the prescribed rules of sacred space in Sanskrit texts.[15] Pioneered by Hiram Woodward in his 1977 article "A Chinese Silk Depicted at Candi Sewu,"[16] current scholars have also broadened the scope of the early cultural impetus to include China as another source of artistic inspirations. For example, Marijke Klokke's research on ornaments has revealed the impact of Chinese arts on a number of Central Javanese Period temple decorations.[17] Other scholars focus on Java and into the pan-regional Southeast Asian landscape wherein many centers could serve as a catalyst for the intra-regional cultural exchanges.[18] My research adds to the discussion of global

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[13] For the discussion on "localization" and "local genius," see Edi Sedyawati, "The Making of Indonesian Art," in *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, eds. Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, and Edi Sedyawati (Washington, D.C: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 97–111.

[14] See Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, and Edi Sedyawati, *The Sculpture of Indonesia* (Washington, D.C: National Gallery of Art, 1990).

[15] Robert L. Brown, "Place in the Sacred Biography at Borobudur," in *Pilgrims, Patrons, and Place: Localizing Sanctity in Asian Religions*, eds. P. E. Granoff and Koichi Shinohara (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 249–263.

[16] H. W. Woodward, "A Chinese Silk Depicted at Candi Sewu," in *Economic Exchange and Social Interaction in Southeast Asia: Perspectives from Prehistory, History, and Ethnography*, ed. Karl L. Hutterer (Ann Arbor: Center for South and Southeast Asian Studies, University of Michigan, 1977), 233–244.

[17] Marijke J. Klokke, *Culturele Ontmoetingen in Zuid- En Zuidoost-Azië: De Kunsthistorische Bronnen* (Leiden: Leiden University, 2011) and upcoming publication.

[18] See I. W. Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Southeast Asia: Reflections on the Prehistoric Sources," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 8, no. 1 (March 1, 1977): 1–14; I. W. Mabbett, "The 'Indianization' of Mainland Southeast Asia: A Reappraisal," in *Living a Life in Accord with Dhamma: Papers in Honor of Professor Jean Boisselier on His Eightieth Birthday*, eds. Natasha Eilenberg, Subhadradis Diskul, and Robert L. Brown (Bangkok: Silpakorn University, 1997), 342–

interaction and the indigenous response. In *Tracing Pattern of Textiles in Ancient Java*, I am interested in exploring specific local adaptations of foreign influence. In addition, I also draw some connective threads between Ancient Javanese textile images to today's Indonesian textile tradition.

Sources

In this thesis, I concentrate primarily on textile depictions from Java. These images have been noticed by many past scholars but never been studied in a systematic way.[19] In fact, the field of Indonesian art as a whole had largely been predisposed to focusing on large and major scholarly narratives such as architecture, iconography, and styles. It is only of late that textile subject is gaining academic interest in the art historical field.[20]

The types of objects on which textile images are preserved are not uniform throughout the Ancient Javanese periods. From the Central Javanese Period, we find very little information about patterned textiles on stone statues and temple reliefs; costume depictions during this period are mostly plain. But the grey andesite surfaces we are so accustomed to seeing today are not necessarily the original artistic intention. Claire Holt has documented at least one example of stucco remains from Candi Sari (fig. 0.1), which suggests that stone temples in Central Java were once covered with plaster, and, thus, most likely, painted.[21] Only a mere handful of textile patterns from Central Java were carved into stone. Some notable examples are the scattered flower sarongs on the Ganesa from Candi Banon[22] and the main statue of Candi Siwa at the Lara Jonggrang temple

355; and Andrea Acri, ed., *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, Nalanda-Sriwijaya Series 27 (Baltimore, Maryland: Project Muse, 2016).

[19] To name a few: G. P. Rouffaer and H. H. Juynboll, *De Batik-Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië en Haar Geschiedenis* II, no 1 (Haarlem: Kleinmann, 1900); J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië III: De Batikkunst* (The Hague: Boek- & Kunstdrukkerij v/h Mouton, 1912); A. N. J. Th. à Th. van der Hoop, *Indonesische Siermotieven: Ragam-Ragam Perhiasan Indonesia: Indonesian Ornamental Design* (Batavia: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1949).

[20] Mary-Louise Totton, "Weaving Flesh and Blood into Sacred Architecture: Ornamental Stories of Candi Loro Jonggrang," (Dissertation (Ph.D.): University of Michigan, 2002); Leslie Pullen, a Ph.D. candidate from SOAS University of London, is also currently writing a dissertation on textile images from the Ancient Javanese period.

[21] This is also the view of Miksic and Krom in regard to Borobudur. See John N. Miksic, *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas*, (Boston: Shambhala, 1990), 26; Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, 158. I am grateful to Natalie Ong for pointing out the Krom reference. In 1971, Jan Fontein also mentions that plaster remains can still seen on the walls of Candi Kalasan. See Jan Fontein, R. Soekmono, and Satyawati Suleiman, *Ancient Indonesian Art of the Central and Eastern Javanese Periods* (New York: Asia Society, 1971), 40.

[22] See Natasha Reichle, *Violence and Serenity: Late Buddhist Sculpture from Indonesia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2007), 168, fig. 6.1.

complex (figs 0.2, 0.3), and the roundel patterns on the wall reliefs of Candi Sewu and Candi Siwa.[23]

Metal statuettes, mostly in bronze, of Hindu and Buddhist deities are also a rich source for textile patterns, but their provenance and dates can be difficult to ascertain. The casting of these bronze figures lasted until the eleventh century.[24] Most are discovered in Java and Sumatra, and some were found in Sulawesi and Borneo. Due to their portability, their found locations are not always indicative of where the images were produced. In addition, they rarely bear any dates or inscriptions, and some followed very closely Indian models, which makes exact attribution problematic.

An illustration of the problems in reading the textile images on metal figures is exemplified by a simple pattern made of dots and circles that are organized in clusters (figs. 0.4, 0.5). Apart from plain stripes, these clusters of dot and circle are the most popular textile motifs on the ninth- to tenth-century bronze statuettes. The pattern's graphic economy has invited various interpretations. At times, the clusters were read as flowers,[25] other times planetary constellations.[26] The popularity of the pattern could also be interpreted in several ways. On one hand, it may reflect a certain fashion of textiles in Java. On the other hand, its ubiquity may simply be related to a practical solution in decorating metal surfaces. While the figurines were carefully made in lost-wax casting, the dots and circles were freely hammered and chiseled onto the finished object. These simple geometric shapes offer an efficient way to beautify the clothing of the figures.

Yet another possibility is that the pattern was copied directly from Indian bronzes. In other words, the pattern may signal the Javanese craftsmen's familiarity with an Indian model but it does not necessarily reflect an actual circulation of a particular Indian textiles in Java. Eerkens and Lipo, in discussing the modes of transmission of cultural information, call this phenomenon 'information hitchhikes.'[27] Due to the many unreliable aspects posed by the metal

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[23] The roundel pattern will be discussed in Chapter One.

[24] By the twelfth century, small bronze figures were no longer produced in Java even though the tradition of metalsmithing persisted to make ritual objects such as lamps, bells, containers, and finials. Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke suggested that the figures' disappearance might indicate a change in the local practice of Hindu-Buddhist worship. See Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*, 39.

[25] See J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *Indo-Javanese Metalwork* (Stuttgart: Linden-Museum, Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, 1984), pls. 31, 32.

[26] See Jan Wisseman Christie, "Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom of the Tenth to the Thirteenth Centuries A.D.," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41, no. 3 (1998): 25.

[27] They give an example of the process of copying a cooking pot. In the process of copying, the person may copy not only the physical form but also its surface decoration because one is "unsure which attribute makes a superior cooking pot." See Jelmer W. Eerkens and Carl Lipo, "Cultural Transmission Theory and the Archaeological Record: Providing Context to Understanding Variation and Temporal Changes in Material Culture," *Journal of Archaeological Research* 15, no. 3 (2007): 252.

figures, I have decided not to focus on these images and concentrate instead on stones figures and temple reliefs. In cases when the bronzes are useful to further support the evidence on the stones, I rely on the dating system established by Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke in *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*.[28]

From the East Javanese Period, we find numerous textile patterns that have survived as carvings on stone statuary particularly during the last two of the Hindu-Buddhist Javanese kingdoms, the Singhasari Dynasty (1222–1292) and the Majapahit Dynasty (1293–c.1500). The latest saw the highest application of textile patterns on stone figures. Other visual evidence of textiles from the East Javanese Period can be found on temple reliefs, precious ornaments, and ritual metal objects. At the outset, I should note that the production of stone sculptures in Ancient Java is closely tied to the erection of temples, and only the court would have undertaken such costly projects. Similarly, the production of expensive metal works was most likely sponsored by the wealthy. As such, it is important to keep in mind that the primary sources of this study came from the world of the elite classes and were direct exhibits of their values.

Royal households also sponsored inscriptional legal records and literary works, which further shed some light into matters of textiles. More than two hundreds legal inscriptions called *sima* charters were produced from the early ninth to the end of fifteenth century.[29] These charters, written on stone stellae and metal plates, commemorate an area becoming a *sima*, a tax freehold zone. S*ima* residents would be exempted from paying taxes to the local authority. Instead, their surplus would support a religious establishment within the designated *sima* area. The founding of a *sima* entailed a celebration that was witnessed by many individuals, and included presentations of gifts, which consisted of many textiles.[30]

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[28] They divided the development of the Javanese bronze images into five stylistic groups. Group 1 bronzes were developed early, around the eight to first half of ninth century. This style relates closely to South Indian bronzes and reflects heavy influence from the Pallava dynasty. It includes bronzes made in Java as well as Indian bronzes that were found in the Indonesian archipelago. Group 2 are assigned to bronzes that were made during the same time period as Group 1 but are related to Northeast Indian bronzes from the Pala dynasty artistic tradition. This group also includes both local and imported bronzes. Group 3 consists of bronzes made in Central Java that embody a pure Javanese taste. This style began in the second half of the ninth century until early tenth century. Group 4 are bronzes with mixed characteristics of Groups 3 and 5. They were produced during the late ninth to eleventh century. Finally, Group 5 consists of a specific set of bronzes that are known as the Nganjuk mandala bronzes, produced during the late tenth to mid-eleventh century in East Java. See Lunsingh Scheurleer and Klokke, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes,* 24-35.

[29] Most likely were *sima* charter were also written on palm-leafs, which are no longer survived. The earliest extant charter is written in Sanskrit, dated to 732. The earliest inscription written in Old Javanese language is dated to 804 (Saka year 726), known as the Sukabumi inscription. It is also the first instance of Old Javanese writing. P. J. Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan: A Survey of Old Javanese Literature* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1974), 3.

[30] Christie remarked that the *sima* celebration involved "[animal] sacrifices at the stone of the village ancestor shrine…followed by a *selamatan*- like feast with the performance of some form of

Jan Wisseman Christie noted that in *sima* charters from the ninth- to early tenth centuries, the lists of textile gifts were very prominent. By this time, a specialized textile vocabulary had existed. For example, textiles were recorded according to the pattern, which were mostly of flower, vegetation, or geometric motifs, and rarely of human figure or animal form.[31] Some were listed by the origin of the cloth, such as 'made in India' or 'made in the east' or 'from the interior'.[32] Textiles were graded in relative classifications such as 'distinguished,' 'of choice,' and 'royal gift.' They were often identified by the function (for example, *singhel* for a loose wrapping for ritual occasion and *salimut* for a shoulder blanket) and by the gender of the intended wearer (for examples, *ken* for women's cloth and *wedihan* for men's). [33] The most common colors were *rangga* (red) and *angsit* (blue).[34] Christie suggests that most likely these textile materials are all cotton.[35]

After the tenth century, when the Javanese court moved closer to the coast in East Java, lists of economic activities replaced the lists of gifts.[36] The change in the *sima* contents expressed the court's increasing involvement in commerce and activities beyond agriculture. Textile producers and traders play a major role in the new economic models. Dye processors and other textile related producers were mentioned under semi-professional (*misra*) and professional categories.[37] Included in the *misra* category is *mangapus*. *Apus*, or ikat, is a method of tie-dyeing the warps prior to weaving, which until now is still the chief principal textile technique practiced in many parts of the archipelago. The presence of ikat dyers in the *sima* list suggests that pre-dyed yarns were available in the tenth-century markets. Another important professional category is the weaver of a *cadar* cloth (*acadar*). A *sima* was only allowed to have up to four *acadar*. According to Christie, *acadar* produced fabrics 'considered fine enough to be presented to

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wayang drama..." Jan Wisseman Christie, "Texts and Textiles in 'Medieval' Java," *BEFEO* 80, no. 1 (1993): 182.

[31] Christie, "Javanese Markets," 23.

[32] There is only one cloth, which is white, that is said to be made in India. Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 184.

[33] Jan Wisseman Christie, "Ikat to Batik? Epigraphic Data on Textiles in Java from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Weaving Patterns of Life*, eds. Ruth Barnes, Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and David J. Stuart-Fox (Basel: Museum of Ethnography, 1993), 12.

[34] These terms were derived from Sanskrit words *raga* and *asita*; they are not retained in the modern textile vocabulary. The red and the blue textiles were presented to people of all ranks, but primarily to those below the highest rank. In addition, she mentioned that in rare cases textiles were valued in gold weight (*masa*). Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 184.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., 182

[37] The most important dye processors are those dealing with blue (indigo) and red (*wungkudu*). Other colors mentioned are a dark dye (*cambul*) and other red dyes from sappan wood (*cawring*), *laka* wood and *ubar* wood. There are also processors of pahang-ash for mordant, oil producers for cloth preparation, makers of spindles (*kisi*) and cotton bows (*wusuwusu*). Ibid., 186.

the ruler in the tenth century."[38] There was also an increase in the varieties of patterns and hues of colors at this time. By the tenth and eleventh centuries, many novel textile motifs appear in *sima* inscription. Within the new class of textile patterns, the most frequently occurring is 'nine planets' (*nawagraha*).[39] Christie also noted that a new textile producer *bananten* cloths (*amalanten*) was added to the list of professionals. The meaning of the cloths is unclear but in later charters, *amalanten* and *acadar* often appear in the same class.[40]

From the mid-eleventh century onwards, *sima* contents began to include the lists of privileges (*wnang*), sumptuary regulations that restricted the use of certain objects and textiles for different ranks. Included in the lists of regulated cloths, for examples, are *bananten* cloth, royal sarong (*dodot*) and a type of woman's sarong (*tapih*). An important terminology that began around this time is *tulis* or to draw. First, *tulis warna* (drawing with color) appeared in the twelfth century. Then, by the end of the thirteenth or early fourteenth century, we find *tulis weteng* and *tulis mas* (drawing with gold).[41] The importance of this *tulis* technique will be discussed in this study.

While *sima* charters provide valuable information for the roles of textiles within the social and economic history of Ancient Java, Old Javanese literature offers invaluable insights into the sensibility of the local culture towards textiles.[42] Old Javanese poets, even when drawing from Indic characters and storylines, expressed the worldly surroundings based on their contemporary realities. Helen Creese has argued that the material information in poems (*kakawin*) is as valid an account as those in legal inscriptions. She says, "Much of the minutiae of *kakawin* description—the use of amulets and bracelets made of threads in babyhood, the white attire of widows performing *sati*, the distinct stages of the nuptial celebration, the name of officials, food, buildings, cloths, utensils, musical instruments, and other items of material culture—are even today recognizably Javanese and Balinese."[43] The oldest literary work, the

[38] Christie speculated that, in order to produce very fine fabric and handle fine threads, a *cadar* loom would differ from the common household backstrap loom; it would have discontinuous warps to allow the use of reeds. Ibid., 189.

[39] Christie interpreted the *nawagraha* pattern to be the constellation of dot-circle on the bronze figures. See Ibid., 190-191. As mentioned above, however, the concentration of the pattern appeared on ninth- to tenth-century bronzes and, by the twelfth century, these figures had ceased to be produced. Christie further added that the pattern "may refer to the type of pattern appearing most frequently on eleventh century statues from both Java and the east coast of India, from Bihar to Tamil Nadu—that of circles of dots on a plain ground which probably represent resist-dyed patterns of white dots on an indigo ground." See Christie, "Javanese Markets," 25.

[40] Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 189.

[41] The meaning of *tulis weteng* is uncertain but literally it means womb drawing. Ibid., 193.

[42] Peter Worsley had convincingly argued that the *kakawin*, often ignored by historian as reliable historical sources, are better at illuminating the sensibility of the Javanese culture compared to the official *sima* charter. See Peter Worsley, "Journeys, Palaces and Landscapes in the Javanese Imaginary: Some Preliminary Comments Based on the Kakawin Sumanasantaka," *Archipel* 83 (2012): 147–171. The same sentiment was already stated earlier by P. J. Zoetmulder, the renowned Old Javanese scholar. See Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 188.

[43] Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 248.

Ramayana, dates back to the ninth century, the Central Javanese Period. The majority of Old Javanese poems and prose, however, were composed during the East Javanese Period. [44]

In this study, I also include a few later poems (*kidung*) that were written in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries in Bali. The narratives in these works still reference events that occurred in the East Javanese Period. The *kakawin* and *kidung* provide many terminologies for articles of clothing. They also illuminate the use of textiles as metaphors—through images of colors, shapes, and movements—to conjure up certain human experiences and states of Nature. Last, I also turn to mythology and folklore in order to explore the intimate relationship between women and weaving in Ancient Java. Some of these stories, such as the *Sang Kuriang*, are widespread across Indonesia and the Malay world. These stories serve as access to a different cultural memory from those instilled by the court.

While there is a wealth of visual and textual resources for textile evidence, however, the link between the two is rather tenuous, for many of the textile descriptions are vague and riddled with ambiguities. For example, it is unclear the types of carpets and textiles that Mpu Prapanca, the author of the 1365 Desawarnana, imagined when he wrote, "Carpets being laid out in front of the king" and "Officials and Saiwa *bhujangga* who accompany the king wear their cloths of honor." [45] Nevertheless, while it is almost impossible to match a particular textile name to a particular textile image, these numerous textual references provide a glimpse of the sophisticated knowledge of textiles and the high regard for it in the Ancient Period. Some passages directly implied the presence of foreign imports. Given the varieties of textile descriptions, one of the pertinent questions in this study is whether we can identify the Ancient textile images as foreign textiles, local productions, or the localized adaptation of foreign cloths.

The question is at the crux of this study because we have long recognized that many motifs on traditional textiles are traceable to foreign origin. That being the case, how far back can we trace such enculturation and what were the processes involved? Already by the ancient period, there were active trading—at times stretched from the Middle East to China—and movement of people that passed through the archipelago, which happened to be strategically positioned in the middle of the ancient maritime routes.[46] Ninth-century shipwrecks as well as local archaeological finds have yielded much evidence of foreign trade goods, which undoubtedly had included textiles.[47] Numerous foreign accounts testified

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[44] While the stories are ancient, the manuscripts themselves were later copies because palm leaves deteriorated and the stories had to be reinscribed. Thus they may be only several hundred years old. On the preservation of these materials, see Zoetmoulder, *Kalangwan*, 36-59.

[45] *Des* 84:1c,d. See Robson, *Deśawarṇana*.

[46] See O. W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce: A Study of the Origins of Śrīvijaya* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967).

[47] Michael Flecker, "A Ninth-Century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck in Indonesia: First Evidence for Direct Trade with China," *World Archaeology* 32, no. 3 (February 2001): 335–54; Michael

to the florescence of trade in Java, particularly during the East Javanese Period. Marco Polo in the early 1290s, for example, wrote about the important of ancient spice trade in East Java.[48] By the Majapahit Dynasty, Ma Huan wrote a similar observation, which was compiled in 1433 *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*.[49] The importance of the spice trade for the economy of East Javanese kingdom was also confirmed by many other Chinese sources.[50] As we will see in this study, the textile depictions on stone and metal images further affirm that foreign textile patterns had already entered the local artistic vocabulary from the very beginning of the Ancient Period.

Chapters

In this study, I use the term "textile pattern" in both specific and general meanings. First, it is applied in the narrow sense of pattern that occur on textiles; second, in the wider sense of textile-related images which repeat either synchronically or diachronically, and thus can be detected as a pattern of occurrences. I am interested in the formal analysis of these patterns on the micro level, to observe their beginning forms, variations, evolution, and aberrations. I am also interested in tracing how the end forms may or may not relate to the textile patterns of today. With these goals in mind, I decided not to pursue a catalog approach, i.e. to document all known textile patterns from the Ancient Javanese Period. Instead, I chose to trace four patterns in depth; Chapter One and Chapter Two follows the evolutions of two types of textile patterns, Chapter Three traces the form of a specific type of tailored jacket, and Chapter Four discusses three references to weavers as formulated in Ancient Javanese visual and textual sources. Each chapter usually begins with rather firmly dated images. They are not necessarily the earliest examples, but they help to anchor the earlier prototypes and the later evolutions.

Chapter One begins with a group of panels on the exterior walls of Candi Sewu, an eighth-century Buddhist temple in Central Java. The pattern—composed of connected circles—had been attributed to a type of Tang Dynasty textiles. In this chapter, I reassess the prototype of the pattern. I argue that the Sewu panels combined two types of Chinese silks, and they were designed with a specific relation to the Buddhist context and temple layout. I then follow the evolution of the pattern until it disappeared in the Singhasari Period. Some of the Singhasari patterns share commons motifs with the contemporaneous temple ornamentations, which raises the question about their validity as textile

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Flecker, "The Thirteenth-Century Java Sea Wreck: A Chinese Cargo in an Indonesian Ship," *The Mariner's Mirror* 89, no. 4 (2003): 388–404.

[48] John Masefield, trans, *The Travels of Marco Polo* (London [etc.]: sn, 1967).

[49] J. V. G. Mills, trans., *Ying-Yai Sheng-Lan: Overall Survey of the Ocean's Shores (1433)*, Hakluyt Society. Extra Series, no. 42 (Cambridge: University Press, 1970).

[50] See W. P. Groeneveldt, Historical *Notes on Indonesia and Malaya* (Djakarta: C. V. Bhratara, 1960).

representations. In many instances, I believe that these images—although using a textile template—were not copies of a particular cloth. It is apparent that any desired motif can be inserted into the flexible framing device of the circles, which is inherent in the pattern. There are, however, variations of the connected circles patterns that are more convincing as representations of textiles. Their pattern and composition are curiously very similar to the *patola* cloth from Gujarat, North India. I offer the possibility that the Candi Sewu panels and the *patola* might have shared a common ancestry.

Chapter Two concentrates on a type of textile pattern with overlapping circles, which first appeared on Singhasari statues from Candi Jago and Candi Singosari.[51] Its emergence in thirteenth-century Java is addressed in this chapter as part of the high-volume circulation of overlapping circle patterns on textiles and ceramics within Asia between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The Singhasari patterns, however, are uniquely Javanese, which indicates that the Javanese artists were not slaves to simply copying the patterns. In this chapter, I analyze the Javanese appropriation of this pattern and trace its evolution until the Majapahit period, at which time its form underwent a process of simplification and standardization. I then revisit the much-alluded visual connection between the ancient pattern and the modern batik pattern called "*kawung*." I show that, from the graphic perspective, the transition from the former to the latter demands the ancient pattern to be selectively compartmented. This active process created not only the *kawung* but also propelled the interstitial motif to assume a new pattern of its own. I propose that this is the beginning of the formation of the well-known diamond-center pattern of the Balinese double ikat *geringsing*.

Chapter Three investigates a group of images of short and sleeveless jackets, beginning with those worn by four divine figures from thirteenth-century Candi Singosari in East Java. The jackets have been labeled as warrior garments. They were carved with extreme attention to details. In search of the meaning of such jacket, I trace its earliest form to a relief at Candi Borobudur, which has been identified as a warrior garment. I then examine the descriptions of warrior jackets in Old Javanese courtly poems and gather images of short jackets from the Majapahit Period. This study shows that there were more depictions of short jackets than had previously been realized. The Majapahit short jackets are shorter and worn by different types of figures, including the non-warrior characters. The changes of the jacket forms and the widening of their usage underpin the idea that the short jackets provide protection on the symbolic level, more so than the physical. Last, I analyze the sartorial features and patterns on the Singhasari jackets and compare them to a type of Balinese short jacket called *sesimping*. This part probes into the issues of materiality and patterning techniques of the Singasari jackets.

[51] Scholarly convention refers to the area as Singosari and to the dynasty and the period as Singhasari.

Chapter Four explores the relationship of women and textiles in Ancient Java, in particular women's role as weavers. The visual and textual records from this early historical period are in general silent about women as textile makers. In this chapter, I explore the virtual absence of weaver depictions as a silencing tendency of women's voice in Ancient Java. I argue that weaving, which belongs to the female realm, fell into the peripheral vision of the arts and literature, which are patriarchal in nature. This chapter starts with a proto-historic, sixth-century bronze image of a weaver and mother, to serve as the underlying concept of woman–weaver relationship prior to the supremacy of Indic court over indigenous statehood. With the indigenous animistic culture, the power of fertility lies in the body of the female, and weaving carries the symbolism of birth itself. I suggest that the relationship of fertility and woman changed under the new patriarchal culture, and so too the significance of weaving. Using three ancient Javanese references (two textual and one visual sources) as my evidence, I trace the markings of the Indic court's way of transferring the concept of nature's fertility from the female body to the agricultural land, in which scenario, the female body has to be sacrificed in order for the land to flourish.

Frameworks

The study benefits from the theory of Cultural Transmission (CT), a non-biological system of information transfer from one individual to another as discussed by Eerkens and Lipo.[52] The three primary components that affect CT are Content, Context, and Mode.[53] Content refers to the bits of information that were transmitted, in this case the patterns. The more complex the pattern, the more likelihood an "error" would be generated in the copy. The rate of error is also affected by other information that are bundled together with the textile pattern, for example ritual use, status, prestige of materials. Context is the circumstances in which the pattern was transmitted. This involves the social relationship between the people who possess the knowledge versus the seekers. Knowledge of weaving, for example, is passed down from mother to daughter through daily physical repetitions. This type of information transfer would have a lower rate of variability than, for example, those that were handed down one time by a guru to the initiate through verbal or spiritual communication; Mode is

[52] Eerkens and Lipo, "Cultural Transmission Theory,"239–274; Jelmer W. Eerkens and Carl P. Lipo, "Cultural Transmission, Copying Errors, and the Generation of Variation in Material Culture and the Archaeological Record," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24, no. 4 (2005): 316–334. The CT theory evolved from the diffusionist theory (DT), put forward by among others, Franz Boas. DT examined historical relatedness with the basic idea that proximity generates more common elements than distance. Furthermore, similarity is more likely a result of dissemination of information rather than to independent creation. Modern CT differs from DT in its emphasis on evaluating the individual's actions and decision as measure to predict the rate of transmission (related to the Darwinian theory). See Eerkens and Lipo, "Cultural Transmission Theory," 241.
[53] Ibid., 247-252.

the process in which Contents are transmitted, and it is very closely related to the Context. *Tracing Patterns* has more control over the Content than the Context or Mode.[54]

Within the CT system, there is no one *true* pattern.[55] All patterns are echoes of something greater, and it is the variety within the group that could make the image more legible. This is especially important when there is no true source. For example, no Chinese silks have survived in Java to confirm the prototypes of the Candi Sewu. That the Candi Sewu itself is the earliest and lone example of such pattern in the eighth century, is a matter of incidental survival. For these reasons, I try to include as many examples to show the widest variation of a pattern within a certain time period.

An important proposition of the CT theory is that new information coming into a culture will be altered through the worldview of the recipient, but in the process it also altered the recipient's worldview.[56] This is where the "Indian veil" idea collapsed. In CT, the influence is not a layer that can be lifted. To repeat the words of Ernst Gombrich, "There is no innocent eye."[57] It is apparent that constant alteration of the patterns was ongoing. Once a foreign pattern was introduced in Java, it underwent a process of acculturation; in the next period, it was again transformed, perhaps through different catalysts and motivations. Thus, the textile images on stones and metals serve as evidence of the process of cultural transmission, capturing "the interaction of both individual experimentation (i.e., innovation) and social learning (i.e. copying)."[58]

Another theoretical framework that informs this study is the Ornament Theories. More than ever, ornament has moved away from being the decorative skin, which can be added to or removed from the underlying structure. Ornament is no longer studied as a simple anthropological taxonomy of pattern.[59] Nor is it treated as superfluous excess for design on buildings and furniture.[60] Oleg Grabar's seminal work on medieval Islamic art was among the first to open the door for a new way of looking at ornament when he argued that the ornaments on buildings and bowls mediate our experiences of those artistic forms.[61] To quote loosely the words of Alfred Gell, ornament has an 'agency.'[62]

In the wake of Grabar's *Mediation on Ornament*, new studies began to look at the cultural-specific adaptation of ornament, which add further nuances to the meta-level discussion. According to Martin Powers in his study of graphic

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[54] The same is true for the work of archaeologists. Ibid., 261.
[55] Ibid., 243.
[56] Ibid., 244.
[57] Gombrich, *Art and Illusion*.
[58] Eerkens and Lipo, "Cultural Transmission Theory," 242-243.
[59] Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament* (London: B. Quaritch, 1910).
[60] The 1908 essay is translated in Adolph Loos, *Ornament and Crime: Selected Essays*. Studies in Austrian Literature, Culture, and Thought. Translation Series (Riverside: Ariadne Press, 1998).
[61] Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
[62] Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1998).

representation in Ancient China, ornament is never neutral; it exists as a system that is artificial by design and in diametrical opposition to the order of Mother Nature.[63] The underlying assumption for his research of the relationship between crafts and social structures is highly relevant: "Since a decorated artifact retains a direct record of the thought, care, and labor required for both production and its consumption, its shape and ornament could encode a great deal about the community practices and priorities." Textile images that adorned statues and accompanied the visual narratives in Ancient Java, too, speak of the period mindsets, habitual practice and societal concerns in regard to particular ideas and values.

Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Alexandra Payne's edited book, *Histories of Ornament,* has successfully problematized the definition of ornament. It illustrates the numerous cultural settings in which ornaments facilitate communication between the art and the viewers. [64] The work identifies the locus of the ornament's agency in three concepts: first, transmediality: the flexibility of ornaments to migrate from media to media, either as a whole or in parts; second, transmateriality: the capacity to mimic or absorb other material in the process of elevating its own presence; third, surfacescape: the ability of ornament to embody the whole landscape of cultural interactions and social intents on its very surface.[65]

In South and Southeast Asian scholarship, the preeminence of ornament has in fact been recognized early on, for example in a 1939 article by Ananda Coomaraswamy where he discusses the original meaning of the Sanskrit *alamkara*, *abrahana* and *bhusana*. All of the above terms could be translated as ornament but their essences go further beyond surface beautification and embellishment; these terms encompass a deeper implication of decorum, completeness, even magic.[66] Phillip Rawson echoed Coomaraswamy's view that the efficacy of the art is embodied in the ornament. It is ornament that creates a heightened emotional state of the viewers: "Unless Rama and Sita are clothed in their brilliant robes,…unless they speak a figurative poetry which draws into the arena of the play a kind of pageant of associated natural phenomena—all ornament—there is no art." [67] A similar sentiment—where ornament is the

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[63] Martin J. Powers, *Pattern and Person: Ornament, Society, and Self in Classical China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2006), 68-69. Powers attempts to map the correlation between highly abstracted graphic images that decorate bronze ritual objects and the notion of human's character and personhood in particular qualities deemed necessary by society to be good officials.

[64] Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Alexandra Payne, eds., *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016).

[65] The concept of surfacescape is explained most clearly in the essay by Jonathan Hay, "The Passage of the Other: Elements for a Redefinition of Ornament," in *Histories of Ornament: From Global to Local*, eds. Gülru Necipoğlu and Alina Alexandra Payne (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 62–69.

[66] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, "Ornament," *The Art Bulletin* 21, no. 4 (1939): 375–382.

[67] Philip Rawson, "An Exalted Theory of Ornament: A Study in Indian Aesthetics," *The British Journal of Aesthetics* 7, no. 1 (January 1, 1967): 31–40.

productive site for the competing aesthetic and efficacy—underlies the many studies in Ancient Javanese art and ornamentations, in which the works of Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and Marijke Klokke are the most influential.[68] It is my hope that *Tracing Patterns of Textiles in Ancient Java* could serve to further the discourse on ornament and cultural transmission in the Indonesian field through the topics presented in the following chapters.

[68] Marijke J. Klokke, "Ornamental Motifs: The Stylistic Method Applied to Ancient Javanese Temple Art," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998*, eds. W. Lobo and S. Reimann (Hull: University of Hull, Centre for South-East Asian Studies), 85–98; Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Meandering Clouds for Earrings," in *Old Javanese Gold (14th-15th Century) : An Archaeometrical Approach*, eds. Pienke W. H. Kal (Amsterdam: KIT/Tropenmuseum, 1994), 18–29; Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Ornaments with Meaningful Motifs: Genital Protection," in *Gold in Early Southeast Asia: Selected Papers from the Symposium Gold in Southeast Asia: Yale University Art Gallery, 13-14 May 2011*, eds. Ruth Barnes, Emma Natalya Stein, and Benjamin Diebold, Monograph 64 / Yale Southeast Asia Studies (New Haven: Yale University Council on Southeast Asia Studies, 2015), 89–124.

CHAPTER ONE

CONNECTED CIRCLES PATTERN
The localization of foreignness

> "A fabric recreated in stone, however, may tell us more than would actual textile fragments or impressions, for it documents the local response to the imported objects."
>
> H. W. Woodward, *A Chinese Silk Depicted at Candi Sewu*.[1]

1.1. Introduction

Candi Sewu, an eighth-century Buddhist temple (*candi*) in Central Java, exhibits on its exterior walls 16 rectangular panels with patterns that have long been thought to be representations of foreign textiles (fig 1.1).[2] Specifically, these figured panels were compared to a type of woven silks produced in China and Central Asia during the Tang Dynasty (618-907). The pattern has an overall design layout of repeating circles, whose perimeters barely touch at their four cardinal points (fig. 1.2). The areas outside the circles form the interstices of convex lozenges or diamonds. Both the circles and the lozenges enclose distinctive motifs of flowers, animals, and four-pointed leaflets. In this study, I call this pattern the connected circles pattern. This chapter traces the evolution of the pattern in Java from the eighth century until its disappearance in the thirteenth century during the Singhasari Period and aims to show the process of localization of the foreign patterns in Java.

The patterns on Candi Sewu panels are by no means the earliest examples of the connected circles patterns in Java. As we will see further in the study, there were precedents of this pattern as single rows of circles at Candi Borobudur. The Sewu patterns, however, are the first instance when the connected circles configuration is displayed in full, recognizable textile format. This recognition allows me to contextualize similar patterns that appeared in partial sections as decorative architectural elements and also the later evolution of the pattern. First, I focus on the Candi Sewu panels and closely analyze the individual panels (section 1.2). I then trace the prototypes of the patterns through evidence of

[1] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 233–244.

[2] *Candi* is a general term used to designate any religious architecture in Ancient Java. See R. Soekmono, "The Javanese Candi: Function and Meaning," in *Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology*, vol. 17 (Leiden: Brill, 1995).

archaeological textiles from China and Central Asia and propose the trade route how these textiles made their way to Java (section 1.3, 1.4). It is clear that the Javanese artists did not simply copy a given model. I propose that there was an early religious association between the connected circles pattern and Buddhism in Central Java by drawing a comparison between the pattern seen on the base of the giant Buddha in Candi Mendut and the comparative examples depicted on Buddhist images found in Tibet and along the Silk Road (section 1.5). I examine the artistic steps taken by the Javanese artists when adapting the foreign pattern to best fit the decorative scheme of the Buddhist temple (section 1.6).

I then trace the afterlife of the connected circles pattern beyond Candi Sewu and the Tang Dynasty. This is exemplified by another set of patterned wall panels, which occur on a ninth-century Hindu temple, Candi Lara Jonggrang. I then argue that although the panels' rectangular format is similar to that of the Sewu panels, certain features betray their full credibility as textile images (section 1.7). I trace the varied evolution of the connected circles pattern in later examples, many of which are found on Buddhist stone and metal figures. These examples make clear that the readability of the textile pattern is influenced by the medium and the size of the objects on which the patterns are imprinted (section 1.8). Throughout this chapter, I discuss the issue of textile technology. Several techniques could have produced the connected circles patterns. The prototypes for the Candi Sewu panels, early Chinese and Central Asian silks, were most likely woven in a weft-faced technique called *samit*. But I propose that those seen on the later Buddhist statues might be Indian trade textiles. I will also draw a parallel between certain features seen on the connected circle patterns and those found on the *patola* cloth from Gujarat (section 1.9).

1.2. The Connected Circles Pattern at Candi Sewu (8th century)

The Sewu temple complex lies in the Prambanan plane region in Central Java. The compound originally comprised of 249 stone temples within a series of walled enclosures. In the very center is a square courtyard that houses the main temple and several smaller, subsidiary shrines. The main temple, which is the focus of this study is referred to here as Candi Sewu. It is constructed like a Greek cross, with a core inner chamber and four projecting shrines and vestibules. The exterior walls of the shrines are adorned with rectangular wall panels that appear to simulate textile banners. The panels have distinct borders and feature rows of inhabited circles (fig. 1.3). The exact date of the main temple remains speculative because there is no inscription that can be linked with a hundred percent certainty to its establishment. The most popularly held hypothesis assigns the temple construction to 782–792 on the basis of two inscriptions that were found in the vicinity of the temple.[3] According to J.

[3] The Kelurak inscription (dated 782) was found in the nearby area, close to other temples called Candi Lumbung and Candi Bubrah. The inscription recounts a consecration of a Bodhisattwa

Dumarçay the main temple underwent two phases of building construction (fig. 1.4). [4] Marijke Klokke's studies on decorative ornaments further support the presence of two different styles that corresponded to the two phases.[5] Both studies placed the textile wall panels with the earlier structures, dated to the later part of the eighth century.

Hiram Woodward was the first scholar to propose that the Candi Sewu panels depict real cloth. He assigned the pattern to a type of textiles referred to in the Michael Meister's 1970 article, "The Pearl Roundel in Chinese Textile Design."[6] In effect, Woodward placed the Sewu pattern under the large category of the pearl roundel patterned textiles that were very popular commodities in Silk Road trade during the seventh to ninth centuries. These textiles were produced in both China and Central Asia in large quantities. Woodward compared the textile format and design layout of the Sewu panels to two silk panels that have been preserved in European church treasuries: a complete panel in the Cathedral of Sens, France (h. 242 cm, w. 137 cm; fig. 1.5) and an incomplete panel of Saint Mengold silk in the Church of Notre-Dame in Huy, Belgium (h. 200 cm, w. 130 cm; fig. 1.6).[7] Like the Sewu panels, they feature distinct borders on four sides. These silks were popularly known as the *Zandaniji* group, and, at the time of Woodward's publication, were assigned to seventh-century Sogdiana production in Central Asia.[8]

According to Woodward, the Candi Sewu panels depict Chinese weavings that imitated the Central Asian style, as opposed to the true Central Asian production represented by the above silks. Using the example of a Chinese silk

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statue of Manjusri conducted by a Mahayana priest from Bengal. Another inscription, the Manjusrigraha (dated 792) was found within the temple complex but far from the main temple. See H. B. Sarkar, *Corpus of the Inscriptions of Java up to 928 A.D* (Calcutta: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1971), 41-48, no. 6. There are also some inscriptions on the smaller shrines and gold plates; all point to early to mid-ninth century. See Véronique Degroot, *Candi, Space and Landscape: A Study on the Distribution, Orientation and Spatial Organization of Central Javanese Temple Remains* (Leiden: Sidestone Press, 2009), 237-240.

[4] J. Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu dan Arsitektur Bangunan Agama Buddha di Jawa Tengah* (Jakarta: Forum Jakarta-Paris, etc, 2007). Dumarçay observed that Central Javanese architectures underwent changes in their technical construction around 830 and included the use of double walls filled in with a mixture of stones, mud and chalk, and different joining techniques.

[5] Marijke J. Klokke, "The History of Central Javanese Architecture: Architecture as Complementary Sources of Information," in *Anamorphoses: Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay* (Paris: Les Indes Savantes, 2006), 49–68. Klokke studies three types of ornaments: the *kala* motif, the *makara* motif, and a floral motif found on doorposts. She attributed the later phase to 828-855.

[6] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 233, cf. Michael W. Meister, "The Pearl Roundel in Chinese Textile Design," *Ars Orientalis* 8 (1970): 255–267.

[7] Ibid., For the early discussion on these so-called *Zandanaji* silks, see Dorothy G. Shepherd and W. B. Henning, "Zandanījī Identified?" in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst; Festschrift für ErnstKühnel zum 75. Geburtstag am 26. 10. 1957*, ed. Richard Ettinghausen (Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1959). See page 30 for the dimension of the Sens silk. For the measurement of the Huy silk, see: http://balat.kikirpa.be/photo.php?path=B179767&objnr=10116572&lang=en-GB.

[8] For the latest discussion on the so-called *Zandanaji* silks, see Louise Mackie, *Symbols of Power: Luxury Textiles from Islamic Lands, 7th-21st Century* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 2015). I am grateful to Kosuke Goto for this reference.

fragment that is preserved in the Shosoin treasury in Japan (w. 115 cm), he argued that the width of the Candi Sewu panels (around 110 cm) is closer to the Chinese loom width. Another telltale sign was the specific arrangement of the flower motif on Candi Sewu panel, which consists of a main flower surrounded by secondary flowers. Woodward recognized such encirclement of flowers from many Tang Dynasty silverware, such as the bowl in figure 1.7.[9]

In 2003, Brigitta Khan Majlis contested Woodward's study.[10] She argued that the Sewu panels could neither be identified as Chinese nor Central Asian, for the patterns diverge from any known examples.[11] She suggested that the panels were representations of locally made textiles, but also admitted that she could not visualize a local technique that would have been able to produce the patterns. She reconciled this dilemma by proposing that the panels depict ritual cloths produced by a technique that was "the specialty of royal women at the Sailendra court."[12] And because the technique was a matter of the inner court, this special knowledge would not be recorded in any text and, thus, unbeknownst to us. I disagree with Majlis's final hypothesis, but I concur that the Candi Sewu panels are rather unusual when one compares them to either Chinese or Central Asian pearl roundel textiles.

The Sewu panels occur sixteen times around the temple façade (fig. 1.8): eight panels are on the upper walls (figs. 1.9a-b) and eight on the lower walls (figs. 1.10a-h). The dimension of the lower wall panels is around 285 cm in height and 110 cm in width. The border is a plain narrow molding. Within this framing, there are rows of adjoining roundels with diamond interstices. Each roundel encloses a flower, a deer, and a lion. There are eight rows, each with three roundels, which makes a total of twenty four roundels per panel. The panels of the upper walls are only partially visible. The bottom parts are truncated, hidden by the abutting triangular roof of the side shrines. Thus, it is currently impossible

[9] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 237. Adding to Woodward's observation of the Tang silver, I would like to point out the crenelated petals that surround the flower and decorate the rim of the bowl. This feature is also present on the flowers on the Candi Sewu panels.

[10] Brigitta Khan Majlis, "Leaves and Blossoms: Textile Reliefs on the Walls of Central-Javanese Candis," in *Fishbones and Glittering Emblems: Southeast Asian Archaeology 2002*, eds. Anna Karlström and Anna Källén (Stockholm: Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, 2003), 357–70. Majlis interpreted the textile panels within the context of the temple as *Manjusri griha*, the house of Manjusri. She cited that the stanza 14 on the Kelurak inscriptions mentions the concept of the Buddhist *triratna*, which is the Buddha, the *dharma* (law), and the *sangha* (the congregation of monks). She argued that each element of the *triratna* is represented by the motifs on the textile panels: the lion symbolizes the Shakya clan to whom the Buddha belonged; the two kneeling deer to symbolize the first sermon of the Buddha at the Deer Park, thus signifying the beginning of Dharma; and the lotus flower symbolizes the *sangha* through the play of word between the Sanskrit *sangha* to the Old Javanese *sangha*, which also means flower.

[11] Majlis, "Leaves and Blossoms," 369.

[12] Ibid., 370.

to estimate the panels' original height. The map by Dumarcay shows that the roofs of the side shrines were later additions (fig. 1.4).[13]

The upper panels' state of preservation is also rather poor. Nevertheless, there are enough remaining sections of the panels to show that the patterns are identical to that of the bottom panels. Because of the fragmentary state of the upper panels and the difficulty of photographing them from the ground, I only referenced the bottom panels for the following analysis of the pattern. The basic elements of the pattern are three types of roundels—a flower roundel, a lion roundel, and a deer roundel—and a diamond interstice.

1. The flower roundel is encircled by a thin band edged with crenellations (figs. 1.11a-h). Within this enclosure is a fantastical blossom—a composite of a large flower in full bloom, surrounded by eight florets that fan outwards and point to the cardinal and inter-cardinal directions. The center of the principal flower is a double ring, enveloped by two layers of petals. The first layer comprises of eight petals that are small and roundish, while the second layer consists of four wider and pointier petals. The main flower and the florets are presented to the viewers from different perspective. While the large flower is shown from a top-down perspective, the radiating florets are depicted in three-quarter view. The alteration makes it seems as if the two types of blossoms inhabit different spatial planes.

2. The lion roundel is outlined by a plain band, topped with pearl-like discs (figs. 1.12a-c). The pearl border encloses an open lotus with double petals. A lion, recognizable by its distinctive mane, is enclosed within (also can be read as standing on top of) the flower. The lion's snout is pronounced and its jaw opens. One of its front legs is raised as if in greeting. It has a long tail that terminates in a tuft of hair. On some of the panels (1 and 8), the tail curls up and then downwards; on the others, the tail slips between the haunch, wraps under the belly and curls upwards.

3. The deer roundel has an identical border and an open lotus flower as those on the lion roundel (figs. 1.13a-c). Each lotus supports a deer that bites on a stalk of leaf. The animal has an elongated muzzle, almond-shaped eyes, tapered ears and thin legs with hoofs. The legs are bent against the edge of the roundel. Depending on the acuity of the bent, the animal may appear to assume different stances: prancing, crouching, or seated. Both the deer and the lion roundels also employ two different perspectives: a top-down view of the lotus flower, and the profile view to depict the animals.

4. A concave lozenge is formed by every four connecting circles (fig. 1.14a, b). This interstice contains a diamond center that projects symmetrical foliage from the four corners. The contour of the foliage expands and contracts into the

[13] According to Marijke Klokke, the gateways underneath the roof were also made narrower and lower in later temples (personal conversation, 6 January 2017).

available space. A flower, rendered in three-quarter view rests on each side of the diamond.[14]

In summary, the composition of Candi Sewu pattern can be dissected into four separate elements: the deer roundel with a lotus and pearl border, the lion roundel with a similar border, the composite blossom without a pearl border, and the diamond interstice. Each of these four elements can be found on Chinese or Central Asian textiles that were circulating along the Silk Road during the seventh to ninth centuries. As we will see in the next section, however, the composition as a whole does not match with any single textile of the period.

1.3. Textile prototypes for the Candi Sewu Pattern

Patterns with inhabited circles, often with a pearl border, have their roots in the last pre-Islamic Iranian empire, the Sasanian (223-631). The so-called pearl roundel pattern textiles were luxurious items that signified wealth and power.[15] These textiles continued to be in demand for centuries after the fall of the Sasanian Empire and had a wide-ranging global impact on other cultures.[16] They were produced in various weaving centers along the Silk Road, from China all the way to the Mediterranean. The patterns were very important especially for the states of Sogdiana, a loose confederation of states based in Central Asia, which embraced many Sasanian customs. Images of Sogdian royalties in seventh- to eight-century wall paintings in Panjiket, near Samarkand, revealed richly decorated clothing with the Sasanian-type pearl-roundel pattern. The Sogdians were successful merchants and great patrons for the weavings of such patterned textiles. Many Sogdians also served as trading post administrators along the Silk Road.

Since the time of Woodward's publication, the scholarship on the Silk Road commerce and the textile trades has advanced considerably. New archaeological findings with more precise dating and attributions have enabled distinction between various nuances of textile types. Current scholarship no longer attributes the so-called *Zandaniji* silks previously mentioned by Woodward (figs. 1.5, 1.6) to seventh-century Sogdiana. It has been pointed out

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[14] Woodward describes the interstitial pattern as "Greek cross-cusped lozenges, surrounded by four floriated balls and, extending from the four corners." Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 233.

[15] There is a long and complex history behind the pearl border pattern. Roundel with pearls enclosing a lotus was already a popular design on Gupta works. Chinese textiles as early as the Han Dynasty have also depicted this type of border.

[16] Related designs based on pearl roundel patterns gained new currency in the Byzantium, Islamic, and Persian-ruled regions. See Helen C. Evans and William D. Wixom eds., *The Glory of Byzantium: Art and Culture of the Middle Byzantine Era, A.D. 843-1261* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997) fig. 148; A. D. H. Bivar, "Sasanian Iconography on Textiles and Seals," in *Central Asian Textiles*, ed. Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 9, fig. 7; Valentina I. Raspopova, "Textiles Represented in Sogdian Murals," in *Central Asian Textiles*, ed. Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 61-74.

that the pairing of animals on the *Zandaniji* group (for examples the Sens and Huy wall hangings) is not consistent with the norms of the animal roundel patterns on Sogdians wall paintings in Panjiket, which always depict a single animal. In fact, the pairing of animals is more typical to Chinese textiles. In term of the technique, however, the woven structure of the the *Zandaniji* group is different than that of the Chinese pearl roundel. The latest scholarship on the *Zandaniji* group assigned it to the production of the eastern provinces of the Abbasid Caliphate during the ninth century.[17] This dating puts the Sens and Huy wall hangings slightly later than the Candi Sewu panels.

In the China proper, pearl roundel pattern already appeared with some frequency by the Northern Dynasty (5th–6th centuries). [18] Cultural and technological exchanges between the Sogdians and the Chinese occurred along their oft-shifting border regions, stimulating the adoption of the pattern in Chinese textiles. One of the pattern's most attractive qualities is the ability of the roundels to frame any motif within its circular border. This flexibility allows the pattern to capture and project differing ethnic and artistic expressions. As the excavations of the elite tombs around Xinjiang have revealed, there are large groups of regional variations of roundel patterns. The Sogdians, for example, continued to follow the classical Sasanian type, featuring large roundels that enclose a single animal, such as a duck with jewels and ribbons, a winged horse, or a boar head. The favorite animals of the Chinese, on the other hand, are deer and mythical creatures such as dragons, phoenixes, and qilins.[19] Lion, which are not indigenous to China, entered the artistic vocabulary as part of the introduction of Buddhism into China, and gained popularity as a decorative motif from the fifth century until the Tang Dynasty.[20] The Chinese also preferred to portray the animals as a confronting pair, in a bilateral symmetry along the warps.

At first glance, the Candi Sewu pattern seems to represent the Central Asian type because the roundels contain a single animal and, also, the specific curling treatment of the lion's tail originated from the arts of Central Asia.

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[17] Mackie, *Symbols of Power*, 64.

[18] In the beginning, Central Asia and China have different weaving traditions, dictated by the availability of the raw materials that were native to the local habitat. Wool is abundant in Central Asia, which lends to weft-faced oriented weavings such as *taquete*, s*amit*, and tapestry. The Chinese, on the other hand, are masters of sericulture. Silk weaving developed at first into warp-oriented techniques such as gauze weaves and *jin* or warp-faced compound plain weave. The advent of Sinicized pearl roundel silks also came hand-in-hand with a technological revolution of drawloom in China during the Sui (581-618) and Tang Dynasty (618-906). At this time the Silk Road allowed movement not only of goods but also craftsmen, and oasis towns such as Astana and Turfan in Xinjiang provided a fertile ground for the technological exchanges between the weft-face textile traditions of the Sogdian weavers and the warp-face textile traditions of the Chinese weavers.

[19] Raspopova, "Textiles Represented in Sogdian Murals," 258.

[20] Annette L. Juliano, Judith A. Lerner, and Michael Alram, *Monks and Merchants: Silk Road Treasures from Northwest China Gansu and Ningxia 4th-7th Century* (New York: Harry N. Abrams with the Asia Society, 2001), 268, pls. 92a, b.

However, I agree with Woodward that the Sewu panels represent Chinese textiles that imitated the Central Asian, Sasanian-type roundel. Such textiles were known to have been produced by the Chinese for the Central Asian market.[21] In addition, motifs of lions with long curling tails have also been found in eighth- to ninth-century burial sites in Dulan (Qinghai) and Tibet.[22] Another—perhaps the clearest—evidence of the Chinese prototype is the flower roundel.

Close examination of the Candi Sewu's flower roundels shows a border that consists of a single row of crenellations indicating lotus petals. These flower and lotus petals originated from a type of Chinese textiles that is often referred to as floral medallion.[23] This medallion is in fact a later development from a simple flower roundel with a pearl border (fig. 1.15). What started as small flower roundel later evolved into gigantic floral medallion that reached its full-blown expression in the High Tang Period roughly the first half of the eighth century (fig. 1.16). Here, the flower has exploded from the confines of roundel and transformed into a borderless, exuberant rosette.[24] The majority of Chinese floral medallions were made for consumption in Mainland China. Some Tang floral medallions are preserved in the Shosoin, Japan, where they are documented as *karahana*, meaning Chinese flowers. The floral medallion was also adopted as a decorative ornament on different media. The pattern is particularly apt for decorating round objects, whose contour became the implied boundary of a circle. The blossom on a mirror from the tomb of Princess Li Chui in Xian, dated to 736 (fig. 1.17) comes closest to the eighth-century Candi Sewu floral motif. The pattern is inlaid mother-of-pearls on a lacquered surface on the back of the mirror. The flower consists of a central rosette from which eight smaller blossoms project outward. The apparent connection between the pattern on the mirror and Candi Sewu is underscored by the identical three-quarter-view treatment of the radiating blossoms. This circular configuration of flowers continued to endure up to the Liao Dynasty (916-1125) as a vestige of the High Tang floral medallion. An example is a pattern on a Liao silk *samit* boot, which bears the recognizable composite flower with projecting smaller flowers (fig. 1.18). Another pattern development from the floral medallion is the separation of the four directional leaflets from the interstices. The quatrefoil pattern later became an independent decorative motif (fig. 1.19).[25]

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[21] These textiles were woven with specific features that distinguish them from their Central Asian counterpart. On the various types of woven structure of pearl roundel, see Feng Zhao, "The Evolution of Textiles along the Silk Road," in *China: Dawn of a Golden Age, 200-750 AD*, eds. James C. Y. Watt and Prudence Oliver Harper (New York; New Haven: Metropolitan Museum of Art ; Yale University Press, 2004), 67-77.

[22] This motif already appeared in China as early as the late sixth century. See Juliano, Lerner, and Alram, *Monks and Merchants*, 268, pls. 92a,b.

[23] James C. Y. Watt and Anne E. Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold: Central Asian and Chinese Textiles* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1997), 33, pl. 4.

[24] Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, 38-39, pl. 6.

[25] Ibid., 39.

The flower roundels, floral medallions, and quatrefoil patterns all have a quadrilateral symmetry, indicating that they were produced on drawlooms that were equipped with a mirror imaging system along the warps and the wefts. In term of patterning system, the mirror imaging system is efficient and economical because it requires only one quarter of the work to produce a full pattern. The archaeological findings in Central Asia show that textiles with floral roundels are found only at the end of the seventh century. They appeared later than the animal pearl roundels, which were more typical of the second half of the seventh century.[26] The murals in Sogdian tombs in Panjiket also suggest that textiles with flower roundels were more frequently used for cushions and saddlecloths than for garments.[27]

Looking back at the previous theories about the Candi Sewu panels, Woodward was right about the seventh- to ninth-century Chinese silks attribution. However, Majlis was also accurate about the singular quality of the panels that sets them apart from any contemporaneous Chinese and Central Asian textiles. Indeed, so far, there is no known pearl roundel pattern textile that incorporates two different animals on the same fabric. There is also no textile that combines fantastic flowers with animal pearl roundels. I propose that the connected circles pattern on Candi Sewu panels is a composite image that combined two different types of textile patterns: the Sasanian-type animal pearl roundel and the High Tang Dynasty floral medallion. On the Candi Sewu panels these two textiles were combined into one seamless textile image but later in the chapter I will show that each of the textile prototypes followed its own evolution in Java.

1.4. Trade routes

As mentioned above, the connected circles patterns on the Candi Sewu are associated with the prestigious roundel patterned silks, which were heavily traded along the Northern Overland Silk Road. The silks that inspired the Sewu panels, however, had to arrive in the island of Java via the Southern Silk Road, i.e. the sea trade. This is not surprising, given that the maritime route between China and Indonesia was already noted since at least the first half of the fifth century, and it became increasingly active in the fifth to sixth centuries.[28] In 640,

[26] Raspopova, "Textiles Represented in Sogdian Murals," 73.
[27] Ibid., 67.
[28] Faxian, a Chinese Buddhist monk who traveled to India to procure Buddhist texts, gave the earliest accounts of sea travel from India to China via Indonesia. In his *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms*, he wrote about his return journey in 413 C.E. aboard a mercantile ship from Ceylon to China and passing through Southeast Asia. Another early record was written by Gunavarman, a Buddhist prince from Kashmir who went to China a few years later than Faxian via the same route. Ships journeying across the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea often had to stop for months in Java or Sumatra to await the change of direction of the seasonal wind of the monsoon.

Chinese official annals recorded the existence of well-established maritime trade routes between the Western Indian Ocean and the South China Sea.[29] One of the main forces behind the increasing maritime trade in the ninth century was the Southern China's demand for foreign goods such as aromatic woods and spices.[30] In return, Chinese ceramics and silks were used for payment for the South and Southeast Asian products.[31] The other economic force for the maritime trade at the time was the Islamic dynasty, the Abbasid (750–1258). The vigorous artistic contact between the Islamic kingdom and South China is underscored by the definite traces of Chinese influence on eighth-century ceramics produced in Iraq and Iran.[32] The active period of sea trade between these two regions no doubt benefitted many harbor cities in South and Southeast Asia and exposed them to a great variety of Chinese trade goods.

A number of shipwrecks found in the Java Sea corroborate the study of the ceramics. A marine excavation team in 1996 led by Michael Flecker, for example, discovered a ninth-century shipwreck off the Belitung Island.[33] The ship—of Arab, Persian or Indian origin—was laden with a cargo of Chinese ceramics, mostly from the Changsa kiln in the Hunan Province, and was en route to the Persian Gulf.[34] This discovery bears witness to the firmly established maritime trade between the Arab world, India, and China in the ninth century. While organic materials including textiles did not survive in this wreck, Tang

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See Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce*, 35-36. In the seventh century another Chinese Buddhist monk, Yi Jing, alluded to the regularity with which monks travelled between China and India.

[29] At first, Java was recorded with the name Ho-ling. The last mention of Ho-ling was in 818. Afterward, Java was mentioned in official records as She-po. She-po sent dignitary mission to China in the years 820, 831, 839. According to the *Hsin Tang Shu*, an eleventh-century compilation, there was another mission that took place during the 860-873 period. See O. W. Wolters, "A Few and Miscellaneous Pi-Chi Jottings on Early Indonesia," *Indonesia* 36 (October 1983): 62.

[30] Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce,* 76-78. A *phi-chi* writing by Su O in the late ninth century provides details of the tribute given by the Javanese to the Tang emperor in 868. It included "a screen, ornamented with gold flowers; a couch made of 'cooling' material (ivory or sandalwood?); a beautifully decorated mat for the couch; a 'soft and warm' cushion; valuable incense; frankincense of fine resin." Around 873, the Tang emperor I-Tsung presented these items in public to a Buddhist relic in the Feng-Hsiang pagoda in the capital of Changan. This event indicates that the Javanese products were not only worthy of royal display, but perhaps also significantly connected to the Buddhist rituals. See Wolters, "A Few and Miscellaneous Pi-Chi Jottings, 61–62.

[31] Southern Qi dynasty (479-502) record mentions the trading of Chinese silks and brocades between Chang Ching-chen and a Southeast Asian merchant of the K'un-lun ships. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce,* 78.

[32] This contact slowly petered out by the eleventh century, and the artistic exchange came to a stop in the twelfth century. By the thirteenth century, the Persian Gulf went into decline as an international port. See Tim Stanley, "Patterns of Exchange in the Decorative Arts between China and South-West Asia," in *Aspects of the Maritime Silk Road: From the Persian Gulf to the East China Sea*, ed. Ralph Kauz (Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 107–115.

[33] Flecker, "A Ninth-Century AD Arab or Indian Shipwreck," 335–354.

[34] Ibid., 348.

Dynasty textiles were surely part of the original cargo as well.[35] Archaeological excavations in Java provide direct evidence of the large penetration of Chinese artifacts, primarily ceramics, in the local market from the early ninth century onwards. The influx of Chinese pottery in Java at this time indicates that there was an increase in the regularity of trading activity with China.[36]

In Java, evidence of Chinese influence is particularly visible on temple decorative ornaments. According to Marijke Klokke, there were new motifs added to the repertoire of temple ornaments starting from around the 800s, which she attributes to having a 'Chinese feel.' She noted that this tendency appeared rather swiftly without precedents, suggesting a direct infusion of foreign influence. All of a sudden there were numerous depictions of open chrysanthemums, peonies with forked leaves and Sinicized figures. She also noticed that there was an overall increase in depictions of flowers and forms that are noticeably less rigid and more fluid.[37] Klokke also attributed the perspectival presentation of flowers in three-quarter-view to the same influence. This new perspective appeared in Java in the eighth century.[38] Examples of temple ornaments with flowers in three-quarter view are the Kala heads. The monster heads typically hover above niches and other openings. Their mouths open in a large grin, out of which spew various treasures, flowers, and foliage (fig. 1.20). This new style may have been instigated by contact with Chinese objects such as the lacquered mirrors and textiles with pearl roundel or floral medallion patterns.

Besides the Arabs and the Chinese, the Indian and wealthy Sogdian merchants were also major players in the maritime sea trade. Sogdian clay seals, for example, were imprinted on the bales found in Sri Lanka. They have also found sandalwoods in the Horyu-ji Temple in Nara, Japan, which must have originated from either South Asia or Southeast Asia. These pieces of evidence testify that the Sogdian merchants were involved in both the Northern Overland and the Southern Maritime Silk Roads.[39] The dominance of the Sogdian merchants lasted from the fourth century to the end of the Tang Dynasty.[40]

During this time, coastal ports in northwest India served as transshipment centers for goods that were traded between China and the Mediterranean.

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[35] The maritime trade with China continued even to the thirteenth century, as attested by the Java Sea Wreck. The ship was a type of Indonesian lashed-lug craft. Based on the contents of the cargo, mainly Chinese ceramics and iron, it appears that the ship was making the return voyage from China when it met its demise. See Flecker, "The Thirteenth-Century Java Sea Wreck," 388–404.

[36] John Miksic, "Research on Ceramic Trade within Southeast Asia and between Southeast Asia and China," in *Southeast Asian Ceramics: New Light on Old Pottery*, ed. John Miksic (Singapore: Southeast Asian Ceramic Society, 2009), 171–191.

[37] Klokke, *Culturele Ontmoetingen*, 10-11.

[38] Marijke Klokke (personal conversation, 6 January 2017).

[39] Amy Heller, "Recent Findings on Textiles from the Tibetan Empire," in *Central Asian Textiles*, ed. Schorta (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2006), 179.

[40] See Tansen Sen, *Buddhism, Diplomacy, and Trade: The Realignment of Sino-Indian Relations, 600-1400* (Honolulu: Association for Asian Studies and University of Hawai'i Press, 2003), 160-165.

Chinese silks, for example, would travel westwards through the overland Northern Silk route through Central Asia and then southwards to the ports of Barbaricon and Barygaza in northwest India, which correspond in the modern time to the greater area of Gujarat. From these ports, trade items would be transported to Rome via ships.[41] The same trade patterns continued in the sixth and seventh centuries to supply Chinese silks for the Byzantine empire.[42] I propose that it is possible that the prototype models for the pattern on the Candi Sewu panels passed through one of the northwestern Indian ports. Instead of being shipped westwards, however, they travelled eastwards following the maritime route between India and South China, and en route made its way in the Indonesian archipelago. In Java, these patterns were reassembled to create a local expression. In the following sections, I will present a new way of looking at the Sewu panels, by considering their ornamental function within the Buddhist temple context.

1.5. The Buddhist Context

The most direct association of the connected circles pattern with Buddhism is found on ninth-century Candi Mendut in Central Java. It is located three kilometers west of the majestic Candi Borobudur. The two temples and a smaller temple of Candi Pawon stand in a line, marking an ancient path of temple procession. The inner chamber of Candi Mendut opens to the west and houses three giant Buddhist statues; each seated on a high stepped rectangular pedestal. The Buddha sits in the center with the Boddhisatwa Manjusri and Awalokiteswara at his sides.

The middle pedestal that supports the Buddha is decorated with a pattern in low relief carving, now rather worn out and only partially preserved (fig. 1.21). Despite the fragmented state, enough of it remains to allow for a close approximation of the original design. The schematic consists of two rows of connecting circles, enclosing a central open flower. The border consists of three rows of bandings: the outer and inner bands are plain, and the middle shows a row of ovals, reminiscent of a pearl border. The pattern on the interstices of the Mendut panels is similar to those of the Sewu panels. It is a double-diamond center, surrounded by foliage that fills up the intervening spaces between the roundels.

The association between the pearl roundel pattern and Buddhism finds precedent in Buddhist images along the Silk Road. A close example is illustrated by two eighth-century bronze images found in Tibet. The first sculpture, now in the collection of the Norton Simon Museum, is assigned to the production of Kashmir (fig. 1.22); the second, in the Pritzker Collection, is attributed to Gilgit, Pakistan (fig. 1.23). Both statues were believed to have reached Tibet shortly after

[41] This trade pattern has existed since the first century before the Common Era. Ibid., 160.
[42] Ibid.

their manufacture. Amy Heller explained that the use of the roundel pattern on the two Indian Buddha images was tied to a specific moment, at the time when Kashmir had a Buddhist prime minister who originated from Tocharistan. His connection to Central Asia may have been the result of the fashionable use of pearl roundel style textiles on Kashmiri art.[43]

The Norton Simon Buddha is accompanied by attendants and donors. He is sitting with legs crossed in the lotus posture on top of a high pedestal. The seat is padded with an elaborately patterned cushion. The pedestal symbolizes the Cosmic Mountain. It is depicted as jagged edged platforms, broader at the bottom and narrower at the top. It is divided into three tiers: the highest is the place of the Buddha, the middle of Bodhisattwas and human, and the lowest animals. In the middle tier, we find two standing Bodhisattwas flanking the Buddha and diminutive figures of kneeling donors and their attendants. Different animals, notably two opposing deer and lions, occupy the lowest realm of the Cosmic Mountain.

The seat cushion of the Buddha displays two patterns. On the top, there appears to be a rug with a diagonal interlacing pattern that forms diamond shapes, filled with eight-petal flowers. The side of the cushion is decorated with roundels enclosing a geometricized flower. The flower petals resemble four fleurs-de-lis and palmette. The roundel border shares some elements with the border on the Mendut connected circles pattern; it consists of two outer bands that are plain and a middle band made of a string of circles or pearls.[44]

The Pritzker Collection Buddha is firmly dated to 715/716 through an inscription on the statue. The Buddha wears a crown, garlands, and decorations on the upper part of his tunic. He is surrounded by attendants and donors, comparable to the group composition of the Norton Simon Buddha. He sits straight legged on a throne supported by pillars. Two lions stand or sit at the anterior corners. The throne rests on the face of a lotus flower on top of the cosmic mountain. The mountain is constructed of three-level platforms with jagged edges. Two deer, looking backward and gazing at each other, sit on the second level near the feet of the Buddha. The wheel of dharma and demons occupy the very bottom level. The top of the cushion is decorated with a dense crisscross pattern, which refers to a diamond pattern rug, unlike that seen on the Norton Simon Buddha. The sides of the cushion display a roundel containing a turning female figure with swirled foliage. The border consists of a string of pearls. Jewel-like squares punctuate the sequence of the pearl at the cardinal points. Such punctuation is observed on many Sasanian type pearl roundel silks.

Archaeological silk findings with the pearl roundel pattern are found in large quantity in eighth to ninth-century royal tombs in Dulan, Tibet. They reveal

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[43] Heller, "Recent Findings on Textiles from the Tibetan Empire," 179.

[44] This type of pearl roundel may be related to the band pattern on Candi Borobudur's third and fourth balustrades. See Marijke J. Klokke, "Art Historical Evidence for the Building Phases of Borobudur," in *Materializing Southeast Asia's Past*, eds. Véronique Degroot and Marijke J. Klokke (Singapore: NUS Press, 2013), 10–26.

the familiar pearl border medallion containing a variety of animals—single or confronting pair—of duck, phoenix, or fantastic birds, winged horses and felines. Since Tibet did not possess sericulture, these silks must have been imported from various weaving centers. Comparison with Sogdian murals and archaeological textile findings in Xinjiang suggest that they may have been produced in Sogdiana or Central Asia, Sichuan, and even Central China.[45]

The pearl roundel pattern is very popular for Buddhist images found at various sites along the Silk Road. An example is in the Nirvana cave at Dunhuang, the Silk Road Gateway into China. The cave was constructed during the Tibetan era. It houses a giant reclining Buddha (fig. 1.24).[46] His head rests on a cushion decorated with pearl roundels containing a duck with fluttering ribbons around its neck, holding a cascade of jewelry in its beak. The pearl border is lined with crenelated lotus petals. The duck appears to be standing on top of the lotus flower, a similar sense of what we find on the Sewu panels with lion and the deer.

Another example of the association of pearl roundel to Buddhism is a seventh to eighth-century painted clay sculpture from the Khirin Cave in Shorchuck (fig. 1.25).[47] The Shorchuck Buddha wears a three-layer garment: a transparent undergarment, a yellow-brownish robe, and a reddish shawl. He sits in the lotus posture on a high rectangular pedestal that flares out at the bottom and the top into gentle curves. The upper curved contour is painted with lotus petals. The rectangular block of the pedestal depicts a pair of floral medallions inhabited by winged stags. The animals face each other towards the center. The treatment of the floral border is typical of Chinese *samit*.

The above examples illustrate how the connected circles pattern provides a flexible framework that allows varying the inhabitants of the circle without changing the basic layout composition. In the Buddhist context, the pattern incorporates images that carry meaningful symbolism in the Buddhist world. Thus, a Buddhist roundel may be filled with *kinnari* and deer instead of Chinese favorite fantastic animals such as dragons, phoenixes, qilins, etc. In the case of the Candi Sewu panels, the Javanese artists chose to portray deer for their association with the teaching of the Buddha, lions with his throne, and a lotus with the Buddha himself.[48]

In Java, the pearl roundel composition was further transformed for decoration on various surfaces, which no longer reflect its textile origin. Often,

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[45] Heller, "Recent Findings on Textiles from the Tibetan Empire," 183-184.

[46] Cave 158, West Wall, Mogao Grottos. See Dunhuang Yan Jiu Yuan, *Dunhuang: A Centennial Commemoration of the Discovery of the Cave Library* (Beijing; Chicago: Morning Glory Publishers, 2000), 40-42.

[47] Herbert Härtel and Marianne Yaldiz, *Along the Ancient Silk Routes: Central Asian Art from the West Berlin State Museums: An Exhibition Lent by the Museum Für Indische Kunst, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Federal Republic of Germany* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1982), 138-139, cat. 73.

[48] Majlis presents a more detailed discussion on the meaning of each of the motifs. See Majlis, "Leaves and Blossoms," 360.

plain circles replaced the pearl rings. The rising popularity of the pearl roundel is traceable to the later phase of the decorative program of Candi Borobudur, as shown on the third and fourth balustrades. Here the artists have discarded the garland motifs of the second balustrade and employ instead a row of pearl roundels (fig. 1.26). A row of pearls is also introduced into the pilasters on the third and fourth balustrades.[49]

Many narrative reliefs use roundels with flowers as decoration of the bases of platforms and thrones of important individuals and buildings. Figure 1.27 is one of the many instances. Here we find a depiction of "countless precious pond."[50] The pond is shown as part of a building whose foundation is decorated with pearl roundels. Perhaps the use of this pattern is one of the ways to emphasize the importance of the status of either the people or the buildings. An example of the roundel application on the base of a real building is on the later temple of Candi Ngawen.

All the above Buddhist images of connected circles in Java illustrate that the pattern is used in both textile and non-textile contexts. Later in part two, I will turn to a series of wall panels on Candi Siwa, a Hindu temple in Central Java, which has drawn many comparisons and contrasts to the Candi Sewu panels.

1.6. The localization of the connected circles pattern

The Candi Sewu panels are prime evidence of the appropriation of Chinese motifs, whereby the Javanese artists adopted and combined two types of textiles into a composite image. Examining Javanese creativity in dealing with foreign patterns or the local response to them is crucial in understanding the meaning of the Candi Sewu panels. First, one needs to recognize that these textile-like images were constructed from various sources. These include a general artistic vocabulary that was available at the time, which was not specific to textiles. One finds, for example sitting deer with leaves at Candi Mendut (fig. 1.28) and on the relief on Candi Setyaki of Dieng (fig. 1.29)[51] The lion with its long tail, in particular, the tail's movement under the haunch and upward can still be seen on the sitting lions at Candi Ngawen from a later period (fig. 1.40)[52].

A very similar composite blossom appears on the third balustrade (III24) of Candi Borobudur (fig. 1.30) on a panel described as "a temple with lotuses and other flowers."[53] The blossom is depicted next to *kinnari*, heavenly beings with

[49] Klokke, "Art Historical Evidence," figs. 2.3, 2.4.
[50] See Jan Fontein, *Entering the Dharmadhatu: A Study of the Gandavyuha Reliefs of Borobudur*. Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology, v. 26. (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2012), 83, pl. 21.
[51] Candi Setyaki is used to be called Candi A in older literatures.
[52] Woodward proposed a tantalizing evidence of the spread of lion image with the long tail from the evidence of metalwork such as the Ho-chia-tsun hoard, dated to 756 and earlier. See Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 237.
[53]Jean Louis Nou and Louis-Frédéric, *Borobudur* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1996), 271.

half human and half bird anatomy. The distinctive features of the blossom are the eight florets projections. Another related, though not an identical, form of composite blossom appears on a relief on the fourth balustrade (IVB65). The scene is described as "a holy figure receives homages from a Brahman and his companions (fig. 1.31)."[54] Here, however, the bottom floret is missing, replaced with a pole. Also, the blossom is not flattened like a textile pattern but allowed to occupy a more three-dimensional space, where the three-quarter view of the florets makes more sense. The blossom is part of the flower offering by the brahman entourage. Another example of a related form is on the main wall of on the fourth balustrade (IV56), a depiction of the forest behind the bodhisattwas is rendered with the same type of trees as the flower offering above (fig. 1.32). The decorative program on the third and fourth balustrade of Candi Borobudur have been assigned as contemporary with the last phase of construction of Candi Sewu.[55] Since the Candi Sewu panels belonged to the first phase, the Borobudur images were later.

The closer one looks at the Candi Sewu panels, the more critical one can be about their veracity as true representations of real textile. When the eight panels are studied together as an in-situ group installation, as opposed to individual works, it becomes clear that the pattern on each panel is customized according to its relative position on the temple. Every panel, except one, has all the animals facing in the same direction, either left or right. Imagine if we circumambulate the temple and look straight at each panel in isolation as we pass the exterior walls of the entrance vestibules. We would experience the direction of the animals reversing from one panel to the next. For example, if we begin from the southeast corner and stand in front of the panel facing the south, we see the animals look towards the right. But if we position ourselves in front of the panel facing east, the animals look to the left. This experiential pattern of reversal repeats as we circumambulate in clock-wise direction, *pradaksina*, and observe the southwest, northwest, and northeast corners.

A completely different effect will be experienced if we walk towards the temple and aim straight at an entrance. As shown in figure 1.8, the orientations of the animals follow the direction of the closest temple opening. Therefore, as we head towards an opening, the animals on the outer wall of the entrance vestibule face us in a gesture of greeting (fig. 1.7). Although we ourselves are not

[54] Ibid., 290.

[55] Candi Borobudur was constructed in several phases. The dates of the first few construction phases took place between 775-825 and the last phase around 850.[55] Marijke Klokke notes that the date of the building construction and the time the walls are carved for the decorations can be different. She believes that the decorative work on the fourth balustrade was done the last. She also points out some details that are shared on the third and fourth balustrade, indicating that they are close in their range of dates. Some of these details are comparable to those found on the later phase of Candi Sewu's construction. See Klokke, "Art Historical Evidence."

able to see this performance by the animal, it does mean that the intentionality and the efficacy of such figurative actions are not exercised.[56]

The exception is the panel on the Northeastern wall (fig. 1.33). Here, all the animals look towards the entrance on the north except for one deer on the lowest register. It looks to the south (right) instead of the north (left) as the others. In effect, two deer at the lowest register are facing each other. This fact has never been mentioned in past publications, despite the fact that this "erroneous" panel is the one that was first published by Woodward because it is the best preserved among the bottom eight panels.[57] The question is, what does the reversal of the deer signify? Was it a casual error, a hidden pun, or a deliberate imperfection?[58] It is customary for Old Javanese poets, for example, to self deprecate themselves and apologize for not being perfect.[59] Or perhaps—as Robert Brown concluded—what modern scholars often regarded as mistakes may not be seen as such in their own time.[60] Other scholars suggest that the reversal of the deer relates to its specific placement on the north entrance at the northeast corner, which is often considered as the direction of rebirth.[61]

So far, I have not been able to find a conclusive reason for the directional change of the deer. What is certain about the meaning of this reversal is that the craftsmen of the Candi Sewu panel were not slavishly copying an actual textile. Had a Chinese *samit* silk been used as the model for the panels, the direction of the deer cannot be reserved because the pattern repetition would have been predetermined during the set up of the loom. Thus, this change would be impossible in actual weaving.

To sum up, the connected circles patterns on the Candi Sewu panels were modeled after two types of textiles that were in wide circulation during the seventh to ninth century along the Northern Silk Road. These textiles, produced

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[56] Robert Brown, in his discussion about the Jataka's narrative and iconic image on temples has shown that the efficacy of the images is not dependent on their visibility. See Robert L. Brown, "Narrative as Icons: The Jataka Stories in Ancient Indian and Southeast Asian Architecture," in *Sacred Biography in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, ed. Juliane Schober (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), 64–109.

[57] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 236, pl. 11.

[58] The idea of an intentional mistake is intriguing and perhaps worth pursuing in another occasion because there are obvious pattern 'mistakes' on some of the major statues such the Ratu Boko Ganesa, the Singosari Durga and Ganesa at the Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden.

[59] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 164. Sylvia Tiwon also commented that there is a Javanese concept that human creations are not perfect and of deliberate imperfections (personal conversation, April 2017).

[60] Robert Brown, *The Dvāravatī Wheels of the Law and the Indianization of South East Asia* (Leiden: Brill, 1996).

[61] Rens Heringa, in her study of the batik in Kerek in Northeast Java found that the cardinal directions symbolize different stages of life cycles, which are reflected in the color scheme of batik cloths. The cloth *putihan* (white and blue) is metaphorically linked with the area between north and east, which stands for regeneration; *bangrod* (white and red) represents a darkening from the east to the south, which stands for childhood; *pipitan* (red and blue mixture) stands for maturity and stands for the area of the southwest and west; *biron* and *irengan* (blue and black) for old age of grandmotherhood and northwest and west. See Heringa, *Nini Towok's Spinning Wheel*, 42-43.

in the popular *samit* technique, depict the animal pearl roundel and the floral medallion. In addition to textiles, they also appeared on other types of media. Goods with such a pattern were part of the cargo in the Southern Silk Road, which stretched from China to India and the Middle East. The strategic location of Java, midway in the active maritime trade routes, had facilitated the ease with which foreign goods entered the local markets. The appropriation of Chinese patterns seen on the Candi Sewu panels was part of a new trend seen in the Javanese decorative arts in the eighth century. This pattern, in particular, may have been linked to Buddhism, as is evident in its pronounced appearance on the pedestal of the giant Buddha in Candi Mendut.

1.7. The afterlife of the connected circles pattern at Candi Loro Jonggrang (9th century)

Candi Lara Jonggrang is a vast architectural landscape of about 240 stone temples in the lowland of the Prambanan plain (222 x 390 meters).[62] The temples are organized in three concentric courtyards, demarcated by enclosure walls. The complex is dated to 856 based on the *Siwagrha* inscription, which mentions Rakai Pikatan from the Sanjaya dynasty as the patron of the Hindu temple.[63] Candi Lara Jonggrang lies about 1000 meters southwest from Candi Sewu.[64] Their physical proximity suggests that the builders of the Hindu temple would have been aware of the decorative program of the earlier Buddhist temple.

The central courtyard contains three principal temples, three *wahana* temples and two small temples. The principal temples face east and tower above the others. The one on the left is dedicated to Brahma, the middle Siwa, and the right Wisnu. Each temple houses a larger-than-life stone statue of the respective deity. Facing them are three smaller temples. The one in front of Candi Siwa contains Nandi, the sacred bull, which is Siwa's *wahana* or celestial mount. The other two are now empty.[65]

Candi Siwa occupies the center-most position and is the highest, with more than 47 meters elevation. The inner part consists of four chambers: the eastern chamber houses the statue of the god Siwa, the southern chamber Durga, the western Ganesa, and the northern Agastya. The eastern chamber with the Siwa statue is highly ornamented, while the other chambers are plain: the inner

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[62] Hence, the temple is also called by the name Candi Prambanan.

[63] J. G. De Casparis, *Selected Inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th Century A. D.* (Bandung: Masa Baru, 1956), 280-330. Scholarly readings on the date, however, vary. Bo-Kyung Kim that the construction of the temple began in 856. Most assign the date to the time of consecration after the temple was finished, which means that Candi Lara Jonggrang was contemporary to the Sewu and Borobudur temples. See Bo-Kyung Kim, *Indefinite Boundaries: Reconsidering the Relationship between Borobudur and Loro Jonggrong in Central Java* (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2007), 18-19.

[64] Degroot, *Candi, Space and Landscape*, 291.

[65] People generally assume that these temples once contained Garuda and Angsa, the *wahana* of Wisnu and Brahma, but this assumption has not been substantiated.

and vestibule walls leading to Siwa's sanctuary exhibit 16 low-relief, rectangular panels with overall patterns and decorative borders. This format, like that of the Candi Sewu panels, invites speculation that the panels are representations of textiles.[66] The panels of the two temples are in many ways antithetical to each other: the earlier panels are depicted on the exterior walls of a Buddhist temple, while the later are on the inner wall of a Hindu temple.

The 16 low-relief, figured panels fall into three pattern variants (fig. 1.34). For the sake of discussion, I call them A, B and C panels or patterns.[67] Woodward, in his study of the Candi Sewu panels, discussed these panels and proposed, "we are probably dealing here with a representation of a textile of local manufacture."[68] Majlis also discuss these panels as textile representations, but she did not speculate on their origin.[69] Mary-Louise Totton, in her dissertation, took cues from Woodward and elaborated on the theory that the Candi Siwa panels depict local textiles. She observed the close measurement of the loom width of the Candi Siwa panel (100 x 350 cm) and the normal width of Javanese hip-wrappers, or *kain panjang* (100 x 250 cm).[70] I hesitate to follow the opinions of Woodward and Totton for reasons outlined in the next few paragraphs, which offer a detailed analysis of the panels.

Panels A are located inside the sanctuary. There are eight panels: two flanked each of the four corners (fig. 1.35). The basic layout of the pattern is a tight lattice of roundel and interstices. The roundels contain two types of motifs. One is a concentric circle composed of a flower center surrounded by a ring of pearls and crenelated petals. The other contains an eight-pointed star-like projection with a flower center. While the schematic recalls that of the Sewu panels, the pattern elements are more rigid. The motifs become more abstract, loosing the references to nature. The interstitial motif and border pattern are also different. The quatrefoils inside the interstices have a circular center instead of a diamond, and the border depicts a row of alternating four-petal flowers and pinched circles, instead of plain. The same type of border is applied to B and C panels.

Totton believes that the Candi Siwa wall panels represent locally produced textiles. Before her, J. E. \and Mas Pirngadie have compared the A pattern to current batik design called *cakar melik*.[71] Pushing further the idea of local textiles and finding the meaning of the motifs, Totton assigned the A pattern as "celestial roundels." In her hard-to-follow argument based on

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[66] Mary-Louise Totton, *Weaving Flesh and Blood into Sacred Architecture: Ornamental Stories of Candi Loro Jonggrang* (Dissertation (Ph.D.) University of Michigan, 2002).

[67] Van der Hoop has published one of these patterns under the title 'wall paper patterns' (*pola kertas tempel*). See the A. N. J. van der Hoop, *Indonesische Siermotieven*, 86-87, pl. XXXV. See the installation of the panels inside the inner shrine in fig. 0.3 in the introduction of this dissertation.

[68] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 238-241.

[69] Majlis, "Leaves and Blossoms," 362-364.

[70] Totton, *Weaving Flesh and Blood*, 283.

[71] Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid*: *Batikkunst*, 174-75, fig. 244.

Javanese numerology, she identified them as the sun and the moon and assigned their signification to the local concept of time, agriculture, fertility, and female.[72]

There are six B panels, which occur in pairs on the west, north, and south interior walls of the sanctuary (fig. 1.36). The east wall is the entrance. The pattern has an overall layout with stylized pendants in offset repeat. The pendant consists of a double-circle nucleus, four curling, horn-like projections, and a three-strands of pistil-like overhangs. Woodward proposed that the pattern is either representing a particular patterned textile or cloths made of cutout and stitched pieces.[73] Totton identified the pendant shapes as orchid flowers due to its bilateral symmetry, which is like an orchid. She assigned the pattern as a male symbol because, in her view, orchid embodied maleness in many Asian cultures. Her example is the use of orchid to decorate the hilt of modern *kris*es, Javanese sacred daggers that are regarded as male objects.[74] To my eyes the pendants motif does not resemble an orchid, much less a flower. The pattern is part of a large group that occurs in several variations on many Buddhist and Hindu temples in Central and East Java. Typically, such patterns are confined to narrow panels (as in Candi Sewu and Candi Badut) or small rectangular panels (as in Candi Mendut and Candi Plaosan Lor), which resemble more of pseudo-windows or architectural openings rather than textiles.

Two C panels are facing each other, on the opposite walls of the entrance hall to the sanctuary (fig. 1.37). The border of alternating flower and pinched circle is identical to the other panels. The pattern is similar to that of A pattern in the basic layout of connected roundels and the interstitial motif. The roundel has a four-petal flower in the center, enclosed within a scalloped cincture. Jasper and Pirngadie compared the C panels with the modern batik pattern called *kawung*.[75] Following their lead, Totton also identified C pattern as *kawung*. As we will see in Chapter 2, however, C pattern is not what one would normally associate with a *kawung* pattern.[76]

Totton regarded the Siwa chamber as a metaphor for the womb based on the word *garbagriha* (Sanskrit for womb), a term used to refer to the inner chamber of a temple. Thus, the panels lining the chamber are metaphors for the womb's life seeds, male and female. She also made the connection between the ninth-century panels and thirteenth-century references of *tulis weting*—literally,

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[72] Totton, *Weaving Flesh and Blood*, 283.

[73] Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," 240.

[74] Mary-Louise Totton, "Cosmopolitan Tastes and Indigenous Designs-Virtual Cloth in a Javanese Candi," in *Textiles in Indian Ocean Societies*, ed. Ruth Barnes (London; New York: Routledge Curzon, 2005), 122.

[75] Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid*: *Batikkunst*, 151-152.

[76] Totton further explains the association with the Shakti mythology from which the origin of areca palm is explained. *Kawung* is the *aren* or areca palm blossom motif. In folk tradition, the areca blossom is a trope for marriage. Indeed in a ninth-century *sima* charter, there is a textile called *luir mayan* which is translated as areca blossom net. Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 20.

"womb writing."[77] Totton's theories, though compelling, are unsubstantiated. There is no literary evidence or otherwise for the male and female symbolisms for these wall panels. The gap of several-centuries between the date of the Lara Jonggrang and the *tulis weting* also makes the correlation tenuous at best.

Majlis puts forward another theory. She proposes that the roundel patterns are related to Buddhism while the pendant pattern, which she called the leaf pattern, connotes Siwaite practice.[78] She envisioned a kind of hierarchical placement of the roundel and the pendant patterns depending on whether they are on a Buddhist temple or on a Hindu temple. On a Buddhist temple, the roundel pattern would occupy the more prestigious locations, such as in the center. On the other hand, the leaf pattern would take the secondary position, either flanking the roundel pattern or on the foot of the temples. On a Hindu temple, the hierarchy is reversed. The leaf pattern would occupy the center place or on the body of the temple.[79] While I agree with Majlis that the original international context of the roundel pattern may have been related to Buddhism, there is no context beyond Java that connects the pendant pattern to Hinduism.

What these Lara Jonggrang patterns are meant to symbolize is impossible to know. The strongest argument against them being representation of textiles is the border pattern, which is a row of alternating four-petal flowers and pinched circles. This type of border never appears on images of clothing. Instead, it is frequently used as an architectural border, for example on the oval back slab of a ninth-century Manjusri statue from Central Java (fig. 1.38), on the staircase of Candi Kalasan (fig. 1.39), and on the base of a standing lion at Candi Ngawen (fig. 1.40). Most likely, the use of this border indicates three-dimensional architectural features. The stiffness of the pattern on the Candi Siwa panels further emphasizes their architectural quality. Thus, I agree with Marijke Klokke that these figured panels are closer to representations of woodworks rather than textiles.[80]

There is, however, an indisputable example of a connected circles pattern appearing on textiles on Candi Siwa. The pattern decorates the clothing of a kneeling nymph in the *Ramayana* narrative, which is carved on the temple balustrade (fig. 1.41). The nymph wears a stiffened hip-wrapper with a top that flares out into a bulbous shape behind her. Her cloth is patterned with an overall layout of roundels, arranged in a tight grid. The edge of the cloth is marked with triangular border motifs.[81] This motif is typical for border patterns of textiles from South and Southeast Asia. In the next section, I will present more examples of textile images with the connected circles pattern. The pattern can be categorized into two major types, which seem to follow the prototypes of the

[77] She concluded that the placement of these indigenous textiles inside the womb chamber "speaks to the still widely held belief within many traditional societies that assigns textiles and textile production to the realm of the female." Ibid., 302.
[78] Majlis, "Leaves and Blossoms," 367.
[79] Ibid., 363.
[80] Marijke Klokke, forthcoming publication (personal conversation, 6 January 2017).
[81] Nowadays this pattern is called *tumpal*.

Candi Sewu panels: the animal pearl roundel and the flower roundel or floral medallion. Each category appears to have a separate evolution in Java.

1.8. The evolution of the connected circles pattern in the Singhasari Period (13th century)

Textile patterns with the connected circles pattern enclosing animals are very rare. The only other examples besides the Candi Sewu panels are found on East Javanese stone figures from the Singhasari Period. Included in this small group are the Manjusri that is now in the Hermitage Museum in Berlin and the group statue of Parwati and Retinue that is still standing in situ at the Singosari temple ground.

The Manjusri statue is currently in the collection of the Hermitage Museum (fig. 1.42).[82] This large statue (h. 1.1 m) was found near Candi Jago in East Java. The image is Manjusri as a mandala. It depicts a large central image of the deity and four identical miniatures around it.[83] His right hand brandishes a sword, his left hand holds a book close to his chest. The front and the back of the stone slab contain inscriptions that mention the King of Sumatra, Adityawarman, and the erection of a Manjusri image in 1265 *Saka* (1343 C.E.).[84] In the past, this date has generally been accepted as the date of the statue. Lunsingh Scheurleer, however, argued that the two inscriptions were carved at a later time than the statue because the letters do not fit perfectly into the available space. The spacing appears rather forced, as if in an afterthought. In addition, Lunsingh Scheurleer saw the aesthetics of the statue as typical of the Singhasari Period instead of the Majapahit Period. She re-dated the statue to the thirteenth century.[85] I agree with this date based on the evidence of the textile patterns.

From the textile perspective, the statue continues the evolution of the connected circles pattern seen on Candi Sewu, but with an update of the design. Pearl roundel borders are no longer in fashion. Instead, the circular contours are simplified as double or triple lines. The motifs inside the circles take on dynamic forms, either as swirling foliage or animals amidst foliage. The foliage motif is a continuation of the foliage scroll found on most Central Javanese temples (fig.

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[82] See Rouffer in J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van de Ruïne Bij de Desa Toempang, Genaamd Tjandi Djago: In de Residentie Pasoeroean*. Archaeologisch Onderzoek Op Java En Madura 1 (The Hague; Batavia: Nijhoff; Albrecht, 1904), 99 ff. The statue once stood in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin and dissappeard after World War II. It was recently published by the Hermitage Museum as part of its collection. See O. P. Deshpande, *Pamiatniki Istkusstva Iugo: Vostochnoi Azii, Katalog Kollektsii – Works of Art from Southeast Asia: Catalogue of the Hermitage Collection* (Saint Petersburg: Izdatel'stvo Gosudarstvennogo Ėrmitazha, 2016).

[83] Natasha Reichle noted that this image differs from the earlier form of Manjusri in Central Java. See Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, note 58.

[84] For a summary of the debate regarding the inscription, see Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 197–198.

[85] Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and Its Place in Javanese Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae* 68, no. 2 (2008): 294-296.

1.43-44). The animals are varied without any repetition. They include the head of a *makara*, elephants, and deer-like creatures. The animals' back or tails transform into foliage that meander and fill up the whole background. The transformation of lion and *makara* into foliage appears to be a popular ornamental motif on Candi Singosari. Rows of this motif can be seen decorating the top part of the temple (fig. 1.45). Such a motif also has its roots in Central Javanese art, for example on the structural *makara* used as water drains on Candi Lara Jonggrang (fig. 1.46).

Several arguments support the thirteenth-century date of the Manjusri statue. One is a comparison between the textile pattern and a Chinese pattern that was circulating in Southeast Asia at the time. An example is a gold vessel with open cutwork pattern. The vessel is part of the Magroyong cache or the Surigao treasure that is dated to the tenth to thirteenth centuries (fig. 1.47).[86] It was crafted in the Philippines as a copy of a Chinese vessel.[87] The pattern primarily consists of swirling foliage or cloud. Embedded among the foliage is a roundel enclosing a prancing animal. Just like the roundel on the Manjusri statue, it has a double outline and a background that is covered with tendrils. The dynamic quality of the pattern is a characteristic of the arts of the Yuan dynasty (1272-1368).

The Manjusri textile can also be compared to textile depictions painted on the walls of the Sumtsek Temple at Alchi, Ladakh, close to western Tibet. One particular textile depicts a single phoenix and a deer-like animal within four rows of connected roundels (fig. 1.48).[88] The interstices are concave lozenges with a central cross within a serrated diamond. The pattern is in mirror image repeat along the warp, at the middle axis of the interstices. The bodies of the animals are reversing, towards or away from the mirror image axis. The roundels have multiple outlines. Foliage fills the background of the roundel. Often it is hard to distinguish between where the tails and feathers end and when the foliage begin.

According to Roger Groeper, the Sumtsek temple was painted around the 1200s, and the textile depictions—representing different techniques including resist-dye, embroidery, and brocades—captured textiles that were produced locally in and near Kashmir at the time.[89] Should the textiles in Alchi and of Manjuri be both of Indian manufactures, then this is in line with Jan Wisseman Christie's remark that "the more complex patterning found on sculpture is

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[86] The date was based on stylistic comparison with similar objects that were discovered in the undisturbed nearby Masago burials. These burials revealed many monochromes Chinese Yue wares from the tenth to twelfth centuries and an absence of blue and white ware. The current dating of tenth to thirteenth centuries is applied to Surigao gold finds in the hope that future excavations will further refine the dates. See Florina Capistrano-Baker, *Philippine Gold: Treasures of Forgotten Kingdoms* (New York: Asia Society, 2015), 21-22.

[87] For a history of the Magroyong cache or the Surigao treasure, see Capistrano-Baker, *Philippine Gold*, 19-23. For image of the vessel, see page 75, fig. 32.

[88] Roger Goepper, "Dressing the Temple: Textile Representations in the Frescoes at Alchi," in *Asian Art, The Second Hali Annual* (London: Hali Publication Ltd., 1995), 109.

[89] Ibid., 114.

evidence of the influence of new textile designs that were imported from India but adapted for the local market."[90]

It is interesting to note that the textile painting mentioned above (fig. 1.48) show several dark bands across the design. I agree with Goeper that the dark bands may indicate a change of the color wefts that run throughout the width of the textiles. If so, this feature is indicative of a woven textile as opposed to a dyed fabric. The mirror image repeat of the motifs is also consistent to weaving. The pattern on the Manjusri statue, on the other hand, bears no repeat. The animals within the roundels are all different. This characteristic is more in line with a patterning technique that entails freehand applications, such as painting or resists dyeing. Textile findings from Fustat, Egypt, have revealed many mordant-dyed cotton from Gujarat, northwest India, with the earliest dated to 1010.[91] This material evidence supports the historical record in the Cairo Geniza papers.[92]

Another support for Manjusri's thirteenth-century date is a comparison with two other statues that have been more securely dated. The first is the Mamakhi from Candi Jago, dated to 1268-1280 (fig. 1.49). Both Manjusri and Mamakhi wear very similar style earrings. They appear to be earplugs with a large circular flower head and trailing strands of pearls. The sarong of Mamakhi also bears a pattern, which appears to be based on circles. Unfortunately, the surface is too abraded to allow more specific identification.

The other comparison is a Singhasari group statue of the goddess Parwati, the consort of Siwa, and her retinue. The statue was found in the Candi Singosari complex and is currently left on the temple grounds. Parwati stands 2.15 meter tall, accompanied on either side by two attendants that are half her size (fig. 1.50). Immediately above the attendants are diminutive figures of the four

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[90] Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 193-195. See also Jan Wisseman Christie, "Weaving and Dyeing in Early Java and Bali," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998*, eds. Wibke Lobo and Stefanie Reimann (Hull: Center for South-East Asian Studies, University of Hull; Berlin: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Muzeen zu Berlin Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 2000), 25. Christie noted that there was an increase of activities of merchant associations on the east coast of Southern India during the tenth to eleventh centuries, particularly in the areas that produce cotton. Henceforth cotton is more frequently listed as items of export. See Jan Wisseman Christie, "The Medieval Tamil-Language Inscriptions in Southeast Asia and China," *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 29, no. 2 (1998): 245.

[91] Ruth Barnes, "From India to Egypt: The Newberry Collection and the Indian Ocean Trade Textiles," in *Islamische Textilkunst Des Mittelalters: Aktuelle Probleme*, *Riggisberger Berichte* 5 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 1997), 79–92.

[92] Ibid., 88. Barnes citing S. D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society; the Jewish Communities of the Arab World as Portrayed in the Documents of the Cairo Geniza*, 6 Vols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963, 1967, 1971, 1978, 1983, 1988). These documents also record the establishment of Cairo merchant families in the ports of Malabar and Coromandel coasts during the tenth to twelfth centuries. Among the lists on the documents were spices, aromatics, dyeing and varnishing plants and medicinal herbs; iron and steel; brass and bronze vessel, textiles especially cotton, pearls, beads, cowrie shells and ambergris, Chinese porcelain, foodstuffs such as fruit and coconuts. These commodities were regularly traded and reached Fustat from or through south Indian ports. See Kenneth R. Hall "International Trade and Foreign Diplomacy in Early Medieval South India," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 21, no. 1 (1978): 92.

acolytes, which have been identified as the different aspects of Siwa: Ganesa, Siwa in the guise of a guru, Bhairawa, Kartikeya.[93] Parwati wears elaborate jewellery and a kala-head belt-buckle. Her hip-wrapper is large, and it is draped with precision into many pleats. Her waist sashes fall in the front as loose swags. The excesses are gathered on the hips into swelling bundles, and the ends are hanging behind her. The edges of the sashes can be seen behind the hip-wrapper.

The hip-wrapper exhibits a pattern, which is too abraded to reconstruct the details. However, one can still trace a geometric layout of connected circles. The border of the circles is a double line, and inside them are, fluid, organic shapes. The textile pattern appears to be similar to that on the Manjusri sculpture. Their conformity is evident in the similar size of the roundels, double line borders, and organic flowing style of the inhabitants of the roundels. The Parwati group statue has been dated to the end of the thirteenth century, a date that Lunshingh Scheurleer has also proposed for the Manjusri. The last piece of evidence is the similarity of the roundel pattern with the ornamentations found on a thirteenth-century temple, Candi Kidal (fig. 1.51a-b).[94]

An unusual variation of the connected circles pattern on a Brahma at the Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden. The statue originated from the Singosari temple complex. One speculation connects it to a temple—mentioned in an inscription of 1351—that commemorated the priests who died with the last Singhasari king Kertanagara.[95] Lunsingh Scheurleer dated the statue to the Majapahit Period based on the rigid posture, the gestures of the arms and the abundance of jewelry.[96]

It stands an imposing 1.74 meters high, with four heads and four arms (fig. 1.52). His forehands hold a lotus bud, his left back hand a flywhisk. Multiple stalks emerge from his back; the left one sprouts a lotus in full bloom. An unusual type of water vessel appears to dangle from the lotus stalks.[97] Underneath the vessel behind the god emerges a silhouette of a swan—the

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[93] Jessy Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari* (Leiden: Burgersdijk and Niermans—Templum Salomonis, 1939), 61-65. For close up images, see Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 188, figs. 6.21 and 6.22.

[94] It is important to note that there is also a continuity of these inhabited roundels with foliage and animals at Candi Panataran, which is dated to the Majapahit Dynasty. These roundels are part of the decorations of pseudo window of the main temples. The continuation of artistic styles from the Singhasari Dynasty to the Majapahit Dynasty is not unexpected. It has been pointed in a different context by Lunsingh Scheurleer when she discusses the phenomenon of the lotus vase that are often seen flanking the figures from the Majapahit Period. Because of this, the vase has normally been regarded as the iconic element of Majapahit statues. Lunsingh Scheurleer, however, noted that a small version of the vase has already made its appearance on the above Singhasari Parwati group (fig. 1.50). The diminutive size indicates that this trend is still at its beginning. See Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 323, fig.23.

[95] See A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art (*Amsterdam: C. P. J. van der Peet, 1959), 81-82, pl. 242.

[96] Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 290.

[97] These water vessels are different than the water-jar, *kamandalu*, carried by *resi*, which is called *kendi* in Java.

vehicle of Brahma—, which is depicted with a jeweled necklace. Brahma's full attire is highly detailed. His heads are adorned with low crown and high coiffures of matted hair. Typical of the period, the end of the hair also trails in thick curls along the shoulders up to the elbows. His upper body is ornamented with a beard that is in the shape of a chest plate. He wears a jeweled abdominal belt and a plain shoulder sash on top. The long sacred cord that hangs down from the left shoulder to the knees is made of multiple beaded strings for the chain and a large metal clasp of a stylized flower. The high levels of elaboration of the sacred cord is matched only by that depicted on the seated Prajnaparamita from Candi Gayatri (fig. 2.16).

Brahma's lower body is covered with a long sarong that is patterned and pleated in the center, further embellished by two swags of sashes that are gathered at the hips into large knots, two pendants decorated with circular discs, and two belts. The lower belt is highly decorative with floral and tendril design and loops of pearl string. It is clear that much attention is paid to the making of this statue. The pattern on his sarong has the basic layout composed of circular units with two different motifs. One takes the form of an eight-petal flower and the other a diamond that encloses a four-petal flower with a circular center. A similar flower is repeated in the area of the concave diamond interstices. The eight-petal flower is the same as the one will see later on the Singosari Durga jacket (fig. 1.58). The other circle with a diamond center, however, is most unusual. The only comparison is the medallion on Candi Kidal (fig. 1.51c). Like the Manjusri statue, therefore, the Brahma's statue also exhibits pattern that shares artistic vocabulary with the thirteenth-century temple ornamentation of Candi Kidal.

Several bronze images from the late Central Javanese and early East Javanese periods exemplify other variations of the connected circle pattern. The first example is a standing four-armed Awalokiteswara image (fig. 1.53). His head is framed by an aureole. His headdress is a low crown that supports a tall pile of hair locks. A Buddha Amitabha seen on the headdress identifies the figure as the boddhisatwa Awalokiteswara. He is richly attired, adorned with pendant earrings, a necklace with an oval pendant, a jeweled sacred cord across his chest, and bejeweled armbands and bracelets. He wears a hip-wrapper that falls above his ankle. It is decorated with very simple pearl roundel pattern, which appear to be incised and chiseled onto the metal surface rather than done through casting. The roundels are loosely placed with uneven spacing between them. On top of the hip-wrapper, the boddhisatwa wears a tiger skin and two distinct belts. The upper belt is a ribbon that is tied in a figure-eight knot. The lower belt has a smooth rounded contour with a circular clasp.

The second example is a seated, four-armed Awalokiteswara on a lotus pedestal (fig. 1.54). The deity dons a tall bejewelled conical crown and abdominal belt and large necklaces. His arms and wrists are adorned with armbands and bracelets. He wears a sash that is mostly hidden under the chest jewellery and a hip-wrapper patterned with connected circles. Most noticeable on his folded leg

is a diamond interstice and a section of the circles The exact provenance of the statue is unknown, but most likely it is from the late ninth to early tenth centuries.[98]

Other examples from the late Central Javanese Period are several small bronze figures from a Buddhist Mandala discovered in Surocolo and dated to the early tenth century. An example in figure 1.55 shows a female deity standing with a wide-open stance. She wears many types of jewellery and a long hip-wrapper with waist sashes. The pattern on the hip-wrapper is crudely incised. The circles are imprecisely placed and no longer connected. The interstitial pattern is also very undefined, although one can still detect, here and there, a diamond shape among the roundels. The motif inside the roundel has been reduced to rudimentary stroke. The bottom hem of the hip-wrapper has a border with dots.

The bronze figurines tradition ended in the early East Javanese period with the last examples represented by a Mandala group found in Nganjuk, East Java. These Nganjuk deities are dated to the tenth to early eleventh centuries (figs. 1.56-57). Their slender figures and jewellery that feature many jutting parts are typical of this group. Some of the figures wear hip-wrappers decorated with patterns that distantly echo the connected circles pattern. While the roundels are still apparent, the presence of the interstices is diminished. Some roundels contain a lotus flower, others nothing but radiating strokes and dots. The integrity of the connected circles pattern is better retained on stone figures, probably because their large size encouraged more precision. In contrast, these bronze figures are very small, their height average around 10 centimeters. In addition, they are portable and more readily produced. Thus their ornamentation may have been made with less care.[99]

Exceptional examples of the evolved versions of the connected circle pattern are found on the beautifully carved Durga Mahisasuramardini from Candi Singosari, dated to 1300s (fig. 1.58). The Durga, now on permanent display at the Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden, stands triumphant over the buffalo demon, Mahisa, yet her expression is contemplative rather than jubilant. Her ornament is profuse. She wears a short sleeveless jacket decorated with the connected circles pattern. The circles enclose two kinds of flowers: one has a circular centre, surrounded by eight rounded petals, and the other flower has overlapping pointed petals. Her waist is encircled with an elaborate belt.

Her hip-wrappers consist of two layers. The top layer is decorated with a connected roundel pattern. The roundels have a double outline and enclose pointed petal flowers. The bottom hip-wrapper features a diamond grid with

[98] Sofia Sundstrom, forthcoming dissertation. She noted that the Awalokiteswara's lotus seat is tiered and there are three smaller petals for each large petal, which to her is a feature of bronzes from the late Central Javanese period.

[99] See my discussion on the problem of reading the textile patterns on bronzes figures, specifically on the constellation of dots and circles pattern (Introduction, pages 5-6).

skull patterns. She also wears a cloth belt and a wide decorative belt on top of the hip-wrappers. Her waist sashes are also patterned similar to that on the jackets.

Two stone figures that exemplify the final evolution of the connected circle patterns are the seated Prajnaparamita from the Singhasari Period. The first figure is kept on the second floor of the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta. The statue originated from the Singosari temple complex (fig. 1.59). The goddess sits in a lotus position, *padmasana* against a large back slab. Her countenance is serene; her eyelids half closed and her gaze is directed downwards. She wears a lot of jewelry, befitting a queen. Her hip-wrapper is fully decorated with a connected circles pattern that employs floral and foliage motifs. Reichle noted that the pattern recalls the modern batik motif called *jlamprang*.[100] Van der Hoop described the pattern as circles that are touching each other, filled with rosettes and other motifs (fig. 1.65).[101] Many of such batiks shows stepped lines, which indicate that they are imitating woven patterns.

The other Prajnaparamita is found in Sumatra (fig. 1.60). Her posture, jewelry, and articles of dress echo those of the Jakarta image. The hip-wrapper is patterned with a similar to *jlamprang*, although Reichle identified this even more specifically as the *ceplok* pattern.[102] Unlike the Jakarta statue, the Sumatran Prajnaparamita is carved all the way around. Her back shows the hip-wrapper being gathered and fashioned into a decorative open knot.

The evolution of the connected circle patterns on Candi Sewu panels to those seen on the Singhasari images is a leap over 400 years. The only aspect that remains of the pattern is the geometric layout consisting of connected circles and the concave lozenges or diamond. In other words, it is the circle and diamond components elements that make this pattern identifiable. As we have seen above, however, there are some patterns on bronze images that were done very crudely, thus providing a challenge to the integrity and definition of the pattern.

By the ninth century, the Tang Dynasty slowly began losing control of the Silk Road. It also at this time that the production of silk roundels weft-faced, *samit*, silks lost its demand and popularity. But in Java, as shown in the above examples, the roundel patterns continue to be in fashion until the thirteenth century. If the Chinese silk roundels were no longer produced in China, how did the Indonesian acquire textiles with such pattern? I propose that a possible foreign source at this time is Indian textiles. As mentioned above, the pattern on the Manjusri hip-wrapper, which bears no repeating motif, suggests that it is not a woven textile, but rather a free-hand application of motifs through drawing such as mordant dyed cotton. Based on the Geniza papers described above, there was already a well-established Indian cotton export to Egypt as early as the eleventh century. Textile findings in Indonesia also show that this trade flowed not only towards the west but also to the southeast, as evidenced by mordant-dyed cotton from Gujarat, dated to the thirteenth to fourteenth century, that have

[100] Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 54.
[101] Van der Hoop, *Indonesische Siermotieven*, 82-83.
[102] Ibid., 67.

been found in Lampung, South Sumatra and Toraja, Sulawesi. In addition to these figured cotton, I propose that the double ikat *patola* silk from Gujarat might be another type of early export of Indian textiles, which were related to the connected circle pattern, in particular with the floral medallion.

1.9. Relationship to the Indian patola: a common ancestry

By the eleventh century, the importation of Chinese silk into India was diminishing and India began to cultivate their own sericulture and produce silk textiles. If Goeper is right that the textiles shown on the murals in Alchi represents locally produced textiles, then one would expect India to be a producer of a great varieties of patterned silk, from lampas to brocade textiles, tie-dyed and painted cloths, and embroideries. Unfortunately, there is hardly any surviving textile in India from this period to verify this assumption. One particular type of Indian silk that has an early origin and considered very important in the historical development of textiles in Indonesia is the *patola*, the double ikat silks from Gujarat, North India.

The beginning of the *patola* silk production is uncertain. And how far back the double ikat silks were known in Indonesia is also far from clear. The earliest evidence may be a ceremonial plate, *talam*, from East Java (fig. 1.61). It depicts a man with a cap and a woman in front of an open pavilion. Both of them are wearing a hip-wrapper with a stepped line diamond pattern, which suggests the technique of double ikat. The cap worn by the male identifies him as the Panji character, very often seen in temple reliefs during the Majapahit Period.[103]

Numerous accounts of *patola* textiles are found in the European traders' and travelers' logs from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[104] A certain pattern of trade was already well established by the time European entered the sea commerce for spices. The most coveted items for exchange in Indonesia were Indian cloths. Buhler's seminal work on the *patola* textiles explains the complicated process involved in the production of *patola* cloths and points out that some *patola* motifs and colors were produced specifically for export to Southeast Asia.[105] In general, those aimed for export are lower in quality than

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[103] Lydia Kieven, *Following the Cap-Figure in Majapahit Temple Reliefs: A New Look at The Religious Function of East Javanese Temples, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, VKI 280 (Leiden: Brill, 2013).

[104] Rosemary Crill noted that these textile descriptions are very vague. Usually, the emphasis of the description is on the importance of the *patola* as priced trade object, for example, "silk textiles that are highly prized, especially by the inhabitants of the 'Spice Islands'." The earliest positive identification of the term with the double ikat textile from Gujarat is in the description of Jean-Baptiste Tavernier in 1670. See Rosemary Crill, *Indian Ikat Textiles* (New York: Weatherhill, 1998), 46–47. For a list of written sources mentioning *patola*, see Alfred Bühler and Eberhard Fischer, *The Patola of Gujarat: Double Ikat in India* (Basel: Krebs, 1979), 305-311.

[105] The sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries were recorded as the height of *patola* imports into Indonesia. At this time, their distribution was highly regulated by the Dutch East India Company. The Dutch effort to monopolize the *patola* trade was mentioned by Jean Baptiste

those intended for the domestic market. These export-grade *patola* would have looser weave and cotton borders as opposed to silk[106]

One of the most widely circulated *patola* pattern in Southeast Asia, is the *chhabadi bhat*, or basket pattern (fig. 1.62). [107] The pattern consists of a meticulously calculated arrangement of flowers and leaves. The flowers punctuate the field, serving as visual centers. The leaves curve this way and that way, creating an illusion of a geometric layout with connected circles and diamond interstices. I would like to draw attention to the similar elements of the *chhabadi bhat patola* and the flower roundel of the Candi Sewu panels. Seeing them side by side, one immediately recognizes the likeness of the layout, as well as the composition of the flower. The main flower radiates in eight directions and is surrounded by smaller flowers (fig. 1.63). I would like to propose the possibility that the *chhabadi bhat patola* and the floral medallion on Candi Sewu panel had a common ancestry in the Tang Dynasty type of fantastic blossoms. Perhaps the continuing demand of such patterned silks in Indonesia had encouraged the development of the *chhabadi bhat patola* and its consequent export to the archipelago.

Bühler noted that the *patola* export to Indonesia continued throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries at a diminishing rate.[108] When the *patola* trade started its decline, the *patola* pattern began to be copied onto local textiles. The impact of the *patola* design in Indonesia textiles is widespread.[109] Today, ikat and other textile techniques from different parts of the archipelago incorporate *patola*-derived motifs. This local response to the demise of the *patola* export underscored the importance of *patola* for the Indonesian society.[110] *Patola* would be incorporated on the most sacred ceremonial textiles, where the motif takes up the prominent section of the cloth.[111] In fact, *patola* acquires higher symbolic and religious value in Indonesia than in the place it was produced, Gujarat.[112]

Tavernier, who travelled thorough India between 1640 and 1660. See Bühler and Fischer, *The Patola of Gujarat*, 323.

[106] Crill, *Indian Ikat Textiles*, 48.

[107] According to Crill, the *chhabadi bhat patola* was also used in India, particularly for the Brahmin community in Surat, Gujarat. See Ibid., 49

[108] Bühler and Fischer, *The Patola of Gujarat*, 279.

[109] Ruth Barnes has addressed the issue of the relationship between the original *patola*, the *patola* imitations, and the integration of the foreign patterns into the indigenous weaving traditions in eastern Indonesia. See Barnes, *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera.*

[110] During this time, the prices of foreign imported textiles increased. Barbara W. Andaya, "The Cloth Trade in Jambi and Palembang Society during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" in *Textiles in the Pacific, 1500-1900*, ed. Debin Ma (Aldershot etc.: Ashgate Variorum, 2005).

[111] Barnes noted that ownership of Indian silks was seen as a sign of wealth and status. See discussions in Barnes, *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera*. According to Barnes, each type of ikat patterns have a fixed position on a woven cloth, and the *patola*-derived or *patola*-inspired motifs are always in the center. Barnes, "The Bridewealth Cloth of Lamalera" 49. There are far too many examples of sacred textiles with *patola* design to be mentioned here. One example is the Lio woman sarongs *lawu butu* with beaded motif, which were thought to be derived from *patola*. See Willemijn De Jong, "Heirloom and Hierarchy: The Sacred Lawo Butu Cloth of the Lio of Central

The *chhabadi bhat patola* pattern is the most copied. It can be seen on the traditional ikat textiles including weft ikat from Gresik in Java, Maranao, Mindanao and Bali, and warp ikat from Roti, Sawu, Flores and Lembata.[113] *Patola* designs can be seen on weavings from the areas that have yielded the oldest Indonesian textiles as well as the oldest Indian imported cloths: the highlands of Toraja in Sulawesi, the Lampung area in South Sumatra, and the Iban communities in Borneo.[114]

The *chhabadi bhat* pattern of the double ikat *patola* corresponds to the *jlamparang* motif. The name *jlamparang* was also used in the past, for weft ikat from Gresik in Java (fig. 1.64). While the weft ikat tradition in Java has died out, the pattern continues to be produced in batik. But even though it is made in batik technique, the drawing is done in small dots or stepped lines, a way of referencing its woven origin (fig. 1.65).

An important question is why the double ikat pattern had such a strong hold within the Indonesian culture. I believe that the most sensible explanation for the persistence of the pattern is due to people's beliefs that the textiles are sacred and contain magic. This phenomenon can be seen most clearly in Bali, which has always been said to be the inheritor of the Indic court culture of Java. There is a type of Balinese textiles called *cepuk*, cotton weft ikat, whose pattern originated from the silk double ikat *patola*. Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff's formative studies on Balinese textiles have shown variations of the *cepuk* pattern. According to her, there is a hierarchy of importance with the patterns; the highest status is the *kamben cepuk cendana kawi* (fig. 1.66) and its related form, *kamben cepuk betola* and *samara guna*. She identified the common feature of the textiles as "dominant flower design, which shows the structure of an eight-pointed star."[115] She also traced the pattern elements of the *kamben cepuk cendana kawi*, the lozenge and blossom, to those in the classic basket design India *patola*.[116]

Nabholz-Kartaschoff has shown that the Balinese *cepuk* is treated as an alternate to the Indian *patola*. In general, they are interchangeable. Various contexts and historical records illustrate that two cloths share the same function and sacred symbolism. For example, today in Bali one sees Rangda, the figure of embodiment of black magic and the enemy of Barong, wearing a *cepuk* cloth. A

Flores," in *Sacred and Ceremonial Textiles: Proceedings of the Fifth Biennial Symposium of the Textile Society of America, Chicago, Illinois, 1996,* note 2 and fig. 1.

[112] Crill, *Indian Ikat Textiles*, 48.

[113] Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, "The Same—Yet Not the Same: Similarities and Difference in Some Textile Techniques and Textile Products from India and Bali," *Textile History* 30, I (1999): 63.

[114] See examples in Robert Holmgren and Anita Spertus, *Early Indonesian Textiles from Three Island Cultures: Sumba, Toraja, Lampung* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), figs. 27, 42, 45. *Patola* has never been found in Borneo. Thus, it is also possible that the motif was copied from patola-inspired cloths that were made in Indonesia. See Gavin, *The Women's Warpath*, 70-72.

[115] Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, "A Sacred Cloth of Rangda: Kamben Cepuk of Bali and Nusa Penida," in *To Speak with Cloth: Studies in Indonesian Textiles*, ed. Mattiebelle Gittinger (Los Angeles: Museum of Cultural History, University of California, 1989), 197.

[116] Ibid., 191, fig. 27.

photograph from early twentieth century, however, shows that Rangda also wore an outer skirt using an Indian *patola*.[117] Nabholz-Kartaschoff tentatively suggested that the closer the *cepuk* pattern is to the pattern of the Indian *patola*, the higher its status; these textiles can only be used in highly ritual events. According to Nabholz-Kartaschoff, the highest forms of *cepuk* cloths are reserved for purification ceremonies, as burial shrouds for people of high caste, and the ceremonial attire of deities and people performing ritual trance. The opposite is also true: the further away the design veers from the original *patola*, the lower its status. The low form of *cepuk* can fulfill a larger variety of purposes.[118]

The word *cepuk* literally means 'pot' and it already appeared in the East Javanese literature. It is interesting that both *cepuk* and *chhabadi bhat* (basket) refer to a round container. The most frequently encountered meaning of *cepuk* as cloth, however, is found only in *kidung*, a later form of poetry that was written in Bali around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. I propose that the history of *patola* in the archipelago in all likelihood went even further back than the history of the *cepuk* cloth.[119]

1.10. Conclusion

What emerges from this study are several conclusions: first, there was a definite influence of Chinese art on the decorative pattern vocabularies on Central Javanese temples in the eighth to ninth centuries; second, we may need to look more carefully at the influence of Buddhism and its role in the development of decorative patterns at this time; third there was an undeniable dialogue between patterns portrayed as textiles and those functioning as architectural ornaments; fourth the Indian *patola* may have a longer historical importance in Java than one had previously thought.

The Candi Sewu textile panels are crucial to understanding the significance of the connected circles pattern in the historical development of textiles and ornaments in Ancient Java. They anchor a distinct group of patterns that appear both in Central Java and East Java between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries. The prominent placement of the pattern at the Buddhist temple, Candi Sewu, suggests that such textiles were held in high esteem by the courts and perhaps within the Buddhist communities. The patterns were modeled after two types of Tang Dynasty silks: one with animal pearl roundels and the other floral medallions. The Javanese artists, however, did not slavishly copy a textile pattern. Instead, they appropriated the general composition of the

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[117] Nabholz-Kartaschoff was citing Beryl De Zoete and Walter Spies, *Dance and Drama in Bali* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). See ibid., 185.

[118] Ibid., 197

[119] Bühler and Fischer published the Balinese names for two original Indian *patola* that were collected in Bali. They are called *kamen tjepok* Padma and *kain tjerit geringsing*. See Nabholz-Kartaschoff, "The Same—Yet Not the Same," 66.

roundel pattern and employed a mélange of motifs. The framing quality of the roundels allowed the Javanese to tailor the filler motifs to a Buddhist context by incorporating the deer, lion, and lotus flower motifs. They also adapted the textile design to fit the architectural setting of the Buddhist temple. Details of the pattern on Candi Sewu also show that there was a shared vocabulary between motifs depicted on the textile images and those of architectural ornaments. It is clear that Javanese stone artisans also drew on the common decorative vocabularies that were circulated at the time. The meaning of the Candi Sewu panels, therefore, can only be understood fully as part of the whole decorative program of the temple.

Variants of the patterns were also depicted on a number of important statues in later periods. The fall of the Tang Dynasty brought an end to the production and importation of such silks from China but the continuing presence of the pattern in Java until the end of the Singhasari dynasty suggests an uninterrupted demand for such patterned textile in Java. This demand was most likely answered by Indian trade textiles. The fact that Gujarat region was the location of the early ports that received Chinese goods transshipment through Central Asia and that it is also the home of the double ikat, basket pattern *patola* may not be coincidence.

Among Indian textiles, the most revered and sacred is the double ikat patterned silk, *patola*, particularly the basket-pattern type. The prevalent influence of the basket-pattern *patola* on Indonesian textile design throughout the archipelago underscored the importance of *patola*. The similarity of the layout and details of the basket pattern *patola* to that of the flower roundel on Candi Sewu suggests that they may have shared a common ancestor. While we do not know precisely when the double ikat *patola* began to be imported into the archipelago, the depiction of a stepped diamond pattern on a *talam* from the Majapahit Period (fig. 1.61) testifies to the early use of a double ikat textile, most likely from India.

The connected circles pattern left its final impression on thirteenth-century statues of the Singhasari Period. By the Majapahit Period, this pattern vanishes. The time of its disappearance coincides with the beginning and rising popularity of another type of roundel pattern, the overlapping circles, which is the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERLAPPING CIRCLES PATTERN

A new thirteenth-century fashion

> "There is substantial evidence that even the most localized cloth producers respond not only to their own training, but to other artisans in their environment …Mutual influence can come from other crafts: tattooing, carving, basketry, ceramics."
>
> Jane Schneider, *The Anthropology of Cloth*.[1]

2.1 Introduction

The Singhasari Period (1222-1292) witnessed the emergence of a class of textile patterns previously unrecorded in Java. Its basic design layout is an overall repeat of five overlapping circles: four circles are tangentially connected and one overlaps in the center equally with the other four (fig. 2.1). This pattern—I refer to it as the overlapping circles pattern—has a prehistoric origin that goes back to the Indus Valley Civilization (3300–1600 B.C.E.) as is evidenced by numerous excavated ceramics from the ancient settlements of Harappa and Mohenjo Daro (fig. 2.2). The emergence of the pattern in Java in the late thirteenth century coincided with the expansion of sea trading activities in Asia. Soon after its appearance, the pattern quickly rose in popularity as a textile design on Javanese statuaries and supplanted the earlier fashion of the connected circles pattern discussed in Chapter One. By the fifteenth century, the overlapping circles pattern was the most commonly employed textile design on stone figures.

A visual connection has been repeatedly drawn between the overlapping circles pattern in the East Javanese Period and the modern batik pattern called *kawung*. Early studies on Indonesian textiles and ornaments have intimated this relationship as one of evolution. G. P. Rouffaer and H. H. Juynboll in the 1900s, have said that *kawung* "can be directly traced back to the Hindu-Javanese clothing pattern appearing in a picture from Kediri dating from 1239."[2]

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[1] Jane Schneider, "The Anthropology of Cloth," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 16 (1987): 416-417.

[2] Cited in Laurens Langewis and Frits A. Wagner, *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles* (Amsterdam: CPJ van der Peet, 1964), 16.

This chapter traces the variations of the pattern in East Java. It explores the origin of the pattern to imported textiles and objects, as well as possible references to local textile productions in Old Javanese texts. The discussion is organized into five themes: the early variants of the pattern during the Singhasari Period (1222–1292); the global circulation of the pattern in the twelfth to fourteenth centuries; the standardization of the pattern in Java during the Majapahit Period (1293–1478); and the overlapping circles pattern's relationship to known traditional textiles and a group of fifteenth century weft ikat.

I first analyze the earliest examples observed on several firmly dated Singhasari statues and apply stylistic analysis based on the pattern to reassess current attributions of some statues (section 2.2). I also compare the Singhasari patterns with those found in contemporaneous Cambodia, Burma, China and India. I will show that the patterns found in the thirteenth century Java are—as individual and as a collective group—unique, thus, indicating a process of local translation and adaptation of this universal pattern (section 2.3).

Next, I focus on the final expressions of the overlapping circles pattern in the Majapahit Period; out of the many variations that existed in the Singhasari Period only the simplest versions remained and there was a growing tendency to depict double-sided patterned cloths. Here, I will use again close analysis of pattern combined with other stylistic features to reaffirm and reassign some attributions of previously dated statues (section 2.4).

Last, I investigate the visual connection between the ancient pattern and the modern batik *kawung,* the *geringsing* double ikat, and a group of fifteenth-century weft ikats (sections 2.6–2.8). By analyzing the pattern's geometry and evidence on the carvings on statues, I will show the different manner with which the Javanese artists may have understood them and how such understanding may affect the emergence of new patterns.

2.2. The variations of the overlapping circles pattern in the Singhasari Period (1222-1292)

The overlapping circles pattern first appeared in late thirteenth-century stone statuary from Candi Jago and Candi Singosari in Malang, East Java. This pattern is found only on stone figures because by this time the bronze figurines were no longer being produced in Java. These earliest examples are arguably the most exquisite. As a group, these patterns display a variety of sizes and levels of complexities. Some detail elements are unique to the Singhasari Period.

The figures from Candi Jago showing textile patterns are three of the four attendants of the bodhisattwa Amoghapasa Lokeswara, which are: Syamatara, Bherkuti and Sudhanakumara.[3] Today, the bodhisattwa image still stands on the

[3] The fourth attendant, Hayagriwa wears a plain sarong and a tiger skin around his waist. The grouping of the Candi Jago images is a distinct iconographic set that originated from Northeast India. See the image of Hayagriwa in Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 95, fig. 4.9.

temple grounds while his attendants are on display in the inner courtyard of the Nasional Museum, Jakarta (figs. 2.3–2.5). Candi Jago has been associated with the Jajaghu foundation mentioned in the 1365 quasi-historical court poetry, the *Desawarnana*.[4] It records a ceremony at the Jajaghu foundation that celebrated the consecration of a Buddhist image as a deified manifestation of king Wisnuwardhana (1248-1268).[5] The Javanese believed that kings and queens were reincarnations of particular deities, whose divine forms will once again be acquired through apotheosis upon death. It was common practice for their descendants to then sponsor the images of their divine forms, a practice akin to ancestor worship, which has always been part of the indigenous beliefs.[6] The Amoghapasa Lokeswara group image was thought to have been commissioned by King Wisnuwardhana's son and successor, King Kertanagara, between 1280-1286 to honor his father.[7]

The Syamatara, Bherkuti and Sudhanakumara share the same body type of full chest, broad shoulders and narrow waist. They are attired in a similar fashion. They wear headdresses and jewelry fit for royalty, which include a jeweled conical crown, a large triangular necklace that covers most of the upper chest, a pair of armbands, studded bangles on wrists and ankles, rings on fingers and toes, a belt with a round clasp, and an ornamental belt with a triangular pendant. Their patterned sarongs are worn with a center pleat, festooned with two plain waist sashes. These are loosely draped at the front and gathered at the hips into voluminous bows; the excess lengths fall along the side of the legs. Their sarongs are completely covered with almost identical patterns, which Natasha Reichle has also identified as *kawung* pattern.[8] A simple pattern border in the form of a band with a row of circles decorates the hem.

The patterns on the sarongs are most unusual. Here, the circular arcs are compressed, reducing the circles to inflated lozenges and making the widths of the overlaps thinner than normal. The resulting very narrow pointed ellipses display slight variation on the three statues: those on Sudhanakumara have

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[4] It is also known as *Nagarakertagama*. For the most current translation, see Stuart Robson, *Deśawarṇana (Nāgarakṛtāgama)* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1995).

[5] *Des*, 37:7b, 41:4b. See Robson, *Desawarnana.*

[6] The deification of kings and queens after death took shape most clearly in the East Javanese Period. At first, all monarchs regarded themselves as manifestation of Wisnu, but later during the Singhasari and Majapahit Dynasties, each monarch could choose his/ her own favorite deity. These deified ancestor images were once thought to be portrait statues, a theory that has been reputed. See Marijke J. Klokke "Deified Couples and Meditation: On the Iconography of the So-Called Portrait Statues in Ancient Java," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology 1994*, ed. Pierre-Yves Manguin, Proceedings of the 5th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Paris, 24th-28th October 1994 (Hull, Paris: Centre for Southeast Asian Studies, University of Hull, 1997).

[7] King Kertanagara also sent a large stone sculpture of the Amoghapasa Lokeswara pantheon to West Sumatra in 1286. He also commissioned a number of bronze plaques with the same iconography around the same time as the erection of the Candi Jago group. See Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 97-100 and Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 291.

[8] Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 94.

double outlines, on Bherkuti a straight line in the center, and on Syamatara a zigzag. The thinness of the overlaps emphasizes the concave diamonds and the pattern in it. The center is marked with a diamond that contains a four-petal flower. The tips of the diamond fit into a two-prong cap, and from it grows a lobed and an odd pinnate leaf. A double crescent with furled edges nestles on the side of the diamond. Candi Jago images are the only examples where the pointed ellipses are very inconspicuous compared to the interstices. In later examples, there is increasingly more emphasis on these pointed ellipses.

The next Singhasari Period statues that depict the overlapping circles patterns originated from Candi Singosari, a Siwa temple dated to circa 1292.[9] They are the Mahakala and Nandiswara guardian figures of the temple (figs 2.6, 2.7). These figures symbolize the multiple characters of Siwa: Nandiswara embodies the god's divine aspect and Mahakala his demonic aspect. Temple visitors would recognize these contrasting characteristics by body types, hairstyles and postures.

Nandiswara stands erect and fairly centered from head to toe with both feet firmly planted on the ground. His long sarong, enveloping the hips, thighs and calves, transforms the limbs into a straight column. The vertical pleat of the sarong, placed exactly in the middle, further accentuates the sense of symmetry and balance. The rigidity of the posture is countered by the gentle drape of the body sash that forms a diagonal movement from the left shoulder to the lower right waist, the folds and twists of the waist sashes, and the gestures of the hands. Nandiswara's face is unmoved, his eyes gaze inwards.

A short-sleeved jacket with floral pattern and a plain shoulder sash cover his upper torso. On the lower part of the body, he wears a patterned sarong and a plain waist sash. The main part of the sarong is decorated with an overall pattern of overlapping circles (figs. 2.6, 2.8). The top and bottom hems feature a plain band border. The overlapping circles create patterned interstices of concave diamonds and plain pointed ellipses. The diamond interstices are filled with two different kinds of pattern. The difference is very nuanced and difficult to discern from a distance. One pattern is a stepped diamond with a smaller diamond center. Sometimes, the diamond at the very center is marked with a cross. The other pattern is a four-petal flower with a circular center. The petals appear to be stacked in three layers, from the widest at the bottom to the pointiest at the tip. The alteration of the pattern creates a diagonal movement in the overall design that is parallel to the slant of the shoulder sash. It is important to note that the two different interstitial patterns on the Nandiswara is unique and is not found on any other statue. This singularity underlies the rich variation of the pattern during the Singhasari Period.

The Mahakala stands with feet apart (fig. 2.7). His left hand rests on a club and his right hand clutches a sword. He wears a plain shoulder sash on top of a

[9] For a summary of how the date is determined, see Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 292.

short-sleeved jacket that is patterned with rows of circling foliage.[10] His sarong is half the length of his legs, covering up to his knees. The short jacket, the shortness of his sarong, and his weapons identify him as a fighter. And despite Mahakala's inert countenance some of his physical features alert us of his fierce character: his body and limbs are robust; his face is wide and wears a prominent moustache and beard; his hair is thick and curly. It looms to a high bulbous shape, which is confined by a headband.

The sarong is decorated with the overlapping circles pattern in the main field and with a row of flowers and spirals on the border (fig. 2.9). The scale of the overlapping circles pattern is large. Depending on where we focus our vision—in the center of a circle or the intersection of the pointed ellipses, we notice either the concave diamond shape or the four projecting leaves (figs. 2.7, 2.9). The concave diamond recalls those of the Candi Jago images. It has the same feature of a center flower, four tapering leaves at the four corners, and double crescents. The four leaves are drawn in stacks, similar to the flower petals on Nandiswara's pattern. Each pointed ellipse is divided in half by a thin straight line, parallel to that seen on the Bherkuti statue. The border pattern features alternating four-petal flowers and right-angle double spirals.

His sarong is complemented by two waist sashes that are also patterned with overlapping circles. The long ends of the cloth appear to have fringes. The sashes are tied in the front in a curious knot. One part sweeps sideways toward his right shin while the ends of the sashes trail downwards at the front. The scale of the overlapping circles pattern is smaller than that on his sarong (fig. 2.10). The pattern is also less complex: the pointed ellipses are plain and the concave diamonds contain a simple four-petal flower. This type of flower is frequently stamped on gold coins from the period and is often referred to as sandalwood flower (fig. 2.11).[11] A new feature on the sashes is the double incisions—instead of single—for all outlines. The double-outlined pointed ellipses can be compared to those on the Sudhanakumara figure.

Mahakala's sashes are folded lengthwise—slightly off-center from the midpoint—to reveal both edges of the cloth, which are decorated with a row of alternating sandalwood flower and spiral (fig. 2.10). Because the cloth is folded, these border decorations represent patterns seen from the front and the back of the cloth. It is important to recognize that this is the first time that a pattern is depicted on both sides of a cloth. The tendency to show a double-sided patterned cloth continued into the Majapahit Period. We will encounter it again in a later section of this chapter.

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[10] See Chapter Three for a discussion on the short-sleeved jackets of the Singosari figures.

[11] Silver coins impressed with images of sandalwood flower were circulating in the Indonesian archipelago, particularly on Java and Sumatra, between the eighth to tenth centuries. For a discussion about coinage in Java, see Robert S. Wicks, *Money, Markets, and Trade in Early Southeast Asia: The Development of Indigenous Monetary Systems to AD 1400* (Ithaca: Southeast Asia Program, Cornell University, 1992).

So far, the examples we have seen from Candi Jago and Candi Singosari are the best-preserved renditions of the overlapping circles pattern from the Singhasari Period. Other examples are not as well preserved, such as a seated, four-headed Brahma, a seated goddess with a turtle, and an unidentified seated goddess. I include them in the discussion because their provenance and dating are rather secured.

Originally discovered in the vicinity of the Singosari temple complex, the seated Brahma is now on display in the front terrace of the Mpu Parwa Museum in Malang (figs. 2.12-2.13). The statue has suffered much damage and surface abrasion. Three of the heads have lost most of their facial features. Only the head facing the back retains silhouettes of a mustache, beard and stretched earlobes with earrings. His hair, worn in multi-tiered piles, emerges from a stepped crown that is ornamented with a large teardrop shape diadem. On his body, a jeweled sacred cord and a cloth sash can be seen sloping down from the left shoulder to the right side of his waist. A belt with a circular clasp secures the sarong. Extending from the belt are two long pendants decorated with flower ornaments and streamers.

Despite the poorly preserved surfaces, the pattern on the sarong bears unmistakable features of the overlapping circles pattern. With a close look, one can detect the pointed ellipses, which is plain. The relative size of the ellipses is as large as those on the Mahakala's sarong. They frame a concave diamond filled with the familiar motifs—center flowers, double crescents and pointed leaves—recognizable from the sarong of the Candi Jago figures and the Mahakala. The edge of Brahma's sash is decorated with spirals, which is also found on the border pattern of the Mahakala's sarong.

The seated goddess with a turtle is even more of a fragment than the seated Brahma but the overlapping circles pattern on her sarong is clear (fig. 2.14). The statue has lost everything from the waist up including the back slab. The goddess sits in *padmasana* on a double-petal lotus, from which a turtle emerges underneath. She wears bejeweled anklets, beaded cords, and a patterned sarong. The pattern's overlapping circles produce pointed ellipses, which are left plain, and concave diamonds that are filled with flowers. The petals of the flowers appear to be either four or eight (four main and four tiny petals) as in the seated Brahma statue.

The last example is an unidentified seated goddess, which is currently placed within the Candi Singosari temple complex (fig. 2.15). Originally, she is four armed. One possibility is that she is a Prajnaparamita figure, which was produced in large quantities at this time.[12] Her front hands, however, appear to make a *lingamudra*, which would identify her as a Hindu goddess.[13] Whoever she

[12] See Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, Chapter Three.

[13] I am grateful for Marijke Klokke for pointing this out. See the various hand *mudra* in East Javanese statue in Marijke J. Klokke, "The Iconography of the So-Called Portrait Statues in Late East Javanese Art," in *Ancient Indonesian Sculpture*, eds. Marijke J. Klokke and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (Leiden: KITLV Press, 1994), fig. 1.

is, she was made with great care. On her sarong, on the lower side of her right thigh, there are traces of intricate overlapping circles pattern. While it is impossible to reconstruct the whole pattern with high certainty, we can identify the outlines of the circles and the pointed ellipses. Inside each ellipse there appears to be a small rounded flower. The presence of a flower inside the pointed ellipsis is important because it adds yet another variation to the group of overlapping circles pattern in the Singhasari Period.

All the above examples—from the most pristine to the imperfect—which together form a collection under the rubric 'Singhasari type' of overlapping circles patterns, can thus be summarized as exhibiting the following features: they are varying in size; the pointed ellipses can either be plain or bear some kinds of markings or flowers; the concave diamond may depict one motif or two (as on the Nandiswara's pattern); the center flower inside the concave diamond may range from a very simple four-petal flower to elaborate floral and cross design; the more elaborate center flower may also depict double crescents.

Knowing the general characteristic of the overlapping circles pattern of the Singhasari Period may be used to assist the attribution of images with questionable dating. One example is the headless Prajnaparamita from Boyolangu in Tulungagung district (fig. 2.16). The statue has usually been assigned to mid-fourteenth century production based on a passage in the Desawarnana (63:1- 69:3). It calls attention to a Prajnaparamita image that was erected in 1362 at a site called Boyolangu in honor of Rajapatni, the wife of the first king of the Majapahit Dynasty, Kertarajasa.[14] Certain features of the statue, however, do not quite fit the Majapahit style. Already in 1936, Stutterheim noted a striking similarity between the lotus base of the Rajapatni and the Bherkuti from the Candi Jago group (fig 2.3).[15] More recently, Lunsingh Scheurleer also claimed that the style of the Prajnaparamita statue belongs to the Singhasari Period.[16] My observation based on the pattern on the sarong, also confirms the Singhasari attribution.

Currently, the Prajnaparamita is left outdoors, being sheltered only by a roofed, open structure.[17] She sits in lotus position, *padmasana*, on top of a huge lotus pedestal. Measuring approximately 1.05 meters in height without the base,

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[14] The idea was first proposed in P. V. van Stein Callenfels, cited in Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 64.

[15] In 1936, Stutterheim says, "In de vierde plaats dienen we ons te realiseeren dat er een treffende stijlovereenkomst bestaat tussen het beeld der Rajapatni van Bajalangoe en de Djago-groep. Deze verwantschap uit zich zoowel in het gebruik van dat eigenaardige lotuskussen met ogiefvorm naar buiten gebogen onderste reeks bloembladen en naar binnen gebogen bovenste reeks daarvan, als in de bewerking van het ornaat en de lotusvegetatie. Nu weten wij dat dit beeld in 1362 geconsacreerd moet zijn geworden en dus onmogelijk veel ouder kan zijn, hetgeen op zijn minst een tijdverschil van 70 jaren verschaft." See Willem F. Stutterheim, "De Dateering van Eeinge Oost-Javaansche Beeldengroepen," *TBG* 76 (1936): 278.

[16] Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 296.

[17] Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 61.

she is larger than life size. On both sides of her grow lotus plants,[18] whose stalks emerge from bulbs with undulating roots. Depictions of lotus plants with visible roots refer—more often than not—to the arts of the Singhasari Period. By the Majapahit Period, lotus plants are more frequently depicted coming out of pots.[19] As Scheurleer has convincingly argued, this is not a hard and fast rule.[20] But in this case, this characterization is applicable.

The environment and passages of time have taken a toll on the surfaces of the statue. Enough markings, however, remain to indicate that it was a piece of exceptionally high craftsmanship. The goddess's jewelry is similar in style to that of the three Candi Jago figures, but even more elaborate. Her five-strand pearled caste-cord is longer and fastened with a floral clasp; her double armbands display larger medallions; she wears triple bracelets instead of double and more intricate anklets made of multistring bead cord and jewels. She also wears a jeweled chest band.

Naturally, one could expect that her sarong, too, convey the idea of opulence. Indeed, the sarong, waist sashes, and cushion were meticulously decorated. Although it is impossible to reconstruct all the details due to the damage, it is clear that the pattern on her sarong is a type of overlapping circles (fig. 2.16). The pattern's characteristics of pointed ellipses and concave diamonds are visible on the more protected areas of the statue, such as the underside of her right hips and the back of her right buttock. Inside the ellipsis is a flower and inside the concave diamond are double crescents. The size of the circles is comparable to those on the pattern on the Mahakala and the Brahma statues.

The seat cushion is decorated with very shallow carvings of interconnected eight-petal flowers (fig. 2.17). Four of the petals are long are narrow. Their tips connect with those of the adjacent flowers, creating an openwork pattern. The other four petals have heart-shaped bases and pointy ends. Compared to the overlapping pattern on the sarong, the carving of this pattern is rather imprecise.

The pattern on the sashes is very intricate, most visible on the backside of the knots on her hips and on some segments of the sashes near her right thighs. The pattern is a diamond lattice with scalloped edges. There are two types of diamonds: one has a floral center with radiating lines, the other has a smaller diamond with crescent shapes (fig. 2.18).

The larger implication of assigning the Prajnaparamita statue based on pattern is that it jeopardizes the attribution of the monumental Bhairawa that was discovered in Padang Roco in West Sumatra.[21] The Bhairawa has been attributed to the Sumatran king Adityawarman and dated to mid-fourteenth

[18] See discussion on the Pala art origin for the lotus plant flanking a deity in Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 322-324.
[19] Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 248-320. The theory has been repeated in later scholarship, for example in Fontein, Soekmono, and Sedyawati. *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, 165, cat. 27.
[20] See Lunsingh Scheurleer, "The Well-Known Javanese Statue," 323.
[21] See image of the Bhairawa in Reichle, *Violence and Serenity*, 170-171.

century.[22] A careful look at his waist sashes, however, reveals that they are very similar, if not identical to those on the Prajnaparamita (fig. 2.19). Both statues also share a similar row of circles pattern seen on the hem of the Bhairawa sarong and on the chest belt of Prajnaparamita. Bernet Kempers had mentioned a possibility that this statue represents Kertanagara instead of Adityawarman, and if so, the date of the statue would agree with the stylistic analysis of the patterns and would place the statue in the Singhasari Period instead of the Majapahit Period.[23]

In the next section, I will show that the overlapping circles pattern was not limited to Javanese phenomenon but rather a global one. I will show contemporaneous examples of the pattern from Cambodia, Burma, China, and India. These examples confirm that trade objects that circulated within the pan-Asia maritime network were the models for the thirteenth-century Javanese overlapping circles pattern.

2.3. The global circulation of the overlapping circles pattern

The expansion of overseas commerce occurred in waves depending on the stability of the political situation. The growth in the ninth century was followed by a less active period in the late ninth to early tenth centuries. When the court relocated to the lower Brantas area in East Java in 929, the pace of these activities gained momentum once again. The increasing Javanese involvement in maritime trade was a reflection of the global economic expansion within the pan-Asian world. Java became one of the major centers of power during the tenth and eleventh centuries along with the Fatimids in Egypt (969), the Colas in Southern India (985), the Khmers in Angkor (944), the Burmese in Pagan (1044), the Ly in Northern Vietnam (1099), and the Sung Dynasty in China (960).[24]

A similar image of active commerce in Java is also found in foreign records of the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. For example, the *Ling-wai Tai-ta* (1178), written by a Chinese official, Chou Chu-fei, says, "Of all the wealthy foreign lands which have great store of precious and varied goods, none surpass

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[22] Ibid., 167-210. Reichle wrote an excellent analysis of the sculpture and concluded that Adityawarman was the patron of the statue. Stylistically, she opted for the Majapahit Period based on "the flaming nimbus, the high flowing scarf and stiff pose." These attributes, while certainly hallmarks of the Majapahit figures, had already begun in the Singhasari images. In fact, most of her comparative similarities were drawn from other Singhasari statues. She even admitted, "The delicate patterning of the sarong is reminiscent of the famous Prajnaparamita found near Singosari. The Skull pedestal is virtually identical to those of the Bhairawa and Ganesa from Candi Singosari." Ibid., 191

[23] Bernet Kempers did not cite further source of this hypothesis. Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 87.

[24] Hall, "International Trade and Foreign Diplomacy," 75.

the realm of the Arabs (Ta-shï). Next to them comes Java (She-po); the third is Palembang (San-fo-chi)…"[25]

The scope of this trading network can be glimpsed by the overlapping circles patterns, which are recorded not only in Indonesia, but also in Cambodia and Burma. In Cambodia, the pattern appeared in the twelfth to thirteen centuries on the stones of the Angkor Wat, the Preah Khan and the Bayon temples. They decorate the architectural imitations of wooden doors and window jambs and blinds.[26] The pseudo-window blind on the Bayon temple is shown being partly open, revealing a thick window sill and three striated columns. The blind refers to a textile that is completely covered with overlapping circles pattern without any border (fig.2.20). Inside each circle is a concave diamond with an eight-petal flower. The pointed ellipses contain a smaller flower, whose shape can be gleaned from a clearer example on the pattern from the Phreah Khan, Siem Reap, dated to the twelfth century (fig. 2.21). It is important to note that the incorporation of a flower inside pointed ellipses recalls the pattern on the two Singhasari Prajnaparamita statues. The overlapping circles pattern on the Phreah Khan employs multiple outlines. The junctures of the lines are punctuated with tiny four-petal flowers. The flowers inside the concave diamonds do not appear consistent from one to another, although there is a general sense of eight or more petal flower with a circular center.

In Burma, overlapping circle patterns were painted on the ceiling of twelfth-century Buddhist temples in Pagan (figs 2.22–2.23).[27] These patterns are similar to the Phreah Khan example in two ways: the circles are drawn with a bold outline that is composed of finer lines; the concave diamond and the pointed ellipses are both filled with patterns. The different shadings employed in the painting allow us to differentiate the dark ground against the lighter shades of the lines and pattern. The sense of 'color' allows us to experience the dynamic play of the design. Take figure 2.23 as an example: first, our eyes focus on the center flower inside a circle, which is surrounded with leaves and curling tendrils that grow in four directions until they reach the edges, which is a concave diamond that itself is contained within a larger, outer circle. As our eyes move toward the perimeter of the circle, we see overlaps with adjacent circles, which produce pointed ellipses. For a moment, we stop to analyze the content of

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[25] See the introduction of Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, trans. *Chau Ju-Kua, His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Entitled Chu-Fan-Chï* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), 22-23. Also cited in Coedès, *The Indianized States*, 80.

[26] Gillian Green, "Textiles at the Khmer Court, Angkor: Origins, Innovations and Continuities," in *Through the Thread of Time: Southeast Asian Textiles,* ed. Jane Puranananda (Bangkok: River Books; James H. W. Thompson Foundation, 2004), 15. Green also mentioned that the pattern occurred in Sambor Prei Kuk, which is dated to first half of the seventh century. See Gillian Green, "Angkor Vogue: Sculpted Evidence of Imported Luxury Textiles in the Courts of Kings and Temples," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Brill, 50, no. 4 (2007): 429.

[27] See Pierre Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan, Monuments 1137-1439,* Vol. 5 (Gartmore: Kiscadale; Paris, 1995).

the ellipses, which is bifurcated foliage. Then our eyes move again, constantly shifting between seeing the frames and the pattern.

The main difference between the overlapping circle patterns on Angkor and Pagan temples and those on the Singhasari statues is the pattern's functionality to the object it decorates. In the former, the textiles were depicted as decorative paraphernalia on buildings, while in the latter they were worn as articles of clothing. In addition, the perception of the pattern is different on the mainland rendition versus the insular. On the mainland temples, the pattern harbors an overall sense of, for lack of a better word, "horror vacui." Every single area of the pattern is crowded with filler motif. In contrast, the Singhasari patterns generally prefer pointed ellipses that are more or less void of pattern except for a discrete single line, zigzag or outline. The exceptions are the patterns on the Prajnaparamita statues, where the pointed ellipses also contain small flowers.

Gillian Green believes that the patterns on the Cambodian temples depict imported textiles[28] and calls it by its Chinese name, 'cash' motif.[29] She proposes that such motif entered the Khmer court during the Angkor Period either through the tributary gifts bestowed by the Chinese Emperor or the luxury items that were imported through the international trade with China, India and Java.[30] The 'cash' motif is a popular pattern that was applied on various media. The origin of the pattern in China is unknown, but it has appeared in silks as early as the eighth century.[31] It was frequently seen on Northern Song Dynasty wares that have been found in China as well as in Southeast Asia, dated to the twelfth to fourteenth centuries (figs 2.24-25). A tall Cizao jar in the Celadon Museum in Hangzhou provides an example of the type of overlapping circle pattern that was seen in the mainland Southeast Asia (fig. 2.26). The body of the jar is divided into three registers. The top and bottom registers are decorated with large lotuses and leaves on vines, rendered in dark color against a white ground. The middle register is a wide band depicting a row of overlapping circles pattern flanked by plain borders. The flowers inside the concave diamond and the pointed ellipses bear especially a strong resemblance to the pattern at the Preah Khan (fig 2.20).

There are numerous Chinese textiles with the 'cash' motif, sometimes also called 'coin' motifs, from the earlier Liao dynasty (907-1125) that closely resemble those seen in Cambodia and Burma. An example is a Liao damask from the tenth

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[28] Green, "Angkor Vogue," 448-449.

[29] Ibid., 430, Green, citing Shelagh Vainker, says, "the cash motif is one of the most frequently encountered designs in the Chinese ornamental repertoire, appearing on porcelains, textiles, carvings and paintings from many periods." Cf. Shelagh Vainker, "Silk of the Northern Song: Reconstructing the Evidence," in *Silk and Stone*, ed. Deborah Smith (London: Hali Publications, 1996) 170.

[30] Another reference to Javanese ability to weave luxury fabric, see Christie, "Ikat to Batik,"14

[31] Several mid-eighth century Chinese silks with this pattern survived in the Shosoin royal treasuries in Japan. The technique ranges from clamp-dyeing on loose plain weave fabric to complex weft-patterned weaving. See Kaneo Matsumoto, Jodai-Gire: *7th and 8th Century Textiles in Japan from the Shoso-In and Horyu-Ji.* (Kyoto: Alan Kennedy, 1985), 87-88, figs. 69-71.

to eleventh centuries (figs 2.27-2.28). Here, the lines of the circles are in multiple as in the Preah Khan example. The concave diamond shapes are filled with a center flower surrounded by curlicues. The overall filler and the emphasis of the flower center bear an uncanny resemblance to the pattern in Pagan. The pointed ellipses feature two confronting birds with open wings and long tails, like phoenixes. The Singhasari patterns, too, I believe, exhibit a tendency for intricate patterning, which suggest a Chinese source.

2.4. The pattern's standardization in the Majapahit Period (1293–c. 1500)

During the Majapahit Period, the stylistic variations of the overlapping circles patterns seen on the Singhasari figures were standardized. The large-scale patterns of the Singhasari Mahakala and Brahma disappeared; the pointed ellipses were invariably plain; and the flower motifs inside the concave diamond took on the simplest version. The double crescent motifs also vanished. Along with this standardization, the pattern was growing in its frequency of use. In fact, it became virtually the only textile pattern found on stone statuaries from the Majapahit Period. The exception is a diamond lattice pattern, which I believe is related to the interstitial concave diamond shape seen in both the overlapping circles and connected circles pattern. I will further discuss this relationship at the end of this chapter (section 2.6).

Out of the numerous Majapahit statues with the overlapping circles pattern, I chose several that represent different character-type figures: the royal images of a king from Candi Sumberjati and a queen, the fierce guardians at Candi Panataran, and the representation of couple in the figures from the Jebuk village. Figure 2.29 depicts a statue of a standing male deity with female attendants from Candi Sumberjati in Simping, south of Blitar. In 1361-1363, during the reign of Rajasanagara, the temple was rebuilt, and the statue was believed to originate from the same period.[32] The main image itself has been associated with the first Majapahit king, Kertarajasa (1293-1309). The statue is typical of deified images with stiff body, four arms, closed eyes and having attributes that combine both royal and divine aspects. The divine attributes do not strictly follow a particular deity. In this case, Wisnu is invoked through the presence of a conch (with a snail coming out of it) that is balanced on the index finger of the right back hand. The front right hand, however, holds the rosary of Siwa while displaying the mudra of meditation. Befitting a king, the figure is richly bejeweled from head to toes. The two females at his sides mimic his manner of dress. The king wears a very long patterned sarong that is pleated in the middle. Two sashes hang low in the front and gather at the hips forming decorative knots. The ends trail down besides the legs. The sashes display the same pattern as the sarong. The pattern is a very simple type of overlapping circles pattern. The circle has a double outline, the pointed ellipses are plain, and

[32] Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art,* 82-83, pl. 247.

the concave diamond is filled with a four-petal flower with a circular center. The end of the sarong is turned back at the waist, revealing the underside of the cloth, which is also patterned. The tendency to show the underside of a patterned textile, which already began during the Singhasari Period, continued to the Majapahit Period, and here is shown at full sight. This tendency goes hand-in hand with another Majapahit hallmark, which is the so-called meandering cloud motif. While it may be intended to suggest movement, the fold itself is very stylized so that it becomes a kind of recognizable pattern. This pattern is employed across media, on jewelry and ornamentation on architectures. To me, the folds create a "lift" of the sarong, which seems to reinforce the idea of lightness and upward movement similar to the floating head ribbons, and the shoulder sashes.

At Candi Panataran, four guardian figures flank the two staircases in front of the main temple (fig. 2.30) The figures are placed on projecting platforms that bear a date of 1239 *Saka* year (1347 C.E.), believed to be the time of completion of the temple's decorative program.[33] These guardian figures are large (h. 1.9 m) and richly carved. Each stands on a rounded base studded with skulls. One of the hands rests on a club and the other holds a snake that loops around his body like a sacred cord. The figures are heavily bejeweled. They wear multiple belts including that with the *mukirta* face, and two layers of patterned sarongs. The longer inner sarong reaches just above the ankles, and the outer sarong, half the length, ends before the knees. Two long patterned waist sashes are loosely draped at the front and fashioned into bulbous knots at the hips. The ends cascade down to the ground. The lower backs of the guardians feature a narrative relief. Next to it are a lotus plant growing from a tiny pot and a diminutive female attendant who also wears a patterned sarong and sashes. All the articles of clothing worn by the guardians and the female attendants are decorated with identical overlapping circles pattern. There is no distinction between the patterns on the inner and outer sarongs. The only difference is the border pattern between the sarongs and the sashes, the former being wider than the latter. The size of the patterns on the female attendants is also smaller, made to scale to their diminutive statures.

The circles have double outlines and there is space between the circles. The concave diamonds enclose a flower that has a double-circular center and four petals. The petals appear to consist of layers that are broad at the base and tapered at the top. The closest example of the flower is the pattern on the Nandiswara sarong. The border pattern on the sarong is a wide band divided into three smaller bands. The middle band consists of a row of four-petal flowers alternating with vertical lines. The top and bottom bands depict a row of circles interrupted by vertical lines. The border patterns of the sashes replicate one of these top or bottom bands

The next image is the kneeling couple, which came from the town of Jebuk

[33] The construction of the temple itself might have been finished in 1323 based on a dated lintel, which is believed to be original to the temple. Ibid., 91-92.

in Tulung Agung district, Kediri (fig. 2.31). The villagers call them as *retja penganten* (bride and bridegroom). Their elaborate attire identifies them as royal personages. If they were also images of deities, then they would be Siwa and Parwati or Uma, although there are hardly any attributes of the deities.[34] Stylistically, this couple image is closely related to a statue of a queen also found in Jebuk.[35] The sensitivity of the carvings, details of the jewelry and facial features suggest that they were made by the same hands.[36] The back of the queen image from Jebuk is elaborately carved with lotus plants and flowers. The tendency of carving the back of figures with lotus vegetation is a style that is shared by several images from Candi Panataran, dated to around mid- to late fourteenth century. It is safe to assume, therefore that the kneeling couple were produced around the same period.

The man is kneeling with one raised knee. The woman sits on his other leg that lies flat on the ground. She rests her right arm on his shoulder; her palm joins lovingly with his. Both figures are heavily adorned with jewelry and their sarongs are completely covered with overlapping circles patterns. The fluttering head ribbons and the upturned folds of the sarong around the waist are very typical of the Majapahit Period. The overlapping circles have a double outline and are placed adjacent to one another. The concave diamond contains a four-petal flower. The petal is very simple, similar to the one on the waist sashes of the Singhasari Mahakala.

One of the purest and elegantly simple renderings of the overlapping circles pattern can be seen on a deified statue of Parwati (fig. 2.32), the wife of Siwa, which is in the collection of the Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta. She stands on Siwa's bull and is accompanied by her two sons: Ganesa on the right and Kartikeya on the left. She holds a trident in her right back hand. Her front hands hold a lotus. She is surrounded by rays of light, seen most clearly behind her sarong. She wears a single layer of a long sarong that is worn with a center pleat. Two plain waist sashes hung low and are gathered into large knots at her hips. The knots are cinched with jeweled rings. The ends of the sashes float upward besides her. The sarong is patterned with overlapping circles pattern that is rendered in single lines. The motif inside the concave diamond is a highly abstracted flower composed of a circle and four tear-drop shapes. A closely related version of the Parwati statue is on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (fig. 2.33).[37] One of the intriguing features about the statue is

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[34] Bernet Kempers suggests that the mirror of the female suggests that she is Parwati. Ibid., 89, pls. 262-264. Fontein, however, assigns the mirror as a common feminine accouterment instead of an attribute of the goddess. See the discussion in Fontein, Soekmono, and Sedyawati, *The Sculpture of Indonesia*, 170, cat. 30.

[35] Ibid., pls. 265-266.

[36] Ibid., 89.

[37] This piece is most likely a fake because the similarities of many iconographic features and ornamental details are uncanny. On both statues, for example, the waist sashes are cinched at the hips into knots with a ring studded with gems; and next to the knot on the right hips there is curious foliage. For detail of the image, see:

the pointed ellipses, which are 45 degrees off from the norm. Instead of making a cross (X) configuration, they form a plus (+) configuration.[38]

The last example of the overlapping circles pattern is on the Ganesa statue from Bara, Blitar (fig. 2.34).[39] The elephant god is sitting, with his soles touching, on a pedestal encircled with a row of skull. Ganesa holds a tusk, a fly-whisk, a hatchet and a skull bowl. The god's sacred cord is also made of tiny skulls that are strung together. The back of his head features a fearsome Kala-head, similar to the headdress found on today's shadow puppets. The pedestal bears a chronogram for 1161 *Saka* year (1239 C.E.). While the chronogram date puts this statue in the Singhasari Period, P. H. Pott, already in 1962, suggested that the skulls on the pedestal were a later addition.[40] More recently, Lunsingh Scheurleer further added that the iconographic features of the Ganesa do not correspond to the Singhasari style, although she did not specify which features.[41]

I agree with Lunsingh Scheurleer's stylistic commentary based on the detail features on the clothing and the jewelry. The type of the overlapping circles pattern fits perfectly within the Majapahit Period style. The double outline circles and the concave diamond inhabited by a four-petal flower, are reminiscent of the pattern on the Candi Panataran guardian figures. John Guy has published an Indian trade cloth found in Egypt, dated to thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, which shows a remarkable likeness to the pattern on Ganesa's sarong. Even his decorative belt with loops of pearl strings translates onto the cloth as rows of pendants (fig. 2.35).[42] The Indian trade cloth is cotton, patterned using block printed technique in three colors: blue, red, and a dark maroon, which most likely created through a combination of the two colors (overdyeing process). Further supporting the Majapahit Period date for the Ganesa from Bara are the ways the sarong makes a sizable downward fold on the back and the loop of the sashes emerge under the fold. These features appear on other in the round Majapahit Period sculptures, for example on the guardian figures in front of the main temple of Candi Panataran (fig. 2.36). The other unmistakable Majapahit Period feature is the meandering element, often referred to as the 'meandering cloud',[43] which is apparent on the god's anklets.

Compared to the overlapping circle patterns found in the Singhasari Period, those found in the Majapahit Period are rather uniform. Out of thirty

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www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/56277?sortBy=Relevance&ft=2001.407&offset=0&rpp=20&pos=1

[38] To my knowledge there is only one real Ancient Javanese statue that exhibits a plus configuration of pointed ellipsis. It is a Durga statue that is currently housed in the Trowulan Museum in Java. I am grateful to Marijke Klokke for pointing this out.

[39] Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, pls. 212-213.

[40] P. H. Pott, "Four Demonic Gaṇeśas from East Java," in *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* 15 (Leiden: Brill, 1962), 123–131.

[41] Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Skulls, Fangs and Serpents: A New Development in East Javanese," in *Iconography, Southeast Asian Archaeology 1998,* eds. W. Lobo and S. Reimann (Hull: Centre for South-East Asian Studies, 2000), 193-194.

[42] Guy, *Woven Cargoes*, 63.

[43] See Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Meandering Clouds for Earrings," 18–29.

more Majapahit statues with overlapping circles pattern, all exhibit very simple patterns. The reasons are not clear. There are only two different types, differing only in the center flower and the double outline. Do these simpler patterns reflect the limited variety of Indian trade cloths that were imported to Java, or do the imported cloth themselves reflect the taste that was being sought after in Java? Jan Wisseman Christie appears to suggest that both considerations carry weight: that imported Indian textiles were adapted for the local Javanese market and Indian textiles were responsible for the emergence of complex patterning found on the ancient sculptures.[44]

Depictions of overlapping circles pattern on sculptures ceased in the late fifteenth century, when the Majapahit Dynasty collapsed under the pressure of Islam. The East Javanese courtiers fled to Bali and kept the Indic court culture alive until the nineteenth century. Statues produced after this relocation, however, do not employ the overlapping circles pattern. Instead, the most popular textile pattern on Balinese statues from the sixteenth century onwards appears to be diamond lattice. This pattern already appeared on thirteenth-century Singhasari statues, for example the Candi Singosari Durga and Ganesa. In the next section, I will explore a possible relationship between the overlapping circles pattern and diamond motifs, as well as with the modern pattern called *kawung*. The latter is one of the most important batik patterns for the Mataram court in Yogyakarta and Surakarta.

2.6. The geometry of the overlapping circles pattern, kawung and concave diamond

In order to find possible connections between the pattern on the statues and patterns on modern textiles, we need to make an imaginative leap. Temporarily, we must suspend our need to understand this pattern as historical evidence of textiles. Instead, we will analyze them on the level of graphic representation, for, in reality, that is what they had become the moment they were inscribed on the stone surfaces. As a two-dimensional representation, the pattern enters the arena of ornament, which can be manipulated for effect regardless of the materiality of its textile references. As we will see in the following sections, in the hands of skillful Javanese artists, parts of the pattern were parsed out, emphasized or de-emphasized. Each of these parts has the potential to transform into another pattern on their own. In this section, I will explore several alternative schemata. On the level of graphic ornamentation, the pattern can be applied to various media from woven textiles to gold earplugs, temple architecture, ceramics, and back to cloths.

[44] It is not very clear which complex patterning Christie referred to. In the case of the overlapping circles pattern I agree with her when it comes to the Majapahit Period, but not during the Singhasari Period. Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 194. See also Christie, "Weaving and Dyeing," 25.

At the beginning of this chapter, I have introduced a schematic repeat of the overlapping circles pattern, which is: four circles that are tangentially connected and the fifth one that overlaps equally in the center with the other four (fig. 2.37a). It is important to note that in this schema, the Javanese artists only had to add one step (overlapping the fifth circle) to the connected circles pattern with which they were already familiar since the eighth century (Chapter One).

There is, however, another way of looking at the overlapping circles pattern. Evidence from stone images, reveals that Javanese artists constructed the pattern not only by overlapping circles but also by putting identical circles together like in a puzzle (fig. 2.37b). In this schema, the distinction between the overlapping circles pattern and connected circles pattern becomes blurred. Here, the overlapping circles pattern can easily be described as the connected circles pattern whereby each circle is inhabited by a concave diamond that mimics the interstices.

This alternative schema is evident on the sarong of a deified Parwati statue found at Kediri (fig 2.38). A close up of the pattern shows that each circle is a distinct unit. Emphasized by a thick outline, the circle does not overlap with other circles. Each unit encloses a concave diamond that is filled with a floral pattern. The emphasis on the structural integrity of the circles works against the visibility of the pointed ellipses, which here are placed widely apart and lose their cross configuration. If we reconsider the pattern on the couple deity statue on figure 2.31, we can see in the detail image that the overlapping circles are created through the same schema of repeating distinct units of circle.

Another example of the isolation of the circle-diamond unit is the discal ear-plug ornament, called *subang*. As pointed out by John Guy, the discal earrings in the earlier period were decorated by four-spoke axial motif. During the Singhasari Period when the overlapping circles patterns appeared, however, the pattern on the earrings changed to reflect the new fashion. Two examples are the *subang* worn by Syamatara and Sudhanakumara from Candi Jago (figs. 2.38, 2.39). [45] Each earring represents literally one of the circle-diamond motifs extracted from the textile pattern.[46] Guy is also one among many scholars who have pointed out the visual association between the overlapping circles pattern and *kawung*. Let us now take a close look at the graphic relationship of the two patterns.

There are different types and sub-genre of batik *kawung*; some are roundish, others squarish. Most look very different than the overlapping circles

[45] See John Guy, "Ornaments of Empowerment, the Kundala-Subang in Old Javanese Jewelry," in *Parels in Een Baaierd van Lacunes: Feestbundel voor Pauline Scheurleer*, *Aziatische Kunst* 38: 4 (Amsterdam: Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst, 2008), 58. Gold *subang* dated to the Majapahit Period with similar circle-diamond motif have been found. See Ibid., 58-59, figs. 4, 6.

[46] Lunsingh Scheurleer was first to recognize the single circle-diamond motifs on a pair of gold discal earplugs from the Majapahit Period. She called this motif 'encircled four-pointed star.' She noted that many Majapahit bronze offering trays also display such motif. See Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "An Introduction into Majapahit Ornamentation," *Arts of Asia* 30, no. 6 (2000): 88-90, pl. 5.

patterns. Early twentieth-century drawings of *kawung* clearly shows that the one feature all *kawung* have in common with the ancient overlapping circles pattern is the unit of four pointed ellipses that are organized as a cross (figs. 2.40-2.41). The importance of the pointed ellipsis as the identifying feature of *kawung* is encapsulated in Langewis and Wagner's description of it as "an ellipse in which the two focal points are clearly indicated. These ellipses are placed crosswise opposite one another; repetition of this placing at regular intervals forms the decorative filling of the whole area. Between the ellipses four-pointed stars are formed, which in turn are provided with as a rule a very plain stylized flower motif."[47] An earlier publication by Jasper and Pirngadie has also similarly identified *kawung* based on the cross figures of the oval-shaped cutouts. They further elaborated that these oval shapes "normally contain a few cross stitches, spheres, or other small motifs. Usually the lines and the diamond shape are colored in soga [brown], whereas the foundation is white and only very small details are in blue."[48] None of these descriptions mentions circles. Yet, it is obvious that circles were the most important element in the ancient Javanese pattern. In addition, the 'two focal points' or the 'cross stitches inside the ovals' of *kawung* are not present in the overlapping circles of the Majapahit Period. The question is then, when and how did the morphing process of the Ancient pattern into *kawung* take place?

One *kawung* schema in an ancient Javanese pattern can be observed on details of the sarong of King Kertarajasa (figs. 2.27, 2.45). The figure wears a sarong and two sashes with the same pattern. The sarong is folded outward below the waist to reveal the underside of the cloth, which is also patterned. Two smaller, roundish curvilinear folds—symmetrically placed on each side of the body— animate the bigger fold. Within this contained area of the smaller folds, the craftsman had a choice of which segments of the pattern he would depict, and he chose the four pointed ellipses. He also chose to depict the ellipses as the central image of the waist sashes, which drapes on top of the sarong. The decision to depict the pointed ellipses in these strategic locations may have been motivated by a number of considerations that escape us today. What is observable, however, is the artistic awareness to emphasize the four pointed ellipses by placing the form in certain focal points. From the graphic perspective, this may have opened up the possibility of the evolution of the batik *kawung*.

A ritual bronze plate, *talam*, from the East Javanese Period further provides a tantalizing link between overlapping circles pattern to *kawung* (fig. 2.46).[49] The plate depicts a scene, which I am not familiar with, of three figures standing on either sides of a sinuous tree. On the right, stands a noble woman with an elaborately patterned sarong, accompanied by a dwarf figure, *panakawan* (fig. 2.46b). Her sarong is patterned with large bands featuring a row of circles

[47] Langewis and Wagner, *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles*, 30.
[48] Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid: Batikkunst*, 152.
[49] See image in Hugo E. Kreijger, "Majapahit: The Golden Age of Indonesia: Late 13th–Early 16th Century," *Arts of Asia* 30, no. 6 (2000): fig. 2.

inscribed with a concave diamond. At the point of contact between the circles within the same band is marked by two leaflets. There is no continuity in the pattern from one band to the next but there is a clear emphasis on the circles. The other side of the *talam* depicts an old woman who wears a long wrap-around dress that covers from her chest up to above her ankle (fig. 2.46c). The cloth is also patterned with large bands. Every other band features the cross shape of the pointed ellipses. The point where the ellipses intersect is accentuated with a circle. There is a sense of hierarchy depicted on these dresses. The highest is the sarong of the noble woman, which features a view of the circles with diamond pattern on every band. The second tier is the old woman's dress, which is patterned on every other band, and the pattern itself is an offset of the circles-diamond pattern. This offset view resembles that of *kawung*. The lowest rank is the *panakawan*'s sarong that only features plain bands. Since *kawung* is closely identified with the arts of *batik*, I will discuss the relationship between the two terms in the next section.

2.7 Relationship of batik, kawung, and geringsing

In regards to textiles, the island of Java evokes, first and foremost, the arts of batik. The term means both the textile patterning technique using wax as resist and then dyeing, as well as the decorative cloths produced by such technique. Batik par excellence is *batik tulis*, where the wax is masterfully applied on both sides of the cloth by hand with a copper-spout pen, *canting*.[50] A much later development of batik—made to compete with Dutch machine printed export—is *batik cap*, where the wax is applied by copper stamp.

Indonesian textile scholars have in general agreed that the fine batik we see today is in fact a relatively recent phenomenon. Mattiebelle Gittinger has pointed out that there is no Old Javanese term for *batik*. The first indication appeared as "*batick*" on a 1641 landing bill of a ship that travelled from Batavia (Jakarta) to Bengkulen on Sumatra's west coast.[51] That *batick* refers to polychrome textiles that were abroad the ship. In addition, Gittinger argued that the intricate wax patterning was only possible on tightly woven cotton with smooth surface, which would have required Indian or European textile imports; it is the necessity for expensive foreign textiles that have allowed batik arts to thrive primarily in affluent communities, either in commercial trading or court centers.[52] There is one primitive type of hand-drawn resist-technique from West Java called *kain simbut*, once a necessary constituent of a bride's dowry, and for other life transitions rites such as birth, circumcision, and tooth-filing rites. It is a

[50] A *canting* is a bamboo handle with a copper head for the wax reservoir and the spout to control the wax outflow.
[51] Mattiebelle Gittinger, *Splendid Symbols: Textiles and Tradition in Indonesia* (Singapore etc: Oxford University Press, 1990), 16.
[52] Ibid., 115.

handwoven cloth with a large light color diamond pattern, produced by rice paste resist drawn with a bamboo stick against red painted background. I agree with Gittinger, however, that the large bold diamond pattern of *kain simbut* is very different than the complex motif on the ancient Javanese statues (fig. 2.47).[53] Another type of batik on local handwoven cloth in Tuban in East Java depicts a completely different type of motif, featuring more free-flowing paintings of birds, flowers, and vegetation.[54] This type is also different than that seen on the ancient Javanese statues.

Robyn Maxwell also assigned the florescence of batik technique in Java to the post-Majapahit Period. The fact that batik technique was never developed in Bali, suggests to her that the technique evolved in Java after the court relocated to Bali.[55] The batik arts in Sumatra are attributed to an even later date, as an influence from Java.[56] Maxwell also argued for the late arrival of batik in Java based on the fact that the materials, technique and process of making batik were never considered sacred as other types of ritual cloths. In her words, "Although the [pattern] symbolism of this Javanese art can be traced back to earlier periods, batik did not generally absorb the supernatural aspects that are thought to permeate ancient textile types. There is little magic or mystery attached to batik-making and usage." To Maxwell, the creation and usage of batik have more to do with the display of power through manipulation of access of certain objects and pattern.[57] The control of batik pattern is laid out on several courts edicts issued by the court of Surakarta and Yogyakarta which restrict the use of certain designs to the royal family, making it forbidden (*larangang*) for commoners.[58] *Kawung* pattern is listed in the *larangang* category under the Yogyakarta court. The pattern was reserved for those with the titles *raden mas* or *raden*, distant relatives of the sultan.[59]

Langewis and Wagner speculated that the overlapping circles patterns were not created by batik but rather by "…decorative technique whereby motifs in gold leaf are applied to the cloth by means of glue."[60] Their reasoning may be

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[53] Ibid.

[54] See examples in Heringa, *Nini Towok's Spinning Wheel.*

[55] Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia*, 325. Laurens Langewis and Frits Wagner expressed a similar opinion about the late origin of batik *tulis* in Java—as late as the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries—as the reason why batik flourishes in Java and not in Bali. See Langewis and Wagner, *Decorative Art in Indonesian Textiles*, 16.

[56] Quoting Gosling (1929-30: 143), Gittinger says "According to the Jambi people themselves, the skill of batik was brought to the east coast by Javanese immigrants in the last half of the nineteenth century, and soon adopted by local women." Gittinger, *Splendid Symbols*, 115.

[57] Maxwell, *Textiles of Southeast Asia,* 325.

[58] The edicts issued by the Surakarta court were written in 1769, 1784, and 1790. The start of the forbidden pattern in the Yogyakarta court is unknown. Alit Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, "On the Origin and Nature of Larangan: Forbidden Patterns from the Central Javanese Principalities," in *Indonesian Textiles: Irene Emery Roundtable on Museum Textiles, 1979 Proceedings*, ed. Mattiebelle Gittinger (Washington: Textile Museum, 1980), 201-202.

[59] Ibid., 202, citing Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid: Batikkunst*, 227.

[60] Cited in Fiona Kerlogue *Batik: Design, Style and History* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), 32.

because textiles decorated with gold-glue work (*tulis mas*) has been mentioned in Old Javanese inscriptions by the late twelfth century in Java.[61] While this is certainly a possibility, there is also no visual link to prove it otherwise.

The term *kawung* is derived from the Old Javanese word for the dried leaves of *aren* plant.[62] The word *kawung* in the context of a textile pattern, however, did not appear until the Middle Javanese poems, *kidung*, which were composed in Bali in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Although written in Bali, *kidung* narratives are based on characters who lived in Java during the Singhasari and the Majapahit Periods. I find it interesting that around the same period when batik was presumably developed in Java, the term *kawung* also appear in *kidung* that make references to events that happened in Java.

In the sixteenth century poem *Rangga Lawe*, *kawung* pattern is embroidered on a *dodot* that was made in India or in Indian style.[63] In the *Wangbang Wideya*, a *dodot* with colors of light blue and red are patterned in gold *kawung*.[64] In many cases, *kawung* is linked with the word *geringsing*. In *Kidung Sunda*,[65] for example, *geringsing kawung* appears twice. In the first instance, the King of Kahuripan wore a fine sash with *geringsing kawung* pattern (*asabuk giringsing kawung*) together with a *dodot* made from imported cloth that is patterned with gold paint.[66] In the second, the Patih of Sunda wears a pair of pants patterned with *geringsing kawung* (*alancingan gringsing kawung*). [67] In another Middle Javanese poem, *Kidung Harsawijaya*, *geringsing kawung* is mentioned multiple times, as waist sashes (*sabuk*) or women's sarong (*sinjang*).[68]

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[61] Christie, "Javanese Markets and the Asian Sea Trade Boom," 25.

[62] Zoetmulder, *OJED* 830:5.

[63] *adodot bwat Keling sinulam kinawung-kawung, asabuk lubeng kahot, krisnyatrap-trap mas sisilir, megha mendung, lancingane maya krsna* (*RL* 8.40). See C. C. Berg, *Rangga Lawe: Middeljavaansche Historische Roman* (Weltevreden: Albrecht & Co, 1930).

64 *adodot pawul bang kinawung-kawung rukmi* (*Ww* 3.209b). See Zoetmulder, *OJED,* 830: 5.2. However, I cannot find this passage in Stuart Robson, *Waṇbaṇ Wideya: A Javanese Pañji Romance*. Bibliotheca Indonesica 6 (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971).

[65] Who wrote it, and when and where it was first composed, are unknown. The story took inspiration from the Majapahit Dynasty's characters, the King Hayam Wuruk and his powerful minister, Gajah Mada. Mentions of a certain character and use of Arabic terms, however, make it most likely to be a post mid-sixteenth-century creation. For translation of the text in Dutch, see C. C. Berg, "Kidung Sunda: Inleiding, Tekst, Vertaling en Aanteekeningen," *BKI* 83, no. 1 (1927): 1–161.

[66] *De vorst van Kahuripan trok een dodot aan van buitenlandsche stof, met goudverf beschilderd, een gordel in het patroon giringsing kawung, van voortreffelijke kwaliteit en bekoorlijk; hij deed een fraaie, kostbare (?) bĕbĕd aan, die met candu bestreken was; hij droeg een adhipati's kris met kostbaar gouden gevest* (*KS* 1:10b). See Berg "Kidung Sunda."

[67] *die een stalen lans draagt, keurig met kleine stukjes goud ingelegd, en een kostbare sabel op zij, welke met drijfwerk in goud versierd is, die een diadeem draagt en een broek in het* patroon giringsing *kawung, dan is dat de patih van Sunda, die daar aankomt: kom dan maar op en deins niet terug* (*KS* 1:76b). See Berg "Kidung Sunda."

[68] *sabukira gringsing kawung*, *asinjang gringsing kawung*, *asabuk gringsing kawung*, *apaningset giringsing kawung*, *sinjang giringsing kawung* (*KHWj* 1.45b, 1.62a, 2.5a, 3.8a, 6.47b in the respective order). See C. C. Berg, "Kidung Harsa-Wijaya." *BKI* 88, no. 1 (1931): 49–238.

The term *geringsing* already appeared in the twelfth-century Old Javanese *Kakawin Sumanasantaka* as, "*kelab ni tapih i nghulun suji ya teki pupulaken i posik ing sekar; patangkis i giringsing i nghulun angantya ri lengeng I kirincing ing banu."*[69] The meaning of this *geringsing*, however, is unclear. Woro Sumaryoto interpreted the passage as "the lapping movement of my *geringsing tapih*."[70] More recently, however, Peter Worsley and S. Supomo, provided the translation without mentioning the *geringsing* at all, as: "You should gather up the fluttering of my embroidered *kain* together with the rustling flower; the tinkling of my anklet should await the charm of splashing water."[71]

A more definite connection of *geringsing* to textile first appeared in the Desawarnana *kakawin*, dated to 1365. The passage describes a procession of royal carriages, each decorated with different ornamentations based on ranks. The carriage of the King of Majapahit is "adorned with canopies patterned with red *lobheng lewih gringsing* painted with gold.[72] *Geringsing* textile or patterned textile is also be used as carpet (*giringsing pramadani*) in Wangbang Wideya.[73] The most popular items made in *geringsing* are those related to clothing. *Geringsing* cloth is frequently worn as a belt or sash (*sabuk*), a loin cloth (*cawet*) and breeches (*lancingan*). Very infrequently, it is also used as woman's lower garment (*sinjang*).

In *kidung*, *geringsing* cloth is imbued with protective power. The Pararaton describes Raden Wijaya, the founder of the Majapahit dynasty, distributing *geringsing* breeches (*lancingan gringsing*) to his closest and high-ranking followers prior to combat.[74] This important event, which marked the rise of the Majapahit Dynasty, is retold in other *kidung*, for example *Rangga Lawe* and *Panji Wijayakrama*.[75] In the latter, Raden Wijaya wore *geringsing* pants while he

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[69] *Sum* 7:14a-b. Peter John Worsley, S. Supomo, Thomas M Hunter, and Margaret Fletcher, *Mpu Monaguṇa's Sumanasāntaka: An Old Javanese Epic Poem, Its Indian Source and Balinese Illustrations* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 80.

[70] Woro A. Sumaryoto, "Textiles in Javanese Texts," in *Weaving Patterns of Life*, eds. Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, Ruth Barnes, and David J. Stuart-Fox (Basel, Switzerland: Museum of Ethnography Basel, 1993), 38.

[71] *Sum* 6:14 in Worsley, et. al., *Mpu Monaguṇa's Sumanasāntaka*, 81. The translation follows Zoetmulder, *OJED* 545:8 that defines *geringsing* as a kind of metal ornament, perhaps bracelet or anklets.

[72] *gringsing lobheng lewih laka paḍa tinulis ing mas kajangnya n rinengga* (*Des* 18:4). See Robson, *Desawarnana.*

[73] *Ww* 3:63b cited in Zoetmulder, *OJED* 545:8. However, I cannot find this term in the newer translation. See Robson, *Waṇbaṇ Wideya*, 184-185.

[74] *Samangka raden Wijaya adum lancingan geringsing ring kawulnira sawiji sowang, ayun sira angamuka. King dinuman sira Sora, sira Rangga lawe, sira Pedang, sira Dangdi, sira Gajah.* See J. L. A. Brandes, *Pararaton (Ken Arok): Of Het Boek Der Koningen van Tumapĕl En van Majapahit* (The Hague: Bataviaasch Genootschap, 1920), 19, lines 28-31. For the Indonesian translation, see R. M. Mangkudimedja, *Serat Pararaton Ken Arok 2* (Jakarta: Proyek Penerbitan Buku Sastra Indonesia dan Daerah, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1979) Bab VI, 79. The above narratives on *geringsing* cloths are also mentioned in Brigitta Hauser-Schäublin, Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Urs Ramseyer, *Balinese Textiles* (London: British Museum Press, 1991), 130-133.

[75] Raden Wijaya gave his followers *geringsing* loincloth: *Kang wineh cawet giringsing wiwijeka, pracaya koceng; jurit, arepan ing lampah, Lembu-Sora kalawan, Gajah-Pagon; Medang Dangdi, Mahisa-*

was on the run. After reaching safety, he tore the pants into pieces and divided them amongst his followers. "Those who received it become combative, they were not afraid to die and believe that they will be victorious in battle."[76] The passage made clear that the Javanese believed on the potency of the *geringsing* cloth, no matter how small.

According to Rens Heringa, the word *geringsing* in Javanese simply means "without (or against) illness."[77] Thus the term may be applied to a large variety of cloth. In this sense, the *lobheng lewih geringsing* mentioned in the fourteenth-century *Desawarnana* could simply mean a cloth that has the power to avert evils. Heringa, however, also used the term *geringsing* as the scale pattern on a protective dragon on a nineteenth-century Central Javanese batik.[78]

In summary, I agree with Mattiebelle and Maxwell that batik is a later addition to the repertoire of textile patterning in Java. Batik technique developed in Java but not in Bali, presumably around the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. There is no overlap of the term *kawung* and batik in the early Javanese literature. The *kawung* mentioned in *kidung* describes a certain pattern, which are found on articles of clothing of which some are the royal dress of the Javanese courts, for example, *dodot*. In most cases, *kawung* appear together with the word *geringsing*, which has the connotation of magical protective cloth.

Today, *geringsing* is associated with a specific type of sacred cloth from Bali. It is a loose cotton textile in double ikat technique, which is only woven in one village, Tenganan Pegringsingan, in the east of Bali. The geringsing double ikat are used in life-transition rituals in the village to ward off impurities and danger. The question is: could the *geringsing* mentioned in *kidung* (and *malat*) refer to the sacred Balinese *geringsing*? It is impossible to be certain but there are shared patterns mentioned in the Balinese texts and the double ikats. One of the most sacred patterns in the double ikats is the *geringsing wayang*, meaning shadow puppet (fig. 2.48). Many of the *geringsing* in *kidung* are patterned with characters from shadow puppet performances, whose stories were derived from Indian epics. *Kidung Harsawijaya*, for example, mentions *asabuk gringsing Kresnayana*, *sabuk gringsing Smarantaka* and *asinjang gringsing ringgit*.[79] *Malat*, too, mentions *asabuk gringsing Pandawajaya* and *alancingan gringsing Ramayana*.[80]

Wagal, mantri pamuntat malih. Translated in Dutch as *Aan zijn metgezellen, Kebo-Sora, Gajah-Pagon, Medang,Dangdi, Mahisa Wagal…schonk Wijaya elk een cawet geringsing* (*RL* 1.57). See Berg, *Rangga Lawe*, 11 (Dutch) and 42 (Old Javanese).

[76] Sumaryoto, "Textiles in Javanese Texts," 34, citing the *Panji Wijayakrama* (song I, verse 56-60) in S. Mulyono, *Munuju Puncka Kejayaan* (Jakarta, Balai Pustaka, 1965), 136. "*…rahaden sira asalin, adadar-dadar, ring bala- warganantri. Kang wineh cawet giringsing wiwijeka, pracaya koceng jurit…bhrastahyun i kamukan, ing mungsuh wirang apulih…samangrenggut…anarik khadga, abhasa pareng mati."*

[77] Barnes, *Five Centuries*, 134, pl. 31.

[78] Ibid., fig. 31a.

[79] *KHWj* 1:45a, 1:59b, 4:88b. See Berg, "Kidung Harsa-Wijaya" and Zoetmulder, *OJED*, 545:8. Also see Note that in Old Javanese, *ringgit* is a synonym of *wayang* or shadow puppet.

[80] *Mal* 2:186b, 5:81b. Ibid.

2.8 Relationship of the overlapping circles pattern with Balinese geringsing and fifteenth-century weft ikats

At first glance, the overlapping circles pattern from the Majapahit Period did not continue in Bali. Indeed, the overlapping circles pattern is not found in post-Majapahit Period statues from Bali. But a close look at the pattern on *geringsing* double ikat, reveals a striking connecting thread. This connection lies in the concave diamonds, which is featured very prominently in the center of the *geringsing* pattern. Surrounding the concave diamonds are curvilinear shapes, which are, in fact, half of circles. Another way of looking at the *geringsing* pattern is a slice of a blown up overlapping circles pattern (fig. 2.49-2.50). It is also essentially one band of the pattern on the cloth worn by the two women on the *talam* of figure 2.46.

I would like to argue that the concave diamond is already an important symbol used as textile pattern in the Majapahit Period. Diamond pattern cloth is worn by a female figure in another bronze ritual *talam* (fig. 2.51). The sole image of a weaver from this period, dated to fourteenth century, depicts a row of concave diamonds running in the middle of the cloth. The woman is sitting in an open pavilion and weaving on a backstrap loom (See Chapter Four, fig. 4.2). The link between diamond motifs and weaving also seems to be suggested in a *talam* from the East Javanese Period (fig. 1.61).

A similar type of central diamond is found in both the Balinese double ikats and a group of fifteenth-century weft ikats attributed to Java connects the two textile traditions (figs. 2.52-2.53). A few of these ancient weft ikats have survived and are housed in various collections; all show highly refined ikat patterns and an unusual combination of silk warps and cotton wefts. The ikat tying has a pattern repeat unit of 2 wefts. The pattern is very intricate with a pattern step of 2 wefts, featuring deer, a variety of birds, scrolls, abstract images and several diamond shape motifs. There is a biaxial symmetry running through the middle along the length of the warp. In the center is a row of diamonds, alternating in two kinds. The larger one features a square and three-pronged projection on the four sides. The diamonds, particularly the largest one, are identical to those seen at the center of the *geringsing* motifs of Bali.[81] The pieces that are fully preserved have gold borders at the two long ends. At these borders, bands of gold thread intermittently substitute the cotton wefts, interrupting the ikat pattern. The fineness of the ikat tying, the use of gold threads, and the conformity of the patterns in all extant examples point to an existence of a

[81] The center of a textile contains the most prestigious part of the cloth. A *patola* pattern when incorporated into a Sumba *hinggi* or a Lamalera sarong is featured on the center panel. See the discussion in Ruth Barnes, "The Bridewealth Cloth of Lamalera, Lembata," in *To Speak with Cloth: Studies in Indonesian Textiles*, ed. Mattiebelle Gittinger (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 1989), 49.

professional weaving workshop, which must be either court sponsored or patronized in a wealthy establishment. The Mary Kahlenberg piece was found in Sumatra and the one in the former Nusantara Museum was found in Bali. Others are in private collections whose provenances are unknown to me. If these groups of textiles were made in Java, they are the earliest examples of Javanese weavings.

The possibility that these weft ikats were woven in East Java is high because there was a flourishing silk weft ikat weaving tradition in the area of Gresik. The fact that the ancient weft ikat uses cotton for the (patterning) weft indicates possibly a transition from a warp ikat technique, which would have been all cotton, to a weft ikat, which is normally of silk. It is important to note that there are weft ikats that employ all cotton (for the warps and wefts); these are found only in Bali and the nearby island, Lombok. Perhaps, then, the weft ikat traditions in these three places emerged from the same ancient tradition as exemplified in the fifteenth-century weft ikats.

The *geringsing* double ikat and the fifteenth-century weft ikat both underscore the importance of concave diamond motif to mark the center of the cloth. Diamond motif is, in fact, very prevalent on Javanese batik. The diamond is always placed in the center and sometimes can be so large as to overwhelm the rest of the design. We can see this effect on certain types of woman breast cloth, *kemben,* and man head scarf, *ikat kepala* (figs. 2.54, 2.55). Returning to the overlapping circles pattern as ornament, I believe that the pattern was responsible in generating different trajectories of new patterns by excluding and emphasizing certain parts of its composition. In the case of *kawung*, the pattern emphasizes the pointed ellipses of the overlapping circles pattern, and in the case of *geringsing* double ikat, the concave diamonds.

2.9. Conclusion

The study of the overlapping circles pattern gives insight into the Javanese participation in global market as well and the local artists' response to them. The fashion for the overlapping circles pattern in the thirteenth century occurred at the end of popularity of another pattern, the connected circles pattern. The latter had flourished since the eighth century (Chapter One). The pattern's renaissance in Java can be interpreted as the desire to depict a certain type of prestigious foreign textiles that were widely circulated in Asia at the time. Most likely, the early depictions found during the Singhasari Period were imitating the general idea of patterned silks from China. The Singhasari patterns appeared in several variations of which some are very intricate. By the Majapahit Period, the overlapping circles patterns had become standardized. These depictions most likely represent Indian textiles. The pattern such as that on the Ganesa from Bara, for example, can be closely compared to Indian block-printed cottons found in Egypt.

The investigation about the relationship of the overlapping circles pattern and the batik *kawung* reveals a very indirect thread. The early uses of the term *kawung* as a textile pattern was in *kidung*, written in Bali around the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries. Batik itself did not develop in Java until around the same period. There is a possibility that the *kidung* were referencing Javanese batik textiles, since their stories are about events that took place in Java.

The overlapping circles pattern can be studied both as historical evidence of textile material, as well as graphic representation of ornaments. The nature of ornament has been described as transmedial and transmaterial, meaning being able to cross media and mimic other media onto itself.[82] The study of the overlapping circles pattern, therefore, provides an opportunity to witness the Javanese mindsets in appropriating the pattern into the local artistic vocabulary of ornaments. Close analysis of the markings on statues reveals several artistic explorations of the pattern's generative potentials. First, they could continue to create the familiar connected circles pattern layout, by using four circles as the basic pattern unit and duplicating the concave diamond interstices into each unit. Second, they could emphasize the pointed ellipses and create a completely different pattern of which the end result is *kawung*. Third, they could also isolate, enlarge, or repeat the concave diamond interstices, which generate the patterns seen on Balinese *geringsing* double ikat and the fifteenth-century Javanese weft ikats. It is in this character as ornament that the ancient overlapping circles pattern intersects with the later textile patterns.

[82] See Necipoğlu and Payne, *Histories of Ornament*.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SHORT-SLEEVELESS JACKETS FROM CANDI SINGOSARI

From warrior garb to dance costumes

> Perhaps Buddhist texts, recorded in sacred words (here Sanskrit) between covers or as memories within heads, can float across boundaries of culture and vernaculars. Art, on the other hand, as an object, or a concrete thing, is more inert and much less able to move easily across cultural boundaries. Local understanding always dominates in art.
>
> R. Brown, *Place in the Sacred Biography of Borobudur*. [1]

3.1. Introduction

Present-day Singosari is a small town located some ten kilometers north of Malang in East Java. For less than one hundred years in the past, it was the royal seat of the Singhasari Dynasty (1222–1292)[2]. Despite the relatively brief duration, the Singhasari Period is regarded as one of the golden ages of the East Javanese Period, known especially for its exquisite stone statuary. Four monolithic figures from a Hindu temple in Singosari—eponymously called Candi Singosari—stand on permanent display in the Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden. They are the deities Mahakala, Nandiswara, Durga and Ganesa (figs. 3.1–3.4) Their sumptuous ornamentations bespeak their divine nature. Their calm facial expressions and still composure suggest emotional tranquility and restraint. Even the twists and turns of their sashes and ribbons are highly deliberate and controlled. Under the museum lighting, the fine craftsmanship of these statues is laid bare. The rendering of their jewelry and clothes are so meticulous and precise that they were seemingly observed from life.

The focus of this chapter is the short and sleeveless jackets worn by these deities. These jackets are anomalies because they diverge from the normal iconographies of the deities. Furthermore, upper garments are rarely portrayed prior to the Majapahit period (1293–1527). Normally, Javanese artists chose to depict torsos without clothing, often adorned only with a sacred cord, a shoulder sash, necklaces, or any of their possible combinations. In the instances when

[1] Brown, "Place in the Sacred Biography of Borobudur," 258.

[2] See Introduction, note 51, regarding the use of the terms Singosari versus Singhasari.

artists depicted upper garments, these were normally long jackets that extend below the waist and worn by ascetic figures and priests. These ascetic jackets would have long sleeves. On rare occasions, special deities are depicted with an upper garment. For example, the god Indra on the relief of Candi Surowono wears a sleeveless jacket whose length extends to the upper thigh. These long jackets are unmistakable from the short and sleeveless jackets on the Candi Singosari deities.

The Singosari jackets share similar features. Each is a two-third length; it covers the torso just above the waist. It has a rounded collar and no sleeve. The opening of the jacket is a straight cut that falls in the middle of the chest. To my knowledge, this type of jacket is limited only to the four deities from Candi Singosari and another related Singhasari-period Ganesa, which is now housed in the National Museum in Bangkok (fig. 3.5).[3]

I investigate these very unusual jackets by first revisiting Willem Sutterheim's hypothesis, which suggests that they were martial garments. Second, I analyze the formal features of the jackets and their patterns (section 3.2). I then trace the earliest image of short and sleeveless jacket in Java, which turns out to be a warrior jacket and, thus, supports Stutterheim's theory (section 3.3). I proceed to investigate the martial garment connection by looking into the terminology for warrior jackets—*kawaca* and *sesimping*—in Old Javanese literature. My aim was to find tenable correlations between the descriptions of warrior jackets and the visual sources (section 3.4).

Next, I illustrate many previously unnoticed images of short jackets from the Majapahit Period (section 3.5). These Majapahit examples bridge the evolution of the short jacket from the sartorial form in the Singhasari Period to the modern Balinese shoulder coverings called *sesimping*, which refer to not only warrior garb but also dance costumes. Last, I examine the Balinese *sesimping* in order to reimagine the tailoring and possible methods of patterning of the Singhasari short jackets (section 3.6).

3.2. The jackets from Candi Singosari (c. 1300)

Candi Singosari, also known as Candi A or the Tower Temple in early Dutch scholarship is the only surviving structure from what once was a large Hindu and Buddhist temple complex in the town of Singosari (fig. 3.6).[4] The temple's construction is typical of East Javanese style. It has a rectangular ground plan, high base, tall main body, and towering roof structure. The temple body contains one main inner chamber and features five large niches in its exterior walls. The four Leiden figures were the occupants of the outer niches together with another

[3] The Indonesian government gave the Ganesa to King Rama V of Thailand in 1896.

[4] For monographs on the Singhasari temple complex, see J. L. A. Brandes, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari: En de Wolkentooneelenvan Panataran. Archaeologisch Onderzoek Op Java En Madura 2* (The Hague; Batavia: Nijhoff; Albrecht, 1909) and Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari*.

figure that is sill left in situ, an ascetic deity Agastya (fig. 3.7). Two of the niches are at the front of the temple, which faces west, and flank the entrance to the main chamber. The Mahakala and Nandiswara stood inside these western niches. The Durga would have stood in the northern niche, the Ganesa in the eastern niche, and the Agastya in the southern.

In 1936, Stutterheim proposed a hypothesis that the four deified statues were militant figures whose task is to guard Candi Singosari and, accordingly, the short and sleeveless jackets were warrior garments that would have announced the deities' protective and combative roles.[5] Agastya was exempted from the category because he is an ascetic. Stutterheim formulated this hypothesis through a rather circuitous argument. It was built on several suppositions, which were then mapped onto a story in the *Tantu Panggelaran* (a Javanese prose dated widely to 1500–1635).[6] The story itself was later used to validate his supporting assumptions. One supposition is that *candi* or temple was a metaphor for the sacred mountain, Mahameru; another is that Hindu temples were in fact royal mausoleums[7] and Candi Singosari specifically was the funerary shrine of King Kertanagara, the last monarch of the Singhasari Dynasty (reign. 1268-1292). In *Tantu Panggelaran*, the peak of the sacred mountain Mahameru was said to be the burial site of Bhatara Dharmaraja, the twin soul of Bhatara Guru or Siwa.[8] In order to protect this holy place, Bhatara Guru instructed five divinities to watch the gates of the four cardinal directions: the western gate is guarded by the giants Kala and Anukala; the northern gate by Bhatari Ghori, the eastern gate by Gana, and the southern gate by Resi Anggasti. When Sutterheim combined the conjectural royal burial theory with the mythical story, the five statues from Candi Singosari became the militant figures whose duty was to protect the King Kertanagara's mortuary temple. Furthermore, the short jackets became their martial garments.[9]

Not everybody agreed with Stutterheim's explanation for the Singhasari jackets. Three years after Stutterheim published his hypothesis, Jessy Blom challenged the martial garment theory in his 1939 dissertation. She viewed these

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[5] Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 307-308.

[6] Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggĕlaran: Een Oud-Javaansch Prozageschrift* (The Hague: Nederl. Boek- en Steendrukkerij voorheen H.L. Smits, 1924), 50. See also Dwi Ratna Nurhajarini, Suyami, and Sri Guritno, *Kajian Mitos dan Nilai Budaya dalam Tantu Panggelaran* (Jakarta: Proyek Pengkajian dan Pembinaan Nilai-Nilai Budaya, Direktorat Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan, Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, 1999), 172-173.

[7] According to Stutterheim, the ashes of cremated body of a king would have been buried underneath Hindu temples. See W. F. Stutterheim, "The Meaning of the Hindu-Javanese Candi," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 51, no. 1 (1931): 2.

[8] Nurhajarini and Guritno, *Kajian Mitos*, 106.

[9] "En onmiddellijk daarop valt ons te binnen hetgeen de Pararaton ons weet te vertellen omtrent de wijze, waarop Kertanagara met de zijnen in den kraton door de hand der binnendringende troepen sneuvelde. Op geen passender wijze zou dan de asch van dien vorst bewaakt kunnen worden, dan door de beelden van in krijgsgewaad gestoken godheden, welke wij immers naar alle waarschijnlijkheid hebben op te vatten als de uitbeeldingen van de allerhoogsten uit 's vorsten omgeving." Stutterheim, "De Dateering," 308.

jackets as part and parcel of the artistry of the Singhasari statues and assigned the conception of the jackets to the agency of the artists.[10] My primary concern about Blom's statement is its core implication that the jackets have no object referents. It is hard to imagine these intricate jackets emerged, as he said, purely out of "their sculptor's imagination." Blom's opinion, if followed, could have led to a lost opportunity to study these jackets in and of themselves.

Stutterheim's mortuary temple theory has now been disqualified.[11] But his hypothesis about the Singhasari jackets being warrior jackets still holds up and continues to be reiterated in subsequent scholarships.[12] It is impossible to prove or disprove the hypothesis on the basis of teleological arguments as Stutterheim had done since there is no extant writing that speaks about the four deities wearing the jackets. But there is a way to push the study of the jackets even furthers through the warrior jackets hypothesis. Stutterheim himself has pioneered this approach, which entails tracing the evolution of the forms of the jackets overtime.

Stutterheim had suggested that the Singhasari short jackets might be the prototype of the royal army uniforms of the Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts.[13] He was referring to the uniform called *kotang*, which can be seen in late nineteenth and early twentieth century documentations of the annual royal Garebeg festival.[14] One of the main events in the festival was a grand parade in which the court's riches and military might were on full display. Each regiment of the royal troops was identifiable by means of their attire, weapons, and flags.[15] Two of the regiments—the Njoetro and Soemoatmodjo divisions—were always described as wearing authentic Javanese uniforms, whereas the rest were said to wear European-inspired clothing. Tirtokoesoemo described the Njoetro division's *kotang* as a close armor that is lacquered and almost without sleeves.

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[10] Blom wrote, "The second point which Stutterheim mentions in support of his argument that the tower-temple had some connection with Kertanagara is that the images—belonging to that temple—are dressed in so-called military jackets. It seems to us rather improbable; we have never met with images of similar workmanship, and they must be considered as especially interesting in their own type. The military jackets are probably a product of their sculptor's imagination. Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari*, 134-135.

[11] Soekmono, *The Javanese Candi*.

[12] Nandana Chutiwongs, "Candi Singasari: A Recent Study," in *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past: Monument, Image and Text : Selected Papers from the 10th International Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, Volume 2*, eds. Elisabeth A. Bacus, Ian Glover, and Peter D. Sharrock (Singapore: NUS Press, 2008), 109.

[13] Stutterheim distinguishes two kinds of *kotang*: one has fitted sleeves as a kind of service jacket, and the other is sleeveless for the official attire worn by soldiers. See Stutterheim "De Dateering," 308.

[14] The Garebeg Maulud is the most elaborate of the three types of Garebeg festivals. For more information, see Herman Beck, "Islamic Purity at Odds with Javanese Identity: The Muhammadiyah and the Celebration of the Garebeg Maulud Ritual in Yogyakarta," in *Pluralism and Identity: Studies in Ritual Behaviour*, eds. Jan G. Platvoet and Karel van der Toorn (Leiden etc: Brill, 1995), 262-266.

[15] I. Groeneman, *De Garĕbĕg's te Ngajogyåkartå* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1895) and R. S. Tirtokoesoemo, *De Garebegs in het Sultanaat Jogjakarta* (Jogjakarta: H. Buning, 1931).

He further noted that they wear short pants that are either black or red, a cloth with *bangoen tulak* pattern (worn over the pants), a sash made of locally woven textiles called *tritik*, and a Javanese dagger, *keris*.[16] Old photographs show that the Njoetro's *kotang* includes a waist-length sleeveless vest with raised collars and buttons for closures. If the jackets were indeed lacquered, then it would have been most likely red (fig. 3.8). The shape of these *kotang* can further be compared to the jacket of a Javanese warrior published in 1829 in *Skizzen van der Insel Java* by Pfyffer zu Neuek (fig. 3.9).[17]

Stutterheim also drew a connection between the Singhasari jackets and the jackets worn by the Balinese royal army in the early twentieth-century. A photo of two Balinese warriors (fig. 3.10) shows the man on the left wearing a sleeveless jacket that is very short, covering only the upper part of his torso. The jacket appears stiff and is worn over a shirt. If both the Balinese militant jacket and the Javanese *kotang* were derived from the Singhasari jackets, then I would argue that the rate of change developed at a slower pace in Bali than in Java. The Javanese *kotang* is already a hybrid form, which incorporated European uniform raised collar, decorative buttons and piping (figs 3.8, 3.9). In comparison, the Balinese uniform, despite being shorter, still retains the round collar and straight slit openings.

The fact that the Ancient Javanese jackets bear a closer visual relationship to the modern Balinese jackets as opposed to the Javanese is not at all surprising. Bali had been the safe haven for the Indic court after the collapse of the Majapahit Period in East Java. In fact, evidence indicates that the memory of the Singhasari jacket types was preserved in North Bali as late as the early twentieth century. This can be seen on a shadow puppet of a prince (fig. 3.11). He is wearing a jacket that has all the essential features of the Singhasari jackets: the length that ends above the waist, the circular collar, and the absence of sleeves. Heidi Hinzler called the jacket *sasimping*,[18] a term which I will return to later in the chapter. For now, let us turn back to the Singhasari statues. In the following paragraphs, I will demonstrate the clarity and the specificity exhibited in the carvings of the jackets, which give clear signals to real object referents. Due to the limited access to the Bangkok Ganesa, I confine my analysis to the jackets of the four Leiden figures.[19]

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[16] "Deze krijgslieden dragen een gesloten lakensche wapenrok, haast zonder mouwen, en een korte broek, waarvan de kleur zwart of rood is. Het kleed, kampoeh, is zwart met een wit middenstuk, bangoen toelak, ter afwering van onheil, ongeluk, en omsluit de lendenen in dier voege, dat het witte gedeelte aan de zijde komt van den gordel van inheemsch maaksel, tritik, waarin de kris is gestoken." Tirtokoesoemo also recounts the *kotang* of the Soemoatmodjo division to be of red cloth. See Tirtokoesoemo, *De Garebegs*, 37.

[17] J. J. X. Pfyffer zu Neueck, *Skizzen von der Insel Java und Derselben Verschiedenen Bewohnern* (Schaffhausen: Hurter, 1829), 9.

[18] Heidi Hinzler, *Wayang Op Bali* (The Hague: Nederlandse Vereniging voor het Poppenspel, 1975), 48, 71.

[19] When I saw the Ganesa at the National Museum in Bangkok in November 2013, it was surrounded by a barrier, which prevented me from taking close up photographs.

The constructions of the Singhasari jackets are highly specific, marked by the presence of the seams and closures. The tops of the shoulders are seamless, indicating that jackets are made of a single sheet of material that is folded in half. The two halves are seamed under the arms. The seams are clearly perceptible on the jackets of Mahakala and Durga (figs 3.12a, c). This is not the case on the Nandiswara's jacket because the pattern is organized in grids, which has subsumed what would have been the vertical marking of the seam (fig. 3.12b). In the case of the Ganesa's jacket, it is impossible to confirm the presence of the seams because the areas under the arms are obstructed by decorative garlands and his raised knee. But it is reasonable to assume that a similar treatment would have been intended

The openings of the jackets on Mahakala and Durga are provided with a closure device in the form of short ties. The renderings of the ties are visible as they interrupt the continuity of the pattern on the jackets (figs. 3.13a, b). It is impossible to confirm if such ties are also used on the jacket of the Nandiswara, as the front is mostly covered with a large pectoral necklace and a broad shoulder sash (fig. 3.2). The front of the Ganesa's jacket is also hidden from view by his elephant trunk and seated position (fig. 3.4).

Each jacket is adorned with a unique pattern. On the Mahakala's jacket we find the connected circles pattern that is separated into horizontal bands by the addition of thin S-plied cords (fig 3.14). The pattern swells and shrinks following the contour of the body. As a result, the pattern layout on the lower part of the jacket appears more uniform than toward the top, where the artists had to deal with the expansion of the chest, followed by the narrowing under the arms, and the rise of the shoulders. The circles contain two alternating motifs: one is a multi-layered petal lotus and the other a leaf scroll that grows out of the circle that encloses it. The interstitial motif is a simple four-petal flower. The foliate scroll motif recalls the connected circles pattern on the Singhasari Manjusri discussed in Chapter One (fig. 1.42). The scrolls always curl toward the center of the jackets. Thus, their directions reverse if they are on the left versus on the right sides of the jacket. The spun direction of the cords, however, remains the same on both sides. The insistence on the same direction of the spun, in contrast to the reversal of the scroll curls, suggests two different indexes of material representations. The fact that the jacket is supposed to be made from a single piece of material highly suggests that the decoration is applied rather than woven in.[20]

The pattern on the Nandiswara's jacket employs a square grid system that encloses eight-petal flowers (figs. 3.15). The grid itself is composed of connecting petals of flowers. The size of the pattern stays rather consistent throughout. The edges of the arm openings are hemmed with thick cords. The twist of the cords

[20] It is not impossible to weave supplementary wefts to create the pattern that take into account the end-cut and draping of the jackets, such as on Chinese's imperial dragon robes, but it is less likely.

are symmetrical on both sides: Z-spun on the proper right arm and S-spun on the proper left.

The pattern on the Durga's jacket also employs a square grid layout but here the flowers inside the grids are bigger and more complex (fig. 3.16). The layout may also be interpreted as a type of connected circles but without the circular frames. There are two types of flowers that alternate in both the vertical and horizontal directions: a rosette with rounded petals and a lotus with pointed petals. A border pattern outlines the openings of the arm and the chest, the collars, and the bottom hem. The pattern features alternating four-petal flowers and flattened spirals. The direction of the spirals reverses on the right and the left sides of the jacket.

The pattern on the Ganesa's jacket has a similar layout to that of the Durga's jacket. It is a modified version of the connected circles pattern, consisting of adjacent roundish flowers (without circular frames) and interstitial smaller flowers (fig. 3.17). The main flower has a circular center with four pointed petals. In between the petals are rounded nubs and double crescents that are facing inwards. The ends of the outer crescents bifurcate and curl onto themselves. The interstitial flower is a diminutive version of the main flower. The bottom edge of the jacket is hemmed with a border pattern featuring a row of heart-shape motifs, which are echoed on Ganesa's pectoral jewelry and armbands.

If the Singhasari jackets represent warrior garb, they are of a different kind than the traditional tribal war jackets, such as those from Nias and Borneo islands. These tribal jackets erase the actual human bodies; they exaggerate the body shapes by means of various extensions and embellishments. In contrast, the Singhasari jackets address the bodies with referent, conforming to their contour like a second skin. In respect to material, too, the Singhasari jackets differ from the tribal war jackets. The latter normally "are made of hard leather but also of metal, woven *ijuk* fiber bark cloth covered with *aren* palm fiber or cloth covered with scales or bark."[21] On the other hand, the tight cling of the Singhasari jackets evokes pliable materials, likely to involve fabrics. Thus, while traditional war jackets—through form and material—transform mere human bodies into formidable super bodies, the Singhasari jackets perform the opposite: they reveal and accentuate the physicality of bodies.

3.3. The earliest images of short and sleeveless jacket in Java

There are two images of short and sleeveless jacket before the Singhasari Period. The first garment appears on one of the relief panels at Candi Borobudur, an

[21] Albert G. van Zonneveld, *Traditional Weapons of the Indonesian Archipelago* (Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2001), 152. The warrior jackets of Nias are made both in cloth and metal. Despite the different materials, both types of jackets have the same silhouette. As far as I know the Nias jacket is the only warrior jacket made of metal in Indonesia.

eighth- to ninth-century monumental Buddhist stupa in Central Java (fig. 3.18).[22] The second is on a bronze statuette that was found in Nganjuk in East Java and dated to the last quarter of the tenth–early eleventh century (figs. 3.19a-b). The Borobudur panel is located on the lower row of the main wall in the first gallery (Ib69). It depicts a scene from an ancient Buddhist tale about King Rudrayana.[23] Today, the tale is known through an anthology called the *Divyāvadåna*,[24] which comprises of thirty-eight Buddhist tales. All extant copies of the *Divyāvadåna* are in Sanskrit and were found outside of Java. Although, we do not know which text was the direct inspiration for the Candi Borobudur panel, all extant versions of the text include the description of the jacket in question.

In the story, a series of gifts were exchanged between two kingdoms, those of King Rudrayana and King Bimbisara.[25] The jacket is one of the gifts presented by the former king to the latter. The scene on the relief is a gift presentation at the palace of King Bimbisara. On the right are the palace courtiers, depicted with oval faces and multi-tiered crowns. On the left are the delegations of King Rudrayana, shown as broad-jawed, mustachioed men with flat headdresses. The foreman sits in the middle. He holds out a garment that is said to be the King Rudrayana's very own famous cuirass (*varma* in Sanskrit). Krom translates the cuirass as "not only [having] miraculous powers but was ornamented with priceless jewels."[26] An earlier translation by E. Huber called the garment "*une armure en pierres précieuses qui possède cinq qualités extraordinaires*."[27] The two translations evoke an image of the *varma* as an armor that is imbued with magical qualities and ornamented with precious stones.

By calling the jacket a cuirass, these translations imply that the material of the jacket is metal. I believe, however, there is a discrepancy between the text, which is a direct translation from Sanskrit, and the local understanding of a warrior jacket. The idea of a metal armor in Java would have been

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[22] I am grateful to Marijke Klokke for pointing out this relief panel.

[23] See N. J. Krom and Theodoor van Erp, *Beschrijving van Barabudur, 2e Deel: Bouwkundige Beschrijving*. Archaeologisch onderzoek in Nederlandsch-Indië 3 (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1931), series Ib, pl. 35. For a summary of the King Rudrayana story, see N. J. Krom, *Barabudur: Archaeological Description* ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1927), 282-285 and A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art and Other Essays in Indian and Central-Asian Archaeology* (Paris etc: Geuthner etc, 1917), 232-240.

[24] The Rudrāyaṇavadåna is the 37th story in the *Divyāvadåna*. See E. B. Cowell and Robert Alexander Neil, *The Divyâvadâna: A Collection of Early Buddhist Legends* (Cambridge: University Press, 1886), 544-581.

[25] According to the story, the Buddha lived in Rajagrha, a prosperous land under a benevolent ruler, King Bimbisara. News about the wealth of Rajagrha travelled via sea merchants to a far-distant Roruka kingdom and was heard by the ruler, King Rudrayana. Contact between the two kings was later established via gift exchanges, with each subsequent gift being more magnificent than the one previous. The warrior jacket was the last gift from King Rudrayana to King Bimbisara. The final gift from King Bimbisara was impossible to further outdo, for it was a cloth with the imprint of the Buddha's shadow. For more detail description of the panel with the jacket, see Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pl. 37.1 and Krom, *Barabudur*, 288.

[26] Ibid.

[27] E. Huber, "Etudes de Littérature Bouddhique," *BEFEO* 6, no. 1 (1906): 12.

unprecedented. When creating an image of the warrior jacket, the Javanese artists must have had in mind a type of jacket that was part of their own culture, most likely one that was constructed out of flexible yet firm materials such as leather or stiffened bark cloths or fabrics.

Another notable difference is the jewels and precious stones mentioned in the writing. These features are conspicuously absent on the Candi Borobudur jacket, which is depicted plain except for the thick edging along its contour. Krom tried to reconcile this discrepancy by suggesting that the edging was meant to represent the jewels.[28] I find this suggestion to be far-reaching. Perhaps it is better to acknowledge that the image is not a direct interpretation of the text. On the Borobudur jacket, the edging simply helps to accentuate the jacket's profile. As we have seen on the Singhasari jackets, delineated edges are not uncommon.

Krom also noted that the Borobudur upper garment is rather odd. He considered the overall size of as diminutive: seemingly too narrow and too short. He assumed that the brevity of the jacket is an expression of artistic freedom when he remarked, "As we here see it in the arms and hands of the person who presents it, it is far too small for any figure on the relief, but these sculptors everywhere do as they like with the proportions." [29] I would like to offer an alternative reading that insists on the intentionality by the artist. I propose that the short length is not a random choice or a mistake, but in fact an essential feature of warrior garment in the Javanese culture. The fact that the jacket appears narrow is also not arbitrary. The jacket is being shown with its side facing the viewers of the panel; the narrowness of the jacket is a play of foreshortening, which is often seen in the narrative reliefs on Candi Borobudur.

It is important to note that the Borobudur jacket is not only the earliest image of short jacket, but it is the only such image known so far from the Central Javanese Period. That this earliest image stands for a warrior jacket, therefore, is highly significant; it serves as an indicator of what a warrior garment looked like in ninth-century Java. Its sartorial features include a two-thirdth-torso length, a straight slit opening in the center front, a rounded shape of the neck opening, and an absence of sleeves.

The Borobudur jacket is of a similar type to the jacket shown on the bronze statuette from Nganjuk (3.19b). The Nganjuk figure is part of a collective group that forms the *Wajradhatu Mandala*, which has been identified as the Anandagarbha-type, similar to those found in Alchi and Tibet.[30] Mahawairocana is the principal figure of the *Wajradhatu Mandala*. The statuette that concerns this study is one of the secondary figures that surround Mahawairocana. Each of these figures holds an object, in this case a short and sleeveless jacket with a straight cut opening at the front. It is unclear what the jacket represents, but based on the Borobudur jacket, the jacket on the Nganjuk figure is most likely

[28] Krom, *Barabudur*, 288.
[29] Ibid.
[30] K. W. Lim, "Studies in Later Buddhist Iconography," *BKI* 120, no. 3 (January 1, 1964): 337.

also a type of protective jacket. The same characteristics are also found on the Singhasari jackets. This suggests that the Singhasari jackets are also warrior garments.[31] Later in this chapter, we will see how these sartorial features and the function of short jackets began to change during the Majapahit Period. Before I discuss these changes, however, let us explore further how warrior jackets are portrayed in Old Javanese literature.

3.4. Warrior jackets in Old Javanese literature

Old Javanese literature mentions two types of clothing worn by warriors: *kawaca* and *sesimping*. The former is derived from the Sanskrit word *kavaca* while the latter is a true Javanese word. The Sanskrit term *varma,* which was used in *Rudrāyaṇavadåna* (the King Rudrayana story), does not occur in Old Javanese texts as a stand-alone word, although it was incorporated in many Javanese royal titles. As far as I know, *varma* was never adopted into the Old Javanese vocabulary to refer to a warrior garment.

The *Old Javanese-English Dictionary* by Zoetmulder translates *kawaca* in several senses. First, it is an attire "for warriors: a coat of mail, or perhaps a sort of jacket, in any case with metal." In some instances, it is "also pertaining to the attire of clergy, nuns and others." Finally, the last meaning of *kawaca* is "a jacket of cloth."[32] For *sesimping*, Zoetmulder provides two definitions under the entry *sipin*, *simpin*, *siping-siping*, *simpin-simping*, or *sisimping*.[33] The first meaning is "a part, kind of marine shellfish."[34] The second definition is "part of a warrior's attire, probably a kind of short jacket without sleeves, covering the upper part of the chest."[35] Furthermore, *sesimping* is, "apparently of scaled metal plates and worn by those who have distinguished themselves."

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[31] Interesting comparisons can be observed on the jackets of Khmer's soldiers depicted on the twelfth-century Angkor Wat. Gillian Green pointed out that there are two types. One is a short, tight-fitting bodice with short sleeves and a high round collar. It has no apparent frontal slit opening, and is decorated with overall flower pattern. The other is a loose-fitting long jacket that reaches the hips. It has short sleeves and round collar. It has a frontal opening, which flares out in the shape of an inverted V. See Green, "Textiles at the Khmer Court, Angkor," figs. 17, 18.

[32] Zoetmulder, *OJED*, 823:17.

[33] Ibid., 1784.

[34] This translation is based on the Gericke and Roorda dictionary under *simpiṅ*. See Johann Friedrich Carl Gericke and T. Roorda, *Javaansch-Nederduitsch Handwoordenboek* (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller, 1886).

[35] This meaning is based on H. N. van der Tuuk definition of *sesimping* as "bovenborstkleding v. blulang zonder mouwen op de schouders met uitstekende punten vervaardigd v. saklat en in den strijd of jij gambuh's gedragen." See H. N. van der Tuuk, *Kawi-Balineesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (Batavia: Landsdrukkerij, 1897), 348.

A stone inscription (circa 1050) discovered from Tuban, in the Rembang region reveals an interesting context of *siping-siping*.[36] The inscription records a time when the village received a tax exemption from the king. It entails a list of items that were prepared for this important event. It includes "*wnangasipisipinga, akalunga…,*" which means that the people in the village have the right (*wnang*) to wear *sipisiping* and necklaces (*kalung*) for the particular ceremony. From this passage, it is clear that the wearing of *siping-siping* denotes a special dress privilege, perhaps in the ritual context. Unfortunately, there is no further information about this article of wear.

Old Javanese prose (*parwa*) and poems (*kakawin*) provide numerous references on *kawaca* and *sesimping* because many of their storylines revolve around wars, which are engaged among militant gods and goddesses and human warriors. As Supomo once said, "Descriptions of battle scenes are no doubt a popular feature in the old Javanese literature—no narrative *kakawin* is without one, even if it is only a mock battle."[37] The most useful for this study are the twelfth-century *Kakawin Bharatayuddha*[38] and the *Kakawin Bhomantaka*.[39] These poems are some of the few texts that mention both *kawaca* and *sesimping*. In them, the two jackets are not interchangeable. Each appears to indicate a different military rank.

The *Kakawin Bharatayuddha* is based on the war episodes from the Indian epic story, the *Mahabharata*. The *kakawin* was written by two authors. First, Mpu Sedah began in 6 September 1157. Over a year later, Panuluh took over the writing and brought it to completion. The main storyline follows the battles over the rightful succession of the Hastina kingdom between the five noble Pandawa brothers and their hundreds of cunning half-brothers, the Kurawas. *Kawaca* appears three times in the section written by Mpu Sedah (canto 1-33). In the first instance, the *kawaca* is the magic garment of Duryodhana, the eldest of the Kurawas. It was given to him by Drona, the teacher of both the Pandawas and the Kurawas. When Duryodhana wore this *kawaca* to battle he became invulnerable to arrows and other weapons.[40] In the second context, the wearers of the *kawaca* are less specific. *Kawaca*, head-dresses, armlets and necklaces are simply noted as parts of a troop's attire.[41] The last context of *kawaca* is related to a battlefield that looks enchanting and glows by "the [fallen soldiers'] bejeweled chariots, armor, helmets and all manner of ornaments."[42] Here we find *kawaca*

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[36] See J. L. A. Brandes, *Oud-Javaansche Oorkonden: Nagelaten Transcripties*. VBG 60 (Batavia: Albrecht, 1913), CXVIII, 252-253. I am grateful to Tjahjono Prasodjo for reading the inscription and providing the estimated date. Email correspondence, April 16, 2014.

[37] S. Supomo, *Bhāratayuddha: An Old Javanese Poem and Its Indian Sources*, Śata-Piṭaka Series 373 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture and Aditya Prakashan, 1993), 29-30.

[38] Supomo, *Bhāratayuddha*

[39] A. Teeuw and Stuart Robson, *Bhomāntaka: The Death of Bhoma*, Bibliotheca Indonesica 32 (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2005)

[40] *BY* 15:3. Supomo, *Bhāratayuddha.*

[41] *BY* 23:2. Ibid.

[42] *BY* 23:5. Ibid.

being mentioned along with chariots, which would only be used by upper rank soldiers. The glowing of these items indicates their shiny, metal-like qualities.

Sesimping is found in only one episode, which describes the aftermath of a battle in which King Salya, an army general from the Pandawa side, was killed. The devastating news prompted King Salya's wife, Dewi Setyawati, to go to the battlefield to search for his body. At a moment of exhaustion, Dewi Setyawati took respite on an elephant corpse. The text goes on to poignantly remark on the primordial connectedness between dying and living, between the horrific facets of war and the beguiling elements of nature.

> Even the lapping sea of blood she likened to an enchanting ocean; the weapons to its islands and the fluttering flag-tussels to the blooming flowers on them; the metal-plated jackets [*sipi-siping*] to the gleaming fish, the armlets and necklaces to the *himi-himi* and *getem*; crabs and the blades of the projectiles were likened to prawns in the crevices along the crag, crawling one after another along the coral of daggers.[43]

The 'metal-plated' jackets refers to the jackets of dead soldiers whose bodies littered the battlefield. But it should be noted that the text does not specifically refer to King Salya's jacket. According to the text, the significant feature of the *sesimping* jackets is their shiny surface. The simile with "the gleaming fish" conjures up the vision of metallic surfaces under the sun, shining in the way fish scales twinkle in the rays of light.

The distinction between *kawaca* and *sesimping* is made even clearer in the *Kakawin Bhomantaka*. The *kakawin* tells the story of an epic battle between King Kresna and the demon King Bhoma. In this poem, the poet distinguishes between the dresses of different types of warriors. Higher-ranking warriors, those who ride horses or in chariots, are dressed in special garments. Samba, King Kresna's firstborn and leading son, for example, is enveloped in "white clothes, all gleaming." He is, also richly ornamented "as if he was bathed in flowers with his special adornments and jeweled cuirass [*kawaca*]."[44] The other sons wear precious painted cloths (*awastra mulya sinurat*).[45]

The poet's attempt to distinguish the dresses of the higher military ranks from the infantrymen is exemplified in a passage describing the army of King Baladewa. The poem states that the cavalry clad themselves in shining *kawaca*, coats of mail, while thousands of the common soldiers wear *siping*.

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[43] *tekwan pwa ing rudhirarnawangipak-ipak sinawawa nira sagaralango; nusanyayudha warna soh kusuma de ni kelab i rawis ing juluk-juluk; minanya n lumarap tikang sipi-siping himi-himi getem ang karah kalung;hru ning jantra hurangnya tut parang i salwang iring-iringan ing karang curik* (*BY* 44:10). See Supomo, *Bhāratayuddha*, 145. For the English translation, see ibid., 240.

[44] *BK* 82:16c-d. See Teeuw and Robson, *Bhomāntaka*, 450-451.

[45] *BK* 82:15. Teeuw and Robson, *Bhomāntaka*.

> Likewise the horses clad in mail were crowded at the rear, row upon row; Their riders were like a painting because of their shining new coats of mail [*kawaca*]; As well as the brave soldiers together with wearers of *siping* by the thousand; The silk of their banners and their fringes glowed yellow.[46]

Siping-siping is also mentioned in other parts of the poem, all related to the dress of common soldiers. On the eve of the epic battle there was a feast being held at the palace of King Kresna. The soldiers who attended were smartly dressed in their *siping-siping*.

> The heroes all dressed up in *karah* and *kalung* were an attractive sight; some wore brass jackets [*asiping-siping kuning*], running in neat ranks; And all the threaded combs glittered dazzlingly—; they were royal troops, and this was a sign that they had won fame in battle.[47]

In the above quote, Teeuw and Robson translated *asiping-siping kuning* as to wear a brass jacket. *Kuning*, however, literally means yellow, and thus not necessarily means that the jacket is made of metal. This is an important point that I will come back to later. The poem also describes the day of the battle when the foot soldier marches to war wearing their *simping-simping*.

> All those going on foot served as swift foot-guards; men daring in battle, bearing lances and shields and others with slingshots; their casings shone, wrapped in *lungsir* cloth (silk?) and gilded; and their various jackets [*simping-simping*] were like clouds travelling over the earth. [48]

The simile "like the clouds travelling on earth" evokes a scene that is witnessed from above of large clusters of jacketed bodies, marching steadily forward, hiding the ground beneath their feet as they go. It is very clear from the last two quotes above that *siping-siping* or *simping-simping* are the martial garments of common soldiers, whose low ranks are shown through their actions of "running in neat ranks"[49] or "going on foot."[50]

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[46] *mangka tang turagângrasuk masalesok ri wuntat asusun; wwangnyawarna tulis tekap ni kawacanya bhaswara hanar; mwang tekang bala wani saha masiping-siping pirang iwu;akram lungsir ikeng kasir-kasir ikaruwit kuning ika* (*BK* 82:24). Ibid., 451-452. For the English translation, see ibid., 452-453.

[47] *ramya para prawira sang anandang akarah akalung; len asiping-siping kuning arampak areja malayu; mwang hinatak sisir sakala soh kagurilap ahulap; wadwa hajika cihna niki yan kretayasa ring ayun* (*BK* 81:30). Ibid., 442. For the English translation, see ibid., 443.

[48] *sakweh ning manapak lemah pinakapadarakṣa magelis; wwang wani samaragalah mwang apapan magandi sawaneh; sungkul-sungkul ikasinang pada linungsiran pinaradan; simping-simping aneka tulya jaladahawan ksititala* (*BK* 82:20). Ibid., 452-453.

[49] *BK* 81:30. Ibid.

Both the *Kakawin Bharatayuddha* and *Kakawin Bhomantaka* differentiate *kawaca* and *sesimping* by the wearers: distinguished individuals and high-ranking officials use the former while common soldiers use the latter. Further evidence of *kawaca* as a special warrior garment is corroborated in the eleventh-century *kakawin Arjunawiwaha* about the marriage of Arjuna, one of the most skillful warriors among the Pandawa brothers. In the poem, Arjuna wears a *kawaca* in three instances (*AW* 5:6, 7:6 and 23:8), where the garment is translated as a coat of mail, a chain mail, and an armor. The *kawaca* is also described as being so radiant as to cause a rainbow effect.

> Pandu's son brought up the rear, riding on a chariot made of jewels; Mātali was the name of his powerful charioteer, and he moved as swift as thought; his flag was white but as if of all colours because his bow spread rays of light; and the gleam from his crown and armour formed rainbows that as it were darted back and forth in front of him.[51]

The tale of *Arjunawiwaha* is depicted on several temples and caves in East Java. Unfortunately, none shows Arjuna with an upper garment.[52] Thus, ultimately, I do not find any secure relationship between texts and images in regard to warrior garments. The texts do not tell us the forms of *sesimping* and *kawaca*. In addition, the warrior jackets mentioned in the texts are not referenced in the images on the reliefs, and vice versa. What is clear in these texts is that *kawaca* or *varma* or *sesimping* are radiant. Rather than interpreting the radiant quality of *sesimping* and *kawaca* as an indication that they are made of metal, however, we should think of it as being decorated with something of metallic quality.[53] A passage in the *Kakawin Kresnayana* attests to this meaning. The *kakawin* describes the dress of Prince Rukma as a "*kawaca* wrapped with gold" or "covered with gold" (*kawaca binebed in mas*).[54] In other word, the *kawaca* itself is not made of gold, but rather embellished in some manner with gold materials. This way of

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[50] *BK* 82:20. Ibid.

[51] *sang Pandusuta pamekas ing lumampah ahawan sakata manimaya; sang Matali ngaran ira sarasarathi manojawani laku nira; pinghe dhwaja nira kadi sarwawarna tekap ing dhanuh angada-hada; song ning makuta kawaca wangkawasaliweran juga ri harep ira* (*AW* 23:8). See Robson, *Arjunawiwāha*, 110-111.

[52] *Arjunawiwaha* reliefs are found at Cave Selomangleng from the Kediri Period, Candi Jago from the Singhasari Period, and Candi Surowono, Candi Kedaton and Candi Yuddha from the Majapahit Period. I am grateful to Lydia Kieven for these references.

[53] Natalie Ong also commented that Java is poor in metal and has to acquire it through trade. This makes it even more unlikely that the warrior jackets were made of metal (personal note, June 2017).

[54] I am grateful to Mbak Apri for this translation. *Kawaca binebed ing mas rapwanenak rapetnya; minata mirah amintang muncar akrep maniknya; amuwuhi raras embuh warnna ken rajaputra; awak ira kadi dinyus ring wa mankin sateja* (*KY* 46:4). See Soewito Santoso, *Krĕṣṇāyana: the Krĕṣṇa legend in Indonesia*, Śata-piṭaka series 345 (New Delhi: International Academy of Indian Culture, 1986), 192. Santoso's translation of the first line is "His armour was plated with gold and fitted nicely with rubies in the form of a star."

looking at the characteristic of these garments is a crucial point in the later discussion, as we shall see in section 3.6.

3.5. Short-sleeved jackets in the Majapahit Period

During the Majapahit Period, there are quite a number of portrayals of short jackets. The Majapahit jackets differ than the Singhasari jackets in the relative lengths of the body coverage and sleeves. Features that are retained are the close-fitting silhouette of the jacket, the circular neckline and the straight opening at the chest. In this section, I will discuss these jackets through three categories of figures—male, female, and the couple.

The most detailed illustration of a short jacket in the Majapahit Period is seen on a small gold ornament in the shape of two figures, Prince Sutasoma and King Kalmasapada (fig. 3.20). Sutasoma is a past incarnation of the Buddha. His story is recorded in the *Jatakalama*, or the Buddha's past-lives stories, which had been circulating in Java since at least the eighth century. The story of Sutasoma, specifically the iconography of the prince being carried on the shoulders of King Kalmasapada, is portrayed on a relief on the southwest quadrant of Candi Borobudur (upper register, relief 116). The story was set to text in the fourteenth century in East Java by the poet Mpu Tantular as *Kakawin Sutasoma*. Neither the Candi Borobudur relief nor the *kakawin*, however, gave clues about the short jackets.

The gold ornament was made in repoussé and chasing techniques, which allowed precise renderings of the figures' attires. Prince Sutasoma's headdress is fashioned in the style of *gelung supit urang*, similar to the headdress of noble figures in modern *wayang* puppets in Java and Bali. His jacket is close-fitted and very short. It covers only the upper part of the chest, about one-third of the torso. It has a circular neckline, and a vertical slit opening at the front. There are truncated sleeves, concealing the shoulders and upper arms. It should be noted that truncated sleeves are also seen on the Singhasari Ganesa in Bangkok. While the mini sleeves had been present since the Singhasari Period, however, the one-third-torso length of short jackets pointed to a new fashion. The jacket worn by King Kalmasapada echoes that of the prince, and both jackets display an overall pattern of scattered blossoms.

Another example of the new fashion of short jacket is found on a narrative relief on Candi Jago, which illustrates the story of Prince Sudhana and Manohara, a *kinnari* princess. It is a romantic story that has long been popular in Southeast Asia, and already appears on the eighth-century Candi Borobudur. However, there is no Old Javanese manuscript of the story that has been discovered so far.[55] On the Candi Jago relief, Sudhana is depicted with a short

[55] See the study of the Sudhana relief on Candi Jago in Kate O'Brien, "The Tale of Sudhana and Manoharā on Candi Jago: An Interpretation of a Series of Narrative Bas-Reliefs on a 13th-Century

sleeveless jacket as he was crossing two rivers during an arduous journey to reach the *kinnari* kingdom (fig. 3.21).[56] In the absence of a local text, we don't know why the artist chose to depict that particular moment for Sudhana to wear the jacket, and no other times. As Kate O'Brien pointed out, Sudhana was standing in between two waters. She identified the agitated and violent water behind him as the river of snakes, "which could only be passed…by means of magical charms."[57] It is possible, therefore, that the jacket is chosen to represent the magical object that allowed Sudhana to tame the snakes. O'Brien also pointed out that the *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* also mentions a jacket and slippers that were given to the hero Arjuna for his means for flying. As mentioned above, however, no *Arjunawiwaha* relief in East Java represents Arjuna with a jacket.[58] Instead, an *Arjunawiwaha* relief at Candi Kedaton (1360) portrays short jackets on the heavenly nymphs of Supraba and Tilottama even though the garments are not warranted by the text. Supraba and Tilottama wear the short jackets in the Temptation Scene (fig. 3.22a). Here they are standing next to the meditating Arjuna and trying to break his meditation. Arjuna, however, dresses the part to indicate his unwavering commitment to asceticism by wearing a turban and a modesty or chastity plate.[59]

The short jackets of the nymphs are sleeveless and accessorized with elaborate necklaces that hide the collars. The bottom hem rests on their upper chests. The hemline is not a straight cut as we have seen before. Instead, it dips slightly at the cleavage, which has an effect in accentuating the fullness of the breasts. The same jacket can be seen on a female attendant, which is depicted on the lower section on the next panel (fig. 3.22b). She is sitting facing a man with a turban who is reaching to touch her breast. Her knees are turned away from him and she holds out an arm to deflect his advances. Above them are the two nymphs, shown again wearing the short jackets. It is interesting to note that on Candi Surowono, dated only ten years earlier, the identical Temptation Scene and the next one with the sexual encounter of the attendant do not show the short jackets. These differing artistic decisions for the same scenes—made around the same time period, in the vicinity of each other—is explained by Klokke that the Javanese sculptors worked from a general outline of the story but not exactly copying another picture.[60]

East Javanese Monument," in *Esoteric Buddhism in Mediaeval Maritime Asia: Networks of Masters, Texts, Icons*, ed. Andrea Acri (Baltimore: Project Muse, 2016), 275-319.

[56] Ibid., 304-305, fig. 12.14, 2.14a.

[57] Ibid., 304.

[58] Ibid., The term used for Arjuna's jacket in the *Kakawin Arjunawiwaha* is *kalambi kembala*. *Kembala* means sheep, and *kalambi* usually refers to long jackets.

[59] See the discussion on Arjuna's modesty plate in Jaap Polak, "A Unique Gold Modesty Plate from The Majapahit Period," *Arts of Asia* 30, no. 6 (2000): 101.

[60] Marijke Klokke and Ian Glover, "Iconographical Traditions in Late East Javanese Narrative Reliefs," in *Southeast Asian Archaeology* (proceedings of the third Conference of the European Association of Southeast Asian Archaeologists, 1990), 77, pls. 5-8.

In addition to these nymphs, there are a number of other female figures with short jackets, for examples, on the relief panels of the Sudamala story at Candi Tegawangi. The central focus of the story is the goddess Durga who was cursed and transformed into a bestial demon. The only way she can undo the curse and return to her beautiful manifestation as the goddess Uma is by going through a ritual purification performed by Sadewa, the youngest of the Pandawa's brother.[61] On the west-facing relief (on the southern corner) of Candi Tegawangi, Durga is shown standing with feet wide apart. Her left hand is pointing to Dewi Kunti, who is kneeling and making a reverent hand gesture (*sembah*) toward the goddess (fig. 3.23a). Durga is shown here at her most fearsome manifestation. Her face takes on the appearance of a wild boar with tusks and a snout. Her hair grows long and untamed. She wears a short sleeveless jacket with a downward-pointed hemline. Her attendants, as well as a female drummer at the side of the main entrance, imitate her dress and short jacket (fig. 3.22b).[62]

The same cut jacket is also seen on the statue of Dewi Sri in the Candi Panataran complex (fig. 3.24). The rice goddess is standing straight with her feet close together and her hands joined at the front. The bottom hem of her short jacket follows the upper curve of her breasts. The large necklace that sits on top of the jacket further emphasizes these curves. On the shoulders of the jacket, we find a new feature, upright triangular projections. These projections possibly represent blades (*taji*) or a decorative element. Such shoulder projections appear quite frequently on Balinese figures. Sometimes they are worn on their own but most often together with a shoulder covering. These shoulder triangles also appear on other Majapahit statues, for example, on a small goddess figure that was on display at the Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden (fig. 3.25) and a royal *kinnari* at the Mojokerto Museum, Magelang (fig. 3.26).[63]

The last category of figures with short jackets that I would like to discuss is the images of royal couples in their deified manifestations.[64] Characteristics to this group are a very rigid stance, eyes closed or the gazing downwards, the four arms with the lower two performing a *mudra*, and the fact that they were made in pairs. Standing around the inner courtyard of the Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta, are figures of couples (figs. 3.27–28).[65] The museum has assigned these

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[61] The Sudamala story survived as Javanese poetry *tembang mencapat*, which are dated much later after the Ancient Period. See the earliest translation in P. V. Stein Callenfels, *De Sudamala in de Hindu-Javaansche Kunst*, (The Hague; Batavia: Nijhoff, etc; Albrecht, 1925). For a summary of the story, see Hariani Santiko, *Bhaṭārī Durgā* (Depok: Fakultas Sastra, Universitas Indonesia, 1992), 56-57.

[62] Santiko described the appearance of the goddess but did not mention any jacket. Ibid., 59.

[63] Kate O'Brien puts forth the possibility that the *kinnari* statue may be related to the tale of Prince Sudhana and the *kinnari* princess, Manohara. See O'Brien, "The Tale of Sudhana and Manoharā on Candi Jago," 295.

[64] These figures were, at one point, erroneously interpreted as portrait images of deceased royalties. See Klokke's argument against this interpretation in Klokke, "Deified Couples and Meditation," 171–179.

[65] Ibid., figs. 3, 4.

figures to the eleventh to twelfth century during the Kediri Period but according to Klokke they were most probably carved in the centuries between the Singhasari Period and the Majapahit Period.[66]

The female figure holds with her two upper arms a rosary and a flywhisk (fig. 3.27). Her lower arms are missing the palms, which would have joined in a kind of *mudra*. She wears a jacket whose overall form resembles that of Prince Sutasoma on the Majapahit gold, but which lacks the details. The jacket's surface is plain and there is no evidence of the frontal slit to mark the chest opening. The only decorative aspect on the jacket is the thick edging that accentuates the contour of the garment. Such edging may be a reference to a decorative trim or cord as on the Singhasari jackets (fig. 3.15-3.17), or a simple tubing as on the Balinese warrior jacket (fig. 3.10) and that of Sutasoma (fig. 3.20). It also recalls the King Rudrayana's warrior jacket on Candi Borobudur. The male counterpart of the female statue also wears a similar type of jacket (fig. 3.28). These paired figures indicate that both male and female wear undifferentiated upper garments. As we will see later, similar types of short jackets are also depicted on small wooden statues of deified couple in Bali, called *pratima*.

The different types of figures that wear the short jackets in the Majapahit Period may indicate a broadening of the garment's meaning from a martial garment to a more general signification of a protective jacket. By the fourteenth century, short jackets were associated with both gentle and ferocious figures, and worn by both females and males. If the short jackets were meant to be protective, their efficacy must have been registered on the symbolic and magical levels rather than the physical. By the Majapahit Period, the jacket grew shorter, covering only the upper chest. The jacket's very short cut could not possibly provide adequate shielding for the body. As we will see in the next section, the form survived in Bali up to the modern period. I will turn to Bali to analyze the latest manifestation of the short jackets in images and actual material examples.

3.6 Short jackets in Bali

In Bali, short jackets appear in at least three contexts, all of which are connected to the sphere of the court. The first is related to fighting and the others ritual dancing and statues of deities. In the 1865 studio photograph (fig. 3.10), the two Balinese warriors wear upper garments of shirts with long sleeves and loose undergarments of long cloths that are wrapped around, passed through the legs and tucked at the back like a *dhoti*. The man with the shield wears a short jacket on top of the shirt. The jacket has a round collar and opens at the front with no evidence of a fastening device. Although it has no sleeves, the shoulder juts out to completely protect the tops of the shoulder blades. The material appears to be very stiff, perhaps buffalo hides. The edges of the jacket are covered with light color tubing, which emphasizes the silhouette of the jacket. The jacket's cut and

[66] Ibid., 171.

the thick material would have protected the warrior's vulnerable areas such as the shoulder blades and the joints between the collarbones and the upper arm bones. Warriors with such jackets are mentioned in Pierre Dubois's eyewitness account of a Balinese royal cremation in April 1829 in which he described the elaborate procession and the dresses of the men.

> This gigantic pyramid is preceded by a large battalion of troops armed with pikes and muskets. The men are naked from the soles of their feet to their breast except for a small white band of cloth. This band circles their loins and is tied at the front; the ends are turned back between the legs and are reattached to the band at the back. Although this loincloth only barely hides their sex and leaves uncovered their buttocks and thighs, the men are nevertheless dressed in sleeveless red jackets which only reach to the nipples. Their head is adorned with a band of white cloth which leaves the top of the head uncovered…The officers, who are all the sons of Gustis, are similarly attired, except that their little jackets are of green velvet. And finally, they all carry a *kris* on the back.[67]

The above passage indicates that the "little" jackets are worn by both the royal troops and the court officers. What differentiates their jackets are the color and material rather than the form. While the jackets of the armies are made of a red color material, those of the officers are of luxurious green velvet.

Royal figures are also depicted with short jackets, as seen on the hilt of two seventeenth century *keris* (figs. 3.29-3.30). One of the *keris* is at the Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden and the other is at the Nasional Museum Indonesia.[68] The former was discovered in Sulawesi but was thought to be the production of East Java or Bali. The similarities of the facial tilt and hand gestures of the figures highly suggest the same workshop production. That these royal figures also don short and sleeveless jackets confirms the meaning of the jackets as status symbol, rather than protective. Perhaps this too was the meaning of the sumptuous green velvet jackets worn by the Balinese officers at the royal cremation.

Short jackets, called *sesimping,* are also worn in ritual court dances, for example in the Tari Baris performance (fig. 3.31).[69] *Baris* literally means to line up. The dance originated from the enactment of warriors and their movements in battle. Tari Baris was first mentioned in *Kidung* Sunda, a Middle Javanese poem

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[67] Alfons van der Kraan, "Human Sacrifice in Bali: Sources, Notes, and Commentary," *Indonesia*, no. 40 (October 1, 1985): 103. I am grateful to Helen Creese for this reference.

[68] The Jakarta *keris* bears a label that identifies the figure as Dewa Mantun, said to be a legendary king from Java.

[69] It should be noted, however, that there are different types of *Tari* Baris, and not all of them use *sesimping*-type jacket.

that dates to the seventeenth century.[70] An account by Urs Ramseyer on the festivals in Tenganan Pegeringsingan further affirmed the association of short jackets with battle enactments. In the fifth month, during the ascension of the god Bhatara Dharma, the members of bachelor associations perform several rounds of "violent confrontation." Different associations would wear different types of costume. The dress of the *teruna temu kaja*, include, among other articles, a sleeveless red jacket called *baju simping* and a long *cawet geringsing* sash (fig. 3.32). According to Ramseyer, the jacket and the sash are the traditionally prescribed costume for the ritual.[71]

Another court dance whose costume includes a *sesimping* is Tari Legong.[72] According to legend, a goddess fell in love with a Balinese king and she introduced the dance to his court. Legong is a ritual dance performed by two coming-of-age girls. Many early twentieth century photographs show the dancers wearing elaborate headdress, large ear plugs, a long-sleeved shirt and a skirt decorated with gold paint, and a long rectangular cloth that hangs at the front. On the top they wear a *sesimping*, and a pectoral ornament (fig. 3.33-34). Hinzler has used a similar term, *sasimping* (a variation of the spelling) to refer to the jacket of the Old Balinese *wayang* figure of a young prince (fig. 3.11). As we have noted before, the jacket of the wayang prince covers two-third of his torso. A similar length is also noted on the *baju simping* of the *teruna temu kaja* (fig. 3.32). Therefore, it appears that the lengths of short jackets in the modern period Bali may vary.[73]

In Bali, there is a tradition, as in Java, of depicting divine couples. The *sesimping*-type jacket is a fixed iconographic attribute of these Balinese couple figures. Called *pratima*, they are typically small puppets carved from wood, painted, and gilded. *Pratima* are housed in temple shrines. The Balinese would parade and display these figures at certain rituals, during which time they invoke and invite various manifestations of deities to temporarily inhabit the *pratima*. For a brief period, these wooden statues became the deities themselves.[74] An exemplary *pratima* owned by the Volkenkunde Museum in Leiden portrays a couple riding a mythical winged dragon (fig. 3.35). Both figures wear identical red short jackets that terminate above the breast and

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[70] I. Made Bandem, *Ensiklopedi Tari Bali* (Denpasar, Bali: Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, 1983). Another type of warrior dance called Tari Baris Demang also has the dancers wearing a similar type of short jackets (see photograph KITLV 115028).

[71] Urs Ramseyer, *Clothing, Ritual and Society in Tenganan Pegēringsingan (Bali)* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 1984), 223.

[72] Stephen Davies proposed that Tari Legong was created as an independent art form in the late nineteenth century while Adrian Vickers dated it to the early nineteenth. See S. Davies, "The Origins of Balinese Legong," *BKI* 164, no. 2/3 (2008): 194–211 and A. Vickers, "When Did Legong Start? A Reply to Stephen Davies," *BKI* 165, no. 1 (2009): 1–7.

[73] A twentieth-century photograph of young men with red *baju simping* shows the garment in different lengths. See Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer, *Balinese Textiles*, 128, fig. 9.10.

[74] Fred B. Eiseman and Margaret H. Eiseman, *Bali, Sekala and Niskala* (Berkeley; Singapore: Periplus Eds, 1989), 239, 255.

slightly widen at the end of the shoulders. Another example of a couple figure attired in red short jackets is found on a rare ceremonial cloth (fig. 3.36). The ground fabric is cotton, woven in loose plain weave. The imagery is created in embroidery and couching techniques. The couples are shown in festive dress, with red auspicious threads tied around their wrists. They are speculated to be either a bridal couple or the gods of love, Semara and Ratih.[75]

The construction of a *sasimping* is clearly illustrated by Jasper and Pirngadie in *De Goud- en Zilversmeedkunst* (fig. 3.37).[76] The garment is made of one sheet of material that has been cut to shape into a reverse hourglass with additional flare at both ends. A round opening is cut for the neck and a slit is made on the chest. Jasper and Pirngadie titled it "a vest with hammered gold leaf." Gold application on cloth (*prada*) is done in two ways: the first employs gold leaf and the other gold powder. The first, as represented in *De Goud- en Zilversmeedkunst*, entails applying a glue substance onto a base fabric and then overlaying thin sheets of gold leaves. The leaves are then pounded onto the fabric to ensure an overall contact. The second type of *prada* entails a free-hand application of gold powder mixed in a glue medium. A newer and simpler *sesimping* is made of buffalo hide where the patterns are directly cut into the leather (fig. 3.38). The surface is then painted in gold. At the four corners are holes that would have held ties. The tailoring of the above Balinese *sesimping* allows us to imagine the construction of the Singhasari jackets. When folded bilaterally, the Balinese and the Singhasari jackets similarly create two symmetrical halves for the front and back of the body. The flares at the bottom ends meet underneath the arms and can be secured either with ties as on the above *sesimping*, or with seams as on the Singhasari figures.

For the rest of this section, I would like to discuss further the ornamentation techniques of Balinese *sesimping*. I propose that these techniques may have also been employed on the Singhasari jacket. First, I will analyze one of the earliest examples of *sesimping*, which is housed in the Volkenkunde Museum (fig. 3.39) The piece was collected between the nineteenth to early twentieth centuries from Klungkung, one of the important court and artistic centers in Bali. The top surface is a gold sheet, which has been delicately repousséd and chased with an intricate design of flowers, leaves, cords, and abstract patterns. Areas in between the design have been removed to reveal the velvet base fabric, which was originally green but now has turned a brownish hue. The gold sheet is attached to the velvet ground with basting stiches. The enclosures for the chest opening and the joins on the sides are secured with clasps constructed of the same gold sheet. The inside of the jacket is lined with plain cotton for strength. Silver wrapped threads are carefully couched along the edges throughout the contour of the jacket. These metallic threads add glamour but also serve to hide the layering of the jacket materials (fig. 3.39 detail).

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[75] Barnes, *Five Centuries*, 202-203.

[76] J. E. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië IV*: *De Goud- en Zilversmeedkunst* (The Hague: Boek- & Kunstdrukkerij v/h Mouton, 1912), 33.

Another example of *sesimping* decoration is illustrated by a jacket that was on display at the Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta (fig. 3.40).[77] It is labeled as a ritual dance jacket from the Badung regency in Bali. The material listed includes bark cloth, which presumably is used as the lining of the jacket. The base material is yellow silk. Attached on the silk are small individual plates of gold in the shapes of clouds and mythical faces.

The third example of *sesimping* decoration is *prada* with gold painting, as exemplified by another jacket in the Volkenkunde Museum (fig. 3.41). With this technique, one can achieve the desired effect of gold ornamentation in a more economical way than with using gold leaves. The base fabric is green cotton, and the lining is bark cloth. The edges are hemmed with red fabrics. The gold drawing is rather mysterious. On the one hand, the motif appears to be vegetal, indicated by a central bulb and sprouting stem-like extensions. On the other hand, the bulbous center is bull-marked with a large dot that recalls the one-eyed kala head monster. It also appears to be equipped with 'horns' and 'ears' and tentacles all around.

Sesimping from the late twentieth century onwards are decorated in a simpler technique.[78] As we have seen in the above example, the jacket consists of one layer of cutout leather without a lining material (fig. 3.38). The pattern is usually geometric, and the technique is cutwork that is performed directly on the leather. Here, the base material and the pattern decoration merge into one. For the last step, the entire jacket's surface is covered with gold paint.

Since the Singhasari jackets are closely related to early Balinese *sesimping* in their sartorial form, perhaps we could also imagine that they share similar manner of decoration techniques. As emphasized in the Old Javanese literature, the one consistent characteristic of *kawaca* and *sesimping* warrior jackets is their brilliance. Jan Wisseman Christie has remarked that decorating with gold had been practiced since the early part of the Ancient Javanese Period. She noted that the term *taturakyang* or liquid gold has appeared in an Old Javanese charter from the tenth century.[79] *Tulis mas* or drawing with gold is also found on *sima* charters from the thirteenth century.[80] Furthermore, twelfth century *kakawin* also speak of cloths with 'drawing with gold' (*tinulis mas*) and 'gilded patterns'.[81]

One may point out, however, that the carvings of the Singhasari jackets are relatively deep, and equate the three-dimensionality as indicative of techniques that produce raised effects such as metal thread embroidery or supplementary weft technique using metallic threads (*songket*). However, if we take into account the volcanic and porous nature of the stones used for the statues, we would realize that this medium does not readily tolerate shallow

[77] I have no access to the front of the jacket as it was displayed face down on a board.
[78] Many examples of late *sesimping* can be found in the collection of the Tropen Museum. These objects were most likely not court-sponsored works as the Balinese royal institution ended in the early part of the twentieth century.
[79] Christie, "Ikat to Batik?" 21.
[80] Ibid., 16.
[81] Ibid.

carvings, especially in producing intricate patterns. The deep carvings, therefore, may have arisen as a by-product rather than a desired effect. I also doubt the possibility for a *songket* to be used for the jackets because their construction would require cutting the precious gold weaving. Traditionally, such measures would have been avoided. In the case of metal thread embroidery, there is, quite simply, no ethnographical basis to support the use of the technique to create intricate patterns on early textile materials.

3.7. Conclusion: a fresh look at the Singhasari jacket

This study began with a search on the significance of the Singhasari short jackets. Stutterheim had proposed that they are warrior garments. The earliest representation of a short jacket in Java is found on a ninth-century relief of King Rudrayana story at Candi Borobudur. Based on a Sanskrit text, the jacket is identified as a warrior jacket. The Borobudur and the Singhasari jackets share common sartorial features, which supports Stutterheim's theory that the latter are also militant garment.

I then traced the local imaginations of warrior jackets, *kawaca* and *sesimping,* as described in Old Javanese literature. It appears that those in a *kawaca* are higher in status than those who wear a *sesimping*. Descriptions of both types of jackets emphasize their radiance. The study then traced the visual forms of short jackets on the Majapahit statues and reliefs. It revealed that, all types of figures by this time—male and female, as well as both forceful and gentle-natured deities—wear the jackets. Subservient figures also often imitate the wearing of short jackets of their masters. The depiction of the jacket, however, is not consistent. The same scene depicted in two different temples may or may not show the jackets. Ultimately, we do not know the exact significance of the jacket, but it appears to be more than a militant garment. The use of the jackets on various types of figures seems to indicate a general and broad-ranging symbolism of protection and magical charm.

The collapse of the Majapahit dynasty in the sixteenth century did not bring an end to the short jackets. The survival of the Old Javanese court culture in Bali has consequently preserved and perpetuated the forms of the jackets. Under the patronage of the Balinese court, we witness further diversifications of the jacket's usage. By the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, the short jacket had become associated with the garments of the royal troops, court dancers, and *pratima*.

Close analysis of the Balinese *sesimping* gives some insight on the tailoring and the patterning techniques of the Singhasari jackets. The tight fitting of the Singhasari jackets suggests that the jackets were made of pliable materials such as cloth or leather. Like *sesimping*, the Singhasari short jackets are constructed from one sheet of material that is cut to shape and joined on the sides. They may

also achieve the desired effect for radiant surfaces through gold work or the application of *prada*.

To conclude, short jackets in Ancient Java had a specific sartorial language that would be recognizable to the viewer. In the case of the Singhasari warrior jacket, these include the brevity of length, the close-fitting body, a round collar, the frontal slit opening, and the absence of sleeves. Over time, the associated protective meaning of short jackets was retained in the cultural memory even when the form of the jacket underwent some modifications. Eventually, the protective jackets became used in a variety of contexts, including dance performances and temple rituals. Looking back over the course of several centuries, the short jackets had crossed the geographical boundaries from Java to Bali, and transcended beyond one usage category, from martial garb to dance costumes.

CHAPTER FOUR

WOMEN AND WEAVINGS
Three Ancient Javanese references

> "It should be possible to separate more clearly than is usually done two areas of reality about any artifact."
>
> Olec Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*.[1]

4.1. Introduction

Textile production in the archipelago of Indonesia is a gendered work, performed only by women.[2] This phenomenon has been recorded since the beginning of the nineteenth century when Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles remarked, "The operations of spinning and weaving are confined exclusively to women, who from the highest to the lowest rank, prepare the cloths of their husbands and their families."[3] In the archipelago, it is not uncommon to find a woman's social standing directly reflects her ability to make particular types of textiles because they are some of the necessary accouterments for religious rites and celebrations. For this reason, this traditional setting affords women both enormous responsibilities as well as privileges.[4] Testifying to the importance and long history of this gendered work are the numerous myths and folklores about women and cloth productions.

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[1] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 235.

[2] This practice is distinct from those seen, for example, in South Asia and East Asia where men also work as spinners, dyers, and weavers.

[3] Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java* Oxford in Asia, Historical Reprints (Kuala Lumpur, London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), 168.

[4] Textiles are not only worn but also kept as prestige goods and handed over to others as payment. In addition, they serve as gifts to appease the gods and riches that accompany the dead to the hereafter. The ability of textiles to navigate between the mundane and the spiritual realm makes them one of the most important currencies. Literature abounds with evidence of how textiles assert and define certain social, religious and political concepts. For example, a bride in Lembata Island would not be able to marry without a red bride wealth skirt; a marriage ceremony in Batak requires the presence of a *ragi hidup*; specific textile patterns signify lineage alliances on Savu Island; and forbidden batik patterns are the prerogative of the members of the Javanese courts. See Barnes, "The Bridewealth Cloth of Lamalera"; Niessen, *Legacy in Cloth*; Duggan, *Ikats of Savu*; Kerlogue, *Batik.*

In this chapter, I will explore the relationship between women and weaving as portrayed in Ancient Javanese materials. To start, we need to seek an indigenous representation of the gendered skill previous to the Indic influence in the region. I will illustrate this early foundation through an analysis of a sixth-century bronze statue (section 4.2). I argue that this figure embodies a powerful metaphor of weaving as birth, which inextricably bound the ideology of weaving practices to women's work.[5]

In sections 4.2–4.4, I will turn to the Ancient Javanese sources, which in general very rarely portray women and textile production. The few that exist show a new symbolic relationship between women and weavings. I trace this change by analyzing three references found: two of which are textual and one visual. Each reference presents a different allegorical figure of a weaver, which I will discuss in chronological order. I begin with a tenth-century passage from the court epic *Adiparwa* where it mentions deities as weavers (section 4.3); then I discuss a passage from twelfth-century court poem, *Bhomantaka,* where nuns or women in a religious community proclaim their spiritual regard for weaving (section 4.4); last, I analyze a fourteenth-century image from East Java, which depicts an ascetic princess weaving (section 4.5). Because of the small number of extant references, it is impossible to say whether the symbolic meaning of a weaver as a goddess in the tenth-century source, a nun in the twelfth century and a princess in the fourteenth century reflects a historical development. In this study, I discuss the three phenomena as a group within the larger Ancient Javanese context, relating them to the way women is depicted in *kakawin* (section 4.6).

Olec Grabar states in his seminal 1992 work on ornaments that artifacts embody two types of realities: "One is, for the most part, not negotiable and consists in accurate statements—presence of a dome or representation of a tree or of the Virgin Mary—that can be debated but for which one explanation is usually the correct one. The other area concerns such social, cultural, or personal truths that are no less real than the first kind and do affect the work of art, but are not only negotiable but by definition changeable."[6] Grabar's statement rings true not only to artifacts but also to the calcified practice of textile production in Indonesia. In regards to the weaver narratives in Indonesia, the first reality points to a relationship between weaving and women that is maintained throughout all historical periods. The second truth relates to the social and cultural significance of weaving that changes with the passage of time and circumstances. It is the second truth about women and weaving during the Ancient Javanese Period that is the focus of this chapter.

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[5] Robyn Maxwell, *The Bronze Weaver: A Masterpiece of 6th-Century Indonesian Sculpture* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2006). The date was established through thermoluminescence testing of its clay core. Robert Brown, a senior scholar of Southeast Asian art history, questioned the validity of the dating, noting the lack of other comparative examples. As far as I know, nobody has followed up on the issue he raised. His discussion took place at the 2008 *Talking Cloth* conference at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

[6] Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament*, 235.

At the outset, it is important to bear in mind that Old Javanese sources were part of the court culture that represents the social etiquette and spiritual concern of the privileged classes as opposed to the general populace. The authors of Old Javanese literature appear to be all male.[7] As far we know, these poets were professional writers who resided in the court and belonged to a larger group of the king's retinue.[8] Their works were also aimed at extolling the eminence of male rulers.[9] While they took much delight in pouring grandiose praise on the beauties of royal women, the lavish portrayals only serve to further glorify the king because everything within his realm is considered to be his possession. Therefore, the views represented in *kakawin* are patriarchal.[10] One must also take into account that court-sponsored literature was not meant to be read silently but rather performed in public. Its narration would be accompanied by gamelan music, singing and shadow puppets (*wayang kulit*) performance, as it is still done today.

In order to explore the intimate relationship between women and weaving in Ancient Java, I also access a different type of cultural memory from those instilled by the court, which is oral tradition in the form of myths and legends about weaving. The earliest documentations of such cultural memory were formulated during the nineteenth century. Another way of seeking cultural memory beyond the direct purview of the court is through paying attention to the female voice in Ancient Java. Studies on women and femininity have clearly illustrated the marginalized position of women in Ancient Javanese sources.[11] The virtual absence of the weavers' narrative can, in fact, be seen as part of the general phenomenon of the silencing of the female voice within the state narrative. This study will discuss how the period's representation of the ideal feminine was framed within a narrowly defined ideology of virtues that were constructed from the male perspective and idealizes the control of the female voice and sexuality. Using the three ancient Javanese references, this study argues that weaving, which has always been tightly linked to the female body, may have been utilized as a literary and artistic trope for enforcing such control.

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[7] It is generally assumed that all extant works were written by male poets. Some works, however, bear no authorship. As noted by Cresse, there is evidence in *kakawin* that some women were also literate. Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 38-39. For example, the *Sumanasantaka* mentions the praises and rewards given to the ladies-in-waiting of a princess for their accomplishment in literary technique: "Those who wore *singhel* and necklace were newly become poets of *kakawin* spoke politely and sweetly; Now there were twenty who wore a *karah* and were versed in literature, and expert in dancing (*Sum* 41:2b,c)." See Worsley, et.al., *Mpu Monaguṇa's Sumanasāntaka*, 183.

[8] Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 154.

[9] Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 247.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Notably, Barbara W. Andaya, *The Flaming Womb: Repositioning Women in Early Modern Southeast Asia* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2006); Ann Kumar, "Imagining Woman in Javanese Religion: Goddesses, Ascetes, Queens, Consorts, Wifes," in *Other Pasts: Women, Gender and History in Early Modern Southeast Asia*, ed. Barbara W. Andaya (Honolulu: Center for Southeast Asian Studies, 2000), 87–104.

4.2. A sixth-century bronze weaver from Flores: weaving and birth metaphor

The oldest visual evidence of a woman weaving is a sixth-century bronze statue that was discovered on the island of Flores (fig. 4.1).[12] The so-called Bronze Weaver portrays a woman weaving a narrow cloth while nursing a young child.[13] The presence of the child identifies the sculpture as a type known as maternity figure, a well-established category within the Southeast Asian sculptural tradition.[14] The bronze statue, however, is the only maternity figure that depicts the woman both as a mother and a weaver. I argue that the two identities reflect two significations of fertility that are being collapsed into one body. The first is the fertility based on nature, a female body that procreates life. The second is based on culture, a productive body that generates woven cloth.

The Bronze Weaver uses a foot-braced, body-tension loom. With such a loom, the operator and the contraption merge as one; the weaver's body is strapped on to the device and she regulates the tension of the warp threads by stretching her legs and pushing her back forward or backward.[15] The soles of her feet press against a thin flat bar (the warp beam) that holds open a circular warp. The warp threads extend from the warp beam to the small round bar on her lap (the cloth beam). Strings or cords around her hip connect the cloth beam to a plaited mat that clings to her back. The cloth beam, which lies directly in front of her, is physically connected to her abdomen. The partly finished weaving displays a pattern that has been proposed to be either a form of complementary warp or supplementary weft techniques.[16] In an emphatic way, the loom is an extension of her womb and the woven cloth is 'birthed' through her female body.

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[12] The thermoluminescence test of the clay core shows the clay to be non-volcanic. Maxwell suggests that the bronze was cast in either Borneo or Sulawesi, two non-volcanic islands that have yielded many early bronze sculptures. See Robyn Maxwell, *Life, Death and Magic: 2000 Years of Southeast Asian Ancestral Art* (Canberra: National Gallery of Australia, 2010), 70-73.

[13] For the story of its discovery, see Monni Adams, "A 'Forgotten' Bronze Ship and a Recently Discovered Bronze Weaver from Eastern Indonesia: A Problem Paper," *Asian Perspectives* 20, no. 1 (1977): 87–108. The Bronze Weaver is now on permanent display at the National Gallery of Australia.

[14] See other examples of Southeast Asian maternity figures within the theme of fertility in Maxwell, *Life, Death and Magic,* 69-77.

[15] The distribution of foot-braced body-tension looms covers a vast area from the Taiwan islands down to the Philippines, across the archipelagoes, and further eastward as far as the Madagascar. They were introduced to Southeast Asia by the Austronesian-speaking people who descended from Taiwan to the Sunda Islands around 2500 B.C.E. This type of looms has warp and cloth beams, lease rods, shed sticks, heddle rod, swords beater and a backstrap. Here, the weft beater and one of the rods are left out. See discussion of the loom in John E. Vollmer, "Archaeological and Ethnological Considerations of the Foot-Braced Body-Tension Loom," in *Studies in Textile History: In Memory of Harold B. Burnham*, ed. Veronika Gervers (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 1977), 343-354.

[16] Maxwell, *The Bronze Weaver*, 11.

A body-tension loom produces a circular textile, whose dimension also reflects the metaphor of weaving and birth. The size of the cloth is a direct translation of the size of the weaver's body: the width in the weft direction corresponds to the reach of the weaver's arms, and the length in the warp direction to the height of her legs.[17] Thus, each textile bears an individualized relationship to the weaver, just like that of a child to the mother. In other words, the female body as represented in the Bronze Weaver serves as an active site for childbearing and weaving, both of which are metaphorically linked to the idea of fertility. Following the introduction of the Indic culture and social value, however, this symbolic relationship between women and weavings underwent a transformation.

4.3. Tenth-century passages from the Adiparwa: rice, cloth and the sacrifice of the female body

The *Adiparwa* is the first book of the epic *Mahabharata*. The original complete volume of the *Mahabharata* in Sanskrit literature consists of eighteen books. So far only eight of them have been found in Indonesia. The stories are written in Old Javanese script on palm-leaf manuscripts. The Old Javanese *Adiparwa* bears no date and is written by an anonymous author, but it is believed to be a product of around the tenth century based on the name of a king, Sri Dharmawangsa Teguh Anantawikramottungadewa, to whom the work is dedicated.[18]

The reference to weavers is found in the story of Uttangka, in section three of the book. Uttangka is a faithful disciple of a wise man called Sage Weda. One day, he traveled to obtain a pair of precious earrings for the sage's wife. After a successful mission, he met a devious snake called Taksaka who tricked him and stole the earrings. While searching for the stolen treasures, Uttangka received a vision. He saw two women who were weaving (*manenun*) with black and white threads and six children who were turning a twelve-spoked spinning wheel (*cakra*).[19] Sage Weda later explained to him that the two women are the deities Dhata and Widhata, and the white and black threads being woven (*tinenun*)

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[17] According to Ruth Barnes, the width can be as narrow as a few centimeters but usually does not exceed more than 80 cm. See Barnes, *The Ikat Textiles of Lamalera*, 12.

[18] The dedication appears in four books of the Old Javanese *Mahabharata* (the *Adiparwa*, the *Bhismaparwa*, the *Wirataparwa*, and the *Uttarakanda*). Of these, the *Wirataparwa* bears a date of 14 October–12 November 996. Thus, it is assumed that all four were written around the same period. See Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 95-98.

[19] *Anon ta sira stri rwang siki manenun: lwir nikang lawe tinenunya hiring lawan putih Mwang hana ta sat kumara, rare nemang siki n pangideraken cakra, dwadasa arah, rwawelas sengkernya*. See P. J. Zoetmulder, *Ādiparva: Bahasa Jawa Kuna dan Indonesia* (Surabaya: Penerbit Pāramita, 2005), 27, section 3:23. The Indonesian translation is as follows: "*Tampaklah olehnya dua orang putri sedang menenun, benang yang ditenunnya berwarna hitam dan putih. Terlihat pula enam orang anak yang memutar jantra dwadasa arah yang berjari-jari dua belas buah.*" For an earlier translation in Dutch, see H. H. Juynboll, *Âdiparwa: Oudjavaansch Prozageschrift* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1906), 15, line 13.

represent the day and night. Furthermore, the six children stand for six seasons and the spokes signify the twelve horoscopes that rotate in a year.[20]

The above passages were directly taken from the Sanskrit *Adiparwa* by an anonymous Old Javanese poet.[21] In the Sanskrit version, Dhata and Widhata are the 'One-that-Places' and 'One-that-Disposes.' The deities are also referred as the weavers of day and night.[22] This metaphor of weaving as the cycle of time has deep roots that go back to the *Rigveda*, the oldest text of ancient philosophical thought in India. The sacred text equates the interweaving of warp and weft to the temporalities of the changing of day and night.[23]

Although the *Mahabharata* epic story is not an indigenous Javanese literature, it played a very important role in the Indic court in Java. An inscription issued by King Balitung in 907 mentions a performance with the name of a *Mahabharata* hero, Bima.[24] The importance of the text is the reason for the preservation of the eight books of the *Mahabharata* in Old Javanese. It speaks to the religious practice of copying the texts onto new palm leaf manuscripts as the old ones deteriorate over time. Even today, the *Mahabharata* story continues to be enjoyed as popular literature and a source of inspiration for the visual and performance arts in Java and Bali.

For the people in the ninth and tenth century in Java, the introduction of Sanskrit literature brought a new world order based on the Hindu tradition. The passages in the story of Uttangka are an example of the meeting of the foreign and local ideologies, as expressed in the chosen terminologies for the textile-making implements. The word 'to weave,' *manenun*, and 'to be woven,' *tinenun*, are derived from the indigenous Old Javanese word, *tenun*. The local term points to the technology's native origin. In contrast, the word used for spinning wheel, *cakra*, is derived from Sanskrit, which identifies the source of the technology from India.[25]

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[20] *…ikang stri rwa nenun katon denta, san Dhata Widhata ika; ikang lawe tinenunya hireng lawan putih ratri, diwasa tatwanya; kunang rare nemang siki, sadrtu ika, ikang cakra dwadasara, dwadasa rasi tatwanya; kunang ikang pinuternya, sambatsara tatwanika…"* See Zoetmulder, *Ādiparva*, 29, section 3:27. The Indonesian translation by Zoetmulder is as follows "*…dua orang perempuan yag tampak olehmu itu sang Dhāta dan Widhātā, lawe (benang) yang ditenunnya berwarna putih dan hitam itu sebenarnya waktu siang dan malam, enam orang anak tadi ialah enam waktu, jantra dengan 12 "ara" (jari-jari)-nya itu 12 tanda perbintangan, adapun yang diputarnya itu tahun…*"

[21] See J. A. B. van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973) and Kisari M. Ganguli, *The Mahabharata of Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyasa Translated into English Prose Adi Parva*, 2005, section 3.

[22] Van Buitenen, *The Mahābhārata*, 53.

[23] See a discussion in Jasleen Dhamija, "Woven Incantations," in *Approaching Textiles, Varying Viewpoints: Proceedings of the Seventh Biennial Symposium, September 19-24, 2000* (Middletown: Textile Society of America, 2001), 121.

[24] The performance mentioned was the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*. Also mentioned are *wayang*, drama and jesting. Cited in Claire Holt, *Art in Indonesia; Continuities and Change* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 128.

[25] Spinning using a drop spindle was the norm in the most remote parts of animistic culture in Southeast Asia until more recently. Maxwell, *Life, Death and Magic*, 114.

Any meeting between new and old ideologies may manifest in a rejection of the new, a complete replacement of the old, or a modification of the existing one. Weaving in Ancient Java, although still connected to the female realm, has a different signification and takes on a different metaphor than that found on the sixth-century bronze figure. While the Bronze Weaver is a female ancestor, the weavers in the *Adiparwa* are Hindu deities. The female body—whose fertility is heavily emphasized in the Bronze Weaver by the presence of a baby suckling on her breast—disappears. In the tenth-century passages, weaving no longer serves as a metaphor of birth. The act of weaving, in combination with spinning, has now taken on the metaphor for the cycle of time.

This metaphor must have been observed in Java with keen interest and readily accepted from the very beginning of its introduction because the turning of seasons is very important for agrarian societies such as those found in Java. Thus it fits well with the economic interest of the Javanese court and society. A passage from the *Tantu Pangelaran*, an Old Javanese prose text written in 1557, illustrates the complete synthesis of the new metaphor where elements of a female, weaving, and time are integrated into one deified body, which is that of the goddess of rice, Dewi Sri (fig. 4.2).[26] In the *Tantu Pangelaran*, Dewi Sri (and her husband, Dewa Wisnu) taught humans how to spin and to weave, and how to dress in loin cloths (*kupina*), hip-wrappers (*dodot* and *tapih*), and scarves (*sampur*).[27]

Outside Old Javanese literature, the rice goddess is also seen as the protector of the process of weaving. An example is the *Kawih Pangeuyeukan*, a sixteenth-century Sundanese poem that is meant to be sung during weaving.[28] The poem invokes many tutelary spirit or *pohacis,* including Dewi Sri*,* who protect the steps of textile production and the various parts of textile-making implements and raw materials.[29] These *pohacis* are also mentioned in the legend of *Lutung Kasarung*, a sacred origin myth from West Java. Among the *pohacis*, Dewi Sri is spoken of most prominently.[30]

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[26] Dewi Sri is the Javanese counterpart of the Indian goddess Wasudhara, the goddesss of wealth. Sanskrit text describes Wasudhara as holding a stalk of grain to symbolize the riches of the earth. Indian images show the goddess holding an ear of wheat. Bronze images of Wasudhara were imported from Northeast India to Java around the ninth century. Copies that were made in Java, however, transformed the ear of wheat into a rice stalk, and Wasudhara into Dewi Sri. See Klokke and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Ancient Indonesian Bronzes*, 84, cat number 32. Also see pages 22-23.

[27] "*Daar daalden de Heer Wiṣṇu en Vrouwe Çrī neer, vorsten uit den hooge…want zij onderwees de menschen, zoodat ze konden spinnen [mangantih] en weven [manĕnun], ze hadden lendenkleeren [makupina], dodot's [madodot], tapih's [matapih] en sampur's [masampursampur],*" (*TP* 60, 24). See Pigeaud, *De Tantu Panggĕlaran.*

[28] Aditia Gunawan, ed. *Kawih Pangeuyeukan: Tenun dalam Puisi Sunda Kuna dan Teks-teks Lainnya*. Seri naskah kuna Nusantara, no. 11 (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia bekerjasama dengan Pusat Studi Sunda, 2014), 16 and lines 278-508 in the poem.

[29] Most *pohacis* are female but some can also be male. (Sylvia Tiwon, personal conversation, February 2016).

[30] See C. M. Pleyte, "De Legende van den Loetoeng Kasaroeng: een Gewijde Sage uit Tji-rebon," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 58 (1910): 135–258.

According to folklore, Dewi Sri introduced rice and weaving to mankind through her own death.[31] In a West Javanese legend, Dewi Sri under the local name of Nyai Pohaci sacrificed her body to ensure the perpetuation of weaving—her body became the loom, her thigh the support of the warp beam, her upper arms the roller and her ribs the comb through which the warp yarns are threaded.[32] In Central Java, Dewi Sri is the sanctified name of Retna Jumilah, a beautiful maiden who was born from an egg. Her beauty inspired the passion of the highest god, *Bhatara Guru* (another name of the Hindu god Siwa) who happens to be her godfather. To avoid his advances, she chose death and was buried on earth. From her body grew various novel crops. The most priced crop is rice, which emerged from her womb.[33] In a village story in East Java, we find Mbok Sri Ayu, literally meaning 'Mother beautiful rice goddess.'[34] She offered her body to her 'assailants' and said, "All right, eat me then, together with my child, when the third season (has come)."[35]

The sky nymph Nawang Wulan also personifies the goddess of rice and cloth.[36] After her flying cloth was stolen by Jaka Tarub, she became earthbound. The two were later married and had a daughter. At first they never run out of food because Nawang Wulan has a secret ability to multiply a stalk of rice into a potful. But when Jaka Tarub discovered the secret, Nanang Wulan's magic lost its potency. As the rice supply rapidly diminished, Nanang Wulan found her flying cloth hidden under the rice piles. With it, she returned home to the sky. The essence of Nanang Wulan's story is represented by three symbols: the flying cloth, which alludes to both her heavenly origin and her downfall to earth; the child, which points to her procreative power; and the rice, which speaks of her magical skill. As Rens Heringa points out, "Her fertility is evident, as she bears him a daughter and also feeds the family from a single stalk of rice."[37]

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[31]See Rens Heringa, "Dewi Sri in Village Garb: Fertility, Myth, and Ritual in Northeast Java," *Asian Folklore Studies* 56, no. 2 (1997); Justus M. van Der Kroef, "Rice Legends of Indonesia," *The Journal of American Folklore* 65, no. 255 (1952): 49–55. The work of Rens Heringa on tales of the rice goddess in Eastern, Central and Western Java has shown how different status groups may have access to different versions of a story, and they interpret their own version to fit a particular social viewpoint. See Heringa, "Dewi Sri in Village Garb," 373.

[32] Alit Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, *Weavings of Power and Might: The Glory of Java* (Rotterdam; Toronto: Museum voor Volkenkunde; Museum for Textiles, 1988), 15.

[33] For summary of the story, see Heringa, "Dewi Sri in Village Garb," 365.

[34] Ibid., 374, note 13.

[35] Ibid., 363.

[36]Ann Kumar commented that there are two important goddesses in Java. The first is Nanang Wulan who is associated with rice and textile, and the other is Nyai Rara Kidul, the sea goddess who is associated with spirits and the underworld. See Kumar, "Imagining Women in Javanese Religion, 95.

[37] Ibid., 365. According to Clara Brakel, the core myth of this story is "a young man who marries a fairy after he has stolen her clothes, without which she cannot return to heaven." This motif can be found throughout Asia and Europe, and it may have originated from the medieval Indian Epic traditions. See Clara Brakel-Papenhuyzen, "Jaka Tarub, a Javanese Culture Hero?" *Indonesia and the Malay World* 34, no. 98 (March 1, 2006): 88.

In sum, what connects Dewi Sri and her local personification to the Bronze Weaver is the notion of the female body as a fertile body that is full of productive potential. There is, however, a major difference among them. While the fertility of the Bronze Weaver is harbored in a living body, that of the Javanese goddess is a body that has been sacrificed, whether by death or by the fall from heaven; its productive potential is unleashed only after death and is connected to a land that fosters multiplication of crops, especially rice.

In Old Javanese inscriptions, the close relationship between rice and textile is expressed in their shared unit measurement. There, men's and women's clothes are differentiated by name and the unit of measurement. Men's cloth, called *wdihan*, was measured in *yu* and *hlai*. One *yu* appears to be made of two *hlai*. Woman's cloth, called *ken* or *kain*, was measured in *blah* or *wlah*.[38] While nobody knows what these unit measurements translate to in today's standard, Jan Wisseman Christie points out that *wlah*, was the same unit measurement used for irrigated or wet rice fields, *sawah*. The symbolic relationship between *kain* and *sawah* survives today on the pattern of Javanese batiks. Rens Heringa's research on batik in a traditional East Javanese village has shown that the format of the pattern on women's hip wrappers can be read as a map of agricultural fields.[39] Heringa also compares the terminology shared by woven cloths and *tegal*, non-irrigated agricultural land in Kerek, East Java. The villagers described kain *kembangan*, the most revered type of local weaving as having a center field called *palemahan*, cultivated land and the flower pattern in the center fields relates to the flowering crop on the land. The selvages are called *galengang,* term for low earthen banks edging the field. Further more, the *tumpal* sections near both ends of the cloth are seen as trees that are planted close to the field.[40]

4.4. A twelfth-century passage from the Kakawin Bhomantaka: weaving and spirituality

The *Bhomantaka* is an anonymous twelfth-century court poem from East Java that tells the story of the demon Bhoman who was killed in battle by King Kresna, the avatar of the God Wisnu.[41] The tension between the two principal figures started with an army of demons creating havoc in villages and hermitages in the countryside. One of the episodes describes a hermitage under attack, causing the

[38] Christie, "Texts and Textiles," 183.

[39] Rens Heringa, "Tilling the Cloth and Weaving the Land: Textiles, Land and Regeneration in an East Javanese Area," in *Weaving Patterns of Life*, eds. Ruth Barnes, Marie-Louise Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and David J. Stuart-Fox (Basel: Museum of Ethnography, 1993), 157; Rens Heringa "Mbok Sri Dethroned: Changing Rice Rituals in Rural East Java," in *The Art of Rice: Spirit and Sustenance in Asia*, ed. Roy W. Hamilton (Los Angeles: UCLA Fowler Museum of Cultural History, 2003), 476-477.

[40] Rens Heringa, "Heirloom and Male Ancestors: The Flowered Kain Kembangan of Kerek, East Java," *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings* (January 1, 1996): 179.

[41] For an English summary of the poem, see Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan,* 313-324. For the latest translation, see Teeuw and Robson, *Bhomāntaka*.

monks and nuns to flee in panic. The ascetic women were described in a state of confusion as follows:

> And the bands of venerable ladies were constantly carrying things about; Their washing-tubs [*panucyan*], weaving [*tenunan*] and bowing-places [*pamuswan*] (?); As well as the cotton-bows [*wusu-wusu*] with thread (*lawayan*) hanging down-; "All this", they said, "We need to take for the hereafter (*silunglung*)"[42]

Tenunan or weaving comes from the word *tenun*, to weave. As a noun, the word may also be translated as the woven cloth, or as the loom.[43] Let us compare the above translation of the first two lines with that by Jan Wisseman Christie:

> ...the honoured grandmother was inseparable from her soaking vessel (*panucyan*) and her loom (*tenunan*), and her cotton-carding place (*pamuswan*), where there hung her cotton-bow (*wusuwusu*) and her swift (*lawayan*)…[44]

Christie's interpretation of *tenunan* as a loom rather than weaving seems more logical given that the neighboring words also refer to textile-making implements. The loom, since it can be 'carried about,' would have to be a type of body-tension loom, similar to the one used by the Bronze Weaver. Such a loom is easy to set up and dismantle, simply by rolling in or out the flexible warp threads that are attached to the various wooden beams and bars.

The twelfth-century passage depicts weavers as yet another metaphorical figure, no longer as female ancestors nor deities but as monastic women. The passage makes clear that the nuns consider the textile-making implements more than just practical tools. Despite being in dire need for escape, they refuse to leave the implements behind because they are their *silunglung*. This term means objects that are necessary to accompany people in their after lives.[45]

Silunglung is the term often used by Old Javanese poets (*kawi*) to refer to the poems they compose. The poet of the *Ghatotkacasraya*, a twelfth-century *kakawin*, for example, expresses his wish that his poem "will be his support and

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[42] *mwang sang watek guru niniki mangindit-indit; tan sah panucyan ira len tenunan pamuswan; lawan tikaṅ wusu-wusu lawayan gumantun; kapweka ling nira silunglung ing paratra* (*BK* 12:5). Ibid., 159.

[43] Interestingly, the verb form of *tĕnun* in Old Javanese (*tinĕnun*) also has a broader definition that includes both to weave and to interlace. The second definition is found in the context of interlacing flowers. See Zoetmulder, *OJED* 1987:8.2. The Indonesian word for *tinĕnun* today would be *merangkai*.

[44] Christie, "Ikat to Batik?" 13.

[45] Zoetmulder says, "*silunglung* seems to denote that which is carried on a journey as support and provision. Thus, a lover takes with him the memory of the beauty of his beloved as a *silunglung* when retiring into a forest hermitage. It is frequently used in connection with the dead, signifying that which accompanies the soul on its way to the other world, such as, for example, meritorious deeds, the weapons of a *ksatriya*, the poem of a *kawi*." See Zoetmulder, *Kalangwan*, 186.

will carry him (*silunglung*) on his return to *Smara*'s heaven."And according to Zoetmulder, this is "the usual way of describing the death of a *kawi*—when he will surrender himself so completely to the ecstasy of beauty in some forest hermitage that his bodily strength fails him."[46] In the study of the *Sumanasantaka*, Peter Worsley notes that the author, Mpu Monaguna, was a poet-priest "like other authors of *kakawin*."[47] There is in fact a spiritual parallel between a poet and his poem, and a priest and a temple. A poem is also called 'book temple' (*candi pustaka*). Worsley further says, "it is believed that the tutelary deity of the poet would be able to descend into the poem," which would "allow the poet a moment of apotheosis with his godhead."[48] Robson too proposes that a poet who masters his literary craft is indeed a priest, and "he also uses prayers, mantras, ascetic observances and meditation to bring his work to a successful conclusion."[49]

Since the term *silunglung* is applied to both poem and weaving tools, and a poem was the means of salvation for the poet-priest, I propose that a piece of woven cloth could serve the same function for the nun.[50] According to Helen Cresse, female ascetics in *kakawin* are former courtiers who, for various reasons, have withdrawn from court lives.[51] Since weaving implements were a *silunglung* for these women, then the act of weaving is their means to gain merit for the hereafter, as they find a release from their physical state to a higher one.[52]

The 1365 *Desawarnana* mentions a very intriguing type of cloth used at a posthumous ceremony for a Buddhist nun. Among Old Javanese texts, The *Desawarnana* is deemed as the most 'historical.' Despite its poetic formal language and compliance to the metric structure, scholars believe that the narrative records actual events that took place during the Majapahit Dynasty. One of the events is the visit of King Hayam Wuruk Rajasanagara to place called Kalayu in the year 1359. It says:

> Kalayu is a freehold foundation (*dharma sima*), a permanent Buddhist establishment; The person who was once enshrined there is a highly eminent, noble relative of the King. The reason for the celebration was the

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[46] Ibid., 277.

[47] Worsley, et.al., *Mpu Monaguṇa's Sumanasāntaka*, 601.

[48] Worsley, "Journeys, Palaces and Landscapes," 60.

[49] Stuart Robson, "Imagery of the Temple in Old Javanese Poetry," in *Old Myths and New Approaches: Interpreting Ancient Religious Sites in Southeast Asia*, ed. Alexandra Haendel (Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2012), 263.

[50] Sylvia Tiwon commented that women's work often falls into what are considered more "instrumental' or "useful"—i.e. providing for physical needs: food, clothing, while that of men fulfills more spiritual or aesthetics needs such as making poetry and study of religious texts (personal conversation, April 2017).

[51] Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 189.

[52] The care and concern for the safety of weaving implements can also be seen in later ethnographic accounts. Ruth Barnes has noted that on Lembata Island "the tool–that is, all parts of the loom, the ikat frame and the threads for ikat tying–must never be burnt; that would bring mental confusion to the women." See Barnes, "The Bridewealth Cloth of Lamalera," 54.

> King's work in the performance of the highest law, And as is well known, 'cutting the warp' (*mamegat sigika*) is the very best way of doing one's sacred duty.[53]

Krom identifies the above-mentioned Buddhist shrine in Kalayu as Candi Jabung, a fourteenth-century temple in East Java (1354).[54] This religious structure is also mentioned as Sajabung in the *Pararaton*, a text written between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the *Pararaton*, Sajabung is identified as the funerary monument of Bajra-Jina-Paramitāpura, the exalted name of an ordained Buddhist nun, Bhra Gundal who is also member of the royal family. The *Pararaton* also speaks of a royal ceremony that was performed at the Candi Sajabung at Kalayu.

Pigeaud believes that the ceremony mentioned in the *Desawarnana* involving the cutting of the warp (*pamegat sigi*) is related to an ancestor worship ceremony.[55] Stutterheim and Zoetmulder further added that the 'cutting of the warp' refers to the action of opening up a circular woven cloth by cutting the unwoven part of the warp threads. Such a circular form is produced on weavings done on body-tension looms, similar to the one seen on the Bronze Weaver.

The ritual importance of a circular cloth and the significance of cutting its unwoven section are exemplified in today's uses of *geringsing* double ikat from Bali. In its circular form, this sacred textile can be used as an offering for deities.[56] In this state, the cloth can also be used to provide protection at transtitional moments in life such as birth, coming of age, marriage, or death. During the ceremonies that mark these transitions, a *geringsing* cloth would be cut open, whereby its magic is released and used up. Once cut, the cloth may be used as clothing.

Stutterheim, in his investigation in the meaning of the *pamegat sigi* ceremony at Kalayu, also mentions a practice in Lombok of soaking the warp threads from the unwoven part of a cloth in holy water. This water would then be sprinkled for blessings.[57] Other ethnographical accounts from Lombok also speak of the mystical cloth with uncut warp that has power to heal sicknesses. When the warps were cut, the threads would be soaked in water and the liquid would be drunk as medicine.[58] The term *pamegat sigi* also appears in several Old

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[53] *Des* 31:2. See Robson, *Deśawarṇana*, 45.

[54] Krom quoted in Theodore G. Th. Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century: a Study in Cultural History: The Nāgara-Kĕrtāgama by Rakawi Prapañca of Majapahit, 1365 A.D*. Vol. IV (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1960), 87.

[55] Pigeaud also pointed out that Bajra-Jina-Paramitapura is very close to Prajna-Paramitapuri, the revered name of Rajapatni. Ibid., 88.

[56] Barnes, *Five Centuries*, 218.

[57] W. F. Stutterheim, "Oudheidkundige Aanteekeningen: Wat deed Ayam Wuruk te Kalayu?" *BKI* 95, no. 1 (1937): 417–424.

[58] James Bennett, *Speaking with Cloth = Cerita Dalam Kain* (Darwin, NT: Museum and Art Gallery of the Northern Territory, 2005), 88.

Javanese *sima* charters.[59] These charters often contain regulation for the number of professionals who are allowed to operate within a given *sima*. Among them are people who were involved in textile production: weavers, spinners and dyers, as well as traders of textile materials and products. Although the Old Javanese language does not distinguish gender in the second person, from what we know of the textile tradition today, we may assume that the textile producers alluded to in the charters were women.

To recapitulate, the twelfth-century passage from the *Bhomantaka,* which portrays nuns as weavers, testifies to the fact that weaving was deemed a part of spiritual journey for women. The type of loom used by the nuns and the Old Javanese term *pamegat sigi* also attest to the sacredness of circular woven cloths produced by body-tension looms.

4.5. A fourteenth-century image from East Java: weaving and marriage

The only visual reference of a weaver from the Ancient Javanese Period is a vignette carved on a fourteenth-century stone plinth for a wooden pillar (fig. 4.3).[60] The date was determined by its found location in the vicinity of the city of Trowulan, the former capital of the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom in Java, the Majapahit dynasty (1293-1527).[61] The Trowulan weaver was first published by A. J. Bernet Kempers in *Ageless Borobudur* in the section of "Folk life in Ancient Java."[62] He identifies the vignette as a scene from a famous folk tale. He describes the scene: "a girl is weaving in an open pavilion. She drops her shuttle and, too lazy to retrieve it she, promises to marry anyone willing to bring it back to her. A dog thus turns to be her bridegroom."[63]

The scene includes two figures. First, a woman is sitting with a loom inside a raised and open pavilion. She is on her own; her weaving equipment and a basket are her sole companions. She wears jewelry consisting of large earplugs and bracelets. The pavilion is built atop a thick stone base that is crowned with double inverted steps. Comparable foundation bases can be found on East Javanese temples such as Candi Brahu in Mojokerto. On this base, stand four stone plinths that hold posts, which support a raised rectangular floor and trapezoidal hip roof.[64]

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[59] See Introduction page 7 for explanation of *sima* charters.

[60] *OD* photograph no. 1761.

[61] It was part of group of plinths (*OD* 1761-1768) that may have been derived from the same site.

[62] A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur: Buddhist Mystery in Stone, Decay and Restoration, Mendut and Pawon, Folklife in Ancient Java* (Wassenaar: Servire, 1976), 240, pl. 151. It was placed opposite the page with an image of young boys who are holding palm leaf manuscripts (*kropaks*). Bernet Kempers used these two images to reinforce a conventional idea of gendered category practices. In a broad stroke, he stated, "while boys were being taught the sacred books, girls prepared for various domestic affairs."

[63] Ibid.

[64] Theodoor Galestin categorized it in his study of wooden architecture on East-Javanese temple reliefs as the sub-type 4 of the "open rectangular building with four pillars." To his knowledge,

The loom is a type of body-tension loom that is no longer requires a foot bracing. Such a loom is commonly found in Javanese households and Bali up to recent times (fig. 4.4). The warp threads are held by two wooden bars. The side of the cloth beam, the bar that is immediately in front of the weaver is tied with a rope that connects to another bar behind the weaver's back. The projections from the beam refer to the forked posts that would have secured and held the warp beams in place (fig. 4.5). The two sticks close to the cloth beam appear to be reeds, an instrument that allows the spacing out of the warps. The long thick object behind the reeds is the weaving sword. The sword functions as a beater to closely pack newly inserted wefts. Comparing the loom on the Trowulan image with the drawing of figure 4.5, it is clear that the Trowulan artist has left out many parts including the rods that would have been essential to create the sheds for the wefts. This tells us that the artist may not be concerned with real accuracy or that they were not familiar with an actual loom. On the right side of the weaver is a basket that would hold other weaving tools such as spools of thread and a knife. The woven cloth is patterned with a row of large diamonds.

The second figure is an anthropomorphic character, standing outside the pavilion. His torso is human-like, but with spindly curled tail. His head bears a prominent snout, a full neck and flappy ears of a dog or a pig. He is clad in a knee-length hip wrapper and wears earrings and bracelets similar to those worn by the woman. His bent knees suggest that he is in motion, perhaps walking, and he is holding a stick-like object in his right hand.

The Trowulan image is bisected in half. The divide occurs along the bottom horizontal line of the pavilion floor. The area in the upper half, inhabited by the weaver, is shown from an oblique, bird-eye perspective; the bottom half with the animal figure is at eye-level. The employment of multiple perspectives in one image is not uncommon in Javanese art. One of the Jataka reliefs in Borobudur, for example, depicts two seated gamblers facing each other across a game board (IBb 80).[65] The gamblers are shown at eye level, while the game board is presented from a straight top-down view. In both the Borobudur and the Trowulan images, the switching of perspective is used to rectify a foreshortening effect in order to present a fuller view of an object that would otherwise be incomprehensible for the viewer, in this case, the loom.

At the risk of over-interpretation, I propose that the image can be seen as two spaces: the female and male spaces. The first space is internally constructed within the boundaries of the pavilion and the latter space external to it. The weaver occupies the internal space, which is pictorially defined by the vertical lines of the four corner posts and the horizontal rectangular planes of the roof

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sub-type 4 architecture is only found in Java and Bali. See Theodoor P. Galestin, "*Houtbouw Op Oost-Javaansche Tempelreliefs*" (PhD diss., University of Leiden, 1936), 93-95. A related architecture model with an open and raised platform can still be seen in Java today, known as *pendopo*. It is normally built in the front courtyard of a large house, and serves as a meeting or gathering place. It is interesting to note that the plinths depicted on the image are the exact shape as the Trowulan stone plinth itself.

[65] See Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur*, 256, pl. 182.

and the floor. Within this 'box' she appears immobile, for her body is strapped to a loom. The artist's omission of her feet deepens further our impression of her immobility. Only her hands are unconstrained. She appears to be isolated and confined. This perception is in direct opposition with the freedom associated with the anthropomorphic creature, whose body leans forward and knees bend, as he moves about outside the pavilion.

Based on Ancient Javanese artistic and literary formula, the image bears several clues that can identify the two characters. First, the woman and the anthropomorphic figure wear bangles and earrings; jewelry is a standard indication that a person is of high status. Second, the woman is alone, unaccompanied by any attendant. In the world of Ancient Java, it is highly unusual for a well-respected woman to be alone in the forest. The only justification for this is stated in the thirteenth-century court poem, the *Sumanasantaka*, spoken through the words of Lord Trinawindu when he addresses the nymph Dyah Harini. The lord speaks to her about four types of beautiful women who might be their own in the forest.[66] "If she is the wife of an eminent man or king who is out hunting and she has come to be with him; if she is a grieving wife abandoned by a poet-husband who has gone off to devote himself to poetry and she has decided to become a hermit; if she is a wretched orphan living with relatives, now seeking to live as a virgin ascetic in hermitage; or if she is a goddess."[67] Indeed, the Trowulan weaver is not only of noble birth, but also a maiden in the act of asceticism through her weaving.

Across the archipelago, there are many narratives sharing the same core myth of the dog and the maiden. Kleiweg de Zwaan documented the widespread distribution of the myths about dogs who act as helpers of men. The most popular of these is the account about a dog that helps a maiden to bring back her weaving spool, and then marries her.[68] This myth falls into the category of origin myths and various versions of it are found throughout Java, Lombok and Bali. One of the most well-known versions is the *Sang Kuriang*.[69] According to this legend, the weaver is a beautiful princess called Dayang Sumbi. The scene depicted on the Trowulan plinth captures a critical moment when the princess accidentally dropped her shuttle, which fell through a crack on the floor, to the ground. The princess cried out loud that she would marry any man or take as sister any woman who retrieves it. By chance, a dog, called Si Tumang heard her plea and returned the shuttle to her. In Java and Bali, the dog is often identified as an incarnation or a disguise of a deity or a king. On the Trowulan relief we can see that the anthropomorphic figure holds in his right hand a long object, which is the shuttle. The union of Dayang Sumbi and Si Tumang gave birth to the hero

[66] *Sum* 5:1–5:5, summarized in Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 47.
[67] Ibid.
[68] J. P. Kleiweg de Zwaan, "De Hond in het Volksgeloof der Inlanders van den Indischen Archipel," *De Indische Gids* (1915): 183.
[69] See the narrative of *Sang Kuriang* in Mamat Ruhimat, "Kemampuan Menenun Kain," in *Kawih Pangeuyeukan: Tenun dalam Puisi Sunda Kuna dan Teks-teks Lainnya*, ed. Aditia Gunawan (Jakarta: Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia; Pusat Studi Sunda, 2014), 212.

of the story, Sang Kuriang. In other versions, the offspring of the dog and the maiden became the ancestors of particular groups of people. An example of such people who claim to be descendants of the dog and the maiden are the Kalang people from East Java or Bali.[70]

A lot of folklore attributes the act of weaving as a mark of virtuosity for women. Some warn them of the consequences if they do not weave. An old Balinese tradition, for example, believes that a woman who cannot weave will never rest in peace in the afterlife; her spirit will be constantly tortured. A nineteenth-century drawing from Bali shows a dog pulling and ripping the hip wrapper of the soul of such a woman (fig. 4.6). A folk legend from West Java also speaks of a woman who suffered a terrible fate because she refused to weave. The story begins with a beautiful princess who fell in love with the son of an old witch. However, her father, the king of Medang Kemulan, did not approve of their marriage and banished her to a remote area called Celaga. She would be allowed to return only after she finished weaving all the clothes for her parents and other courtiers. The princess refused this task. Over time, she grew angrier and her physical appearance was changed until she became a witch and drove away her lover.

In the above-mentioned folklore, weaving is depicted as a private activity performed by a recluse, either by her own choice or the imposition of others. The idea of such confinement is reflected in a weaving practice in West Java in the early part of the twentieth century.[71] There was a tradition that a maiden on the cusp of getting married had to weave a cloth in confinement, in a weaving hut. Figure 4.7 depicts a twelve-year-old maiden weaving in a tall open hut made of bamboo and thatched roof. Pleyte describes the act as a demonstration of restraint from physical indulgence. Through the practice of weaving the maiden is isolated from her lover. In this case, weaving serves as a temporary performance to achieve a pure mind, deemed an important mental preparation before stepping into the next stage of life, marriage. As Pleyte expresses the local mindset, "without weaving there is no marriage, without marriage, there is no life-purpose."[72]

The two images—the Trowulan weaver the West Javanese weaving maiden—both resonate with a sense of confinement and asceticism. This isolation is only temporary because in the end a union with a male is bound to happen. In order to get there, however, one has to go through a purification path. In other words, asceticism and weaving seem to be the means to an end, a way to

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[70] For a summary on the origin of the Kalang people, see R. Carstens, "Seltmann, F.: Die Kalang. Eine Volksgruppe auf Java und ihre Stamm-Mythe (Book Review)," *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 84, no. 3 (1): 341.

[71] C. M. Pleyte, *De Inlandsche Nijverheid in West-Java Als Sociaalethnologisch Verschijnsel*. Vol. 2 (Batavia: Javasche Boekhandel & Drukkerij, 1911), 14, pl. 2. I am grateful to Sylvia Tiwon for pointing out this reference.

[72] "zonder weven geen trouwen en zonder truwen geen levensdoel." Ibid. Also cited in Alit Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, *Bloemen van het Heelal: de Kleurrijke Wereld van Textiel op Java* (Amsterdam: Sijthoff, 1984) 35.

purify the mind and body. Even today, there is still palpable echo of this past ideology. Its reverberation, for example, lives in the modern retelling of the Sang Kuriang by Ajip Rosidi. When Dayang Sumbi was leaving the royal compound for the forest, the narrator imparts the importance of her practice of weaving. He states, "Weaving softens one's heart during meditation (*samadi*), and cures loneliness. It directs one's mind to contemplate life and death and the gifts and love from Sang Rumuhun [Even today, there is still palpable echo of this past ideology. Its reverberation, for example, lives in the modern retelling of the Sang Kuriang by Ajip Rosidi. When Dayang Sumbi was leaving the royal compound for the forest, the narrator imparts the importance of her practice of weaving. He states, "Weaving softens one's heart during meditation (*samadi*), and cures loneliness. It directs one's mind to contemplate life and death and the gifts and love from Sang Rumuhun [creator]."[73]

4.6. The control of the female body and marginal spaces of women in kakawin

As portrayed in *kakawin*, the exercise of control is the highest moral value for both men and women of Ancient Java, for it mitigates the gravest societal concern, which is an unbridled sexual passion. It is imperative that one keeps close guard of such emotion in order to maintain the social order.[74] For a man, the strength to subdue his passion comes from within, i.e. from his inherent sheer power. The ultimate expression of this power is the practice of religious asceticism (*tapa*), which often takes place in a forest. As the *Arjunawiwaha* shows, the mark of a true hero is his success in resisting the sexual temptation of beautiful nymphs during such a practice.[75]

For a woman, her spiritual and physical control comes from the constraint of a societal institution, i.e. marriage.[76] According to Creese, the portrayals of women in *kakawin* "encompass narrow patriarchal views and roles that are concerned almost exclusively with the containment of female physicality and sexuality…through the sequestering of women, male control over women is guaranteed."[77] Among the women mentioned in court literature, there are two main types: the nobles and the commoners. The nobles stand for the ideal feminine, for they exhibit graceful restraint. In contrast, the commoners are easily affected by passion. Sylvia Tiwon discusses the two models of women in traditional literature and says, "when a woman is not an individual heroine, she

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[73] Ajip Rosidi, *Sang Kuriang Kesiangan: Sebuah Tjerita Rakyat Sunda*. First edition (Bandung: Penerbit Tiara, 1961).

[74] Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 246.

[75] The most classic example is Arjuna resisting the temptation of the heavenly myth. See Robson, *Arjunawiwāha*.

[76] Creese, *Women of the Kakawin World*, 246.

[77] Ibid., 247. Even after marriage, such anxiety continues. Piety and women's faithfulness to their husband needs to be tried and tested. For example, see the story of Ramayana with Sita and Sri Tanjung.

is depicted as an entity lost within an unindividualized, unmistakably feminine crowd."[78] An often-recurring topos presents this 'feminine crowd' as highly susceptible to being excited and having sexual yearning triggered by the sight of royal male figures. These women would forget all manners and run to the street with their dress falling off and their hair undone. Such topos clearly has its origin from the Sanskrit literature, and is very much a part of the Indic court culture in Java. The thirteenth-century poem *Kresnayana*, for example, describes the following scene:

> The women-folk of the capital city were racing each other from fear of being too late to see [King Kresna]. Those busy with their makeup, put wrong things on their faces, those reddening their lips suddenly stop doing so. Likewise those busy to knot the hair, before they were ready, they were already gone. And the funniest part of it was, that the hairknot got loose, and yet while running they were trying to pleat their *kains*.[79]

As discussed above, the three Ancient Javanese references present weavers as different female categories: deities, nuns, and a princess. What these categories share is the portrayal of weaving as a solitary practice, taking place in marginal spaces, away from the center of society. One site is an unspecified location along one's journey, the other is a hermitage, and the last the edge of a forest. These are considered marginal spaces because they are outside the realm of the court. A hermitage, for example, is a religious area that may be located in the countryside It may also be part of a *sima*, a freehold area that has its own economic regulation. Forests also represent ungovernable realms in which wilderness and demons reside. If we consider court-regulated spaces as patriarchal, the marginal spaces outside it, can be considered as female spaces.[80] I argue that weavings, which are portrayed in these marginal spaces, relate to the ideological practice for women to achieve spiritual and physical control. If we now look back to the beginning of this study, we can see that the feminine concept embodied in the Bronze Weaver and that portrayed in the weaving figures in the *kakawin* are very different. In the former, weaving is linked to the natural gift of procreation of female bodies; in the latter, weaving is tied to the idea of controlling the female

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[78] Sylvia Tiwon, "Models and Maniacs: Articulating the Female in Indonesia," in *Fantasizing the Feminine in Indonesia*, ed. Laurie J Sears (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 60.

[79] *KY* 25:9. See Santoso, *Kresnayana*, 128. Also see similar scenes in the *Bharatayuddha* and the Malay literature. Ibid., 60-62.

[80] The inside of the royal compound, the inner court, is also alluded to as a distinct female space. Pigeaud notes, for example, that Mpu Prapanca of the Desawarnana provides a very short description of the interior of the royal compound where the court ladies would have resided. His terse remark of the court interior contrasts sharply with his lengthy descriptions of the more public areas. To Pigeaud, this suggests "the poet had no entrance to the private courtyards of the royal family and so he only had second hand information…[and] probably it also was considered bad form to talk or write about the royal *zenana*."See Pigeaud, *Java in the 14th Century,* Vol. IV, 22.

bodies and mind, and, by extension, their fertility.[81] Since the societal control of this for women comes in the form of a marriage institution, there is, by extension, a close relationship between the task of weaving and the potential of marriage. As a poem from West Java states, a maiden should not expect a marriage before she is able to weave a sarong.[82]

4.9. Conclusion

Weaving as a gendered occupation for women in Indonesia has a long ancient history. As the sixth-century Bronze Weaver has shown, the first most basic loom is the body-tension loom that operates as an extension of the body. This feature renders weaving to be an immediate, ready-made metaphor for the feminine. It appears that at this time, the reproductive body is part of that ideology of femininity. The intimate connection between the weaver's body and the loom is extended to the woven products.

The metaphor of weaving as the cycle of time entered Java in the first millennium, as portrayed in the tenth-century *Kakawin Adiparwa*. It speaks of weavers as deities who turn day into night. Within the Javanese agrarian society, Dewi Sri is the embodiment of weaving, agriculture, and fertility. The ideological connection between weaving and rice cultivation also extends to the unit measurement of rice fields and cloth. The fertility represented in Dewi Sri is ultimately very different than that in the Bronze figure. While the fertility in the Bronze figure is located within the female body, in Dewi Sri the body has been sacrificed, and its mystical creative power has been transferred to the earth for the good of human. This shift may be related to the rise of statehood and the importance of control over the agriculture practice to sustain society at large.

The passage from the twelfth-century *Kakawin Bhomantaka* presents the weavers as nuns, living in a hermitage. Here, the nuns declared weaving and other textile-making implements as *silunglung*, objects of salvation. The spiritual importance of weaving in connection with the religious foundations finds evidence in the ethnographic accounts from Bali and Lombok.

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[81] In reality as observed in the traditional practice of textile production in many parts of the archipelago, the isolation of the female body can also be a reversed strategy of control by women. This strategy is most apparent in dyeing. Jean-Paul Barbier and Douglas Newton says that in Sumba, "the secrets of indigo dyeing can be interpreted as part of an occult tradition of female resistance to the forcible alienation of the products of their labors. There is an undercurrent of resentment to losing daughters, cloths and powers to the male world. By developing an expertise in textile dyeing which also involves herbal preparations which permit control over menstrual bleeding, contraception, abortion and miscarriages, women show that they can exclude men from a domain which is their own. What to men is a fearful and polluting activity becomes for older women a way to regain control over their own destinies, and also often a source of additional wealth." See Jean-Paul Barbier and Douglas Newton, eds, *Islands and Ancestors: Indigenous Styles of Southeast Asia* (München: New York: Prestel Publishing, 1988), 132.

[82] Veldhuisen-Djajasoebrata, *Weavings of Power and Might*, 16.

The fourteenth-century image on the Trowulan relief presents yet another personification of a weaver, this time as a princess. This identification can be seen in the context of the ideal feminine in Ancient Java, the idealization of restraint as a desirable character for woman. This is the aim of the weaving practices of maidens in West Java in the early part of the twentieth century and princesses in popular legends such as the myth of dogs and maiden. Taken together, the three Ancient Javanese references on weavers tell the story of the female body that has been sacrificed and disempowered of its magical power to serve mankind. It is the body that is now has to be controlled, cultivated and domesticated. Socially, it is controlled through the institution of marriage.

I conclude—in the spirit of Grabar's notion of the second reality—that the 'truth' about weavers (and weavings) in Ancient Java rests on two dialectical moralities that appear to be in opposition but in fact are two complementary sides of the same concept, that of an ideal feminine, as expounded by the court. On one side, women should posses a pure mind, and body. This ideology is justified by the portrayal of women's nature as full of unbridled passion that needs to be controlled. The ideal feminine should seek this restraint through ascetic exercise that takes women away from being part of the society; weaving was linked to this ascetic practice as the means to achieve the pure mind. On the other hand, women should be integrated into the social institution of marriage, for it is only through this acceptable social institution that they can fully realize the creative potential of their female body as procreator of lives.

CONCLUSION

> "Ornament is a visual record of stylized movement: ceremony is the performance of stylized movement."
>
> Martin Powers, *Pattern and Person*.[1]

Tracing patterns of textiles in Ancient Java is a study of textile-related images in the eighth to fifteenth-century Java. Using four case studies, this thesis first follows the evolution of the connected circles and the overlapping circles patterns; it then investigates a very unusual type of short and sleeveless jacket; and last it examines three references to women and weavers. In all cases, this research involves close-up examinations of objects, performed by either personal inspection or using high-resolution photographs and critical analysis of texts.

The validity of a close study of textile patterns to search for historical evidence has been questioned by Jonathan Zilberg in his 2012 article on the thirteenth-century Muara Jambi Prajnaparamita (fig. 1.60).[2] He asserts that the inconsistency of a pattern on different parts of a cloth serves as evidence that it is not a true textile representation. Although I agree that textile images on another medium should not always be taken at face value as actual copies of true textiles, Zilberg's study is considerably handicapped by the limited information derived from a single statue. In this thesis, I have tried to underscore the necessity of looking at the textile depictions within groups. I believe that only in such a collective analysis will a pattern's conformity to and its deviation from an anticipated type of textile make sense. Details, too, are most relevant when they are compared to other details and placed in a larger context. With this perspective, the inconsistency that Zilberg observes is, in fact, a revealing trace of the process of translating a textile (or an idea of it) to the stone medium as expressed by a particular craftsman as opposed to an invalidation of a historical evidence. As… says, cultural transmission is able to preserve better the big frame, but not the details.

Chapter One and Chapter Two follow a parallel course of inquiry on two patterns' origins, their initial reception and adaptation in Java, and their later evolution. Both chapters illustrate that the textile patterns inscribed on stone and

[1] Powers, *Pattern and Person,* 68. In this study, Powers attempts to map the correlation between highly abstracted graphic images that decorate bronze ritual objects and the notion of a person's character and personhood in particular qualities deemed necessary by society to be a good official.

[2] Jonathan Zilberg, "Textile History in Stone I: The Case of the Muarajambi Prajnaparamita," *Seloko* I, no. 2 (2012): 215–258.

metal communicate two realms of signification. On one realm, they inform us on certain types of textiles that were circulating at a particular time period. I have argued based on collective groups of the connected circles and overlapping circles patterns, that they were most likely representations of foreign textiles. On the other realm, these images record the artistic decisions made by the craftsmen of that time. The carvers of the Candi Sewu panels, for example, merged two types of textiles to create one image. Others examples of artistic license can be seen on the textile patterns on the Singhasari Manjusri (fig. 1.42) and the Leiden Brahma (fig. 1.52), where we find in them reverberations of the temple ornaments on Candi Kidal (fig.1.51). This second realm of signification equates these images as ornamental design instead of textile materials. As ornament, they were productive sites for further multiplication and transformation that traverse across media. In this state, each element of a pattern can exist independently from the whole and even generate other patterns.

According to Martin Powers in his study of graphic representation in Ancient China, ornament is never neutral; it exists as a system that is artificial by design and in diametrical opposition to the order of Mother Nature. The underlying assumption for his research of the relationship between crafts and social structures is highly relevant: "Since a decorated artifact retains a direct record of the thought, care, and labor required for both production and its consumption, its shape and ornament could encode a great deal about the community practices and priorities."[3] The textile images that adorn statues and accompany visual narratives in Ancient Java, too, operate in a comparable manner; they speak of the period mindsets, the habitual practice and societal concerns in regard to particular ideas and values, in this case, that of the court. Depicting these textiles images, whether as real cloth or as ornament, can be seen as strategies of the upper class to represent their elevated status.

If the discussion in the first two chapters revolves around foreign textiles, Chapters Three and Four turn 180 degrees from tracing the foreignness to the indigenous concepts. Chapter Three focuses on a type of short and sleeveless jacket. Four intricately carved statues from Candi Singosari provide a unique opportunity to study the sartorial construction and detail pattern of the jackets. The form of the jacket and its variations lead the study to explore the local notion of militant and protective garments. Chapter Four shifts from looking at textiles and clothing to the makers of textile, specifically the weavers. It examines the ideological construction of weavers as imagined by the Indic court and culture.

All four chapters attempt to relate the ancient past to the present by highlighting certain threads of continuities. In some cases, these connecting threads are traceable only in the pattern's dimension as graphic ornament, in other cases, they relate directly or indirectly to the dimension of material and technique. The flexibility of these textile images to be read in between these two realms poses challenges for definitive interpretation; at the same time, it creates possibilities for understanding these images as a reflection of the wider artistic

[3] See Powers, *Pattern and Person,* 69.

impulse—beyond textiles—within a given social and cultural environment that creates them.

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Abbreviations

BEFEO	Bulletin De l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient
BKI	Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde
JSAS	Journal of Southeast Asian Studies
OD	Oudheidkundige Dienst van Nederlands-Indië. Photographs from the Archaeological Survey of the Netherlands East Indies/ Dinas Purbakala. It refers to photographs taken between 1901/1941 and 1948/1955. The focus of these photographs is on the remains from the Hindu-Buddhist era. They are housed in the Special Collections at the Leiden University's library, but a majority of them have now become available online.
OJED	Old Javanese-English Dictionary
TBG	Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, en Volkenkunde; Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschapen
VBG	Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten and Wetenschappen
VKI	Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde

Old Javanese Literature

Ad	*Adiparwa*
AWj	*Arjunawijaya*
AW	*Arjunawiwaha*
BK	*Bhomantaka*
BY	*Bharatayuddha*
Des	*Desawarnana*
KHWj	*Kidung Hariwijaya*
KY	*Kresnayana*
KS	*Kidung Sunda*
Pr	*Pararaton*
RL	*Rangga Lawe*
ST	*Sutasoma*
Sum	*Sumanasantaka*
Ww	*Wirataparwa*

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Map 1. Southeast Asia
Image from Hall, *A History of South-East Asia*

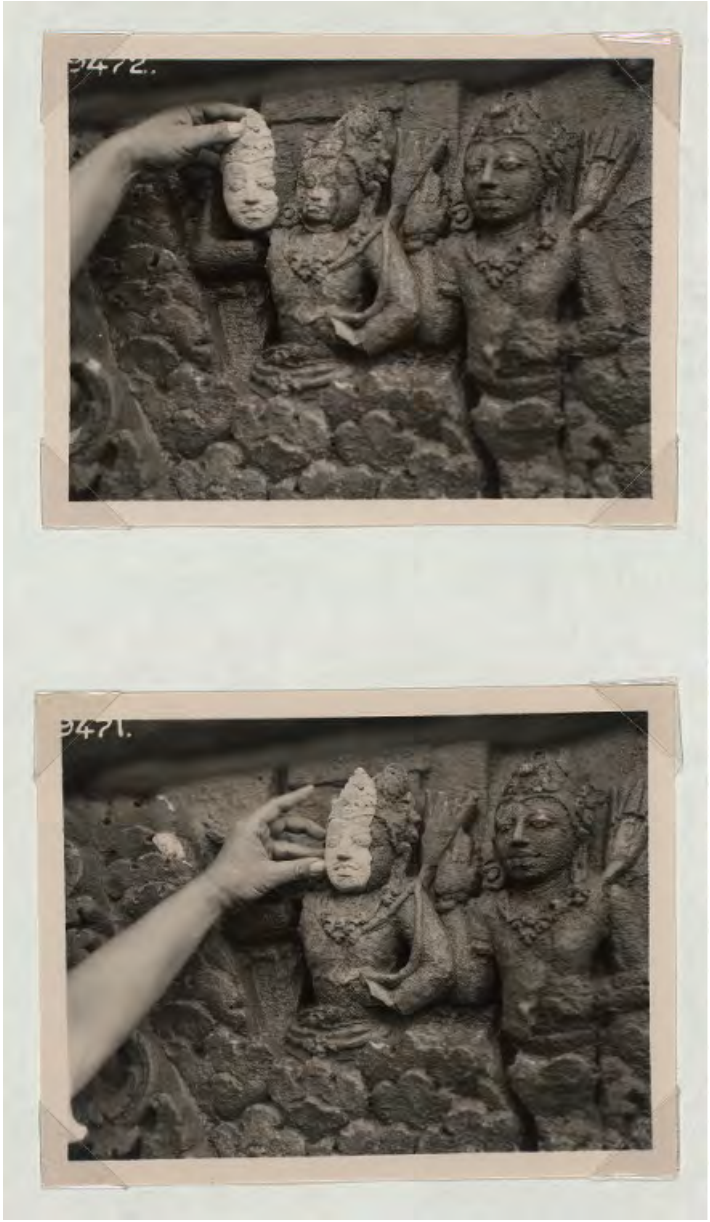


Figure 0.1. Plaster remains from Candi Sari
Photograph by Claire Holt, image from the Documentation Centre for Ancient Indonesian Art, Amsterdam

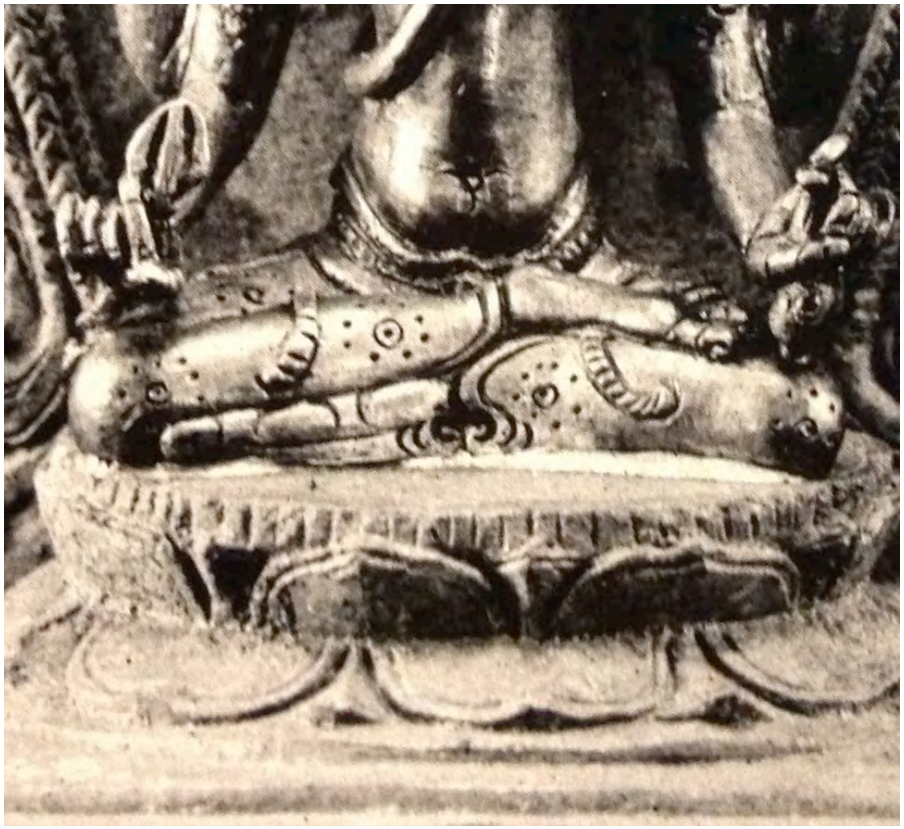
Figure 0.2. Ganesa from Candi Banon
Andesite, h. 140 cm
Magelang, Central Java, 8th–9th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, No. 186b

Figure 0.3. Siwa
Candi Lara Jonggrang, Central Java, 9th century
Image from Bernet Kempers, *Ancient Indonesian Art*, plate 157

Left, detail of the sarong
Image from Natalie Ong

Figure 0.4. Awalokiteswara
Bronze, h. 15 cm
Central Java, 10th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, No. 603
Images from Sofia Sundstrom

Figure 0.5. Siwa
Silver, h. 8.6 cm
Bagelan, Central Java, 8th–9th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta
No. 513/A45



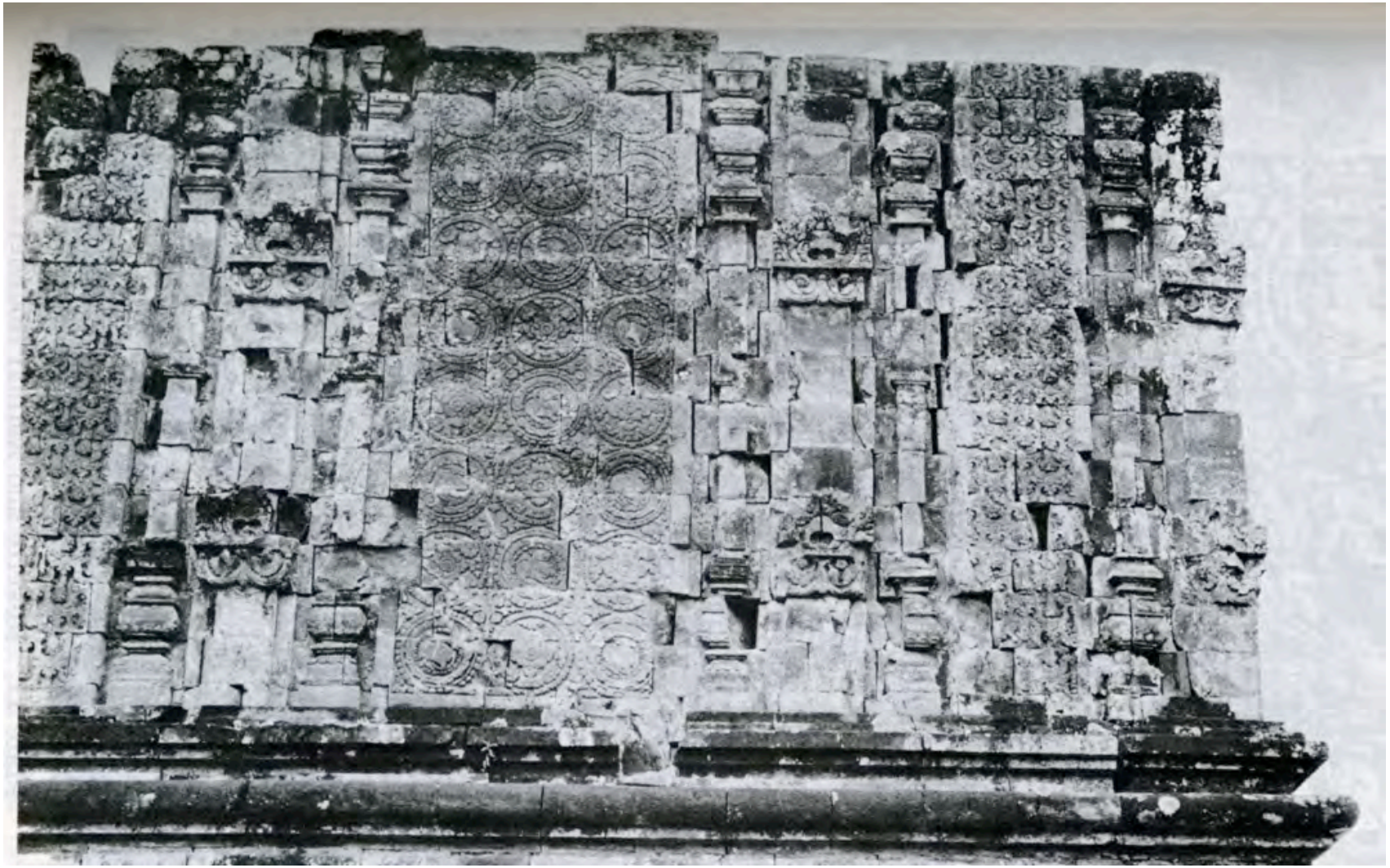


Figure 1.1. Candi Sewu exterior wall
Image from Woodward, “A Chinese Silk,” plate 10

Figure 1.2. Wall panel from Candi Sewu

Figure 1.3. An outer wall of a side shrine with a ‘textile banner’

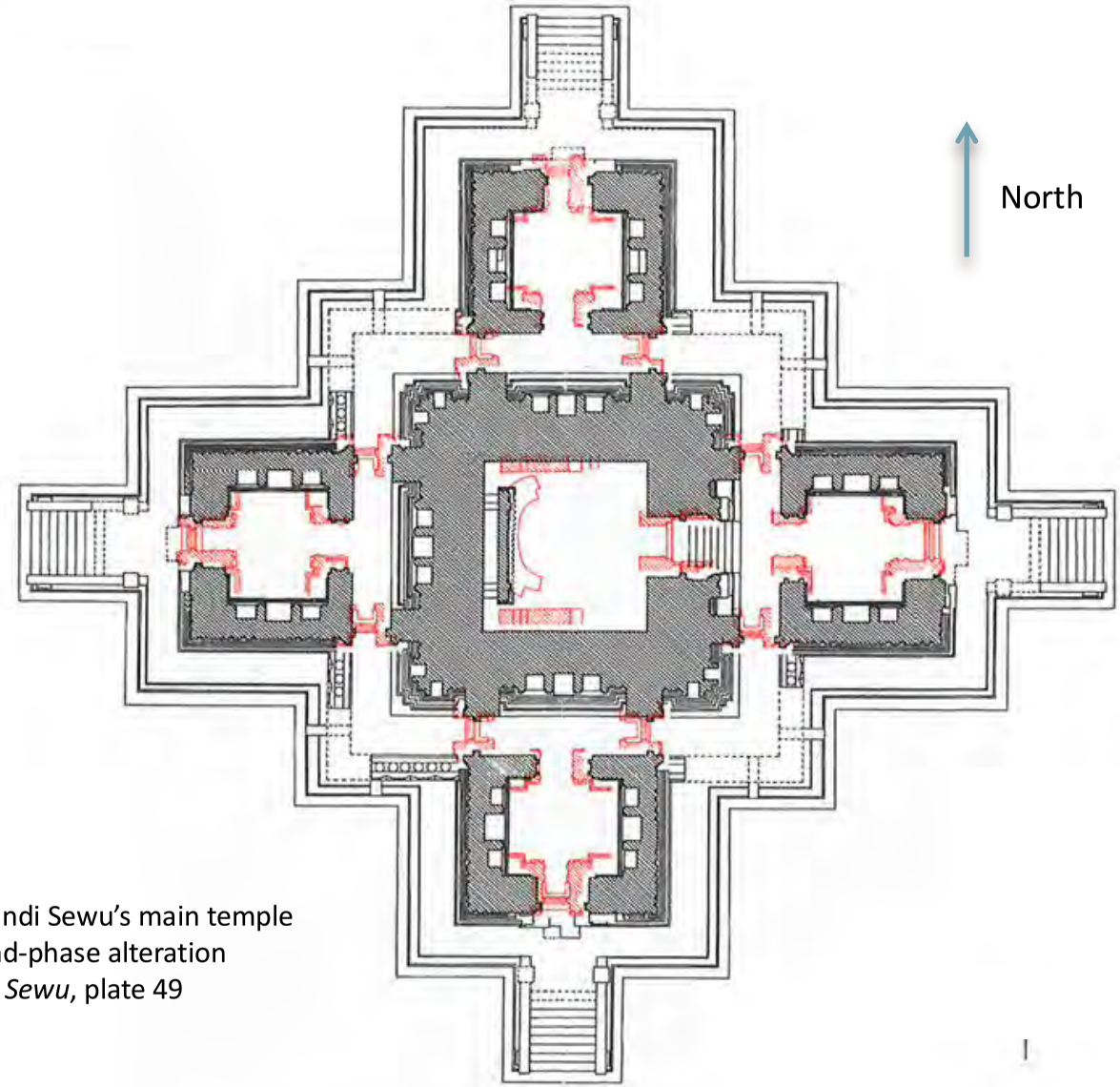


Figure 1.4. Ground plan of Candi Sewu's main temple
Red color indicates the second-phase alteration
Image from Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu*, plate 49

Figure 1.5. Silk hanging with roundels containing pairs of lion
St. Etienne Cathedral Treasury , Sens, France
Image from Mackie, *Symbols of Power,* 61

Figure 1.6. Detail of silk hanging with roundels containing pairs of ram
St. Mengold, Notre Dame Collegiate Church Treasury, Huy, Belgium
Image from Mackie, *Symbols of Power,* 60

Figure 1.7. Bowl with floral pattern
Silver, d. 22.5 cm
Late Tang Dynasty
Indianapolis Museum of Art
Image from Singer, *Early Chinese Gold & Silver*, figure 87

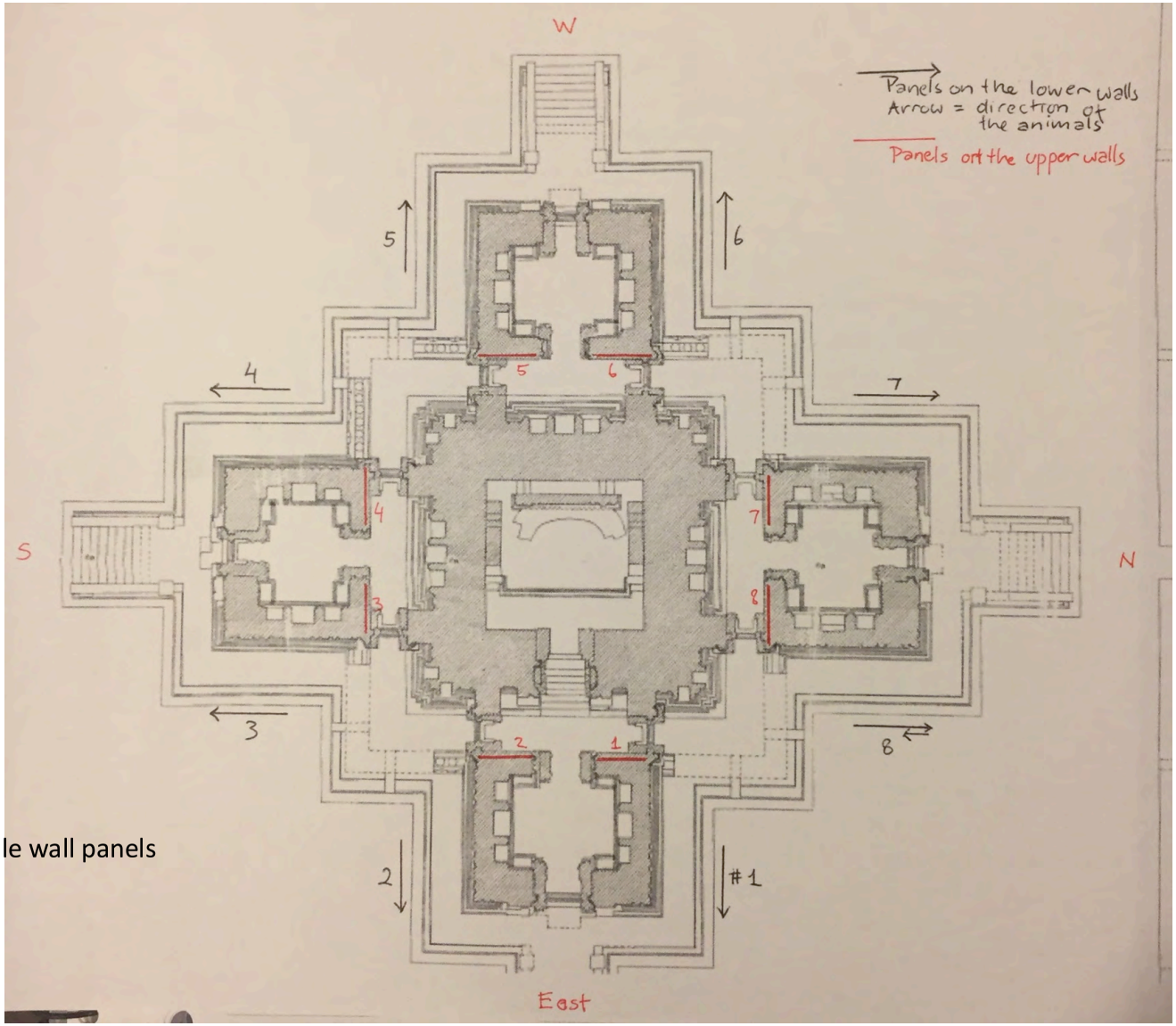


Figure 1.8. Candi Sewu textile wall panels
Red strips, upper walls
Black arrows, lower walls

Figure 1.9. Candi Sewu upper panels 1, 2, flanking the east entrance
left, south side (2); *right,* north side (1)
Images from Man Chin

Figures 1.10a–b
Lower panels 1, 2, flanking the east entrance

a. *left,* north side (1)
b. *right,* south side (2)

Images from Thomas Murray

Figures 1.10c–d
Lower panels 3, 4, flanking the south entrance

c. *left,* east side (3)
d. *right*, west side (4)

Images from Thomas Murray

Figures 1.10e–f
Lower panels 5, 6, flanking the west entrance

e. *left,* south side (5)
f. *right,* north side (6)

Images from Thomas Murray

Figures 1.10g–h
Lower panels 7, 8, flanking the north entrance

g. *left,* west side (7)
h. *right,* east side (8)

Images from Thomas Murray

Figures 1.11a–d
Flower roundels

a. *top left,* panel 1
b. *top right*, panel 2
c. *bottom left*, panel 3
d. *bottom right, panel* 4

Figures 1.11e–h.
Flower roundels

a. *top left,* panel 5
b. *top right*, panel 6
c. *bottom left*, panel 7
d. *bottom right*, panel 8

Figures 1.12a–c
Lion roundels

a. *top left,* panel 8
b. *top right,* panel 3
c. *bottom right*, panel 1

Figures 1.13a–c
Deer roundels

a. *top left,* panel 2
b. *top right,* panel 1
c. *bottom right*, panel 5

Figures 1.14a, b. Interstices

a. *top,* panel 2
b. *bottom,* panel 8

Figure 1.15. Silk with floral roundel and palmette in the interstices
1&2 warp-faced compound twill
Tomb 211 (dated 653) Astana, Turfan, Xinjiang Uygur, Autonomous Region
Image from Watt and Harper, *China: Dawn of a Golden Age,* 340

Figure 1.16. Floral medallion
Late Tang, 8th–early 9th century
Silk, samit (weft-faced compound twill)
Image from Watt and Wardwell, *When Silk Was Gold*, plate 6

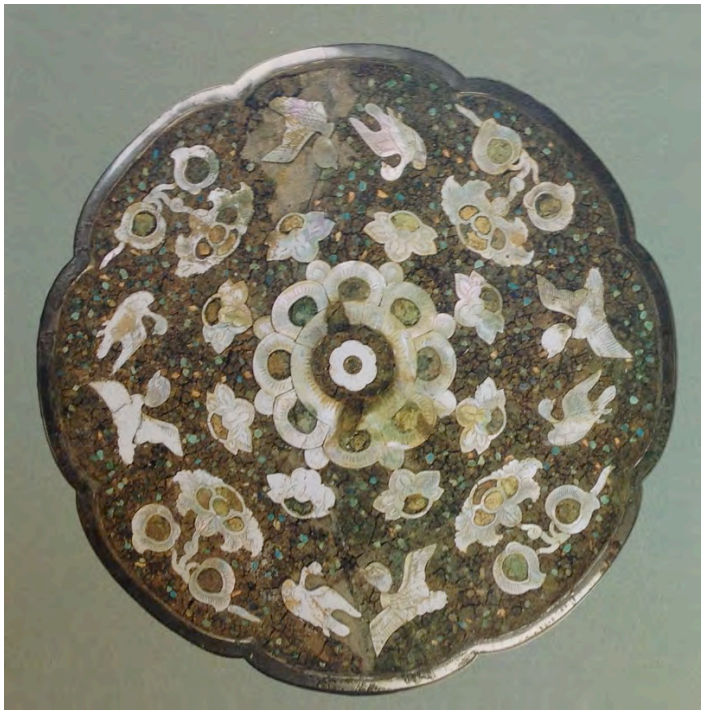


Figure 1.17. Mirror with flowers and birds
Bronze with mother-of-pearl, turquoise, and malachite inlay set in lacquer, d. 24.5 cm
Princess Li Chui's tomb at Xian (736)
Image from Willinghöfer and Cheng, *Xi'an, Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseit*, plate 1220

Figure 1.18. Liao Dynasty silk (907-1125)
Image from Michael Frances

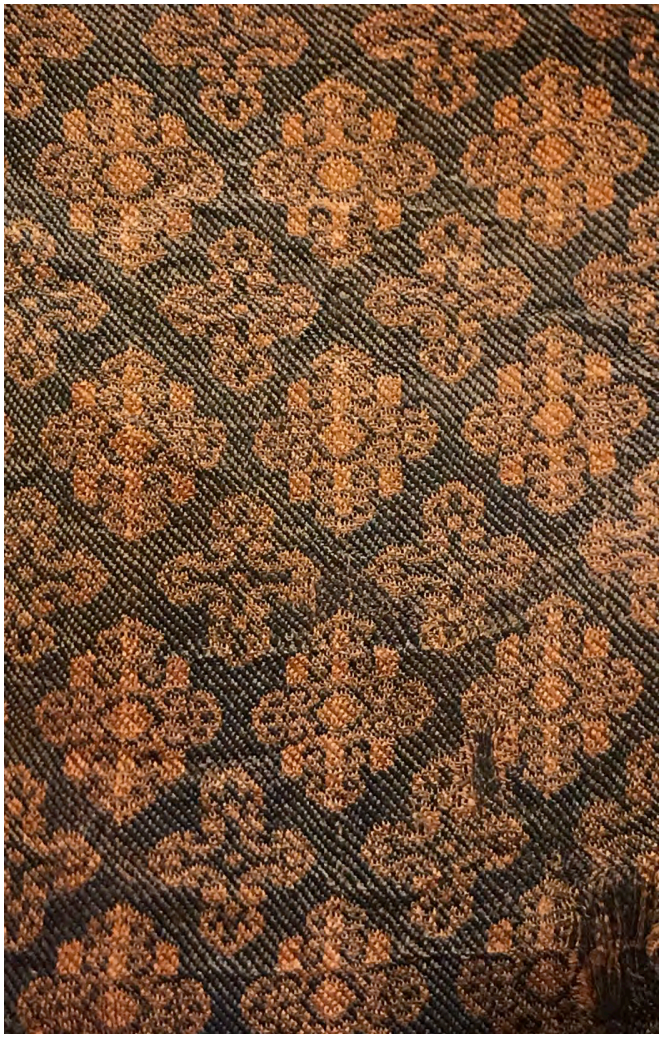
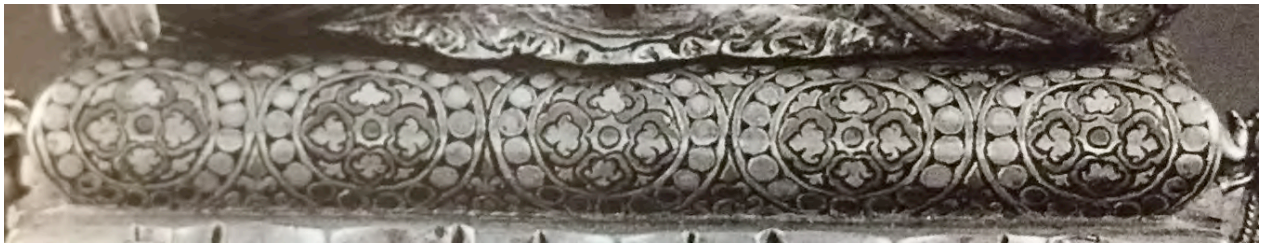


Figure 1.19. Silk with four-petal floral design
Dulan, 8th–9th century
Image from Zhao, *Treasures in Silks*, 130

Figure 1.20. Architrave with four figures
Candi Ngawen, Temple B, west side, above the central niche
Magelang, Central Java, 9th century

Figure 1.21. Candi Mendut and detail of the connected circles pattern

Figure 1.22. Buddha
Kashmir
Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena
Image from Heller, “Recent Findings,” 180



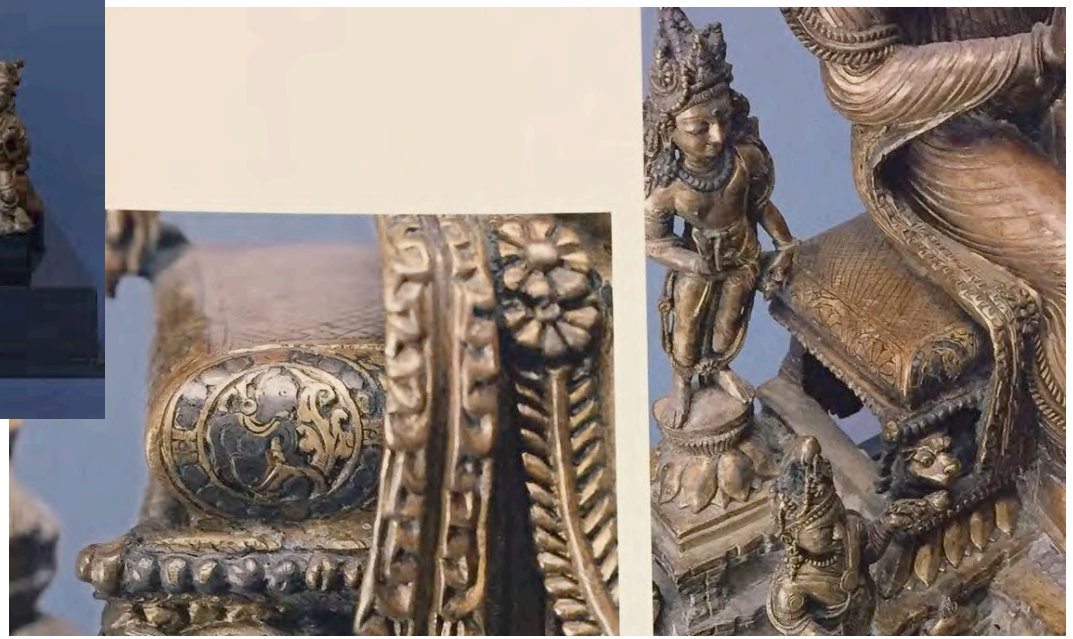
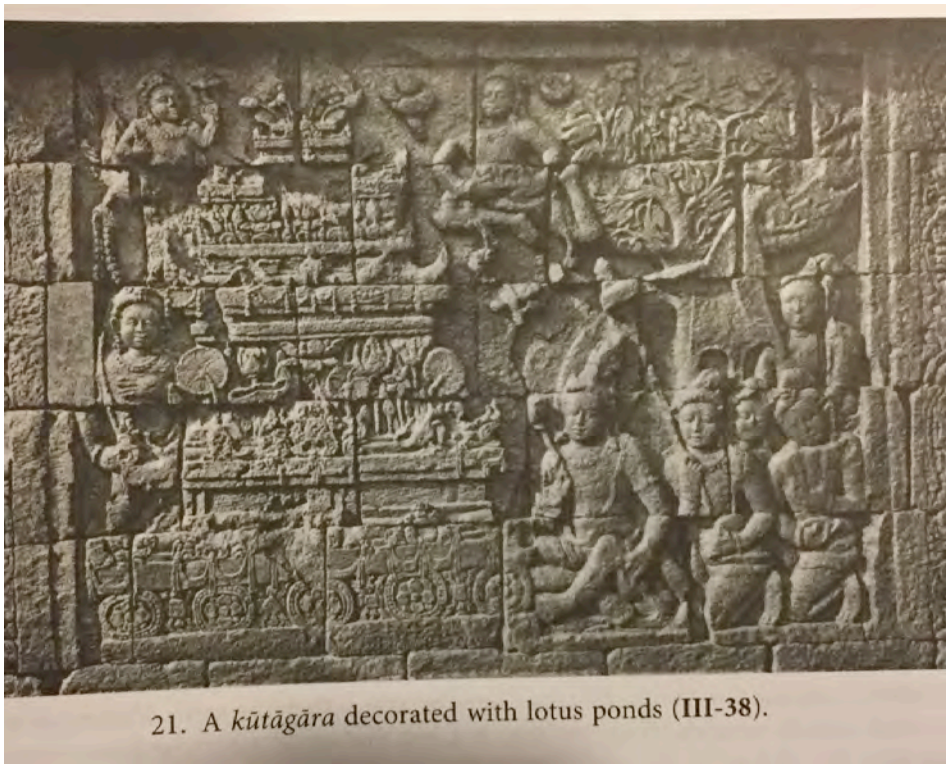


Figure 1.23. Pritzler Collection Buddha
Gilgit, Pakistan, 715/716
Image from Heller, “Recent Findings,” 181-182

Figure 1.24. Buddha in Nirwana
Altar, West wall, Cave 158, Magao Grottoes
Mid-Tang dynasty
Image from Dunhuang Research Insitute, *Dunhuang: A Centennial*, 42

Figure 1.25. Seated Buddha
Clay, h. 1.02 m
Shorchuk, Kirin Cave, 7th–8th century
Museum für Asiatische Kunst, MIK III 7841

Figure 1.26. Candi Borobudur
Third and fourth main wall



21. A *kūtāgāra* decorated with lotus ponds (**III-38**).

Figure 1.27. Candi Borobudur (III38)
Image from Fontein, *Entering the Dharmadhatu*

Figure 1.28. Deer biting a leaf
Candi Mendut
Image from Marijke Klokke

Figure 1.29. Deer biting a leaf
Candi Setyaki, Dieng

Figure 1.30. Candi Borobudur, (III24)

Figure 1.31. Candi Borobudur (IVB65)
Image from Nou and Louis-Frédéric, *Borobudur*

Figure 1.32. Borobudur (IV56)
Image from Image from Nou and Louis-Frédéric, *Borobudur*

Figure 1.33. Reversal of the deer on Candi Sewu's lower panel 8

Image from Woodward, "A Chinese Silk," plate 11

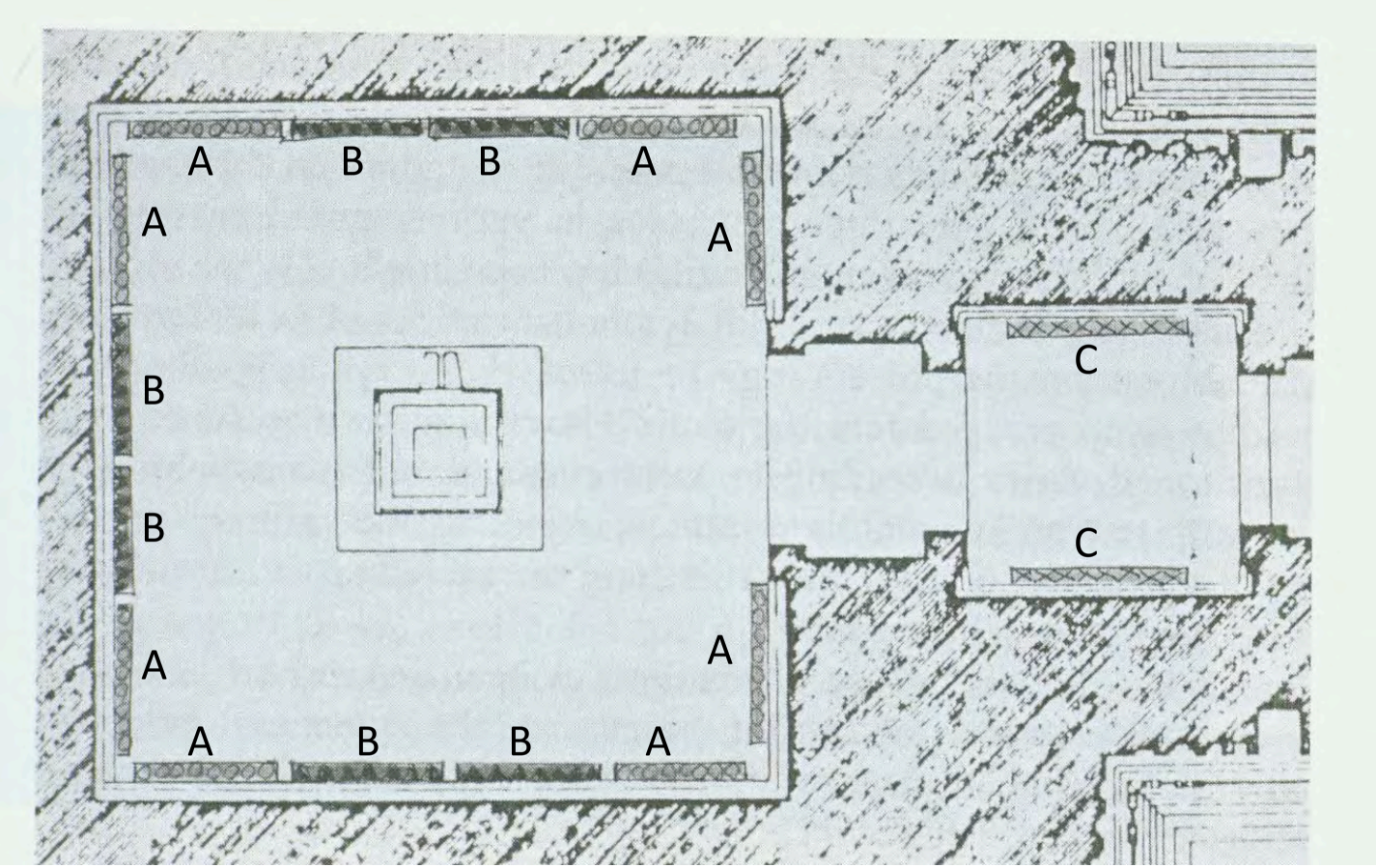


Figure 1.34. Floor plan of the Siwa temple and map of the textile panels at Candi Siwa, Lara Jonggrang temple complex
Image from Totton, "Cosmopolitan Tastes"

Figure 1.35. Panel A
Image from Woodward, “A Chinese Silk,” plate 13

Figure 1.36. Panel B
Images from Totton, "Cosmopolitan Tastes," 124-125, figures 7.11 and 7.12

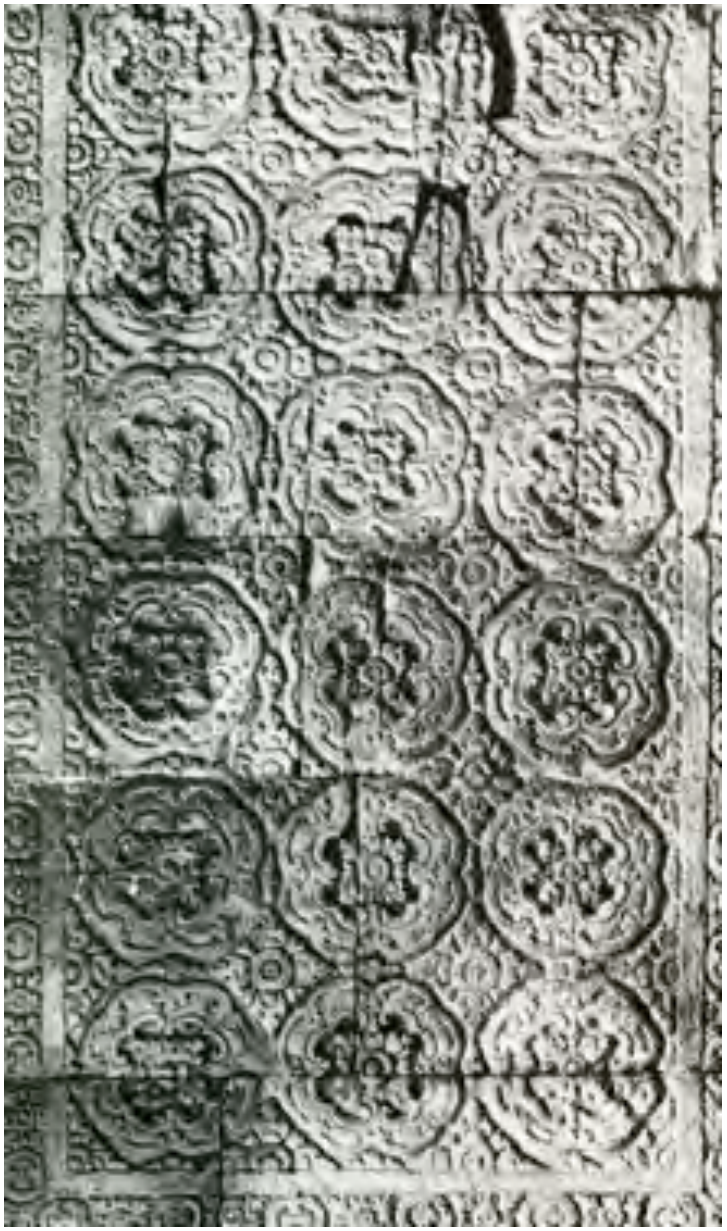


Figure 1.37. Panel C
Image from Woodward, “A Chinese Silk,” plate 12

Figure 1.38. Bodhisattwa Manjusri
Central Java, 9th century
Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, AK-MAK-240

Figure 1.39. Candi Kalasan
Central Java, 8th century

Figure 1.40. Candi Ngawen
Central Java, 8th century

Figure 1.41. A kneeling nymph
Candi Lara Jonggrang
Image from Natalie Ong

Figure 1.42. Arapacana Manjusri
Andesite, h. 109 cm
Found near Candi Jago, East Java
Singhasari Period, 13th century
Hermitage, VD - 610
Image from Deshpande, *Works of Art from Southeast Asia: Catalogue of the Hermitage Collection*

Figure 1.43. Candi Borobudur

Figure 1.44. Candi Lara Jonggrang

Detail from fig. 1.42

Figures 1.45 a, b. Candi Singosari
top, south side

Figure 1.46. Candi Lara Jonggrang

Figure 1.47. Gold openwork vessel
Philippine, ca. 10th–13th century
Image from Capistrano-Baker, *Philippine Gold,* figure 32

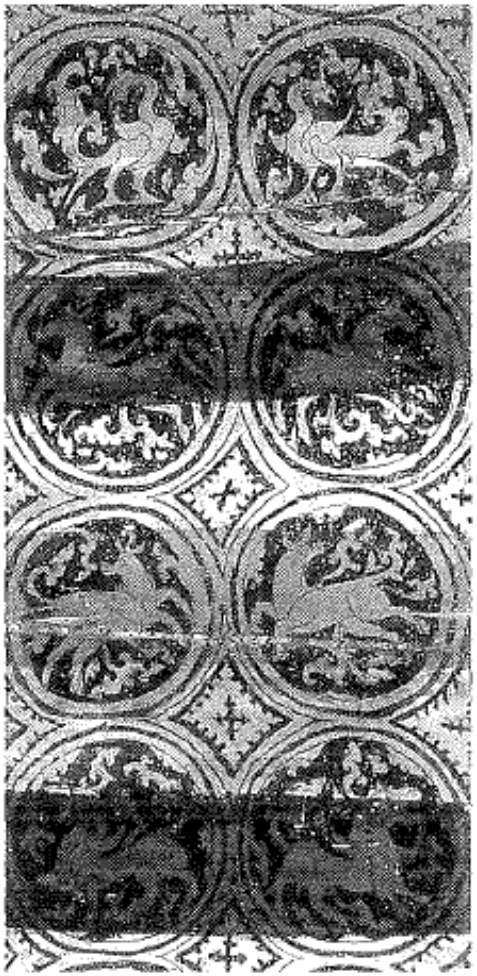


Figure 1.48. Ceiling painting at Alchi
Image from Goepper, "Dressing the Temple," 109

Figure 1.49. Mamakhi from Candi Jago
British Museum

Figure 1.50. Parwati and Retinue
Andesite, h. 2.15 m
Singosari temple complex, East Java, ca. 1300

Figures 1.51a–c. Ornaments on Candi Kidal
a. *Top left*, roundel with bird
b. *Bottom left*, roundel with *makara*
c. *Bottom, right*, roundel with diamond

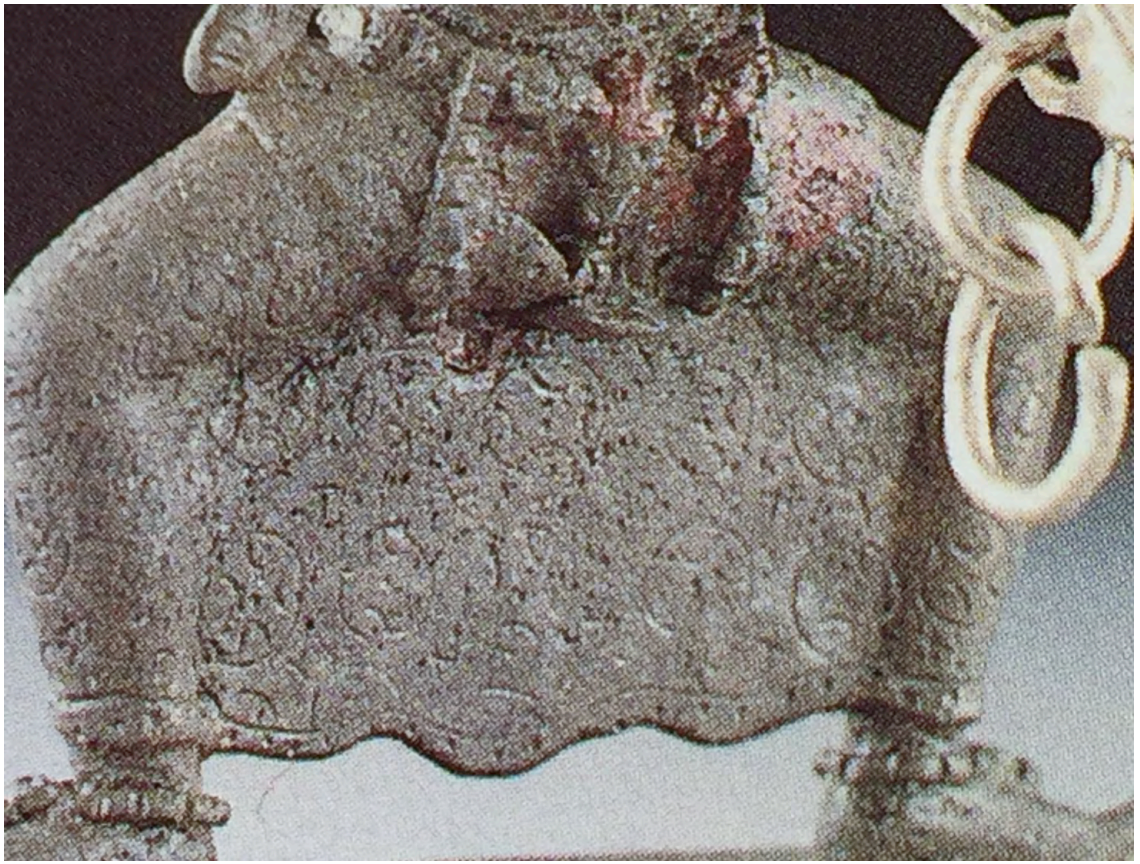
Images from Marijke Klokke

Figure 1.52. Brahma
Andesite, h. 174 cm
Found in the Singosari temple complex
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden, No. 1403-1582
Above, image from Kinney, *Worshiping Siva and Buddha,* figure 115
Right, image from Didier Maclaine Pont

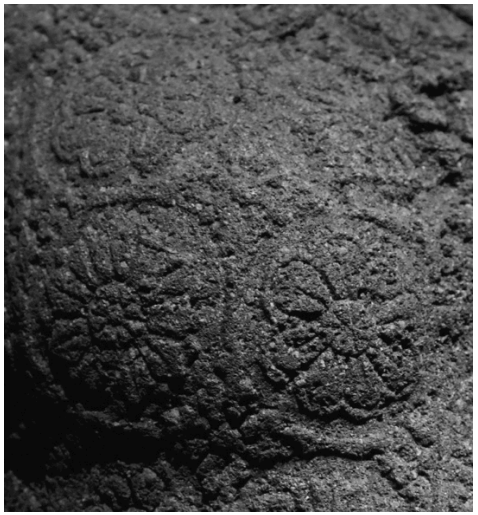
Figure 1.53. Standing Awalokiteswara,
Bronze, h. 23 cm
Central Java, 8th–9th century
Museum Radyapustaka, Surakarta, 5383.
Image from Arstor

Figure 1.54. Four Armed Awalokiteswara
Bronze, h. 8 cm
Sonobudoyo Museum, Yogyakarta
Image from Sofia Sundstrom

Figure 1.55. A deity from a Buddhist Mandala
Bronze
Surocolo, Central Java, early 10th century
Suaka Peninggalan Sejarah dan Purbakala



Figures 1.56 (above) and 1.57 (below) Statuettes from a *Wajradhatu Mandala*
Bronze, h. 9–11 cm
Nganjuk, East Java, last quarter of 10th–early 11th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, 5502



Jacket

Hip-wrapper

Figure 1.58. Durga
Candi Singosari, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden, No. 1403-1622

Figure 1.59. Seated Prajnaparamita
Andesite, h. 126 cm
Candi Singosari temple complex, East Java, c. 1300
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, 1403/XI 1587

Figure 1.60. Seated Prajnaparamita
Andesite, h. 80 cm
Candi Gumpung, Muara Jambi, Sumatra, 13th century
Muara Jambi Site Museum

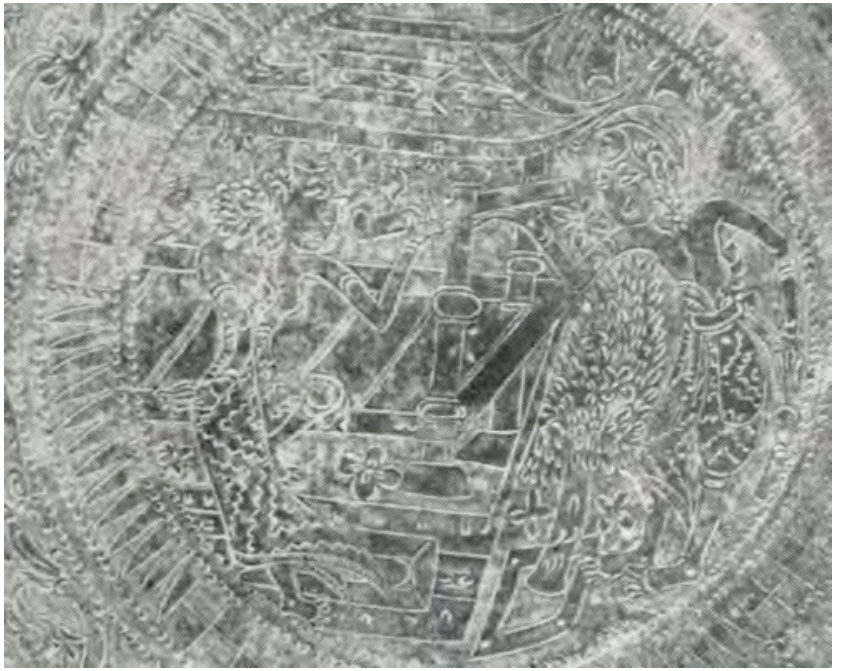


Figure 1.61. Ritual plate, *talam*
Bronze, d. 45 cm
East Javanese Period
Image from Stutterheim, *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling* , 50

Figure 1.62. *Patola*, detail
Silk, double ikat, 114 x 455 cm
Gujarat, 1750-1850
Image from the Pusaka Collection, No. 062

Figure 1.63. Reconstruction of the Sewu flower roundel

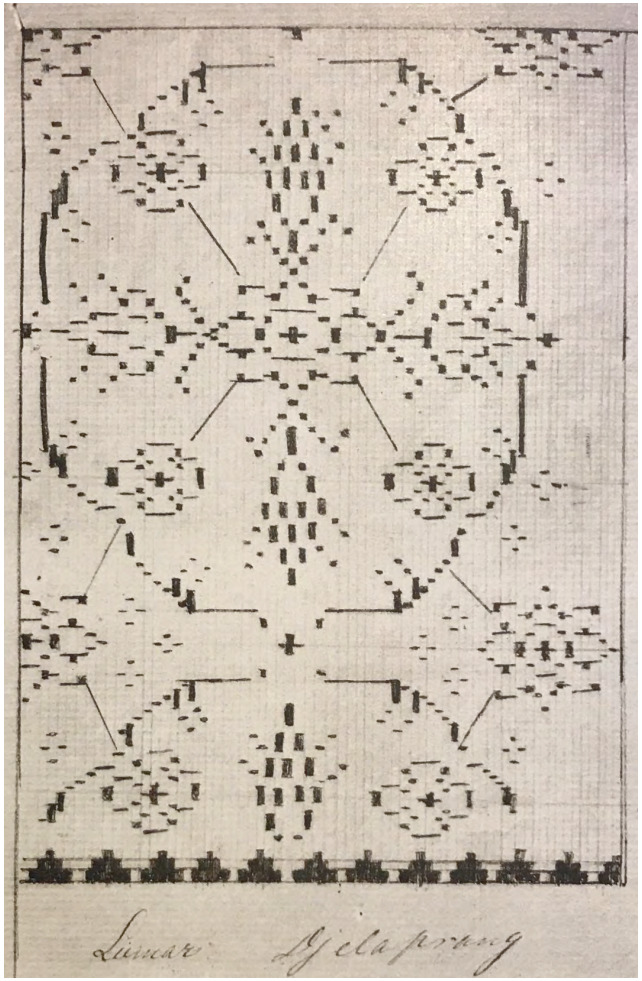


Figure 1.64 *Jlamparang* motif of early woven silk from Gresik
Drawing from Rouffaer, and Juynboll, *De Batik-Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië,* plate 57

Figure 1.65. Batik in *jlamparang* motif
Image from Van der Hoop, *Indonesische Siermotieven*, 83

Figure 1.66. *Cepuk*
Cotton, weft ikat, 78 x 256 cm
Bali, late 19th–early 20th century
Image from the Pusaka Collection, No. 124

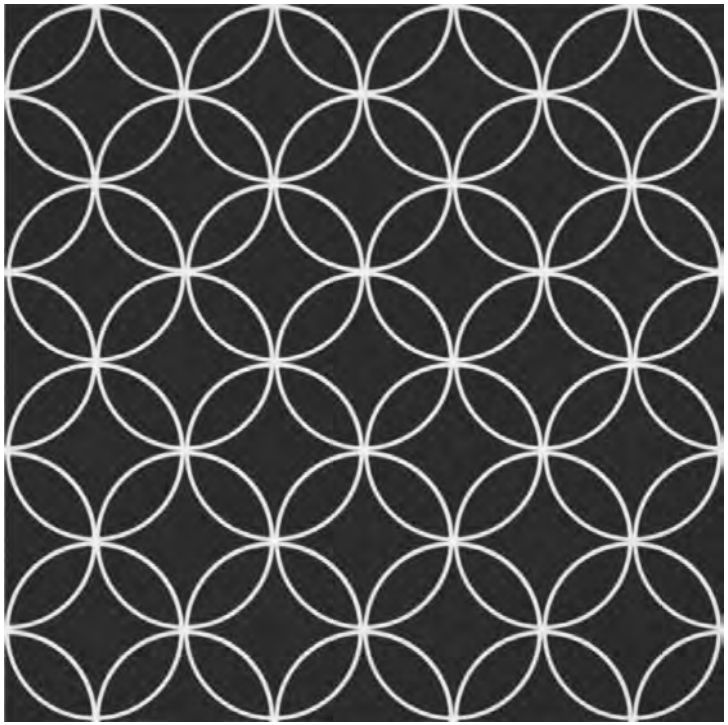


Figure 2.1. Overlapping circles pattern

Figure 2.2. Jar with peacock and overlapping circles
Terracotta with red slip and black painted decoration
Indus Valley, Pakistan, Harappa Culture, 2600-1900 B.C.E.
Museum of Fine Arts, 36.2977

Figure 2.3. *Above,* Bherkuti; *right*, pattern on the sarong
Andesite, h. 1.38 m
Candi Jago, East Java, ca.1268-1280
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, No. 112a

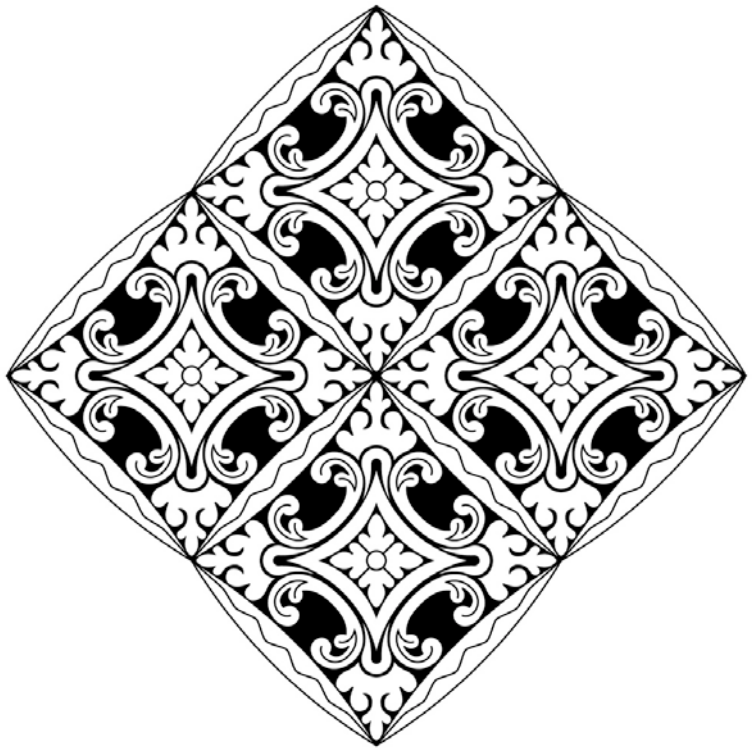


Figure 2.4. *Above,* Syamatara; *right,* drawing of the pattern on the sarong of Syamatara by Ardi Kanaka
Andesite, h. 1.12 m
Candi Jago, East Java, ca.1268-1280
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, No. 247b

Figure 2.5. *Above*, Sudhanakumara;
right, pattern on the sarong
Andesite, h. 1.14 m
Candi Jago, East Java, ca.1268-1280
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta, No. 247a

Figure 2.6. *Left*, Nandiswara; *above*, pattern on the sarong
Candi Singosari, East Java, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1624

Figure 2.7. *Left,* Mahakala; *above*, patterns on the sarong and waist sash
Candi Singosari, East Java, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1623

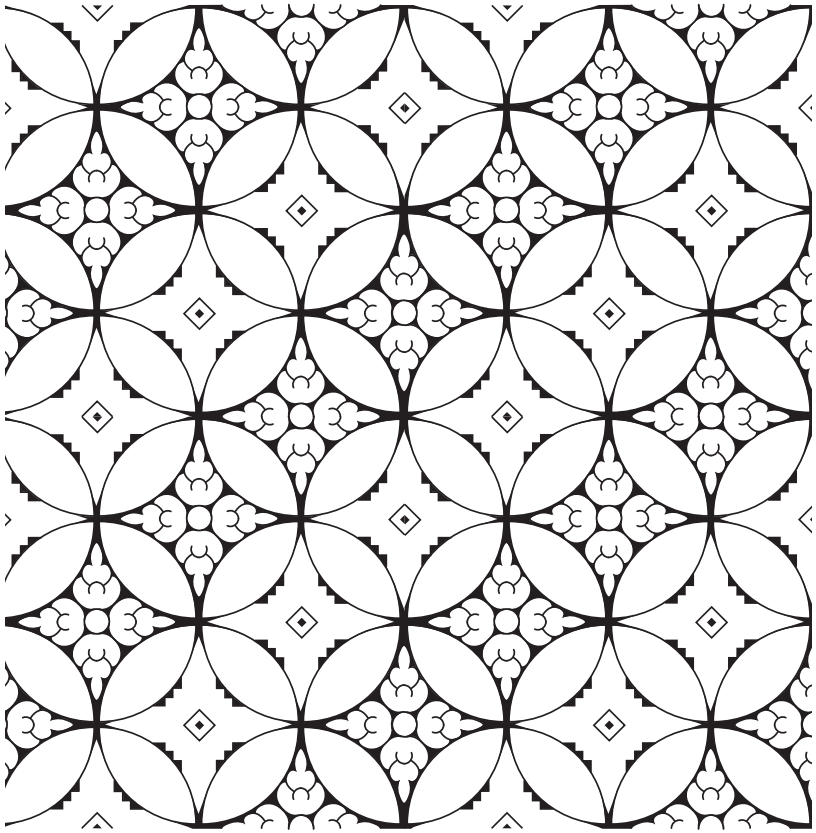


Figure 2.8. Drawing of pattern on Nandiswara's sarong
By Ardi Kanaka

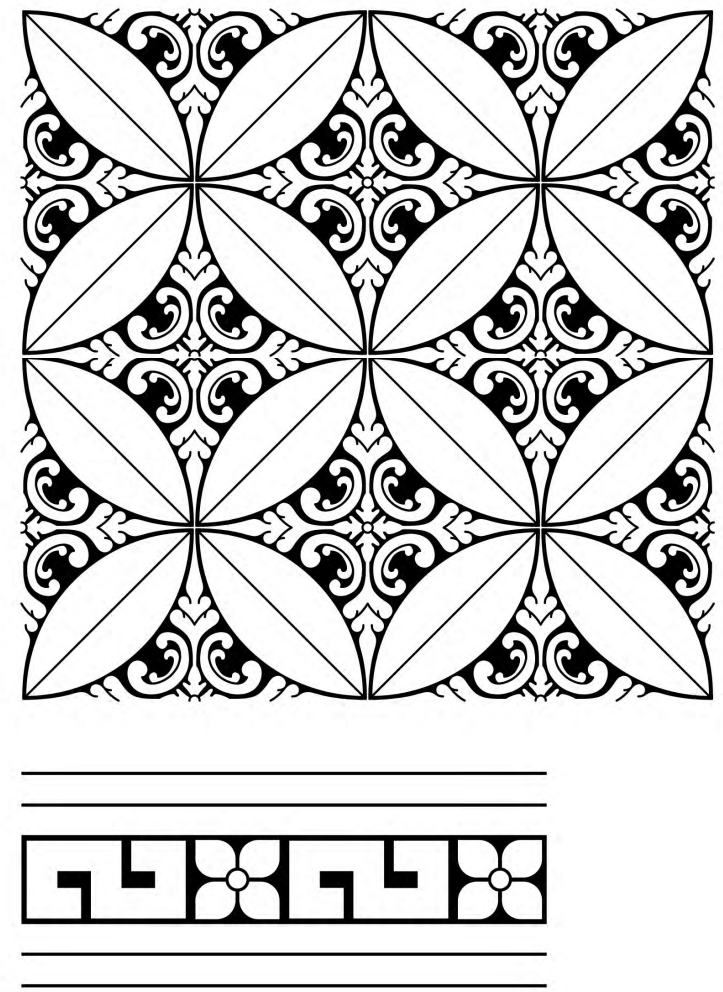


Figure 2.9. Drawings of pattern on Mahakala's sarong
top, main field; *bottom*, border pattern
By Ardi Kanaka

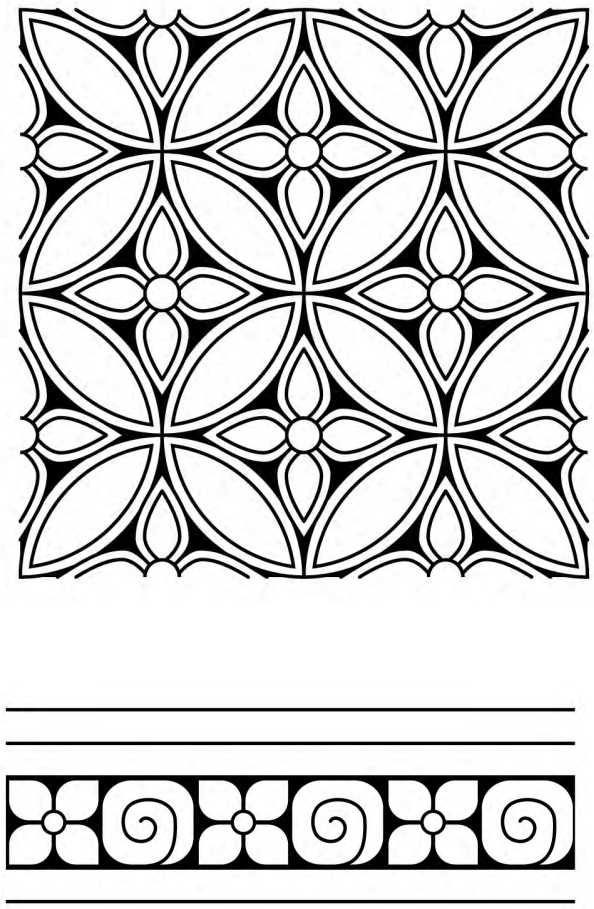


Figure 2.10. Drawings of pattern on Mahakala's waist sash
top, main field; *bottom*, border
By Ardi Kanaka

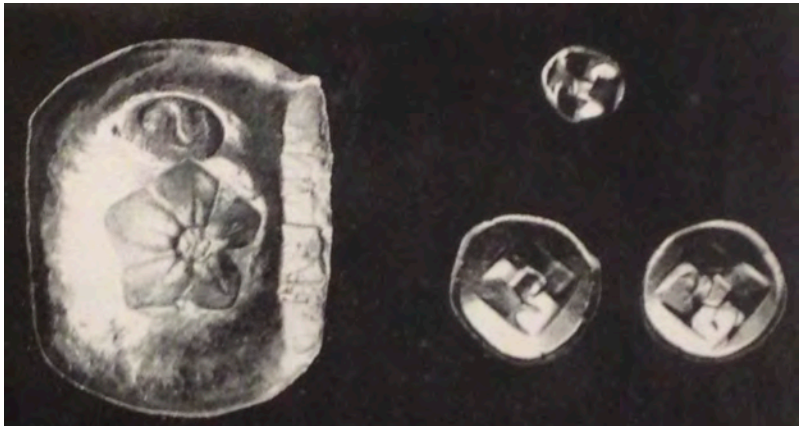


Figure 2.11. Gold coins
bottom right, two coins patterned with sandalwood flower
Image from W. F. Stutterheim, *Cultuurgeschiedenis van Java in Beeld*, fig. 56

Figure 2.12. Seated four-head Brahma
Image from J.L.A. Brandes, *Tjandi Singasari & Panataran,* no. 101

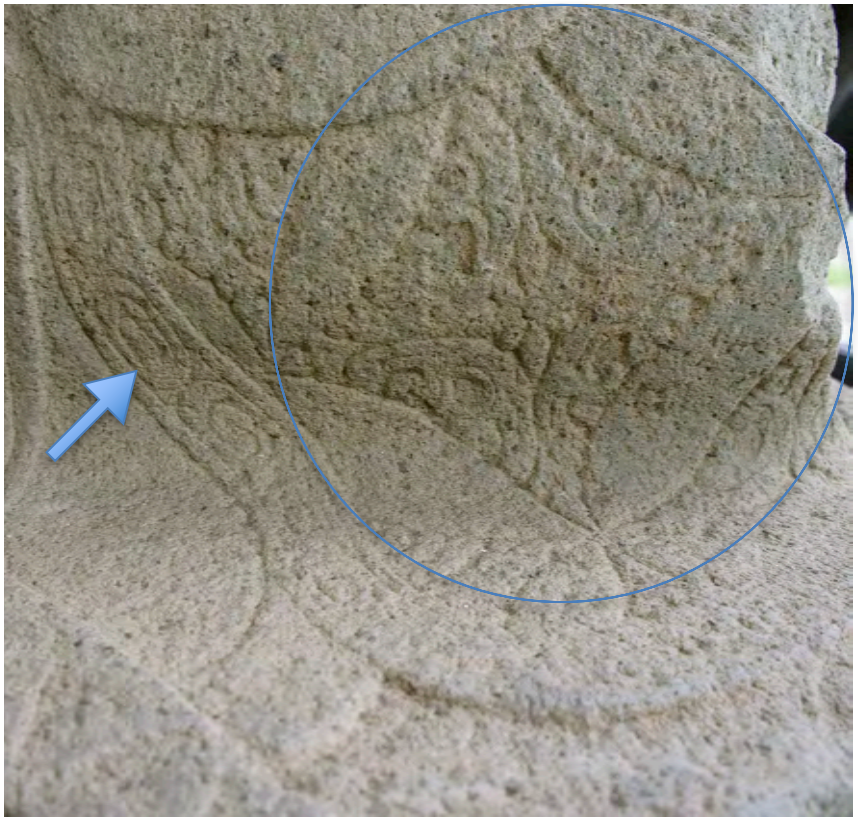


Figure 2.13. Pattern on the sarong and sash of the seated Brahma on figure 2.12

Figure 2.14. Seated Goddess with a turtle,
below, detail of the patterned sarong.
Singosari temple complex, 1300
Image from J.L.A. Brandes*, Tjandi Singasari & Panataran,* no. 72

Figure 2.15. Headless Goddess
Below, detail of the sarong
Candi Singosari temple complex

Figure 2.16. Prajnaparamita
Andesite, h. 1.05 m.
Boyolangu, Tulungagung district

Above right, statue in situ
Below left and *right*, overlapping circles pattern on the sarong

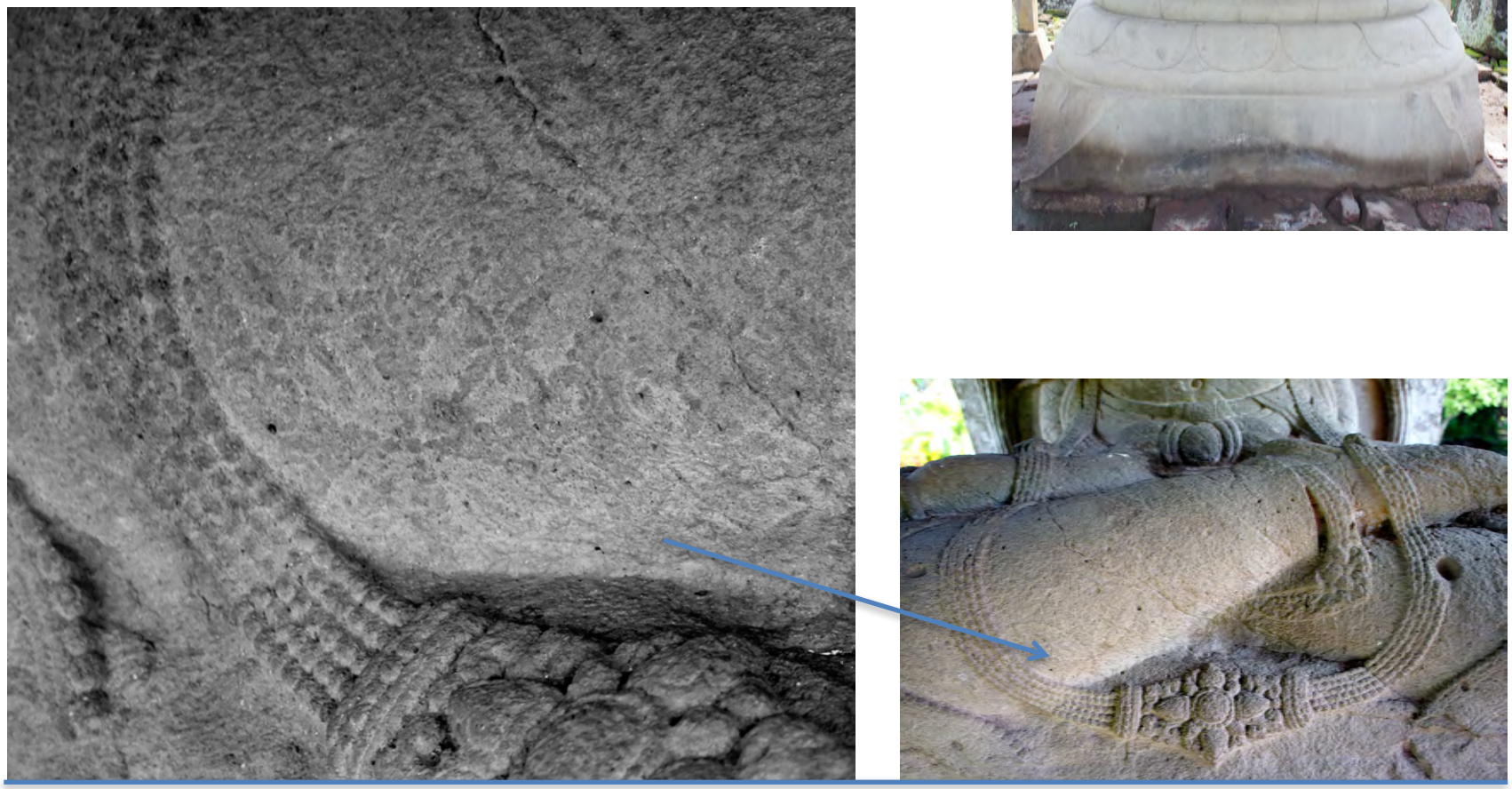


Figure 2.17. Close up of figure 2.16
Above right, side view; *below left*, pattern on the cushion; *below right*, pattern on the sashes

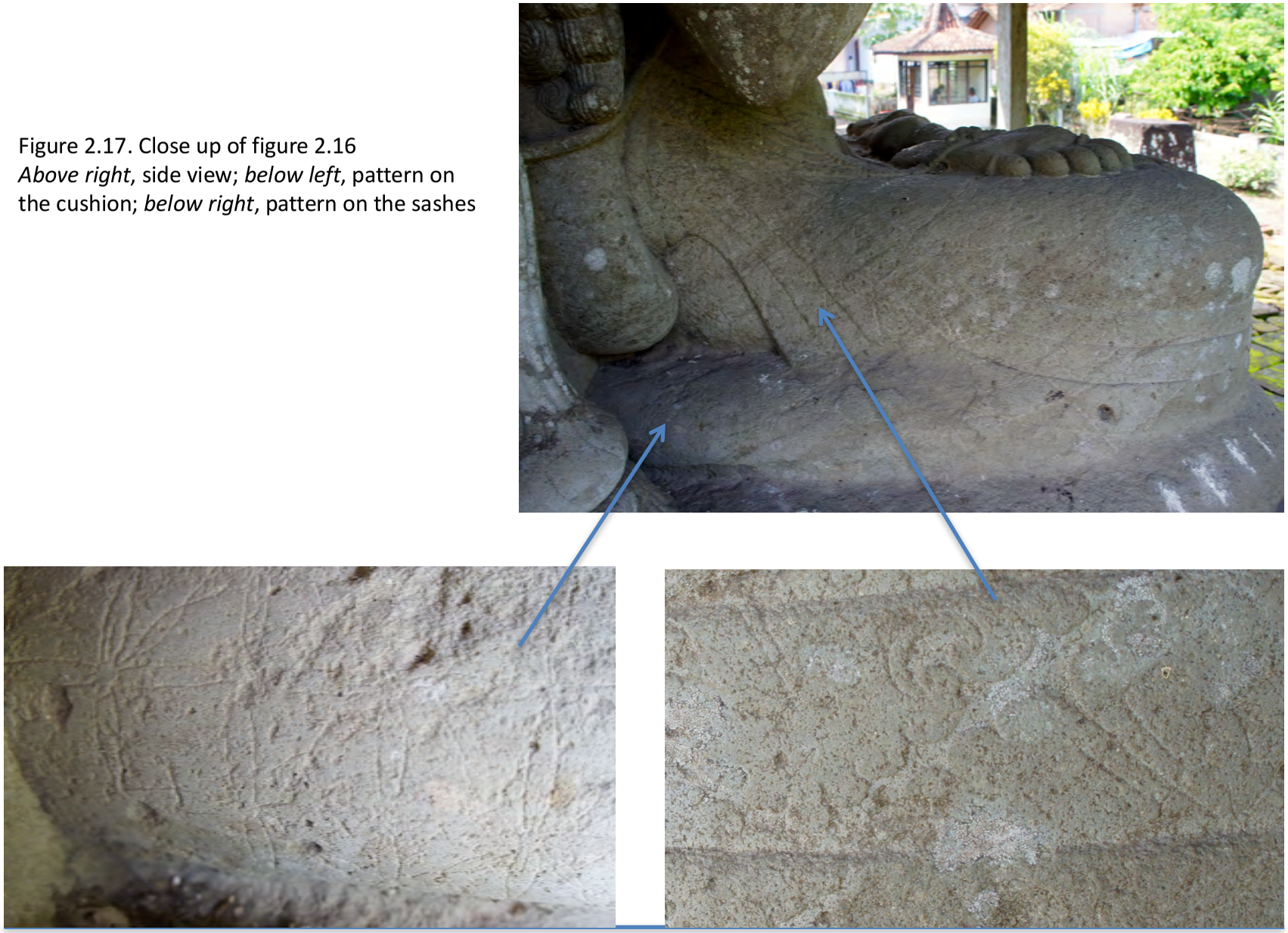
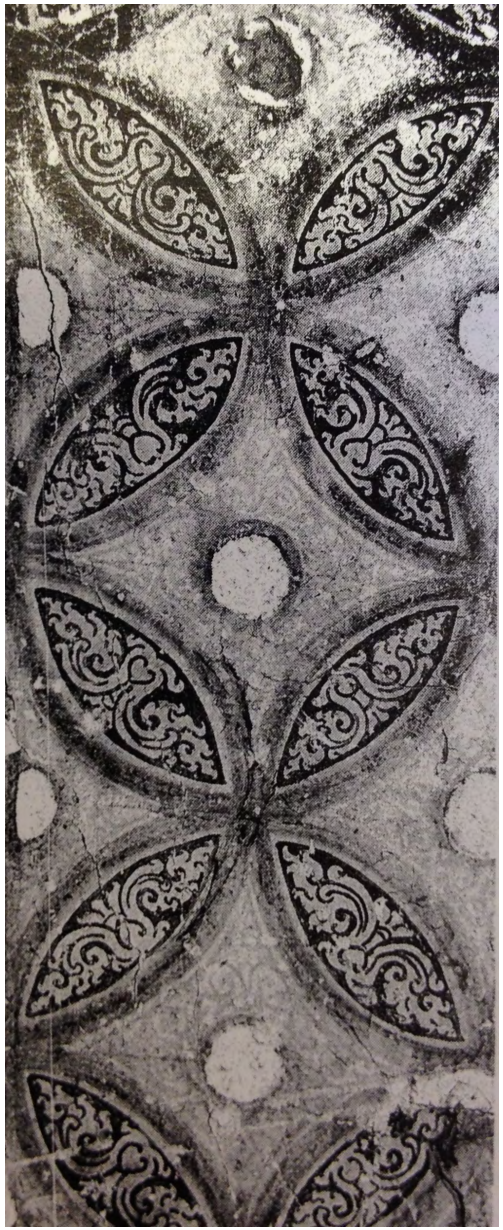


Figure 2.18. Close up of figure 2.15 pattern on the sashes

Figure 2.19. Close up the sashes of Bhairawa that was discovered in Padang Roco in West Sumatra

Figure 2.20. An imitation of window blind with an overlapping circles pattern *above*, detail of the pattern
Bayon, Siem Reap, late 12th or early 13th century
Constructed during the reign of Jayavarman VII (1125-1218)

Figure 2.21. Overlapping circles pattern
Phreah Khan, Siem Reap, 12th century
Constructed during the reign of
Jayavarman VII (1125-1218)



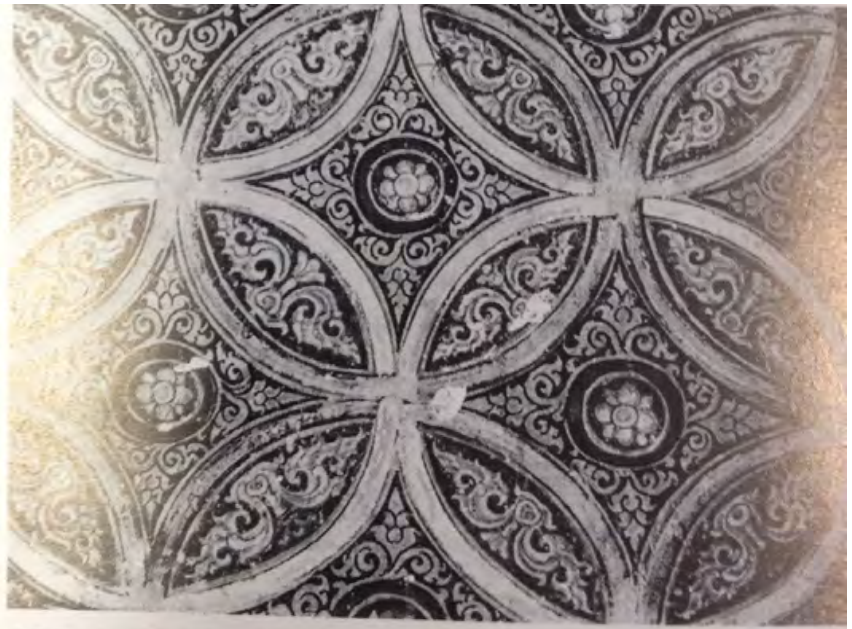


Figure 2.22. *Left*, painted ceiling at Pagan, 13th century

Figure 2.23. *Above*, painted ceiling at Pagan, 13th century

Images from Pichard, *Inventory of Monuments at Pagan, Monuments 1137-1439*, no. 234 and 1375

Figure 2.24. Ware from Cizau Kiln
Polychrome lead glaze
Guangzhou. Found in a tomb in Fujian, 13th-14th centuries
Image from Dr. Baoping Li's presentation at the Maritime Silk Route Conference, Hangzhou, Oct 26-28, 2013

Figure 2.25. Ware from Cizau Kiln
Polychrome lead glaze
Guangzhou. Found in Philippine, 13th-14th centuries
Image from Dr. Baoping Li's presentation at the Maritime Silk Route Conference, Hangzhou, Oct 26-28, 2013

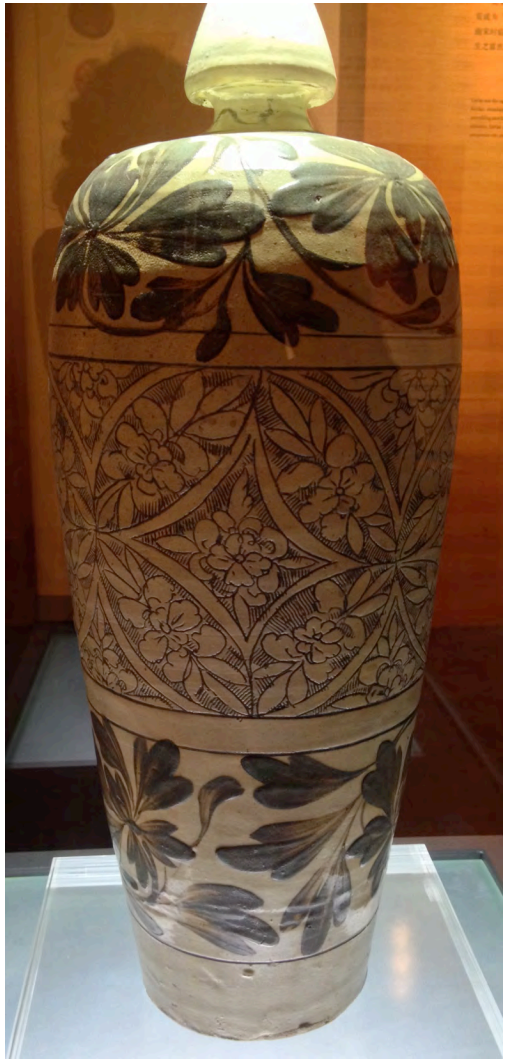


Figure 2.26. Cizao ware jar
Southern Song Dynasty (1127-1279)
Celadon Museum, Hangzhou

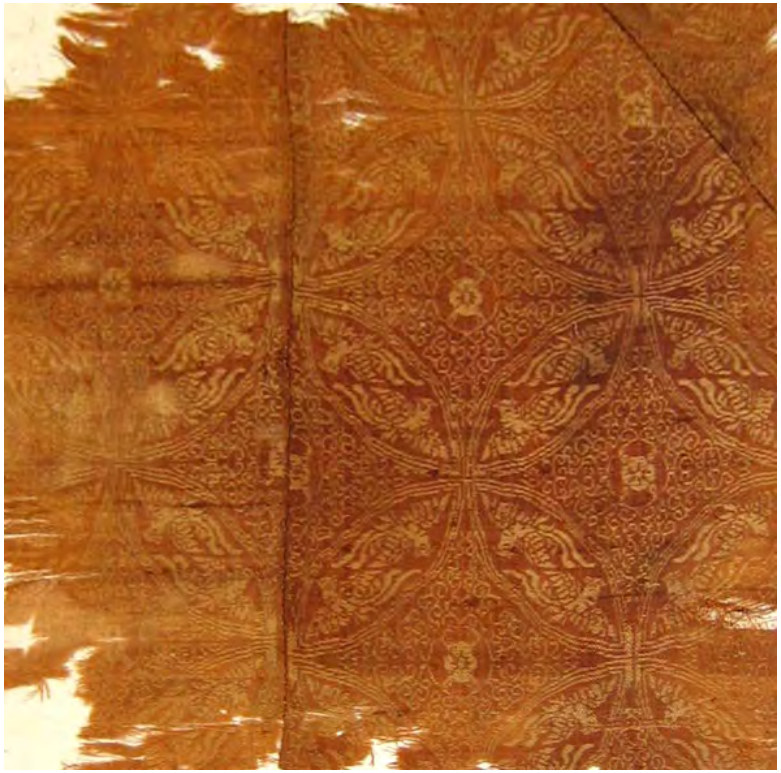


Figure 2.27. Silk, damask
Liao Dynasty, late 10th–early 11th centuries
Image from Zhao Feng

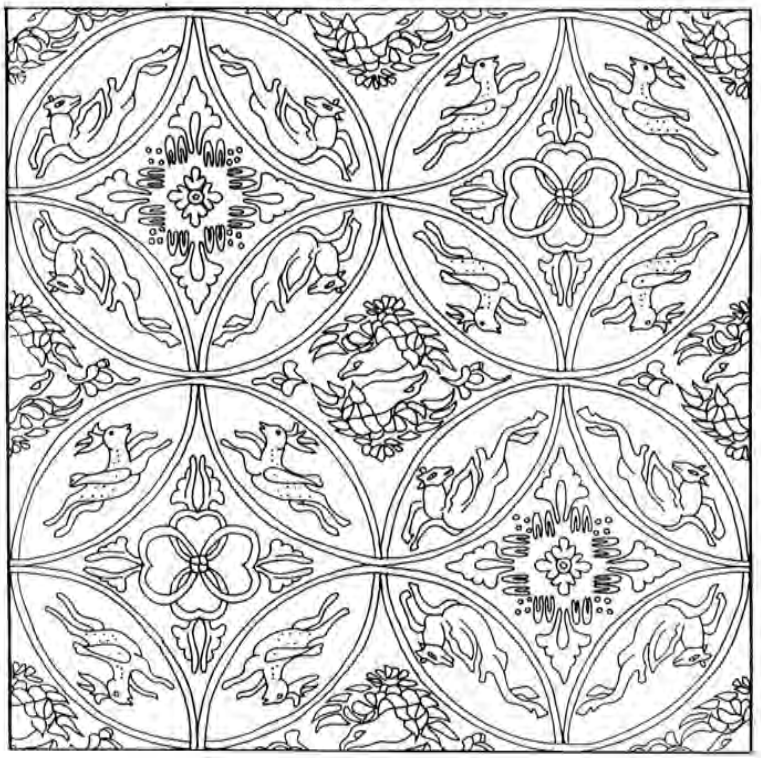


Figure 2.28. Coin design with birds in flight and running deer
Silk, twill damask
Liao Dynasty, Yelu Yuzhi tomb, Inner Mongolia, 941
Image from Zhao, *The General History of Chinese Silk*, 321

Figure 2.29. King Kertarajasa as Harihara*; right*, pattern on the sarong
Andesite, h. 2 m
Candi Sumberjati East Java, early 14th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

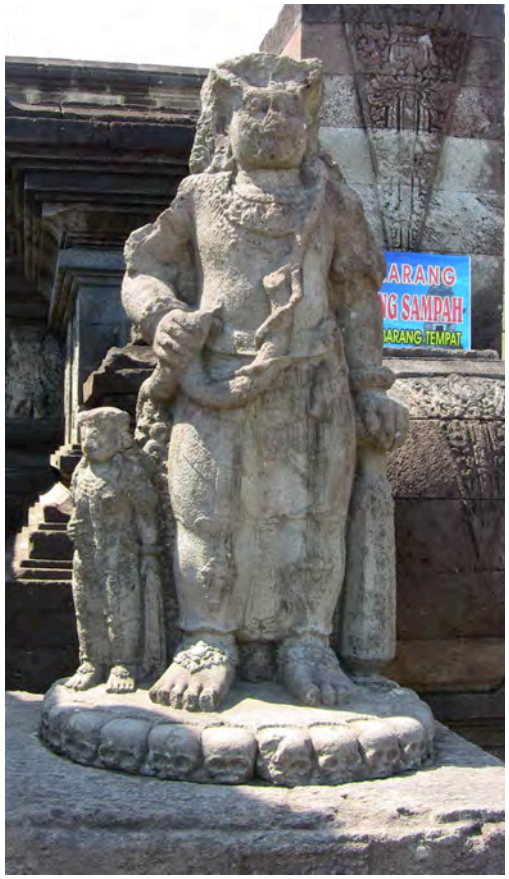


Figure 2.30. *Above left*, Guardian figure; *below left*, top fold the sarongs; *above* right, pattern on the sarong
Andesite, h. 1.9 m
Main temple at Candi Panataran, 1347

Figure 2.31. Couple deity; *above*, pattern of the sarong
Andesite, h. 162 cm
Jebuk, Tulung Agung district, East Java, 14th–15th centuries
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

Figure 2.32. Uma or Parwarti
East Java, 14th–15th centuries
Museum Nasional Indonesia,
Jakarta

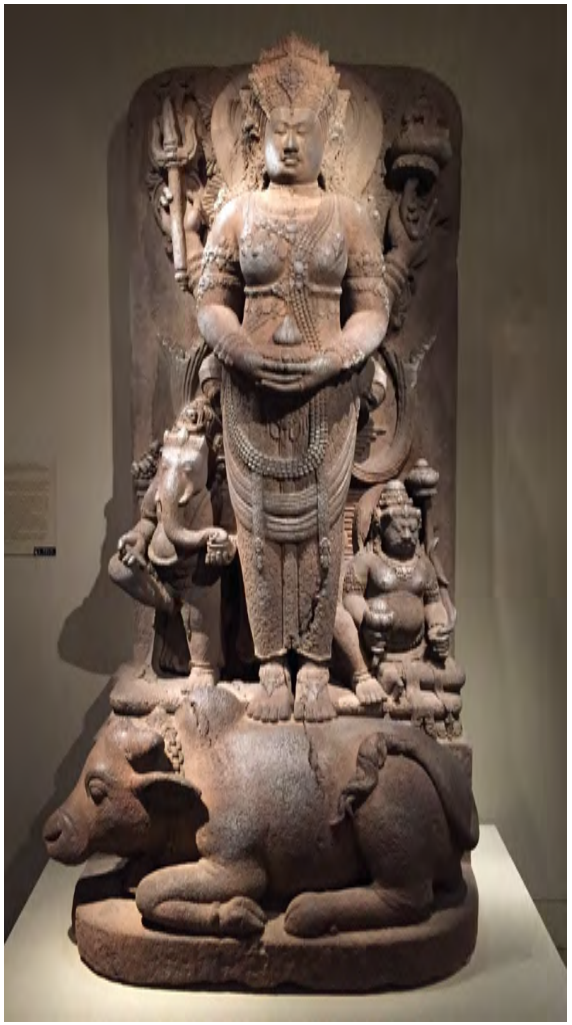


Figure 2.33. Female Deity
Andesite, h. 203.2 cm
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
No. 2001.407

Figure 2.34. Ganesa and pattern on the sarong
Andesite, h. 1.7 m
Boro, East Java

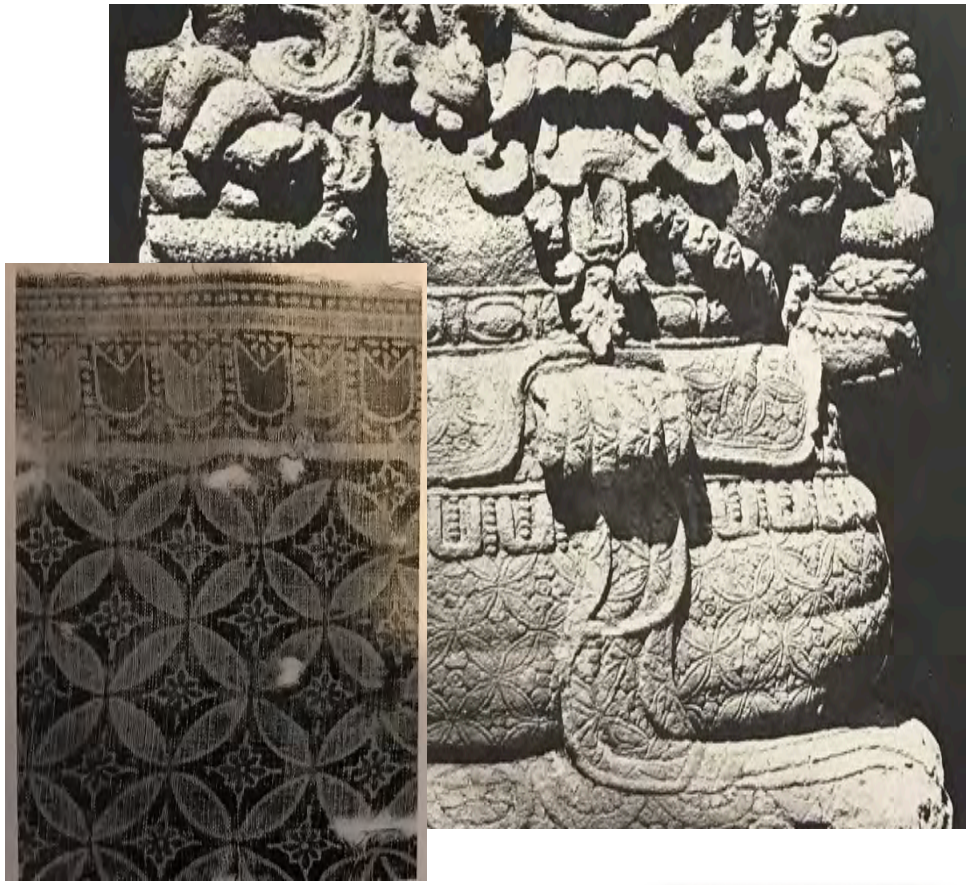


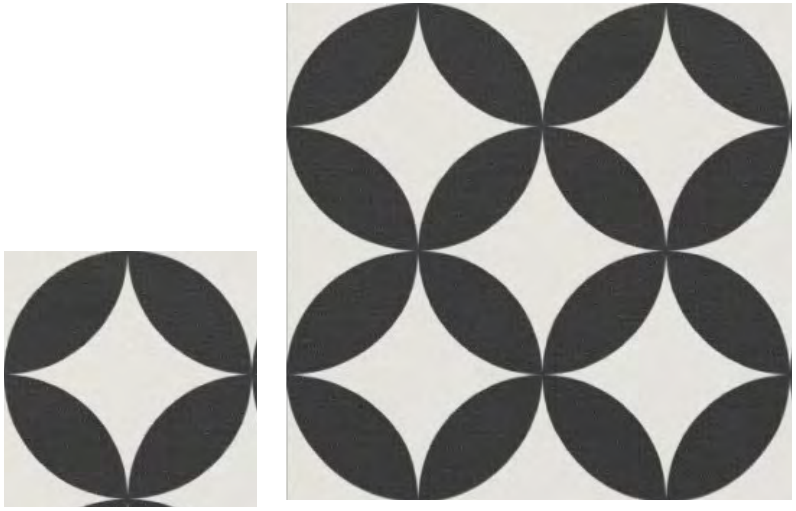
Figure 2.35. *Above*, 13th–14th century Indian cotton superimposed on the Ganesa from Bara Images from Guy, *Woven Cargo*, 63

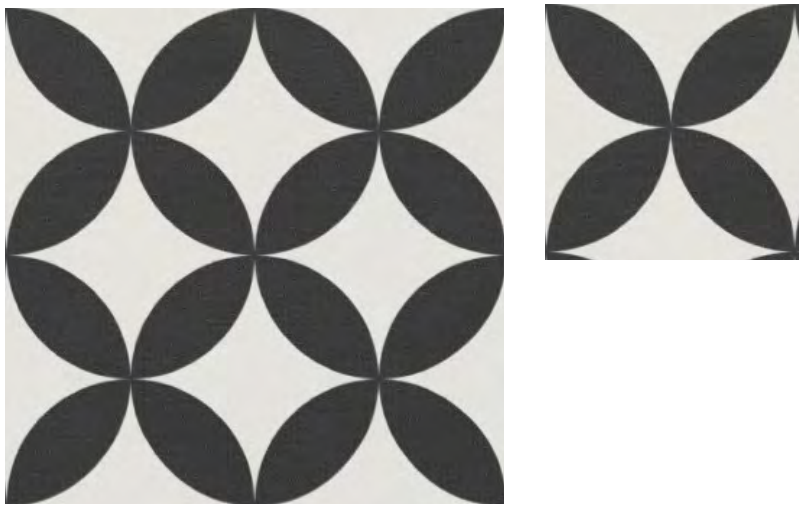
Right, resist-dyed Indian cotton Found in Egypt, 13th–14th century

Figure 2.36. Back of a guardian figure from Candi Panataran, 14th–15th century

Figure 2.37. Schematic of overlapping circles pattern:

a. *above right*, circle with concave diamond
b. *below left*, four pointed leaf
c. *below right*, concave diamond





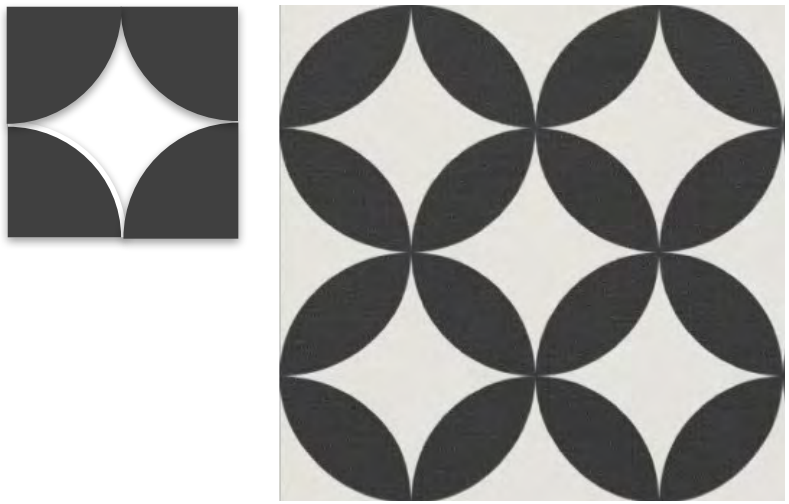


Figure 2.38. Parwati; right, pattern on the sarong
East Java, 14th–15th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

Figure 2.39. Earring of Sudhanakumara from Candi Jago, 13th century (see figure 2.5)

Image from Marijke Klokke

Figure 2.40. Earring of Syamatara from Candi Jago, 13th century (see figure 2.4)

Right, detail of Syamatara's earring

Image from Marijke Klokke

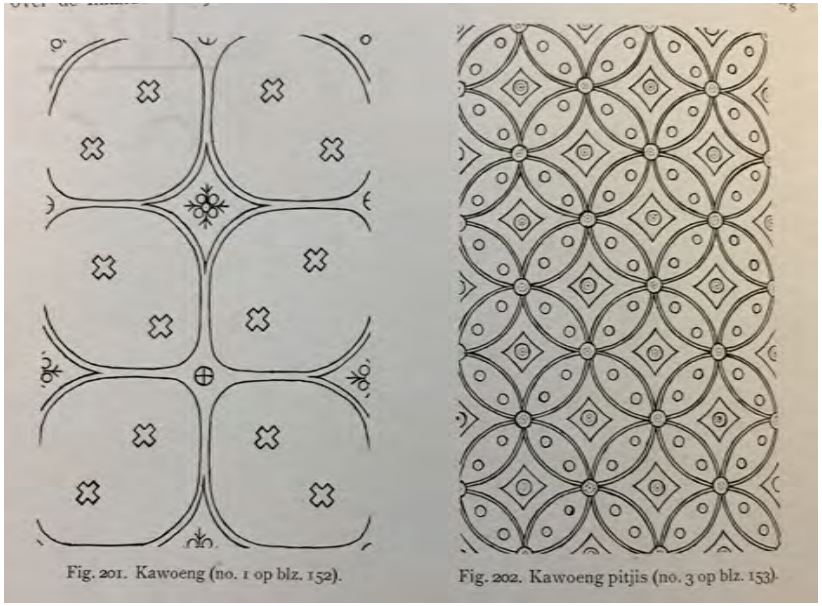


Figure 2.41. *Kawung, Kawung Picis*
Images from Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië*: *Batikkunst*, vol III, 152

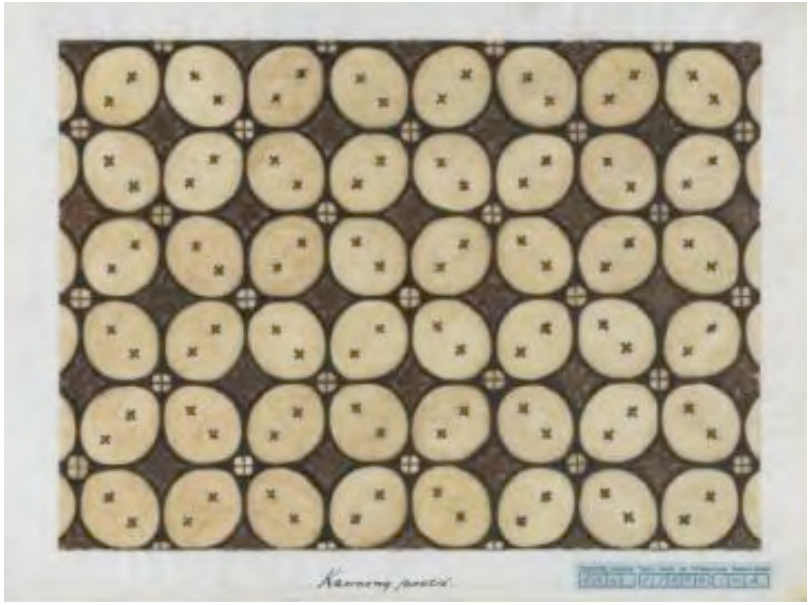


Figure 2.42. *Kawung Putri*
Image from Maronier, *Additional Pictures of the Tropics*, 121, M 274-1498

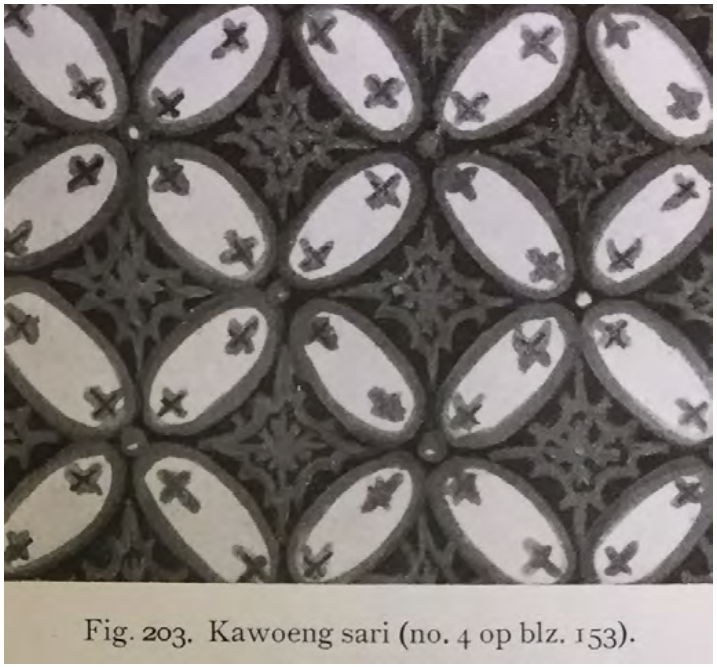


Figure 2.43. *Kawung* Sari
Image from Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië*: *Batikkunst*, vol III, 153

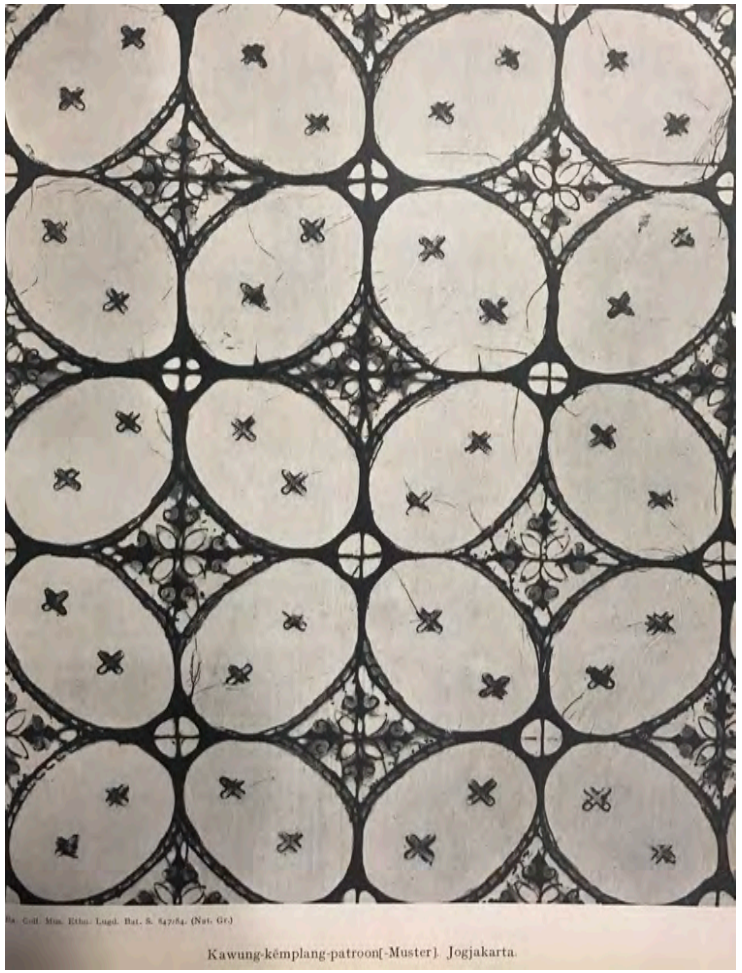


Figure 2.44. *Kawung* Kemplang
Image from Rouffaer and Juynboll, *De Batik-Kunst in Nederlandsch-Indië, 97*

Figure 2.45. Detail of fig. 2.29,
King Kertarajasa from Candi Sumberjati,
early 14th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

(a) *Above,* detail of the sash
(b) *Right,* detail of the top fold of the sarong

Figure 2.46. Ritual plate,
Bronze, d. 45.5 cm
East Javanese Period
Private collection

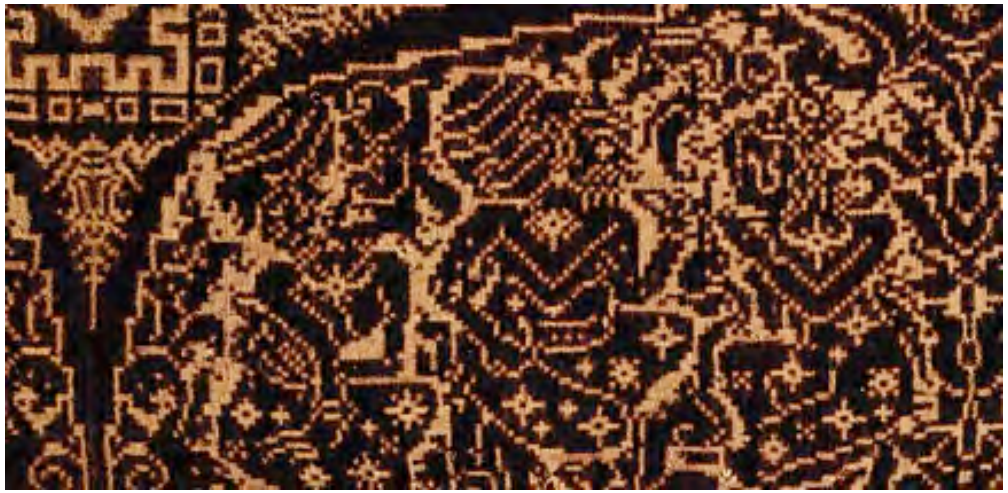
a. *Left,* Overall image from *Arts of Asia* 30, No. 6, 2000, 52, plate 2
b. *Right,* detail of a courtier and a *panakawan* figure

c. Details of figure 2.46
An old woman in a long wrap-around dress with striped pattern

Figure 2.47. *Kain Simbut*
Handwoven cotton, painted resist and dyed
West Java, early 20th century
Wereldmuseum, Rotterdam

Warp direction

Figure 2.48. *Geringsing Wayang*
Cotton double ikat, couched metallic foil-wrapped thread, 241.3 x 54.61 cm
Tenganan, Pageringsingan, Bali, 19th century
Los Angeles County Museum of Art, M.90.22



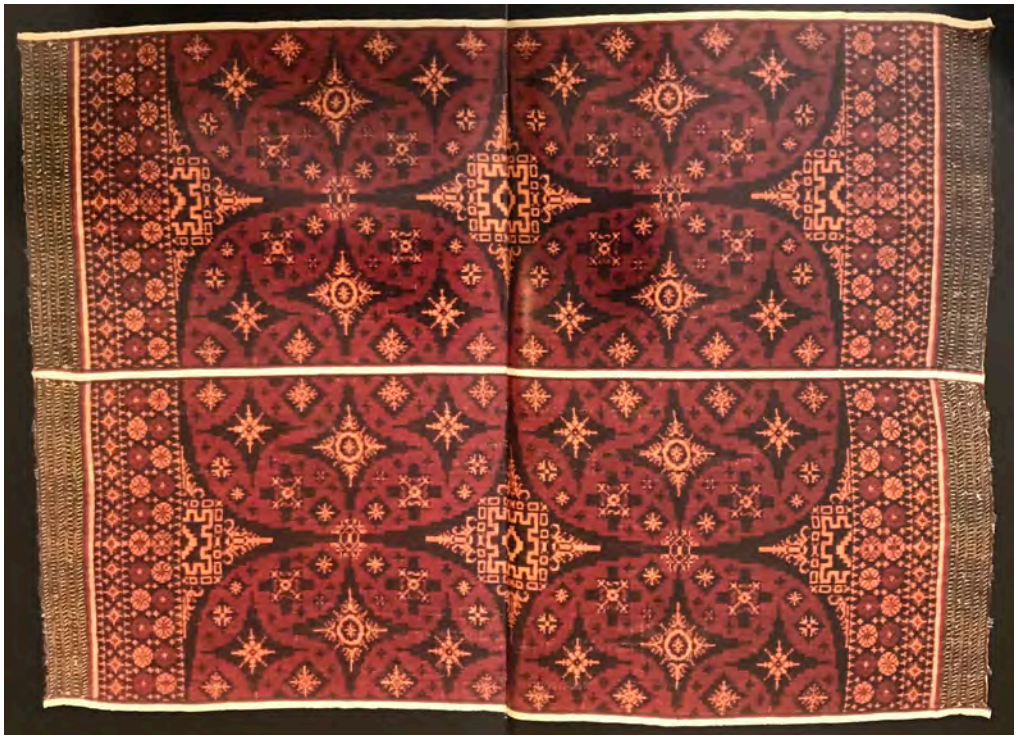


Figure 2.49. *Geringsing* with *lobeng* motif
Cotton, double ikat; 168 x 119 cm, made by joining two widths of cloths
Tenganan, Pegeringsingan, Bali, 20th century
Museum of Ethnology, Basel, No. IIc 18003
Image from Hauser-Schäublin, Nabholz-Kartaschoff, and Ramseyer, *Balinese Textiles*, 117, ii-iii

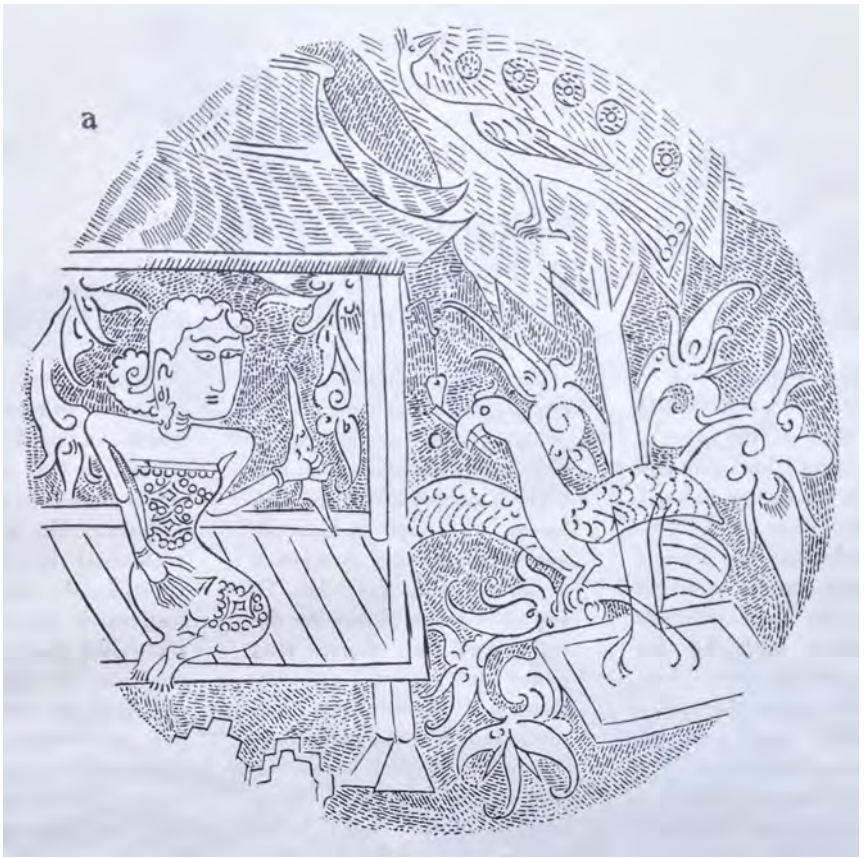


Figure 2.51. Ritual plate, *talam*
Kudus, East Javanese Period
Image from Van der Hoop*, Indonesische Siermotiven*, 199

Figure 2.50. Balinese woman wearing two widths of *geringsing lobeng*
Image from Ramseyer, *Clothing, Ritual and Society,* figure 21

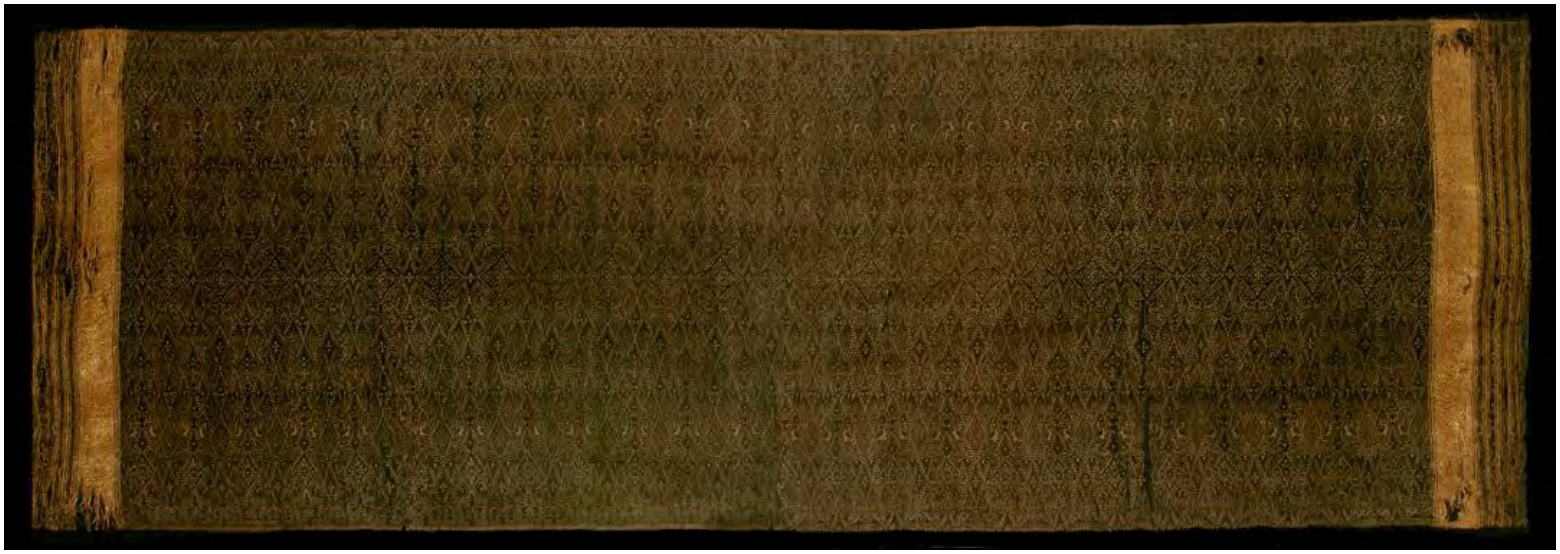


Figure 2.52. Heirloom Textile
Silk warps and cotton wefts, weft ikat
Found in South Sumatra, 15th century
Mary Kahlenberg Collection

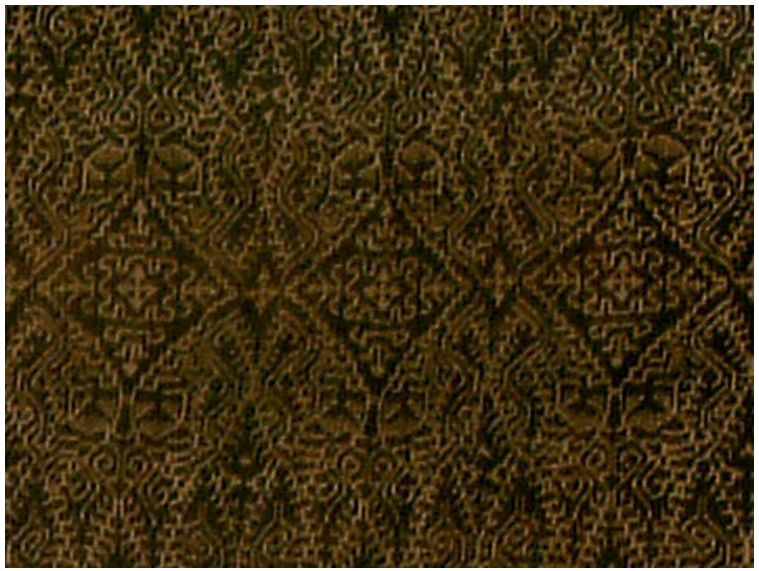


Figure 2.52. Detail, center diamond pattern

Figure 2.53. Detail, center diamond pattern
Collection of the former Nusantara Museum, Delft

Figure 2.54. Batik breast cloth, *kemben*
Cotton, 52 x 251 cm
Central Java, ca. 1930
Image from Smend and Harper, eds. *Batik from the Courts of Java and Sumatra*, figure 11

Figure 2.55. Batik head scarf*, ikat kepala*
Cotton with applied silk, 106 x 106 cm
Central Java, ca. 1910
Image from Smend and Harper, eds. *Batik from the Courts of Java and Sumatra*, figure 16

Figure 3.1. Mahakala
Candi Singosari, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1623

Figure 3.2. Nandiswara
Candi Singosari, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1624

Figure 3.3. Durga
Candi Singosari, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1622

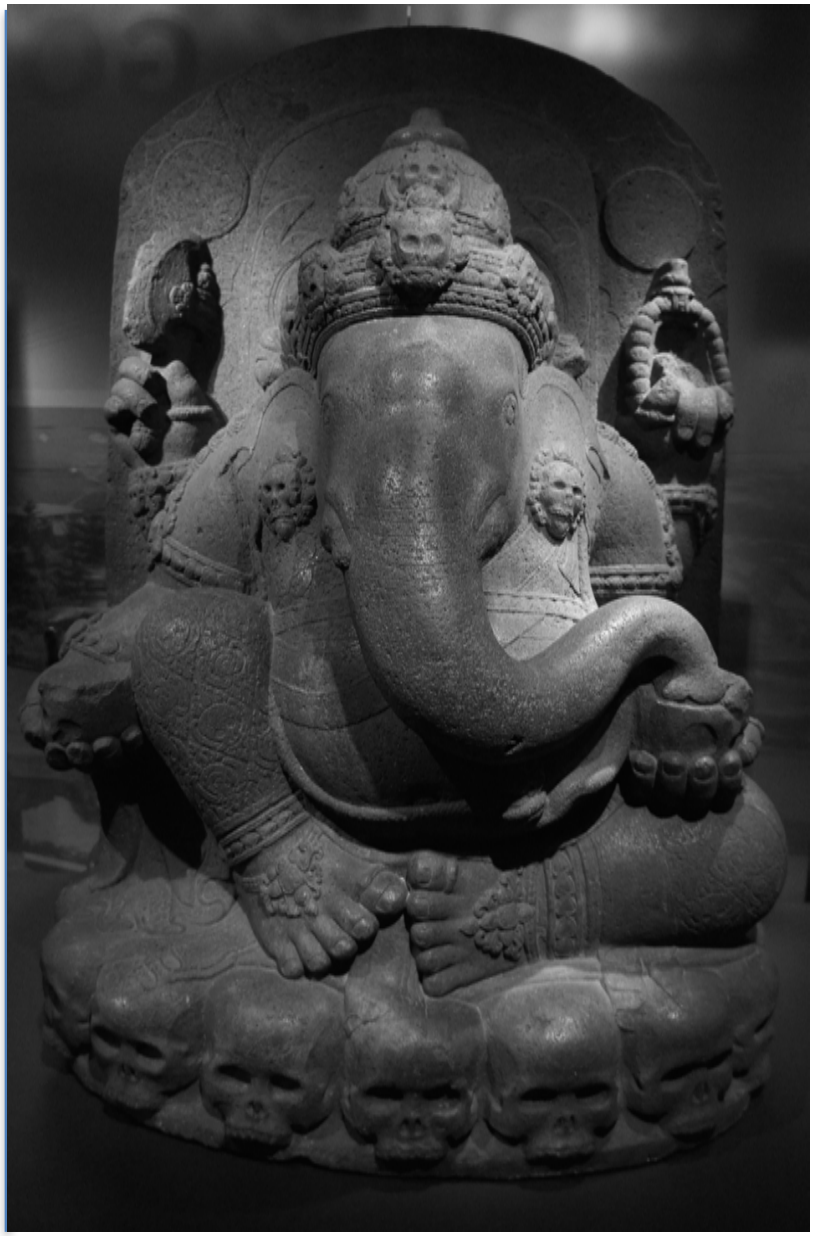


Figure 3.4. Ganesa
Candi Singosari, late 13th century
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-1681

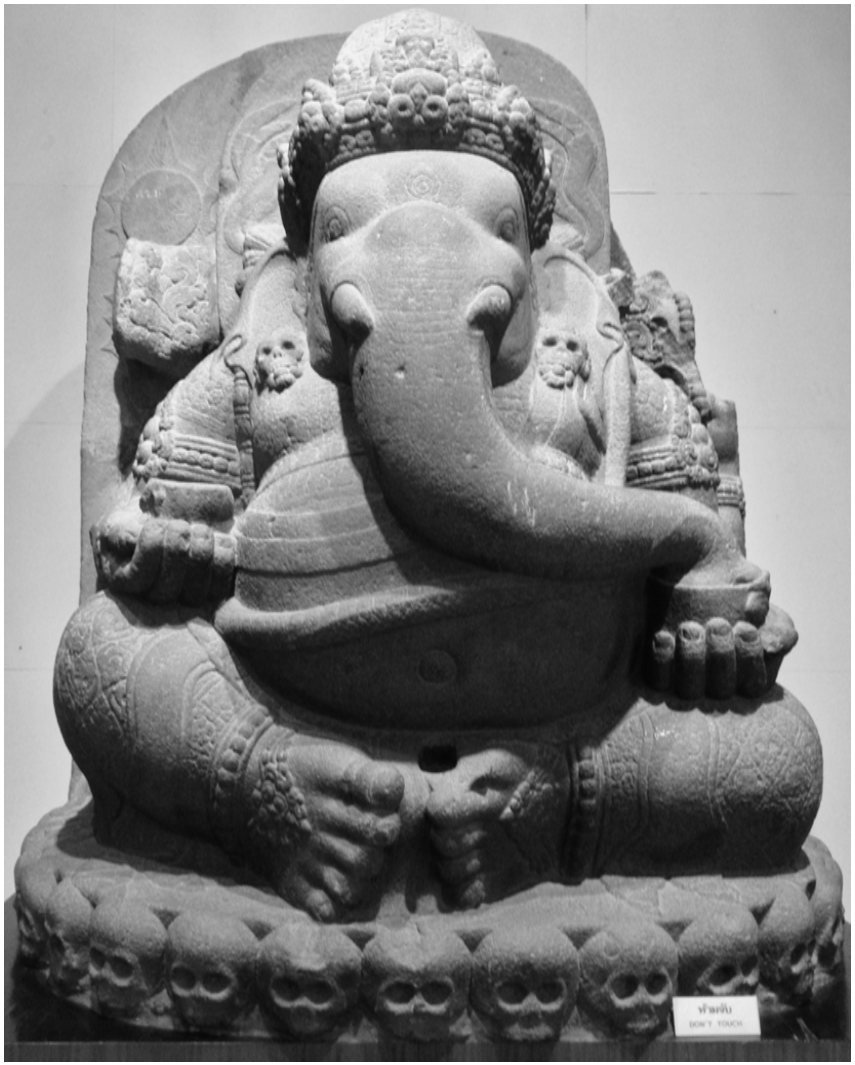


Figure 3.5. Ganesa, a gift to King Rama V in 1896
Singosari temple complex
Bangkok National Museum

Figure 3.6. Candi Singosari
East Java, late 13th century

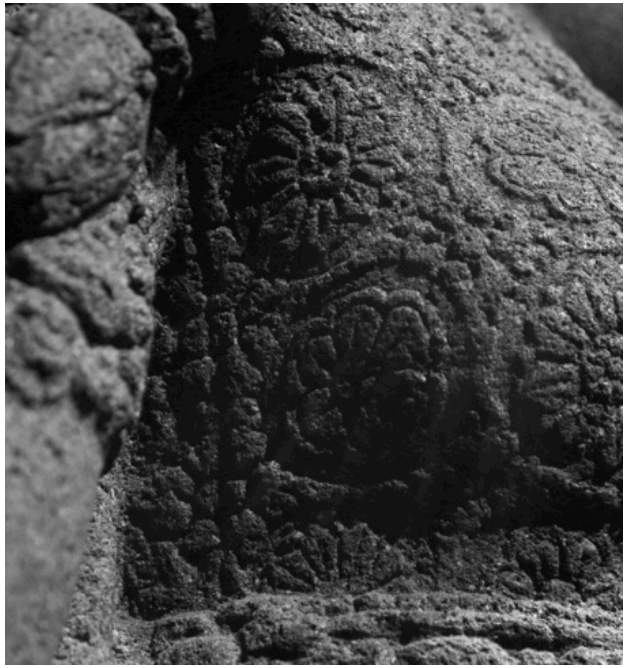
Figure 3.7. Agastya
Candi Singosari, late 13th century

Figure 3.8. Njoetro troop wearing *kotang*
Image from Groeneman, *De Garebegs's Najogyakarta*

Figure 3.9. A Javanese Warrior
Image from Pfyffer zu Neuek, *Skizzen van der Insel Javas*

Figure 3.10. Warriors from Buleleng, Bali
Photo by Isidore van Kinsbergen, circa 1865
Image from KITLV, No. 4388

Figure 3.11. Old Balinese *wayang* puppet with *sasimping* jacket
Image from Hinzler, *Wayang op Bali*



3.12. Evidence of seams under the arms
a. *left*, Mahakala
b. *middle,* Nandiswara
c. *right,* Durga

3.13. Front closures
a. *top left,* Mahakala
b*. below right*, Durga

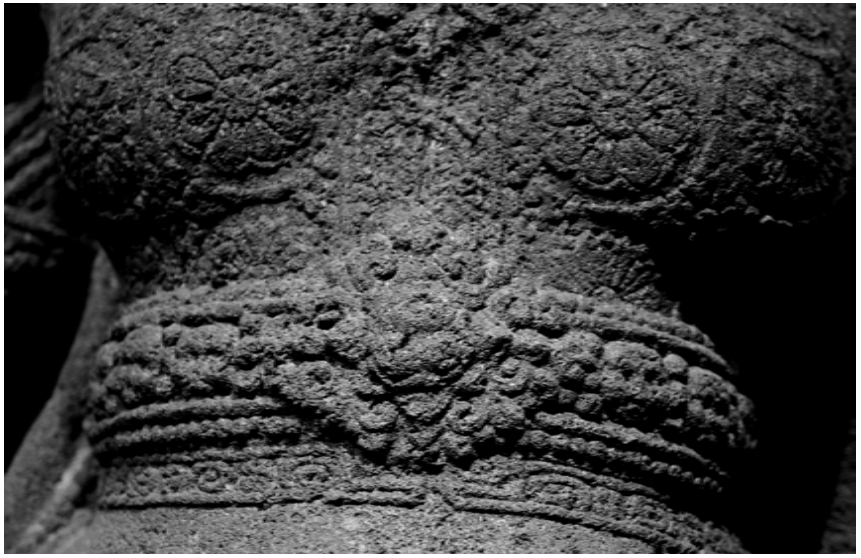
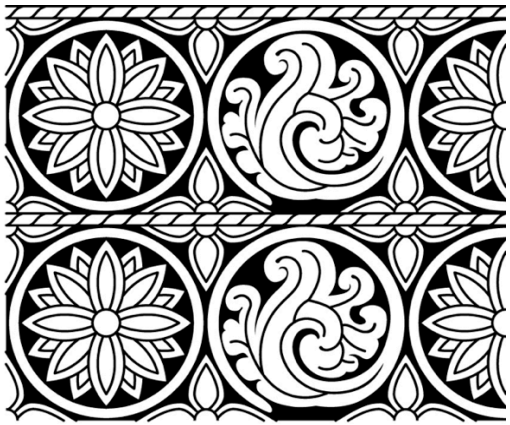


Figure 3.14. Patterns on Mahakala's jacket
Above, patterns from the proper right and left
Below, drawings by Ardi Kanaka



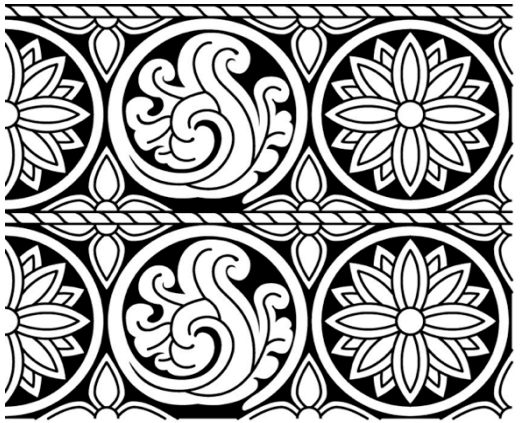
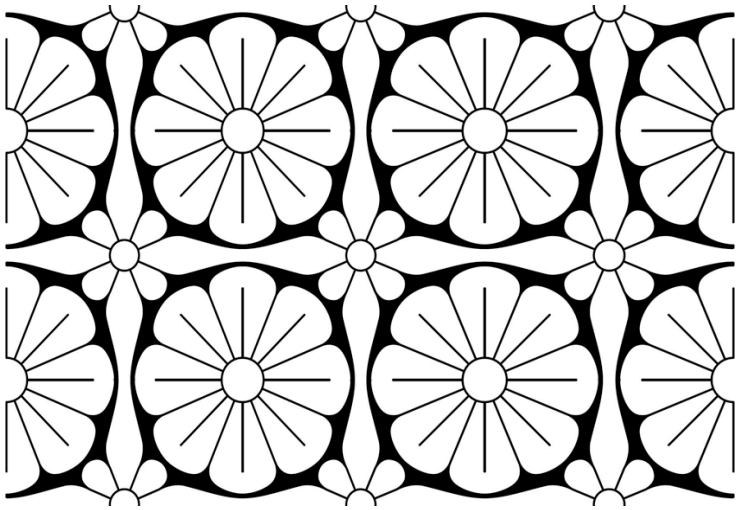


Figure 3.15 Pattern on Nandiswara's jacket
Right, drawing by Ardi Kanaka



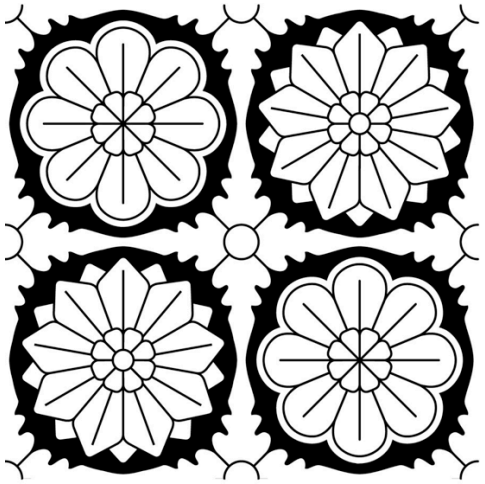


Figure 3.16 Pattern on Durga's jacket
Above right, drawing of the main field pattern
Below right, drawing of the border pattern
Drawings by Ardi Kanaka

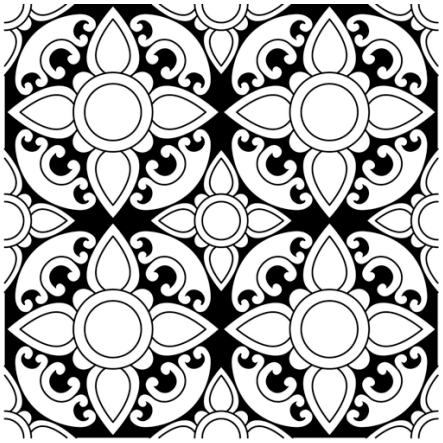


Figure 3.17. Pattern on Ganesa's jacket
Above right, drawing of the main field pattern
Below right, drawing of the border pattern
Drawings by Ardi Kanaka

Figure 3.18. A presentation scene of King Rudrayana's jacket
Candi Borobudur, 8th–9th century, lower row of the main wall in the first gallery (Ib69)
Image from Marijke Klokke

Figure 3.19a. A group of deities from a Wajradhatu Mandala
Bronze, h. 9-9.2 cm
Nganjuk, East Java, last quarter of the 10th–early 11th century
Image from *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, Spring 1994, vol. LI, No. 4, p. 79

Figure 3.19b. A deity holding a short and sleeveless jacket
Nganjuk, East Java
Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. I987.I42.7
Image from OD-1725
https://digitalcollections.universiteitleiden.nl/view/item/8093

Figure 3.20. Prince Sutasoma carried off by the demon-king Kalmasapada
Gold, h. 6 cm
East Java, Majapahit Period
Tropen Museum, Amsterdam, No. 2960-319

Figure 3.21. Sudhana crossing two rivers
Candi Jago, East Java, 13th–14th century
Image from O' Brien, "The Tale of Sudhana and Manohara on Candi Jago," 305.

Figure 3.22. Narrative relief of Arjunawiwaha from Candi Kedaton
a. *left,* Temptation of Arjuna, panel no. 3, *OD* 3398
b. *right,* Two Nymphs and servants, panel no. 4, *OD* 3399

Figure 3.23
Above, Queen Kunti visitation to the goddess Durga, Candi Tegowangi, west side
*I*mage from the Leiden University special collection series, *OD* 7099

Below left, female attendants of Durga; *middle*, Durga's short jacket; *right*, a drum player at the stairway's banister

Figure 3.24. Dewi Sri
Candi Panataran
Below, detail of jacket

Figure 3.25. A goddess
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden

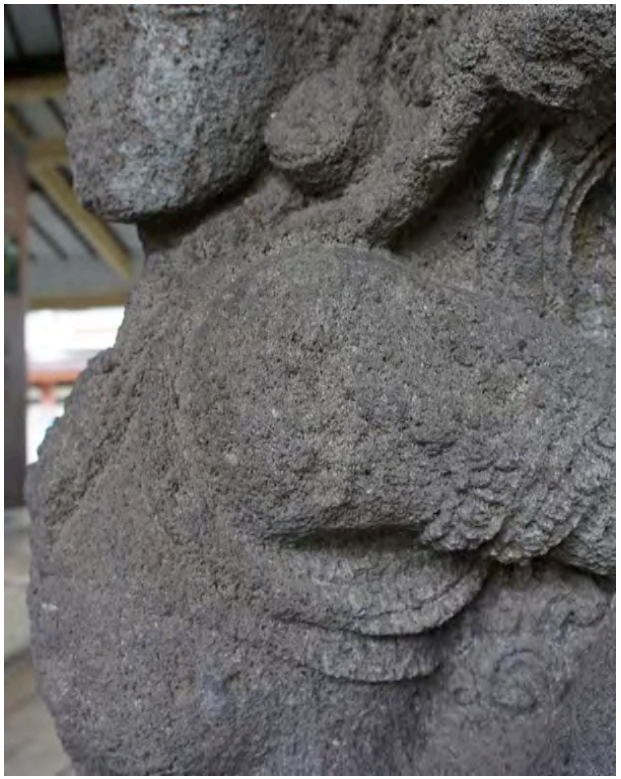


Figure 3.26. A *kinnar*i in royal attire
Unknown provenance, Majapahit Period
Mojokerto Museum, East Java

Figure 3.27. A female deified figure
Kediri, 13th–14th century
Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta, No.112

Figure 3.28. A male deified figure
Kediri, 13th–14th century
Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta

Figure 3.29. *Keris* hilt
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 360-6021

Figure 3.30. *Keris* hilt
Nasional Museum Indonesia, Jakarta
E. 592/12466

Figure 3.31. A *Tari Baris* dancer
Image from a photograph on display at the Bali Museum, December 2012

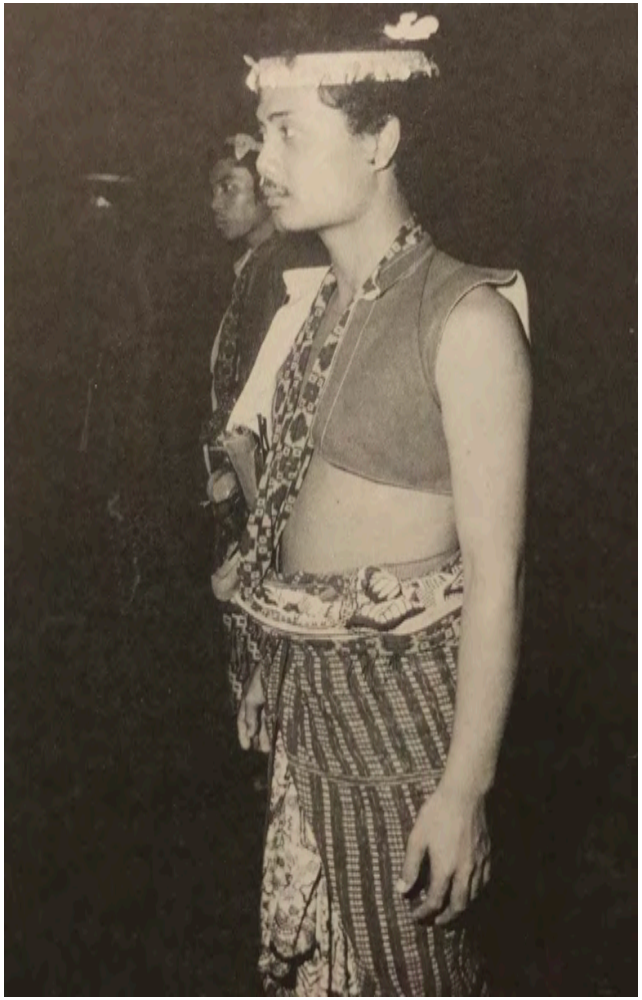


Figure 3.32. A *teruna temu kaja* bachelor wearing a sleeveless red jacket
Image from Ramseyer, *Clothing, Ritual and Society*, figure 19

Figure 3.33. Legong dancers
Bali, circa 1938
Image from KITLV, No. 29536

Figure 3.34. A Legong dancer
Bali, unknown date
Image from the Tropen Museum, No. 10004723

Figure 3.35. *Pratima*
Wood; carved and painted
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden

Figure 3.36. A ceremonial cloth
Cotton; plain weave and embroidery
Image from Barnes, *Five Centuries,* 202

Figure 3.37. *Sesimping*
Image from Jasper and Pirngadie, *De Inlandsche Kunstnijverheid: De Goud- en Zilversmeedkunst*

Figure 3.38. *Sesimping*
Hide; cut and gold painted, 16 x 34cm
Bali, before 1939
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 1403-7c

Figure 3.39. *Sesimping,*
Green velvet, cut gold sheet, silver threads
16.8 x 39 cm
Klungkung, Bali, 1800-1900
Volkenkunde Museum Leiden, No. 1684-30

Detail of figure 3.39. *Sesimping*

Figure 3.40. *Sesimping* (back side)
Silk, gold plate, and bark cloth
Badung, Bali
Nasional museum Indonesia, Jakarta
No E.926/7969

Figure 3.41. *Sesimping*
Cotton, gold paint, and bark cloth
21 x 48 cm
Kintamani, Bali
Volkenkunde Museum, Leiden
No. 2407-84

Figure 4.1. A woman weaving and nursing a child
Bronze, 25.8 x 22.8 x 15.2 cm
Found in eastern Flores, possibly produced in Borneo or Sulawesi, 6th century
National Gallery of Australia
Image from Maxwell, *The Bronze Weaver*

Figure 4.2. Dewi Sri
Bronze
Central Java, 10th century
Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta

Figure 4.3. Stone plinth decorated with a weaving scene
h. 21.5 cm
Found in Trowulan, East Java, Majapahit Period
Image from Bernet Kempers, *Ageless Borobudur*, 241, plate 152

Figure 4.4. A weaver in West Java
Image from Gunawan, *Kawih Pangeuyeukan*

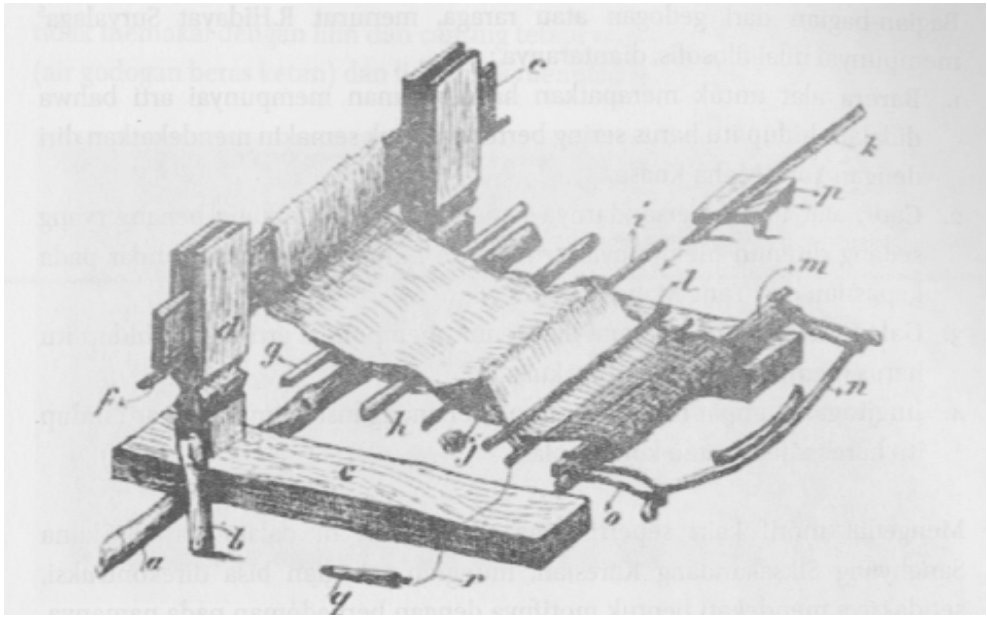


Figure 4.5. Parts of Loom
Image from Mamat, "Kemampuan Menenun Kain"

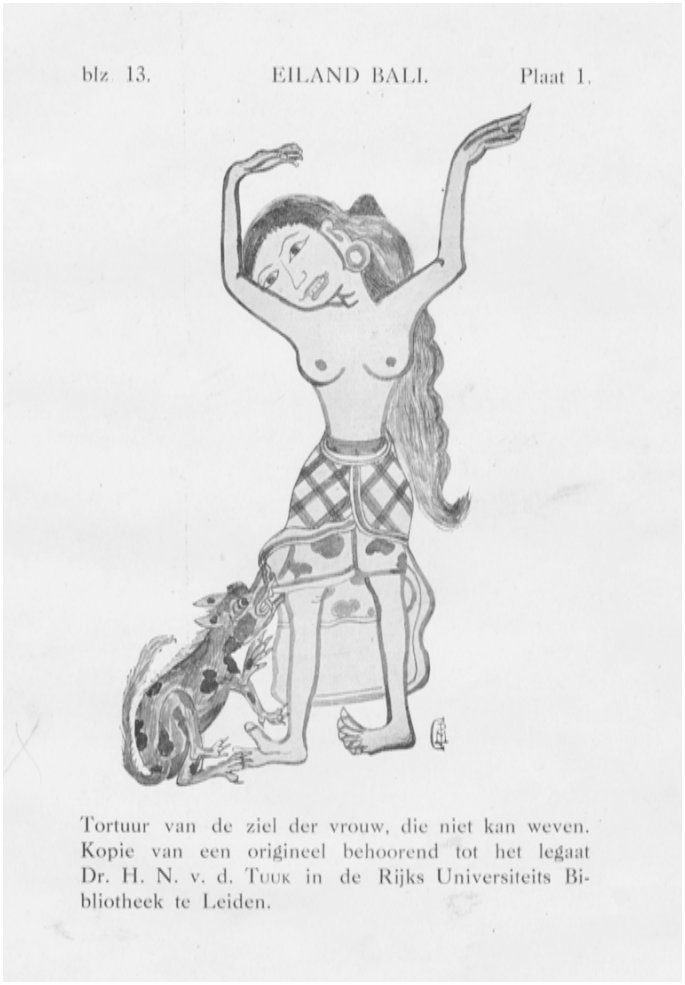


Figure 4.6. A tortured soul of a women who cannot weave
Image from Pleyte, *De Inlandsche Nijverheid in West-Java,* plate 1

Figure 4.7. A weaving maiden in a weaving hut in West Java
Image from Pleyte, *De Inlandsche Nijverheid in West-Java,* plate 2