

Uka Tjandrasasmita & Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

ISLAMIC MONUMENT OF SENDANG DUWUR

Reflection of Cultural Tolerance
Communication of Cultural Heritage



NOVEL & NOBLE COMMUNICATIONS
HELSINKI 2018

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Helsinki 2018

To my God who endowed the meaning of life; Parents who inspired it; Family who supported it.

F O R E W O R D

Our purpose of this book is to provide a glimpse of cultural tolerance among the Indonesian people in the past which reflected on the Islamic Monument of Sendang Duwur, East Java, in the 16th century. Cultural tolerance in that period was the result of the process of acculturation through the course of times from the prehistoric and Hindu-Buddhist periods up to the arrival and spread of Islam in coastal areas of East Java. Architecture and ornaments of Sendang Duwur could witness those elements of cultural tolerance.

Cultural tolerance builds up mutual understanding among the people: the introducers and acceptors of cultural elements. It also implies that the process of acculturation in Indonesia had peacefully accommodated. Through this type of acculturation, the continuity of culture could develop, and the local genius of their own culture could maintain.

The reflection of cultural tolerance on Islamic Monument of Sendang Duwur is an excellent example of Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic archaeological sites, testifying cultural tolerance of the Indonesian people in the past.

This book expects that Islamic monument of Sendang Duwur as the high value of the cultural heritage can inspire the current societies and enhance dialogues between different faiths and religions in Indonesia. It is for education and research overall.

Professor Uka Tjandrasasmita & Dr Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

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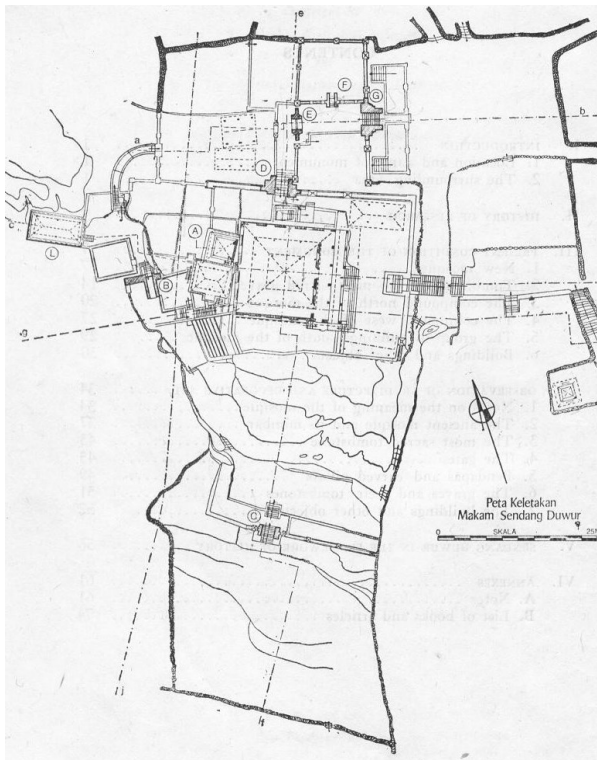
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Part One
Islamic Monument of Sendang Duwur:
Reflection of Cultural Tolerance

Uka Tjandrasasmita

Part one discusses Sendang Duwur, starting from its establishment as an Islamic monument to its impact on Islamisation. Part one is a revision of Tjandrasasmita's *Islamic Antiquities of Sendang Duwur* (1984).



Map of Sendang Duwur village in East Java

I N T R O D U C T I O N

LOCATION AND NAME OF THE MONUMENT

The monument locates in the village of Sendang Duwur, under the district and district of Paciran, the regency of Lamongan and residence of Bojonegoro. It is on a high spot of a rock whose villages of Sendang Duwur and Sendang Agung (or Sendang Lebak) dwell. The height of these villages is about between 25 and 75 m above sea level. The monument is easily reached by motorcar until the village of Sendang Agung whose level is lower than the village of Sendang Duwur. From Sendang Agung, one has to continue by foot and climb for about 500 m to the monument. Its original name is uncertain, but at present, the local people call it “Masjid Sendang Duwur” or “Makam Sunan Sendang”, after the name of the village.



SURROUNDINGS

As the irregular form of the hill makes it difficult to define its borders, it is hard to tell where the dwelling houses of the inhabitants of Sendang Duwur and Sendang Agung begin or end. The village of Sendang Duwur has fewer inhabitants than that of Sendang Agung. According to information from the village head of Sendang Duwur, the extent of the village is 21,540 m² with some 1,060 inhabitants. The majority of the ground is composed of rock stones. And it is impossible to practice agriculture intensively, although there is a small scale production with edible root plants, maize, and coconut trees. Most inhabitants earn their living as petty tradesmen,

batik makers, and goldsmiths. It is strange that they do not try to find a living as fishermen, considered to be near the coast of Java.

The inhabitants are very religious but are not averse from practising the arts, seen from the many music groups of keroncong, rebana, gambus, etc. Compared to a small village, its society seems quite dynamic. It also implies their contacts with the people from towns and other distant places as wandering tradesmen or goldsmiths. Indeed, it is not difficult for Sendang Duwur to communicate with small towns on the coast. Sendang Duwur lies 3 km south of the district town of Paciran which is on the coast and on the road between Tuban and Surabaya. From Paciran, it is 30 km to Tuban and 72 km to Surabaya.

H I S T O R Y O F R E S E A R C H

The first report on the monument kept in the documentation of the Archaeological Service was from P. V. van Stein Callenfels in his letter of March 28, 1916. It seems that Callenfels went to the monument. Despite no reports of this trip, there are fortunately pictures of this monument of 1916 in the photo collection of the Archaeological Service. The first report, written in the inventory of 1915, was published in 1918. It also included in the Notulen of the Museum of Batavia in 1916, which referred to the find of two gold rings (new made) stored in the Museum.

One year later, in 1917, the monument came to the attention of Van der Plas who had the opportunity to visit it. In 1919, Dr F. D. K. Bosch as the Head of the Archaeological Service surveyed of the monument. It reported in the "Reports of the Archaeological Service" of the same year. Though this report only consisted of two or three pages, we can see in broad outline how important the antiquity was as an Islamic monument from the Transition Period. Two years later, in 1921, Dr Bosch made a second visit to the place but was very disappointed to find that the mosque changed into entirely a new one by the local people. This alteration had not previously announced to the Archaeological Service which had to be informed beforehand, according to the Monuments Ordinance. However, the new mosque had used a part of the old mosque, and even the fundament was still the same. Bosch stated that the other buildings were the same as when he visited the monument in 1919, but most of them were in ruins which made restoration impossible. Nevertheless, the photos from the time before the modification make it possible to know the original form of the old mosque and other buildings.

The alteration by the local people was carried out in 1920. It can know from the date in Latin, Arabic and New Javanese characters, written above the doors of the present mosque. In the letter written by Van der Plas to the Governor General, whose copy sent to the Archaeological Service, he mentioned the fact that the alteration and building of the mosque of Sendang Duwur were financed by a wealthy religious leader (kiyai) from the village of Sedayu. A new intersect in the monument was shown in 1937 in connection with a planned restoration of the ruinous buildings.

To take the preparatory steps for this restoration, J. C. Krijgsman, a member of the staff of the Archaeological Service, was sent to the place by Dr W. F. Stutterheim, the Head of the Service. The undertaking by the Archaeological Service was in response to the proposal made by Van der Plas in the letter mentioned above. Together with Van der Plas in 1937, Dr Stutterheim visited the monument to see the progress of the preparations and the beginning of the restoration which Krijgsman and his workers had carried out. The financing of the renovations came from both the Archaeological Service and the Province of East Java (where Van der Plas was the Governor). A significant scale restoration took place in 1938, such as the rebuilding of the gates, the circular wall around the courtyard, and the staircase leading to the courtyard of the mosque. The

restoration continued in the following years. After restoring these places, the work continued on the tomb house of the most sacred tomb and other buildings on the compound of the monument. In 1940, the restorations of the Sendang Duwur compound were considered to be complete. Moreover, maps and photos of the buildings and loose objects which were repaired or were under repair added. Unfortunately, the incomplete reports of the restorations made it difficult to find detailed research of what did during this period.

The Head of the Archaeological Service wrote the last letter referring to the restoration by the Archaeological Service since 1937 till the end of 1940 on May 7, 1941, addressed to the Governor General. In the same year, the monument of the village of Sendang Duwur also registered as a “Public Central Monument”. Since that year, the restoration work moved to the monument of the tomb of Sunan Derajat. During this restoration, the staff members of the Restoration Section of Prambanan could survey possible new damages at the monument of Sendang Duwur. The restorations and surveys of the monument stopped in 1943, casting uncertainty what happened to the two monuments of Sendang Duwur and Sunan Derajat.

As on June 19, 1950, there was a rather massive earthquake. With probably bad consequences for the two monuments, two technicians (Kadim and Mirun) from the Prambanan office were ordered to survey on the spot for any damages. It turned out to be, as it expected: the monuments in both places had heavy damages. The severe damage of Sendang Duwur was on the part of its gates whose wings mostly broke. The stones had turned loose so that the pillars of the gates were leaning over and the doors could not close properly. Many of the pseudo-temples (candi-laras) destroyed, and the mosque did not escape the consequences of the earthquake either. The four corners of the wall showed cracks, including the mihrab wall. After this accident, no steps were taken to undertake a restoration. It might be caused by the shortage of workforce in the Archaeological Service because all workforces happened to employ in the restoration of the Prambanan complex in those years.

The sad condition of the Sendang Duwur monument was the same when I (Uka Tjandrasmita) visited this site to research on July 13, 1959. As we were working in the Archaeological Service, we proposed that steps of the restoration should soon take to prevent the monument from further destruction, especially as regards the winged gate on the compound north of the mosque. In 2004, Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja, who was doing her PhD at the Oxford Brookes University, UK, on “the continuity of pre-Islamic motifs in Javanese mosques, Indonesia”, visited Sendang Duwur for collecting data. Surprisingly, she proposed an idea of publishing the new format of my previous book, *Islamic Antiquities of Sendang Duwur* (1984). Based on her finding on syncretic ornaments from the monument, I named this book, *Islamic Monument of Sendang Duwur: Reflection of Cultural Tolerance* as cultural heritage can enrich the meaning and beauty of Sendang Duwur.

T H E P R E S E N T C O N D I T I O N

The place with the monument and the dwelling houses is a part of the ridge of a rock which lies 118 m above sea level. This high rock has a top, called “Bucket Kendal” by the local people, because of a clump of rock stone resembling a Kendal (rice pot). The hill situates on the north-west of the village of Sendang Duwur.

As this part of the hill on which the monument built has no regular form, the buildings are spread out in an irregular arrangement. The monuments and graves have built on any level available (see the map of Sendang Duwur). For simple description, the monuments can divide as follows:

- Mosque
- Tomb house of the Most Sacred Tomb
- Compound North of the Mosque
- Compound West of the Mosque
- Compound South of the Mosque
- Buildings and Other Objects

MOSQUE

The old mosque had altered, and the new mosque has replaced it. Although some parts of the new mosque had used old material, the fundament considered as the original one. The new mosque resembles no longer the old one, but the photos show similarity in style, regarding the arrangement of the roofs and the condition of the other parts. The mosque is the most prominent building, due to its location on the highest level of the buildings and graves in the whole compound.



THE COURTYARD measures 30 x 26 m. The approximate size is caused by the lower surface of the compound west than the other parts of the land. The mosque is not precisely oriented to the west but has a deviation of 23° to the northwest. The sides of the courtyard are made of different sizes of rock stones. On top of the circular wall around the courtyard has a decoration of candi-laras (pseudo temple), either undamaged or vanished. The undamaged candi-laras decorates the northwestern and southeastern side of the circular wall of the mosque.



THE ENTRANCE to the courtyard: There are two entrances - one on the eastern and one on the north side. The first one is the main entrance. As the courtyard of the mosque is on the high-level ground, the entrance has a staircase. At the extremes of the two remains of stair wings were two decorative stones of the square in form with a border and an antefix,

resembling a naga head. Though the entrance has no longer a gate at present, it differs from the entrance on the north side of the mosque. The north gate has a split top and body, named “candi-bentar” (gapura-bentar or split gate). According to the original fundamnet, the ground plan of the mosque was rectangular and measured 15 x 15 m with a height of 1.35 m. After its alteration, the veranda was extended forwards to 3.6 m. The present mosque has a brick wall and a concrete floor. In the middle of the northwestern wall is mihrab (or pengimaman), a niche for the imam.

THE MIHRAB is not so deep and sticks only 0.5 cm out from the line of the fundamnet. It is 1.1 m wide and 2.2 m high. The absence of decoration on the arch is unusual, as lines run parallel to the arch and end on both sides in a triangular antefix. The same type of antefix also found on top of the arch. Square capitals support the two extremes of the arch. The pillars have a hexagonal pattern with decorative lines. Twelve windows and three entrance doors of the inner hall provide enough sun rays, and the windows have the same size and only one wooden panel. The height of the window is 1.5 m and the width 0.81 m. The three doors of the mosque are in the wall which separates the veranda from the inner hall. The doors have each a height of 2.25 m and a width of 1.3 m. They have two teakwood door leaves. And the same door leaves of the old mosque have been used, seen from the style of decoration and measurement. However, the present door leaves have an additional frame on top of the old ones. The decoration on the door leaves consists of vegetative motifs, especially the lotus flower. Moreover, an exciting motif is a kind of creeper, a gourd (waluh), with leaves and fruits. This decoration again shows on the southern door leaf. The central door has door leaves with lotus and a mat made of cord, differing from vegetable motifs. The vegetable and mat motifs are in frames, consisting of line furrows with a hexagonal and many lozenge panels. Above the doors are the dates of the alteration or rebuilding of the mosque. The main door is the central one.



THE MINBAR on the left side of the mihrab is not the old one but is newly made. The old minbar was dilapidated, and its remains kept in the attic of the mosque. The new wooden minbar has a chair shape on high legs. The upper part of the two front legs is connected by an arch which ends in outward curl on both sides, reminding us of a kalamakara motif. The arms of the minbar are a little bent in the middle. The back of the minbar is made of a few laths and has the steps. In the

corner of the minbar is a trident, the trisula of Hindu art. Called “chips”, the trident was used by the person who was holding a speech for the Friday prayer. As the minbar is regarded as sacred too, it veils by a mosquito net.



against 0.75 m. The pillars stand on round brick bases, instead of wooden ones in the old mosque.



The roof of the additional veranda is made of zinc, not tiles. The veranda is closed off with a low brick wall. Its front side is entirely different from that in 1938. The low brick still consists of parts, bumpy and interrupted by squared pilasters. In the front, most of the veranda is a part of the hall which protrudes a trapeze shape with a brick wall. The protruding portion is a terrace, flanked by two entrances with steps. Except for entering the veranda along the two staircases, one can enter from the north and southern side. The entrances have no doors but have arched upper parts. The arch is considered to be a common trait of Islamic art.



THE ROOF of the mosque has an unusual shape. It is a multi-storied roof in the ancient mosques in Indonesia. As the roof has many stories, there is always an attic in the upper part. In Sendang Duwur, it has been used to store the tools or the remnants of the old mosque, such as wood carvings and the broken minbar. The three-storied roof is visible from the outside. The space between the stories is shut off with planches which have square holes at certain interval and function as windows for the attic. The lower and middle roofs are made of tiles, whereas the upper roof is of teakwood tiles. On the top is a crown of a greenish copper mustaka. On each of the mustaka is a copper antefix in the shape of a pointed flower bud.

ON THE southern side of the veranda is the new water tank, which is oriented southeast to northwest parallel with the orientation of the mosque. The building of the new water tank has an entrance without door leaves and another exit door which comes out onto the veranda. The windows are true arches which are open. Formerly there was a pendapa in the place of this water tank. The change did in 1944, according to the local people. On the yard north of the mosque is still the old water tank of no longer in use. On its west side is a perforated limestone wall for protecting the water tank. There is a dividing wall for the tank on the north side and the lower courtyard. In the centre are entrance steps which had a veranda with a tile roof earlier. The courtyard has at present no roof, and there remain walls and pillars, lying on the ground.

THE ENTRANCE north of the mosque has a gate (Gate D). As regards the oblong shape, it is a split gate, made of rock stone. The measurement of the gate is smaller than those of the staircase. The front part of the gate is on the north. As the courtyard of the mosque situates on a higher level than the courtyard in front of the gate, there is a staircase leading to this gate. There are nine steps. There is a stair wing from the bottom of the steps to about the middle. The split gate can be divided into three parts (foot, body, top). There is no difference between both halves of the split gate. Its front part has a wing which protrudes from the upstanding panel of the foot. The upper part of the stair wing is straight and level. From this corner comes part which bends down and becomes straight. To this end, comes another downward curving part.

On the bent surface is a triangular tumpal decoration. The foot of the wing is decorated with panels with small straight lines, forming a side piled up. Its profile seems a jar. On the straight panel is an oblong rock decoration of small frames with antefixes at the corners. The foot of the gate consists of straight panels and cremated, due to the change of the thin straight frames. The upper part of the foot has a toothed decoration and is closed in by thin straight frames. In profile, the split gate has protruding planes which are caused by the upright standing planes of foot and body. The side of the gate forms in this way corners. The body of the gate has the same shape on the front and backside. From the toothed plane comes thin frames which are gradually receding, the higher they come. There are five frames. After these frames, follow level planes with straight lines and half rounds.

The upright standing plane encloses by many thin frames, the same measurements as the frames on the bottom part of the gate. The difference lies in the arrangement. The bottom frames of the right upstanding plane of the body go inwards, while the upper frames of the same plane go outwards. In this way, there is an upright standing plane of the body which is somewhat receding, and there are below and have it frames which form a pyramid. The planes of the front part of the gate are repeated on the sides, making the body of the gate wider and protruding, and forming real corners. A panel of stair wings connects the sides of the gate on its both halves. The stair wings are simple in shape. The bottom of the wings is supported by the floor of the courtyard of the mosque. The upper part of the stair wing has a flat form and ends in a half round, which again

ends in lower frames with four triangle holes. The lower frame connects with the front side of the top of the circular wall of the mosque. In the middle of the stair wing is a plane in the shape of an oblong with corners outside forming a trapeze.

The parts of the top of the gate have small straight frames, becoming shorter and shorter. Inside the frames is a straight plane, changing in the frame of the top. In every first frame is a triangular antefix, resembling a flowerbed. There are five frames with antefix, whereas the frames of the top have no decoration except thin straight frames. As regards the front gate on the southern side (at the back), it has the same profile and form as the gate on the north side (front). The difference is that the north front gate shows corners and straight planes at the bottom. Its front side has a stair wing, while the southern side has no stair wing. Measuring the gate with a stair wing from bottom to top is 6 m.

We mentioned above that the stair wing is supported by the circular wall of the mosque courtyard. The stair wing is 2.55 m high. On top of the wall is a decoration of candi-laras, a miniature of the temple. The candi-laras is 1.45 m high, while the pillar supporting it has the same height as the circular wall. The candi-laras locates on the circular wall north of the mosque on the left side (east) of the gate. The candi-laras on its right side vanished, and only its base kept.

THE CIRCULAR wall of the courtyard north of the mosque connects with Gate D. On its surface of the right (west) side, it has decoration. These consist of planes interrupted by frames above in the middle and below which are flat. Between the frames are decorative relief panels which discontinue till the end of the circular wall. Instead, it has only plane panels in that part. The panel decoration composes of triangular tumpals with a leaf motif. On the upper part of the tumpal motif are wavy decorations like flower stems. It becomes clear where the stems join each other. There is a kind of flower rosette. Between the triangle tumpals are also leaf decorations. After the separating frame in the middle are four decorative, rather large panels which are surrounded by small panels. The first panel has no decoration. After this, follows a small decorated panel with flower or leaf motifs which are elongated and cross each other over the rosette in the centre as a meeting point for these leaves. Large decorative carved panels again follow the small panels. The relief consists of leaf and flower decorations, entwined with the stems. In every corner of the panel is a decoration of a flying bird.



The following panel is small the same as the small decorative one above. It consists of relief of two nagas with open beak and crown, while their tails entwined. The two naga heads are looking backwards. They are enclosed by lines, forming a frame of the decorative, hexagonal, and elongated panel. In four corners of the panel is a flying bird. After the small decorative panels,

there is the fourth and last large panel. The decoration is again made of plants and flowers. Regarding their style, it can be the lotus in several kinds.

The left side of the circular wall which connects with Gate D has no decorations in carved panels, as was the case with the right side of the circular wall which is connected with Gate B. The decoration on the left (east) side of Gate D has only triangle tumpals, not filled with flower or leaf motifs. Another part which can consider as decoration is the frame below, in the middle and below, which the square pilasters add. Whereas the circular wall of the courtyard north of the mosque has decorations, the circular wall on the east side has no decorations and is sometimes piled up with the irregular size of rock stones.

TOMB HOUSE OF THE MOST SACRED TOMB

Though this building belongs to the compound west of the mosque, it needs a special and extensive description. The courtyard of this building is on a lower level than that of the mosque. The courtyard can be entered from the southwestern side after one has passed the compound of the buildings and graves on the north and west of the mosque. The courtyard and tomb house are forbidden to enter for people who have not the intention to pay homage (ziarah). According to local tradition, the person resting in the tomb is Rahaden Nur or Sunan Sendang who considered as the founder of the first mosque in the village of Sendang Duwur.



THE TOMB HOUSE stands on a terrace which has an oblong plan and measures 3.75 x 3.75 m. The border of the terrace is made of rock stone which has decorative reliefs of vegetative motifs. The entrance door is lying on the south and has a staircase with three steps. These are like stair wings on the split gate by the door of the tomb house. The lower part of the stair wing decorates with thin straight panels and right upstanding panels exactly under the protruding part. This part is rather round with a triangular tumpal with a filling of leaves and crenated lines. Above the protruding part is a level plane which has a rock stone on top, oblong in shape with thin frames in its lower part. Then another decoration of upright standing planes with flower spirals follows. Above this decoration is another frame filled with wavy lines, likely representing a flower stem? It becomes clearer when we see the form of the heart-shaped leaves. Besides these decorations, there are above the two-level planes which are the nearest to the door, still traces of the legs of a lion statue made of wood. The two lions are no longer there, as one has been moved to the Jakarta Museum, while the other one, a copy, was broken to pieces and its fragments stored in the attic of the mosque.

The corners formed by the junction of the stair wing with the terrace plane of the fundament of the tomb house are on their lower part decorated with rather large and small panels, alternately protruding and receding. These corners are decorated with scrolls. The front side of the stair wing also has decorations of leaves and floral scrolls, besides are curling stems of decorations, resembling interrogation marks. The curl is going in the same direction as the front of the stair wing.

THE BOTTOM part of the tomb house which consists of the terrace and functions as a fundament has a decoration on its front side. It consists of relief panels between the frame of the top and the bottom of the fundament. The relief panels are naturally more receding than the panels we mentioned above. The carved panels place in hexagonal panels interrupted by triangle tumpal motifs.



In the first hexagonal panel nearby the stair wing is a decoration of plant, rock motifs, and two buildings which look a pendapa on a terrace filled with a wing motif. On the second panel is a decoration of lotus flowers with stylized leaves. In the relief panel, we find a decoration as in the first one. The difference is that in the last or third panel the pendapa decoration is not flanking the wing motif, but is on top of it. On the lower part of the wing are crossing lines. The triangle which interrupts three large panels decorates with leaf scrolls. The plane of the corner of the terrace has a decoration in the form of leaves and stems which creep upwards and have triangle tumpal decorations. The frame of the relief panel which is receding has no other decoration, except straight lines, forming the border of the decorative panel. Above the receding plain panel is another panel, decorated with leaves and flower rosettes. The frame of the top after the decorated frame is much wider but is undecorated. This is different from the frame above it which has a decoration of chains of leaves, apparently triangular shaped and round, making them look like hearts.

THE BODY of the tomb house is made of teakwood planches and partly decorated. The decorated part is the front (south) side of the tomb house. The decorations are separated by dividing frames which make it into decorative panels which resemble carved planes consisting of eight panels, including the doors. Let us now observe the decorative panel east of the door. This divides into three smaller panels: the upper, middle and lower panel. The upper and lower panel are of the same size and smaller than the middle one. This causes by the fact that the upper and lower panel are square, whereas the middle one is oblong and has a hexagonal tumpal. The panel decorations consist of plants with thick and long leaves which emerge from straight standing stems. The leaves touch each other by the ends which make it look as if there are textures of stems and parallel running leaves. The frame of the decorative panel fills with triangular shaped leaves.

THE DOOR of the tomb house is small and low to make people stoop when they enter. The door posts are square and have the shape of capitals with small conic decorations hanging from small horizontal frames. These door posts decorate with scrolls of flowers and leaves. On the doors are decorations of hexagonal panels, four in number and two other ones which are also hexagonal. This kind of decoration shows no difference with the previous decorative panels, namely plant motif of scrolls or arabesques. The plank wall on the west side of the door divides into the flat and upstanding panel, composed of five decorative panels. These again divide by the lower frame and middle frame of 15 carved panels, big and small. The upper and lower panels have the same measurements and are long. The middle panels are the same size but are longer than the upper and lower ones. The first middle panel of the door has a decoration of a rosette of flowers which emerge from straight stems. The lotus leaves are stylized; thus their form is serrated, round, and folded. In every corner of the oblong panels are decorations of triangular shaped leaves. The small panel above the middle one seems to have a shell decoration, emerging from the leaf sheath of the lotus flower. The small decorative panel is provided with scrolls too.

As regards the small panel below the middle one, it had a decoration of hexagonal frame, filled with lines which look like the texture of plaited ropes. This kind of decoration seems to have put against a background of leaves and flowers. The frames have a scroll decoration as if the frame of the small panel. The second middle panel of the door has the same measurement and form as the first middle panel of the door. The decoration consists of scrolls of flowers and leaf motifs. The small panel above it has a decoration of triangular shaped lotus leaves and forms 16 corners. Inside this flower, the rosette is a ring-shaped circle. In the middle of the circle is another decoration of a rope texture. The small panel below the middle panel decorates with flowers and long serrated leaves with additional flower rosettes in the middle. From the rosette in the middle run two stems in a circle inwards, filled with leaves which bend at the end.

After this, a second decorative panel of the door follows another carved panel. It can be called the third panel of the front wall of the tomb house. The central panel decorates with a crescent on the upper side. Above the crescent are fruit trees. Behind it are round objects which might represent rocks. In front of or below, it is a tree or plant with three branches with double nerves. The trees seem to be standing in round pots and on wooden bars. Besides these are representations of rocks with plants on it. In the lower part is a stylized frog. In the thin panel above the central panel is a crescent amongst bunches of lotus flowers. It is the most important part because there are a few archaic Javanese characters which might refer to the year of the foundation of the tomb house. The small panel below the central panel also has lotus flower decorations like the other panels. Its stems are curling inside and end in flowers, while the leaves merge from the outer part of the stem.

The fourth panel has decorations of lotus flowers and leaves which are elongated and serrated. The stems are curling upwards and have at the end bunches of flowers which spread sideward and

upwards. The small panel above and below have vegetative decorations of lotus flowers. The small panel in the lower part of the central panel has a curling stems inwards. We move to the fifth (last) panel of the front wall of the tomb house. The wide central panel decorates with lotus flowers of thick and wide leaves. The small panel above it has a decoration of a pile of squares. It has circles in the middle. Outside the framed circles are lotus flowers and leaves.



The other wall of the tomb house has no decorations. The walls on the western side have panels with trellis work in the upper part, probably functioned as permanent windows. The sun rays can enter the tomb house through these perforated panels. There are traces of sketches for decorations, as there are diamond-shaped forms

on the trellis-worked panel and also in other parts.

THE ROOF of the tomb house has a pointed form and covered with tiles of teakwood. It has already restored. It is regretful that the original wooden tiles are no longer there. According to the photos of the period before the rebuilding, it appears that the new wooden tiles are of a smaller size than the original ones. The top of the roof is ornate with a mustaka (or molo), made of copper with a greenish patina. The mustaka has the shape of a genta (bell). The decorations constitute of lines, and there are pointed flower rosettes in each corner. Besides, there are some star-shaped decorations, perhaps intended as flowers. The top of the mustaka is round and decorated with flowers on stems.

It is rather dark inside the tomb house as the sun rays can only enter through the holes in the western wall. The most sacred tomb has no particular form. Compared it with the graves of other holy persons like those of Sunan Derajat and Sunan Bonang, it has no decorations at all. The gravestones are plain and bear no inscriptions. The foot has a wide frame, and the body is erect, while the half round top has two sections; thus a profile is formed as if an accolade. The grave itself is made of small straight frames and rounded lists alternately forming a wavy profile going upwards in the shape of a trapeze. In the frames of the grave are decorations of antefixes rather round in form and pointed at the ends. The material used for the tomb and the tombstones is hard limestone. Not everybody is allowed to enter the grave compound as it is considered sacred. The grave is covered with a white mosquito net which is the custom on the graves of saints in other places.



OUTSIDE the tomb house is a pendapa. It stands on a terrace which is lower than the terrace and fundament of the tomb house. The measurement of the oblong plan is 5.25 x 6.25 m. On the front side is a part which protrudes about 1 m. The entrance in the shape of a staircase is on the east side. The entrance faces the south and afterwards turns to the west. There are 24 steps from the lowest courtyard to the

courtyard of the tomb house. South of the staircase are long steps of the terrace which have been made to reinforce the steepness of the mosque courtyard.

The building in front of the tomb house has six round and thin pillars. They stand on square pillar bases of rock stone. The top of the roof is long and level. Under its roof, there are several graves which keep the remains of the descendants of Sunan Sendang, according to local tradition. The form of the grave looks similar to that in the tomb house. On a gravestone which has no name of a person, is a decoration of a patra or serrated leaves with wavy lines ending in triangles. On a small grave is a gravestone with a carving of a round object with rays.

COMPOUND NORTH OF THE MOSQUE

To enter the courtyard with the most sacred tomb, the visitor has to pass through the courtyards with the graves and the gates north of the mosque, and those of the northwestern and western side. On the front part of the first courtyard north are two water tanks which flank the small path to the gate. The two water tanks near one another are in the north and the south. They are without water and no longer used. The two water tanks are oblong and measure each 8 x 3.50 m. In each of the corners inside are parts which are protruding and have steps leading into the water. The courtyard with the water tanks is lower than the one we are entering now and separated by a circular wall which has a split gate.



THE SPLIT GATE northwest of the mosque: The gate is about 0.50 m from the two water tanks above. The gate is on the map marked with split Gate G. The split gate is connected on both sides with the circular wall of the courtyard which is full of graves. The distance from the centre of the gate to the end of the circular wall on the right side (south) and left (north) is 11.25 m. The width of the path through the gate is 1.80 m and made out of nine steps. The height of the gate is 3.85 m from the real base onto the top without counting the height of the stair wings. The stair wing is on the front (east) side of the gate. The stair wing is 1.60 m high.

Broadly, the Gate G is not much different from split Gate D, except a few details. On both stair wings G, there is a decoration of crossed lines which put in a square niche with a frame. One

decorative panel of the foot of the gate has no teeth as one finds them on the split Gate D, but crossed lines are like multiplication marks, giving protruding and sharp ends. The decoration on the lower part of the gate consists of holes, again differentiating from that on the Gate D which has a pointed arch in the upper part. There are five holes in the lower part of both stair wings. The stair wings on foot are no longer connected by wide frames like those of Gate D but stand straight on the ground. There are no differences in measurement, frames and construction of the split Gate D.

WE HAVE mentioned that the split gate on the left and right connects with the circular wall of the courtyard. The circular wall is 2.15 m high. The top consists of small straight frames which run around rather wide frames. They are followed by small frames which are continued downwards till the lower part. Afterwards, follows another large frame and a small frame which are the upper part of the wide panel, decorated with a lined lozenge. On the lower part of the wall are panels which are going outwards, followed by other ones which go straight into the earth.

On the walls are candi-laras which function as decorating the square pillar tops and dividing the panels of the circular wall. They are higher than those on the circular wall of the mosque. There are five on the circular wall. They have the same shape near the stair wings, marking between foot, body, and top. The plan is square with a profile which shows protruding and receding parts where foot, body and top change. The foot of the candi-laras has frames which become smaller and smaller to be followed by a straight upstanding panel which forms the body. On each front side is a straight and round frame, connecting with the protruding frame of the top of the body. This frame becomes the lowest frame of the candi-laras. This frame again follows by smaller frames the higher they locate. On the top is a straight upstanding panel, forming a cube covered by a more protruding frame. A few frames on the lower part have a decoration of antefixes and resemble flower rosettes. The other candi-laras have only frames and no antefixes.

Through the split gate, we enter the courtyard full of graves, separated from the road by a low wall. On the right (north) side is another courtyard with graves which is separated by a rather high wall with a gate. The graves on the left are no ancient ones but have made during the last decades. However, the gravestones show still the old traditional forms. The rather old graves are on the left side of the split gate. Since the tombstones are simple without decorations or inscriptions, it does not know who buried there.

GATE F: In the north, there is another courtyard, separated by a rather high wall. One has to go through a gate with a covered top (Gate F). The height of the gate from the base is 3.60 m. The height from the base to the upper window frame is 2 m, while the top itself is 1.60 m high. On the southern side, the foot has a decoration of frames on top of which another one and a straight panel of decorated leaves and flowers. The decorations again follow by other small decoration and frames, filled with scrolls. The frames of the gate are curling outwards.

Gate F is not so wide and measures 0.625 m. In the upstanding panel of the gate below, the one on the left and the right side are shallow and long niches. On the backside of the gate are quadrangular pillars. They are ornate with frames, becoming smaller and smaller the higher they are located and have leaf-shaped antefixes. On both sides of the corner pillars are framed panels of decorated flower rosettes which have inside squares. At the ends of the decorative panels, are pillars of the wall. They connected with the circular wall and have a candi-laras on top. The lower part of the candi-laras has a profile of a jar. The lid of the jar is made of small lines which recede and protrude, forming the candi-laras. The candi-laras is connected with the gate by the part of the wall which has the form of a stair wing. It looks simple in shape because it is made of a wall part which has steps on its side. The top of the gate consists of straight frames, becoming smaller and smaller. In the frames are decorations of antefixes resembling bunches of lotus flowers, the half round top reminds us of lotus buds. The front gate in the north has no decoration at all.

THE CIRCULAR wall of the courtyard which connects with Gate F on both sides has a height of 1.25 m. At certain intervals, there are the frames of cakras decoration. The wall divides into several panels by pillars which decorate with candi-laras on top. The corner pillar of the circular wall is quadrangular and is larger than the other pillars of the wall. On top of these pillars are slightly pointed lotuses. The wall continuing on the eastern side of Gate F cuts the circular wall, which stretches northwards as the connecting wall with Gate G, which is also the circular wall on the eastern side of the courtyard Gate F. The circular wall on the north side is the dividing wall of the whole courtyard, whereas the wall on the western side is the continuing wall to connect with Gate E. In this way a long courtyard is formed, due to the two circular walls which run parallel with Gates G and E, and cut the connecting wall of Gate F. In the courtyard, when one has passed through Gate F, there are new graves. There might be one or two old graves, but unfortunately, their tombstones bear no inscription to determine their age.

GATE E: After the first courtyard follows the second one which can be visited by passing through the gateway (Gate E). It is the most interesting because of a real stair wing, showing that there has been a development in architecture. The height of the whole gate is 6.62 m, and the width of the door is about 1.25 m. The height between the upper door sill and lower sill is 2.37 m. On the front, the doors have still original decorations. They consist of vegetative motifs of plants and flowers. There is no decoration on the backside of the doors. The door posts are made of square teakwood beams, and its upper part has decorations of small cone-shaped frames, as if they are serrated.



Above the door are supporting rafters of stone, arranged into one level. The decorations of these supporting rafters are motifs in the form of “T”, interchanging with squares, pointed on one side and crossed lines, resembling the kawung motif, heart-shaped forms, M-shaped forms and wavy lines. The two lower parts of the gate protrude with a bas-relief decoration. The carving on the second panel of the protruding foot consists of peacocks with fanning tail, their heads facing the entrance. Exactly below the feet of the peacocks are two small and narrow motifs, becoming longer the more they stretch downwards. From this basic part are six curved lines parallel with the small niches, resembling flower stems. Above the peacocks are other motifs like curved lines, showing the profile of a “jambu air” fruit. Above this is a plain small frame which separates the decorative panels in the upper part. On the second side face of the gate which is also protruding are carvings of lions. The lions show in half seated pose, their two hind legs folded, while the front legs are straight and stand parallel. The upstanding tails follow the curves of the body which form “S”. The lion facing the east shows its mouth with pointed teeth open.



Above the decorative panel with the peacocks is a plain panel of the gate foot which protrudes on the left and right side, there are loose, carved, triangular shape of two rock stones. The carvings on the stones represent trees. The tree carved in the stone on the left (south) has leaves of a round shape, whereas the other leaves are elongated, reminding us of the leaves of a date or a palm tree. The tree carved in the stone on the right (north) side is the same as on the stone of the left side. The only difference is that on a stone above the base of the gate on the right side, the tree has a stem and the branches show fruits and leaves.

The gate pillars have no decorations, except its base, besides the straight concave lines. In each corner of the outer side of the gate is a relief of a garuda head with its crooked beak, while from it three flower stems emerge with flowers at the end. In the rear of this relief is a panel with stair wings. The two stair wings are marked by lines representing the feathers of a wing. But the number of the feathers is not the same; thus the width of the stair wing on the right (south) and the left (north) is not the same. Like the other stair wings, the stair wing E has holes in the part which connects with the top of the circular wall.



The top of the gate has a lower part which protrudes from its body. In the lower and upper part from the top are scroll decorations, resembling Garuda heads with crooked beaks. The upper part of the top decorates with curved and wavy antefixes. The cone-shaped summit is high and has a lid which is level and more protruding. The entire summit is connected with

the other parts, making it look like a Garuda with a high crown in the act of flying.

The back side of the gate (west side) shows no difference with the frontal part. It differs in the decorative panels in the lower part of the gate and which are protruding. In the reliefs, they show no bird or lion, but a decorative motif reminds us of a stylized Kala head. Below this is on both sides of the door a motif of two niches with curved frames. In its upper part, it looks like a mouth with flower stems with triangles above. The loose, decorative stones which are lying on the protruding part of the foot of the gate are decorated with trees like on the front side of the gate. The protruding panel decorates with scrolls of lotus flowers. The leaves are open, while the flowers are in buds.

Gate E connects with the circular wall which in southern direction cuts the circular wall of the mosque courtyard near Gate D. In the north direction it cuts the circular wall which connects with Gate F. The circular wall continues till the north side which runs from east to west. It is like the other circular walls, decorated with pillars whose candi-laras has on top. On the front side of the circular wall, precisely below the stair wing, is a decorative panel which has a relief of a wing. Above the door is an object of a nose, probably representing a stylized Banaspati. It is interesting that above it a tree is carved with long and small leaves of branches, recalling the representation of a tree of life. Above the tree are curved lines. The same representation is also found on the decorative panels on the right and left sides of the gate.

The decorative pillars on the circular wall which connect with the winged Gate E have a simple shape. The candi-laras are full of decorative motifs. The candi-laras on the wall north of Gate E has an antefix, resembling a cloud or a clump of rock stone. On their surface are other decorations, such as lotus flowers of a unique style and spread wings. The candi-laras on the wall south of Gate E has the same decoration as above. At the end of the wall is other candi-laras with more opulent decoration than all the other ones. The candi-laras is not far from the continuing wall of Gate D. Among the decorations are two makaras with tusks and teeth. Between the two makaras are trees and flowers. Interestingly, a building with a pointed roof has a square and high fundament, assuming a pendapa. The relief on the front side of the western candi-laras represents a makara. There is a plant with thick long leaves, probably a Pandanus, and antefixes with clumps of rock stone.

Through winged Gate E, we reach the courtyard which is situated parallel with split Gate D. On the right (west) side of Gate D are the remains of a fundament of a wall which ran parallel with the wall which connects with the foot of Gate D on the left (east) side with winged Gate E. The courtyard measures 10 x 3 m. On its west side is an exit which is not directly connected with Gate E, but lies a little more to the south, seemingly a protective wall for Gate E. The wall cuts the transverse wall of the candi-laras north of Gate E. The low transverse wall continues in two western directions and cuts again the wall which runs into north direction.

ON THE north side of the courtyard, a wall of piled loose rock stones runs from east to west. It formed a courtyard which was slightly on a high spot, filled with graves. Unfortunately, we cannot know who is buried there, as no names on the tombstones were given, except inscription of the Muslim creed on the two. As regards the shape of tombstones and the traces of its decorations, these are old graves. At the base of the tombstones is a decoration of plants and leaves which are square and curved, while on one side shows a triangle shape. The grave itself arranges with half round and straight ogive. On each ogive are triangular and rounded antefix decorations. The graves made of rock stones, already blackish.



ON THE courtyard which is a lower level than the courtyard with the graves are two buildings. The large one used as a storehouse for the remnants of the old mosque, and the small one for one carved pillar. The roofs of the two buildings touch one another, lying in the west-east direction. The roofs consist of a simple straight ridge with a slanting roof, covered with tiles at present. The pillars of the large pendapa are eight in number; the small one six pillars. The pillars of the large building are standing on pillar bases of the old mosque. Those of the small building stand on the ground. There are no decorations on the square pillars.

The carved pillar in the small building is made of tamarind wood and has branches. It is not the original one but has taken from the building which formerly stood on the left side in front of the mosque. The pillar was used to hang the large drum on it. A person embraces the girth of the pillar; its height is 2 m. The carvings include a building with a three-storied roof standing on a terrace. Besides, there are animals of three deer, two horses, and an elephant. One of the deer is depicted in the act of running and looking back as if he is afraid, while two horses are running. The elephant seems steady and grand, standing with one leg in front of the other. Of the three deer, one has not adequately depicted as he is shown with only a head and two front legs, while the body and the back are elongated like that of a serpent down from the sky. He depicts in a flying position. The animal might represent a symbol. The animals are all shown inside a forest which can conclude from the presence of shady trees with a kind of jackfruits. There might be

sunflowers on the same pillar. The plant mentioned afterwards has round fruits. The possible coconut and other trees depict in a particular style.

After passing the building with the carved pillar, we can continue our walk about 10 meters to the west along the path which goes through the brick wall to reach the area with graves and buildings. Before entering this compound, the visitors are requested to take off their shoes as they are about to begin a sacred place. It is a common thing during a visit to Islamic sanctuaries like the tombs of the sultans of Yogya at Imogiri, the tomb of Sunan Bayat at Bayat, the tomb of Sunan Gunung Jati at Cirebon, etc.

COMPOUND WEST OF THE MOSQUE

The entrance to the compound with the buildings and graves located west or northwest of the mosque has no gate at all, besides the pillar of the dividing wall between the compounds on the north and the west. From the entrance come low walls on both sides of a path with downwards going steps. This low wall is not running in a straight line as it goes southwards and reaches the other end of the courtyard on a lower level, filled with graves. There are also graves in the narrow courtyard on both sides of the low wall.

Among the graves of the lower courtyard are younger and older ones. On one grave in the centre, there is an inscription in Arabic script with the name of the person buried there, Kiyahi Samsuddin. There is no mention of the date of his death, but are verses from the Koran, particularly the ayat al-qursi. The other tombstones which are perhaps older have no inscriptions. From the graves, we go into a northwestern direction to reach the graves on the terrace which are covered by a pendapa which function as a tomb house. The building itself has been renovated and has a simple shape. On the northwestern side and southern side, it is a steep way to reach the terrace of the graves. Due to ground shifting, these parts are slightly shrinking. The graves on this spot have no inscriptions on their tombstone.

However, according to the guardian and the local people, the graves contain the remains of the descendants of Sunan Sendang, Ratu Pembayun and his family. The shape of the graves and the tombstones are simple, as they only consist of a top which has an incision near the sides, while the same top slightly points at the centre. The foot of the tombstone is square and has a small peg to fit in a hole of the base. The tombstone is plain, without decoration. The grave has half round ogives and triangle antefixes. The headstone of the grave which contains the remains of the son of Pangeran Pembayun has on its front side decoration of a circle with rays. There are no other remarkable traits in the graves or buildings in that place, so we can continue to walk to see other buildings. We return to the courtyard we discussed before, to reach the winged gate on the southern side of that courtyard.



WINGED GATE B: This gate is not a split gate, as a top covers it. This Gate B is the most excellent, most impressive of all the gates in the monuments of Sendang Duwur, or even among all the ancient gates of any place. It is both its beauty and the meaning of its decoration and architectural style. The height of the gate is approximately 5.12 m, and the width from the end of the left wing to that of the right wing is about 5 m. The width of the entrance door is 70 cm and the height 1.80 m. Length of the path is approximately 4.7 m. The decoration of the top and the gate wings on the front (north) side is more abundant than those on the back (south) side of the gate. There is a difference in the left and right wing because the upstanding panels below the left wing have no decorations and are smaller. The lower panels of the left wing touch immediately the heap of rock stones which form the steep slope of the grounds below the mosque and the tomb house of the most sacred grave.



The frame of the door on the front side of the gate has a decoration of a kala-marga arch, an arch ending on both sides in deer heads which face outwards. From the kala head of which the outline sees, there comes a frame of flat scrolls. On both ends of the upper frames which are lying straight are animal heads with tusks and teeth like a crocodile, classified as makara motifs. The makaras are hanging down from the corners of the upper frame of the door. Below these two deer heads are decorative motifs of growing plants among clumps of rock stones. The staircase of the gate with two pairs of steps on both sides decorates with a naga head with open mouth. The two nagas have a crown, while the lower part of the naga head rests on a square stone. The arabesque-like decoration above the kala head consists of a pair of wings and some kinds of plants.

On the summit of the gate are visible clumps of rock stones. On both sides of the summit is depicted as a building with a pointed roof standing on a terrace. The two gate wings describe by the border lines separating the feathers of the wing. On the lower part of the wings are decorations of scrolls and large curls. On the summit of the gate is also a decoration of the top frame consisting of scrolls with pointed and slanting ends. The summit of the crown which is smaller than that of the lower gate is not rich in decoration and has only triangles of lines.



The left wing (west) is sticking to a quadrangular pillar which has a stepped form and decorates with a plant motif. From below the wing till nearby the body of the pillar is a large frame which fills with trapezes decorated with scrolls of leaves. Lower than that frame is a decorative panel which represented a tree of life with branches. Below it is a widespread wing. It resembles the decoration on the panels left and right of Gate E.

Below this wing motif is a protruding, undecorated panel. On the bottom left of the stair wing is a relief with two animals, showing tails and mouths. Whether the animals are monkeys or lions is not clear. The panel below the right wing (east) has, as we have said above, no decoration at all, except the upstanding panel and the plain panel. The width of the panels measures half of the panels below the left wing.



Inside the upper doors are pillars which are stuck to the wall of the path and support the rafter of the upper door. The pillar and this rafter have decorations like those on the rafter of the upper part of the door of Gate E. Through the path of the gate we reach to the courtyard below the steps of the staircase which is the place with the tomb house of the most sacred grave. The Gate B separates the compound of the most sacred one from the less sacred. As said before, the gate is at the back not so nicely decorated as on the front side. Its wings have no lines which show the feathers. The summit of the gate has symbolic lines which present the basic pattern of a clump of rock stones. There are decorations of plant and leaf on the doorposts. Below the western wing is a panel filled with geometrical motif and diamond-shaped plant motifs. Among the decorations is a building with a two-storied roof, but with a rounded ridge.

COMPOUND SOUTH OF THE MOSQUE

The road to enter the southern group is on the foot of the hill. It seems that the group of buildings and tombs is of a later date and is not as sacred as the other groups. The group is separated from the newest group of tombs by a brick wall. One enters it through a split gate. The wall decorates with a pillar whose top has a simpler and shorter *candi-laras* than that on the wall of the north group. The gate south (Gate C) of the mosque is 4.5 m high, and the road is 1.80 m wide. Its style and arrangement in part are similar to Gates D and G. It is not necessary for detail.

Through Gate C, we come in a courtyard, elongated by narrow and strewn with tents of graves. The graves on the terrace are nearly all new according to the Arabic inscriptions on the tombstones, mentioning the names of the deceased. Also on the second terrace surrounded by a lower wall are graves. Among them, slightly high and big with tombstones show a few carvings. Unfortunately, the tombstones bear no name. Haji Abu, an inhabitant of the village, said that the man buried here is Prince Arjo. After this terrace, there is no other one with a special arrangement, except higher and higher rock stones until the side of the mosque reaches. There are no other matters of interest as regards the southern group.

BUILDINGS AND OTHER OBJECTS

These are the buildings and objects from the surroundings of Sendang Duwur which might have some connections.

WELL: On the side of the road which runs to the courtyards about 25 m north is a well, called “*sumur-guling*”. This nickname caused by the fact that the wheel for the pulling cord is a big piece of wood, turned by foot. The building where the well was found is squared with a low terrace and a roof of wooden tiles. The squared pillars have no decorations. A wooden fence runs around the four pillars, covering an ancient mosque. The top of the roof is a new terracotta *mustaka*, ordered from Cirebon during the restoration in 1938.

STONE statue: It is interesting that on an Islamic monument, a stone statue with carved in high relief found on the steps of Gate D during the restoration of 1938. The statue was made of hard natural stone. Due to severe damage, it is hard to say what kind of a statue it is. It has a flywhisk (*camara*) in its left hand, while it has traces of a rosary (*aksamala*) in its left hand. No traces are visible on its head. The halo is round and is in a rather good condition. Despite no other indications, regarding the flywhisk and rosary, it can be a Shiva statue.

SPOUT statue and pond: There is a pond on the border of Sendang Duwur and Sendang Agung. It receives its water from a well out of the crevices of the rocks along the road to the village of Sendang Duwur. Possibly, the pond can connect with a pond statue formerly found there. The spout statue carved from natural stone. It has a form of a man sitting on top of the spout. The damage makes it difficult to imagine. The man has one leg up and one down. His folded left leg

and his right hand are touching his calf. His left arm is raised, forming a right angle. It is not clear what he is holding in his left hand. It is evident that he seems a small, dwarfed man.



JAR and ceramic sherds: There are three big jars in front of the mosque. The material is not terracotta as for the jars and vats made in Indonesia but is Chinese and Cambodian stone jars or vats. These vats were used to contain water for ablutions but now serve as containers of the ashes of papers, written with Arabic verses from the Koran. Besides the vats,

there are also ceramic sherds from groups of tombs south of the mosque. The sherds are from ancient Chinese ceramics.

THE POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT ON SENDANG DUWUR

POLITICAL CONTEXT OF HINDU-BUDDHIST KINGDOMS AND ITS IMPACT

Sendang Duwur, situated not far from Tuban in the north coast of East Java, was under the political power of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. The dynasty of Kanjuruhan established the first kingdom in the eighth century and followed by other dynasties, such as Isana from the 10th century, Dharmawangsa and Airlangga (10-11C), Kadiri (11-12C), Singasari and Majapahit (13-15C). Majapahit kingdom which began to grow in 1293 reached her golden age in the 14th century but began to decline at the end of the same century. From the end of the 15th century, it fell into the political power of Islam. As one of other Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms, Daha-Kadiri under the dynasty of Girindrawardhana was subdued by the Islamic kingdom of Demak in 1526.

The political control of the coastal areas, particularly the harbour towns such as Tuban, Gresik, Sedayu, Jaratan Canggü, etc. in the north coast of East Java, had been done since Kadiri and Singasari. According to *Nagarakertagama* (1365), written by Mpu Prapanca, the harbour town of Tuban had been used for the military expedition (Pamalyu) in 1275 sent by Kertanagara, the King of Singasari, to Malayu kingdom in Sumatra. Tuban as one of the significant harbour towns and other north coastal areas were under the political power of the greatest Hindu Majapahit which reached her glorious period during the reign of Hayam Wuruk (1350-1389) and his prime minister (mahapatih) Gajah Mada.

Majapahit was an agrarian-maritime kingdom with her capital city assumed to be at Trowulan in the regency of Mojokerto about 65 km from Surabaya. At Trowulan, many archaeological sites have been discovered by excavation and surface finds. The city-state developed regional and international trade, supported by the two great rivers - Kali Brantas and Bengawan Solo which functioned as main waterways for transferring all kinds of commodities from the hinterlands to the harbour towns and vice versa. The products needed by the kingdom and the peoples were imported and exported via the harbour towns of Canggü, Sedayu, Jaratan, Gresik, particularly Tuban.

Among commodities is rice exported to the Moluccas and China; pepper from Paciran was brought to Tuban and shipped to China. The other products including salt, spices, pearls, turtle shells, gold, silver, sandalwood, sugar cane, bananas, coconuts, kapok, cotton, textiles, silks, sulphur, etc., were brought from other places and exported via Tuban. Some episodes describe the activities of these harbour towns of Majapahit both in the regional and international trade in the Javanese literature such as *Nagarakertagama*, *Pararaton*, *Kidung Harsawijaya*, *Kidung Ranggalawe*, etc.

Nagarakertagama as an essential historical source depicts not only economic but also political and cultural situation and condition of Majapahit. Many kingdoms acknowledged the political power of Majapahit as tributary kingdoms. Besides, Majapahit had relationships with several foreign countries, mainly for diplomatic, economic, commercial, and cultural affairs. *Nagarakertagama* also described a range of rebellions during the history of several Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in East Java. Since Jayanegara succeeded by Kertarajasa the range of rebellions came up from Ranggalawe in Tuban, from Keta and Sadeng. With the effort of Gajah Mada, the uprising of Ranggalawe in 1295 could be destroyed, and then Keta, Sadeng destroyed in 1331. However, the golden age of Majapahit began to decline after Hayam Wuruk's death in 1389. Unfortunately, he did not have a son by a principle queen (prameswari) but only a daughter; therefore she married her nearest relative, the king's nephew Wikramawardana. By a lesser wife (selir) Hayam Wuruk had a son, named Bhre Wirabhumi who felt to have right as the successor of his father. After the death of Hayam Wuruk, the trouble among the royal family of Majapahit occurred.

Wikramawardana reigned the kingdom within a short period (1389-1429). During his reign, the civil war broke out in 1401 which developed in consequence of Wirabhumi's refusal to recognize the authority of Majapahit. In 1406 Bhre Wirabhumi was killed, and his head brought to Majapahit in token of the restoration of the unity of the kingdom. Nevertheless, all troubles which took place among the royal family caused the weakness of Majapahit as the most important Hindu kingdom in Indonesia. The kingdom could not control her subject states which phase by phase separated them from the central kingdom of Majapahit.

The death of Bhre Wirabhumi and the political situation and condition of Majapahit supposed to be a peaceful situation, but the trouble happened again among the royal family, so that became a range of wars. Kertajaya had tried to prevent the situation of Majapahit to maintain the unity of the kingdom among others by giving Kadiri to Bhre Daha VIII and Kahuripan to Rajasawardhana. But the attempt of Kertajaya failed as he died in 1451 and the trouble came up again. Bhre Pamotan with his title Rajasawardhana tried to reign from 1451 to 1453 but failed since he died in 1453. Wars among the royal families were becoming more and more so that Bhre Wengker or Bhre Hyang Purwawisesa died in 1466 and two years later on in 1468. Girindrawardhana Bhatara ring Bahanapura invaded the political centre of Majapahit with her capital city.

Girindrawardhana was succeeded to drive away his nephew Singhawikramawardhana the so-called Pandan Salas, the son of Bhre Wengker, from the palace of Majapahit. Girindrawardhana stayed not long in the palace of Majapahit due to his death in 1474. His son, Ranawijaya whose name was stated in the inscription of 1486 and he called as the King of Sri Wilwatikta-Daha Janggala-Kadiri. Based on this historical data, the date (*candrasangkala*) in one of the Javanese literature mentioning "*sirna hilang kertaning bhumi*" (1400 Saka or 1478 A.D.) cannot be regarded as the fall of the capital of Majapahit attacked by the Islamic kingdom of Demak under Raden Patah.

It proves by a historical account of Tome Pirés (1512-1515) which did not say the capital city of Majapahit invaded by Demak under Pate Rodim (Raden Patah). He mentioned only that the war between the Muslim and the Hindus was still going on, and the capital city of the Hindu kingdom was already in Daha where Vigiaya, the king had been settled there, and Gusti Pateh was more dominant in his activities, particularly against the Muslim invasion. Tome Pirés said that from Tuban to Dayo (Daha) could be reached in two days by walking. Therefore the fall of the last Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Daha or Kadiri happened in 1526. Although Kadiri was already under the Islamic kingdom, there were still some small Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in Pasuruan, Panarukan, and Balambangan which later on subdued by the Islamic kingdom, since the end of the 16th and the 17th century from Demak and Mataram.

So far, the political situation and condition of East Java where the northern coastal areas have the harbour towns like Tuban, Gresik, Sedayu, Jaratan, Canggü and others. Geographically, Sendang Duwur which situates not far from Tuban and Paciran is not impossible out of the political power of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms at least since Singasari and Majapahit.

CULTURAL CONTEXT OF HINDU-BUDDHIST KINGDOMS AND ITS IMPACT

The political situation and condition of the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms in East Java which have discussed briefly cannot separate from the cultural situation and condition and its impact on Sendang Duwur. In East Java since the eighth century at Dinaya near Malang there was a temple, Candi Badut. The date of this temple is based on the Javanese inscription of 760, mentioning a ritual of replacement a wooden statue by a stone one. The style of this temple is nearly similar to the temple in Central Java. The other temples are Candi Sumbernanas and Candi Sanggariti.

East Java had developed its styles of architecture and sculpture over time. The East Javanese period of Hindu-Buddhist art started actually with the early monuments on the Mount Penanggungan and continued in the period of Singasari-Majapahit. The earliest monuments on Mount Penanggungan had been built at Jalatunda a sanctuary or a bathing place getting the water from rock walls. On the highest rock used to be a sculpture of a mountain look like Mount Penanggungan itself in the form of central peak surrounded by four other peaks. It is a replica of Mount Meru which was brought over from India, according to the Javanese legend. It is interesting that there are several reliefs and the inscribed date 899 Saka (977) combined with the name "Udayana" which referred to the assumption that this sanctuary built for King Udayana of Bali. He married a Javanese princess Gunapriyadharmapati, the mother of Airlangga, who ruled between 989 and 1001. The other reliefs are depicting an episode of Mahabharata now at the Museum Nasional Jakarta. From the sanctuary of Jalatunda has been found relief fragment of Ramayana depicting the abduction of Sita by Rawana and the other one depicting Hanuman reports to Rama

after his mission to Langka where Sita found. Though the human figures of the Jalatunda reliefs still look naturalistic like those of Central Javanese monuments, there is already the tendency to sculpt them rather angular shoulders which indicates the start of the development into the so-called “wayang style” which made the figures look like puppets from the shadow play.



Wayang, shadow puppet (Pepin Press 1998)

At the other site of Mount Penanggungan there is also a sanctuary of a bathing place which is supposed to be associated with Airlangga whose stone statue portrays as Vishnu on Garuda where it stood between two spout figures, Laksmi and Sri. At the northeast of Belahan there are gateways from an earlier period, presumably of Sivaitic temple complex nearby. The other archaeological remains of Mount Penanggungan are mostly stepped or terraced sanctuaries hewn out from the rocks. The style of the statues to be supposed from the Majapahit period which means that Mount Penanggungan has used the whole East Javanese period of art. From the period of Kadiri there are temples at Gurah consisted of the main temple with three subsidiary temples in a row facing it. There are makaras looks like in Central Java and the style of the statues: Agastya or Siva-Guru shows affinities with that of the image of Candi Singasari. These factors and the characters in a short inscription were supposed to date from the Kadiri period in the 11th century.

The archaeological remains referring to the period of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms mostly from the period of Singasari-Majapahit have mentioned by Mpu Prapanca in the *Nagarakertagama* (1365) and the later Javanese literature, *Pararaton*. Fortunately, many temples from the period of Singasari-Majapahit mentioned by Prapanca as royal sanctuaries and related to the cult of God-King or Dewa-Raja. The temples from the period of Singasari-Majapahit are Candi Kidal, Candi Sawentar, Candi Jago or Tumpang, Candi Singasari, Candi Jawi, Candi Panataran, Candi Simpang, Candi Surawana, and Candi Jabung. At the archaeological site of Trowulan which is supposed to be the capital city of Majapahit kingdom, many objects have been found such as temples and structure foundations, gates, statues, local and foreign ceramics, numismatics, etc. The archaeological remains mentioned above will be discussed only briefly as follows.

Candi Kidal located on the east of Malang dedicates to Anusapati (1227-1248), the second king of Singasari, the stepson of Ken Angrok or Rajasa (1222-1227). Candi Kidal has a square ground plan with a large, rather high base and a receding body. The superstructure is pyramidal and the top in boxlike. The body of the temple decorates with scenes from the story of Garudeya which

one among them Garuda is carrying a vessel with immortality water (amerta). In another one, Garuda carries his mother, Vinata.

At the village of Tumpang, east of Malang, there is a temple by name Candi Tumpang or Candi Jago. It was a cult temple for Wisnuwardhana (1248-1268), built by his son Kertanagara (1268-1292), the last king of Singasari. The architecture is unique since there are three successive terraces, while the body of the temple is not standing in the centre of the upper terrace but somewhat backwards of it. A. J. Bernet Kempers has mentioned that the arrangement is very similar to that of Panataran temple or those of Bali in which the main sanctuary is at the very back of the complex. The roof and the more significant part of the body of the temple were carved in so that the shape of the roof was not known. This suggestion has made that it was in the shape of a meru or pagoda-like Balinese buildings.

The Hindu character of Candi Jago is beyond doubt proved by a series of the reliefs on the terraces of the temple, depicting the stories partly from the Tantri (the old Javanese version of the Panchatantra), the story of Kunjarakarna, the story of Parthayajnya, followed by Arjunawihara. The body of the temple decorates with the scene from the story of Kresnayana. It is interesting that on the reliefs the characters are depicted with their feet pointing in one direction as if the puppeteer or dalang handle them. All of those scenes depicting the stories have been discussed in detail by Kempers in his book, *Ancient Indonesian Art*.



Jago temple (1268), East Java

Candi Jawi situates on the road between Pandakan and Tretes which was associated with the last King of Singasari, Kertanagara died in 1292, who was called a Siva-Budda in the Pararaton. The Candi Jawi seems to be a syncretistic belief, as it is Sivaitic form below and with a stupa on the top. The statue in the main cella was a Siva Mahadewa, and there also found the statue of Burga. It is interesting as one of the reliefs shows a temple compound complete with the main temple, subsidiary temple, gate and moat, which appears to have been the portrait of the real Candi Jawi. The largest complex of temples in East Java is Candi Panataran, situated in the north of Blitar on the southwestern slope of Mount Kelut.

Candi Panataran originally called as Candi Papoh. According to the find of inscriptions, this complex of temples had developed and dated from 1197 up to 1454 (the 12th up to the 15th

century). The general layout of the temples consists of three courts where the main temple places at the back or the third court. It seems to have a similarity with the layout of the temples in Bali. In the first court are two terraces whose one of them has the base decorated with reliefs, depicting scenes from Javanese stories like Sri Tanjung, Bubuksah and Gagang Aking, Panji stories, etc. In the second court are a Naga temple and a dated temple of 1291 Saka (1369). The main temple has two terraces which are decorated by reliefs, depicting Ramayana story on the lower terrace and from Krisnayana story on the upper terrace.



Panataran temple (1197-1454), East Java

The reliefs of Ramayana in the Candi Panataran compare with that in the Candi Prambanan in Central Java. There is a different style in the technical treatment of carving, so that in East Java are shallow reliefs and in Central Java are deep ones. Therefore, most of the reliefs in East Java look like a puppet scene of the shadow play, while in Central Java they are more natural. The other archaeological remain from the Majapahit period was Candi Surawana located near Pare, Kadiri, which built around 1400. There are panels of reliefs, depicting the stories of Arjunawiwaha, Sri Tanjung and Bubuksah. From the Majapahit period, there are still many monuments and statues which cannot discuss all of them.

However, it is imperative to note that there are many Hindu-Buddhist archaeological finds at Trowulan which supposed to be the site of the ancient capital of Majapahit with function as the city-state. This urban archaeological site since the Dutch colonial time, even up to the present had been excavated and yielded many fundamentals of buildings made of bricks and other objects such as terracotta figures, pedestals, local and foreign coins, local and foreign ceramics, etc. There are also ruins of temples which have been restored such as Candi Brahu, Candi Tikus like a bathing place, the gateways Wringin Brajang, Bajang Ratu, the large bathing place Segaran. All of those monuments are made of bricks in large sizes and sometimes are decorated even on their tops.

The Hindu-Buddhist arts from the periods of Singasari and Majapahit possibly have influences or impacts on the northern coastal areas of harbour towns of East Java, such as Tuban, Jaratan, Sedayu, Gresik, Canggü, etc. The other places like Paciran and Sendang Duwur which situate in the north coast near the important harbour town of Tuban in the period of Singasari and Majapahit had social, economic, and cultural relations among them. The cultural impact of Hinduism on

Sendang Duwur and even on Sendang Agung can witness by the finds of stone statues of Siva and others. Besides, there are specific decorations, and architectural elements of Hindu-Buddhist temples of East Java were used and continued by the Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur. It means that the populations of Sendang Duwur before the coming of Islam embraced already Hindu-Buddhism who later contacted Islam, brought by the pioneers of Islam. Among others by the Nine Saints (Wali Songo), at least Sunan Bonang and Sunan Derajat lived at Tuban and Paciran. Their preachings intensified by Sunan Sendang who regarded as a local saint. His tomb house is at Sendang Duwur behind the mosque.

It is interesting to note that if architectural elements and decorative designs of Hindu-Buddhist temples have been used and continued by the Islamic monuments, thus Hindu-Buddhist *candis* (temples) themselves had used and kept the architectural and ornamental designs from prehistoric megalithic culture. The stepped or pyramidal structures of stones from the megalithic culture have been found everywhere in Indonesia among others. They are at Pasemah (South Sumatra), Punggraharjo (Lampung), Lebak Sibebug (South Banten), Gunung Padang (Cianjur-West Java), Argapura (East Java), etc. The other objects of megalithic remains such as dolmen, sarcophagus, stone cists, sculptures, and menhir have been found in many sites, including those are located in East Java. Therefore, if several elements of architecture and ornaments could discover on the Islamic monuments like mosques, gates, palaces, and gravestones, it means there was a process of acculturation during times since the periods of prehistory, Hindu-Buddhism and Islam.

The megalithic sanctuaries like the stepped stone structures whose most of them located at the slope of mountains or on the top of hills reflect the ancestor cult or animism and dynamism. Through the process of acculturation, these beliefs were mixed and continued with Hindu-Buddhism and reflected the temples and others. In other words, when Islam came and spread among them, both elements of animism-dynamism and Hindu-Buddhism mixed with Islam and reflected Islamic architectures and its ornamental designs. These factors are regarded by some experts, according to their theories of the acculturation process like Quaritch Wales and F. D. K. Bosch as local creativity or local genius. How and when the arrival and spread of Islam in East Java, particularly in the northern coastal areas where the village of Sendang Duwur situates, will be discussed here.

THE ARRIVAL AND SPREAD OF ISLAM TO EAST JAVA

The theories discussing on the arrival of Islam to Indonesia up to now are still disputable among several experts; one side assumes the coming of Islam since the seventh century (the first century A.H.) and is directly from Mecca or Arab. This assumption based on the Chinese source of “Hsin-T’ang Shu” mentioning a community of Ta-shih has a plan to attack the kingdom of Ho-ling under

the reign of Queen Sima (674). The aim of the Ta-shih delayed since Queen Sima was firm in her reign. W. P. Groeneveldt identifies the Ta-shih community as the Arab Muslim community who settled to be at the west coast of Sumatra.

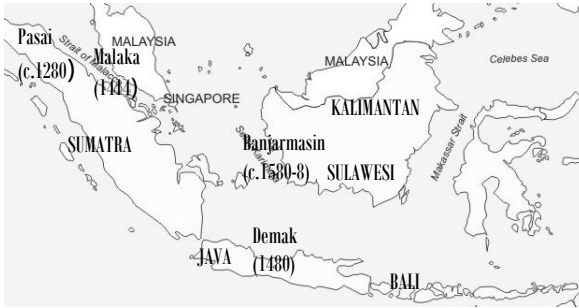
The other side of experts has an assumption that Islam came to Indonesia just at the 13th century and was not directly from Arab but from Iraq, Persia and India when Bagdad, the capital city of Iraq, was attacked by the Mongol under Hulaghu in 1258. This theory sustained by the find of a gravestone of Sultan Malik as-Salih who died in 1297 (696 A.H.) from Gampong Samudra, northeast of Lhokseumawe. However, the first theory is more acceptable than the second one, based on the using of historical sources. The second theory has omitted and overlooked several historical data from the periods before the 13th century, such as Chinese accounts (7-12C), the Arab accounts (9-11C). The archaeological data among others is a gravestone of Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibatullah who died in 1082 (475 A.H.) at Leran-Gresik in East Java.

Consequently, the second theory that the 13th century was the first coming of Islam cannot be accepted, but it must regard as the first establishment of the Islamic kingdom in Indonesia and even in Southeast Asia. The establishment of this Islamic kingdom was the result of the process of Islamisation by Muslim traders and preachers who already made seafaring and used Malaca Strait as the leading international trade route from Arab and other Islamic countries of the Middle East to Southeast Asia and China in the Far East.

The development of the international trade through Malaca Strait probably stimulated by the growth and development of three dynasties: the caliphate of Umayyad (660-749) in West Asia, the kingdom of Sriwijaya (7-14C) in Southeast Asia, and the T'ang dynasty of China (618-907) in the Far East. However the arrival of Islam to the Indonesian Archipelago did not take place at the same time, but was in several phases: (1) the first from the 7th or the 8th to the 13th century, (2) the second from the 13th to the 15th century, and (3) the third from the 16th to the 17th century.

The first coming and spreading of Islam along Malaca Strait between the 7th and 13th centuries resulted in the growth of the first Islamic kingdom at Samudra-Pasai reigned by Sultan Malik as-Salih who died in 1297 (696 A.H.). And on the second phase, the arrival and spread of Islam happened in Malaca; thus this important harbour town became an Islamic kingdom from the beginning of the 15th century until the beginning of the 16th century, because since 1511, it attacked by the Portuguese.

During the political powers of Samudra-Pasai and Malaca there were many Muslim traders (merchants), and Islamic preachers (Muballigh/Maulah) came in several coastal areas of the north coast of East Java, mainly to the harbour towns of Majapahit kingdom such as Tuban, Sedayu, Jaratan, Sedayu, Canggug, etc.



The spread of Islam from the 13th to 16th centuries in Indonesia (drawing by Lee-Niinioja 2006)

The first arrival of Islam in Javanese north coast of East Java has been mentioned above in Gresik which can be proved by the find of a gravestone in Kufic script by name Fatimah binti Maimun bin Hibatullah who died in 1082 (475 A.H.). Historical as well as archaeological data have proved the continuity of the coming of Islam in this area since the 14th to the 16th century.

It is interesting to note that the continuation of the arrival and spread of Islam of the second phase in East Java based on the finds of many gravestones at Tralaya dated from the 14th century up to the beginning of the 16th century, inscribed in Arabic and even in Old Javanese. Tralaya belongs to Trowulan subdistrict which in the ancient time was assumed to be the capital city of Majapahit kingdom; therefore it means that at least in the 14th century when the kingdom achieved the glorious period, the Muslims had already come in and lived in an urban settlement that is the present Tralaya.

The Muslim traders participated by their preachers at that time were accepted with peace and full tolerance by the authorities of Majapahit. It might be more based on friendship and trading relation. The other archaeological data is the gravestone of Malik Ibrahim who died in 1419 (822 A.H.) at Gresik, one of the harbour towns of Majapahit kingdom. According to J. P. Moquette, perhaps Malik Ibrahim came from Khurashan, but his gravestone has similarities from the point of writing, the Arabic characters, the material of marble stones, with the gravestone of Sultanaat Nahrisyah in Pasai who died in 1428 (831 A.H.), and the gravestone of 'Umar ibn Ahmad al-Kazaruni' who died in 1333 (734 A.H) at Cambay in Gujarat, India. Therefore, based on the comparative study, he has stated that those gravestones were made in the same fabric at Cambay in Gujarat.

The coming of Islam in the northern coastal areas of East Java also was proved by the historical sources such as foreign accounts and local chronicles. The Chinese account, Ying-yae Sheng-lan (1433), written by Ma Huan who accompanied Cheng Ho in his expeditions to several countries among others to East Java when the kingdom of Majapahit began to decline. During the visit of Cheng Ho to the capital city of Majapahit, he made a chance to visit Tuban and Gresik to

meet the Chinese Muslim communities in those harbour towns. Ma Huan has given information on the situation and condition of the peoples which among the Chinese Muslims there were Javanese Muslims everywhere mostly in the coastal areas of East Java, though there were still under the political power of Majapahit. The other foreign account about the coming of Islam in the northern coastal areas of East Java is *Suma Oriental* of Tome Pirés written in 1512-1515. He said,

At that time in the northern coastal areas of East Java, there were heathens but many Muslim merchants used to visit: Arabs, Gujaratese, Bengalese, Malayans and other nationalities. They began to trade in the country and grew rich. They succeeded in building mosques, and mollahs Muslim lords came from abroad. Their number increased. The sons of these Moors have been already Javanese and rich, for they have been in these parts for about seventy years. In some places, the heathen Javanese lords themselves wanted to become Mohammedan, and the mollah and merchants Moors took possession of these places. Some fortified the places where they lived etc.

Malay chronicles also mentioned the relation between Samudra-Pasai and Majapahit among others: *Hikayat Raja-Raja Pasai*, and *Hikayat Banjar*, and Javanese chronicles the so-called *Babad*, *Serat*, *Carita*. The account of Tome Pirés and these local chronicles give not only information about the arrival of Islam from several countries but also the process of acculturation or the Islamisation which was already happening at least along the north coast of East Java. The Javanese chronicles, *Babad Tanah Jawi*, *Serat Kanda*, *Babad Demak*, etc. depict the activities of the pioneers of Islam so that the first Islamic kingdom in Java began to grow at Demak and established since 1478-1479 under the reign of Raden Patah. The process of Islamisation took place along the northern coastal areas of Java, not only in East Java but also in Central Java and West Java which also mentioned by Tome Pirés.

The process of Islamisation after the establishment of the Islamic kingdom of Demak developed and accelerated mainly by the so-called Wali Songo, (the Nine Saints). Among them are Sunan Ampel or Sunan Rahmat, Sunan Bonang, Sunan Derajat, Sunan Kalijaga, Sunan Murio, Sunan Giri, Syeikh Lemah Abang or Syeikh Siti Jenar, Sunan Kudus and Sunan Gunung Jati. Sometimes several names of the Nine Saints are replaced by the other names, but the number must be nine (9). The other names belong to the Nine Saints are Syeikh Magribi, Syeikh Bentong, Sunan Geseng. According to local communities, Malik Ibrahim's gravestone in Gresik belonged to the Nine Saints.

The role of the Nine Saints was significant on the spreading of Islam mainly along with the northern coastal areas from East Java to West Java. The spread of Islam in Java was stimulated by the weakness of the political situation and condition of the Majapahit kingdom after the death of Hayam Wuruk and Gajah Mada. There was the impact of the weakness of political control of Majapahit to establish the regencies and liberated themselves from the political control of

Majapahit. In the northern coastal area of Java, Aria Dikara, the regent or adipati Tuban accepted Islam. Even his daughter Raden Ayu Teja married with Syeikh Ngabdurrahman who had a son by name Syeikh Jali or Jalaluddin. There were many regents or adipatis in the northern coastal areas embracing Islam and became more after the growth of the Islamic kingdom of Demak. Most of those regencies in the northern coastal areas of Java were under the political power of Demak as mentioned by in *Suma Oriental*. Even Cirebon and Banten were growing as the Islamic kingdoms.

The process of Islamisation in the 16th century reached its development, thanks to the activities of the Nine Saints. It is without saying that the role of Sunan Bonang in Tuban had operations in the process of Islamisation not only in Tuban but also at the surrounding places among others, such as Sendang Duwur. Beside Sunan Bonang, there was the other member of Wali Songo, namely Sunan Derajat who participated in the preaching of Islam and lived at Paciran near Sendang Duwur. Demak, as the first and the greatest Islamic kingdom in Java since the reign of Raden Patah, followed by his successor Pangeran Sabrang Lor or Adipati Unus and then succeeded by Pangeran Trenggana (died in 1546), was always sustained by the roles of the Nine Saints. The Nine Saints often did the preaching of Islam at that time in the Great Mosque of Demak built in 1478-1479.

The preaching of Islam had been wisely with the sociological, psychological and cultural approach. The process of Islamisation had done basically according to the principal concept of Islam with peace and order without force.

The process of Islamisation did through several channels:

1. Trade relations among the Muslim traders/merchants with the local communities
2. Marriages among the Muslims with the local girls, particularly with the noble families
3. Religious education institutions (Pesantren)
4. Preaching on Sufism
5. Arts in architecture, ornaments, performing art, literature, etc.

Therefore, these channels of the process of Islamisation made it easy to create tolerance, syncretism, comprehension, and adaptation of Islam for the peoples not yet embracing the religion of Islam. Consequently, many Islamic architectures and decorative arts in Indonesia, particularly in Java, used the traditional arts from the Hindu-Buddhist period, even from the prehistoric one. These examples could witness by the Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur and Mantingan from the 16th century.

After Trenggana's death, the political situation and condition of the kingdom of Demak were in chaos because there was fighting among the royal families for achieving power. Ratu Kalinyamat, one of the daughters of Trenggana, lived in Jepara which was the most critical harbour town of the kingdom of Demak. She married with Pangeran Khadiri. When she died, she buried at Mantingan. From the point of architecture and some decorative arts, there are similarities among both of Islamic cultural heritage. So far we have discussed Sendang Duwur in

the framework of history and culture, but it is important to explain more in giving information to the precise date of the establishment of the Islamic monuments at Sendang Duwur.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ISLAMIC MONUMENTS OF SENDANG DUWUR

Although we have in the previous chapters mentioned monuments of Sendang Duwur, we have not yet determined the date of the establishment of those monuments. Besides, we want to know who was the pioneer of Islam developed this place as one of the centres for the Islamisation in the northern coastal areas of East Java. However, we have already made comparisons with the mosques of about the same style as the Panjuran mosque in Cirebon, the Mantingan mosque in Jepara, the Masjid Agung mosque in Banten, etc. This comparison makes us conclude that the monuments of Sendang Duwur were from the Transition Period of the Hindu-Buddhist to Islam. For determining the precise date of its establishment let us follow the further discussion.

Among the mosques of the Transition Period, Mantingan shows similarity in style as regards the roof and perhaps other parts of the building. It is fortunate that the mosque and the monuments of Mantingan can be dated as there is a *candrasangkala* (chronogram) carved out of rock stone above the mihrab of the mosque. The *candrasangkala* was written in the Javanese language and characters of the ancient type. The sentence is “*rupa brahmana warna sari*”, meaning 1481 Saka (1559). Therefore the old mosque of Sendang Duwur would be built not so far than the date of the mosque and the other antiquities of Mantingan. Besides the similarity in architecture, there is also a similarity in the decorative art which we already explained in previous chapters. It is also interesting to note that the Mantingan monument often brought into relation with a historical figure who is usually called Ratu (Queen) Kalinyamat or Mbok Randa (the widow) Mantingan. Her being a historical figure has been proved by Indonesian and foreign sources of history.

Around 1550 Ratu Kalinyamat received the request from the Sultan of Johor to expel the Portuguese in Malaca. Around 1573-1574, Ratu Kalinyamat helped Aceh during the reign of Sultan Ri'ayat Syah for the same reasons. Besides the relations with Banten were always well maintained as proved by the fact that a son of Hasanuddin of Banten whose name was Pangeran Arya was educated and raised by Ratu Kalinyamat.

The influence of power and fame of Ratu Kalinyamat spread perhaps also to East Javanese areas, particularly to the large and small ports in the north coast between Tuban and Surabaya which already reknown since the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist kingdoms. Thus, even the village of Sendang Duwur which is only 3 km from the coast would surely not escape from the influences of the power of Ratu Kalinyamat from Jepara. Ratu Kalinyamat continued the political power of the Islamic kingdom of Demak since Raden Patah and her father, Pangeran Trenggana. The close

relation between Mantingan and Sendang Duwur is also proved by a local story which we found in a copy of the manuscript on the history of Sunan Sendang. The manuscript was written in Javanese language and Arabic characters (pegon) on the ordinary paper on 18 pages of the size of the folio and used on both sides.

According to Masduki, the brother of Haji Maulani, the present keeper of the manuscript, it is a copy of the original one which he had still seen when he was a child. It was then already very much damaged and well kept by his father. It is regrettable that we could not see the original manuscript which makes it hard to convince us of the truth. We only take from the part of contents which refers to the foundation or establishment of the mosque. It says that when Rahaden Nur or Sunan Sendang was advised by Sunan Derajat to buy the mosque of Mbok Randa Mantingan, he left for Mantingan, while taking along money “sajuta salebak keteng”. But when Sunan Sendang arrived at Mantingan and afterwards received into the presence of Mbok Randa Mantingan to tell his intentions, it turned out that the mosque was not for sale. Therefore Sunan Sendang returned to his village with a sad heart.

When one-day Rahaden Nur or Sunan Sendang was at sleep, he visited by Sunan Kalijaga who woke him up. After Sunan Kalijaga had given him advice, Sunan Sendang went once more to Mantingan. This time Mbok Randa Mantingan was willing to provide him with the mosque on the condition that he could lift it. Due to the supernatural power of Sunan Sendang, the mosque could be flown over and landed on the Tunon Hill (Sendang Duwur), which is the reason why his mosque is called “Masjid Tiban”. The date of this event is in the chronogram “*gunaning salira tirta hayu*” which values is 1483 Saka (1561).

Having this data available, it is no longer necessary to guess the age or the date of establishment of the ancient mosque. The date found in Mantingan does not contradict the story and the architectural style and its decorations of the mosque of Sendang Duwur. The date from the chronogram in the story has an addition of the real chronogram and date written in Javanese language and script whose form is not much different from the archaic character form of Mantingan. The sentence is the same as the one in the manuscript.

Below this line is even the same chronogram which means 1483 Saka. The inscription found on a small wooden panel now stuck to a supporting beam of a gallery of the new mosque. Below this small panel with Javanese characters in an old shape, is a larger panel which inscribed with lines in Arabic language and characters. These lines strengthen our certainty about the precise dating we already mentioned above, as it says not only the establishment or foundation of the ancient mosque but also the second construction. According to the local inhabitants, the wooden panel made during the time in which the old mosque altered, and the new one built. This information confirmed the content of the lines written on the panel. These lines have been translated by G. F. Pijper as follows:

It may be known that this mosque has been built twice. The first in 1483 (Javanese calendar) which is the same as 971 Hijrah, and the second in 1851 (Javanese calendar) which is 1339 Hijrah, which makes it 368 years between the two constructions. In the second construction stones and part from the wood of the first building have been used.

The date of the second construction of the mosque conforms to date in Arabic, Javanese and Latin character 1920 - written above the doorpost of the mosque. Besides the time of the first construction of the old mosque in the manuscript as well as on the panel we mentioned above, there is also a date on a decorative panel of the most sacred tomb of Sunan Sendang. The decorative panel with the inscription is the decorative panel of the upper part of the central panel. This date writes in Javanese characters which are of an ancient form and put in the picture of a crescent. According to W. F. Stutterheim, the date has to read from right to left (1507 Saka or 1585 A.D.). The date on the tomb house of Sunan Sendang could be the date of the foundation of the tomb or also the year of the death of Sunan Sendang. It does not contradict the fact that of the date of the construction of the old mosque as a distance of 24 years between the construction of the old mosque and that of the tomb is acceptable.

MOSQUE

While in the Hindu-Indonesian period *candis* (temples) were made and used as prayer houses, in Islamic-Indonesian times the buildings erected which called “mosque”. The word ‘masjid’ in Arabic is derived from Aramaic and means probably “prostrate oneself”, while in Ethiopian there is the word ‘mesgad’ which means temple or church. Among these two meanings, it is probably the one which sounds “prostrate oneself for prayer” is more acceptable. In a *Hadith sahih al Buchari* are sentences pointing into that direction, which sounds among others: “the world has been created for me for a masjid (prayer place) and an implement for purification and wherever a member of my community wishes to pray, let him pray there.

If this is the right interpretation, it means that the Islamic religion sees the mosque as a universal thing. In this way, any Muslim is free to pray wherever he wishes to do so. It is therefore not surprising when we see people pray in the open air, provided it is a clean place, on a level rock near a river, on a flat stone in the rice field, on the roadside, on a meadow, in a guardhouse, in the big towns, on a bridge, etc. In this way, tradesmen on their travels and farmers during their work can pray when it is a time in all kinds of places. Though Muslims can pray in any place, they still think it necessary to build a particular building which is called masjid, and a small one for group prayers or for single prayers. It also felt that the mosque or other prayer buildings meant for religious meetings and a place to practice equal rights and close ties of friendship. The masjid can, therefore, consider as a cultural centre for Muslims.

Besides these valuable considerations, the reason to found a mosque or another prayer house is the effects of nature. Heavy rains or terrific heat, storms and other forces of nature may disturb the peace of mind and the prayer. Therefore the prayer house was built to guarantee the peace necessary during a prayer. In this way, the secondary meaning of masjid was formed in the Islamic religion which is a building. It is indeed true what Percy Brown said:

The original intention was to provide no specific structure for devotional purposes, as prayer could be performed in the open air with nothing between the devotee and his God. But those concerned had not calculated on the natural craving of mankind for an enclosed building in which worship could be conducted in an appropriate environment, away from the distractions of everyday life and it was not long before a house of prayer came into being.

According to its function and shape, the prayer houses of Islamic religion got several kinds of names. The “Jami masjid” used for the Friday prayer meetings; the “memorial mosque” is for the commemoration of victorious events in Islamic history, the tomb-mosque or “mashad” is the

mosque found on a tomb compound. The prayer house which does not use for the Friday meetings is called “musalla”.

In Indonesia, the names of the mosque vary with the location where they found. It is masjid (Indonesian), mesigit (Javanese), masigit (Sundanese), meuseugit (Aceh), mesigi (Sulawesi). In several places of the past centres of Islamic power, there is the Masjid Agung (Great Mosque) such as those in Banten, Cirebon, Yogyakarta, Demak and some other places. The prayer houses which do not use for prayer meetings are called langgar (Javanese), tajug (Sundanese), surau (West Sumatra), meunasah (Aceh), langgara (Celebes). At present in Indonesia, there are masjids which are not only in the big and small towns but also in the villages and settlements (kampongs) built for Friday prayer meetings, thus enough to contain all the devotees. In big towns, several large and small mosques intend for Friday prayer meetings.

According to religion, only one mosque can be built for one society (dar-al- iqamah) for Friday prayer meetings, but there is an exception when the following problems have arisen as follows:

1. There is a slight difference of opinion in one community.
2. The mosque is too small.
3. The mosque is too far from the place of living of the inhabitants, making it impossible for them to visit that mosque.

There have given other explanations than those we mentioned above in the law commentaries, but it is generally more difficult because of certain conditions. Differences which adjusted to local customs can be understood. But it is often hard to see through the confusion and deviations from the original regulations which then cause the difference in interpretation. Since the first mosque built during the lifetime of the Prophet till now, Islamic architecture has undergone a development which was different according to its local conditions and the period of building. In the countries where Islamic power came first, like Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia and other countries, it is not surprising that the supporters of this new religion and culture made use of traditional elements of art which had already been there for centuries. It was the same in Indonesia which before the coming of Islam had already a culture and art of its own, which was original Indonesian or Hindu-Indonesian.



Sendang Duwur, Paciran (1561)

THE MOSQUE of Sendang Duwur is no longer intact, but there are remains of pillars, pillar bases, supporting bars and other objects which have now kept in a particular building, which is an open hall north of the mosque and on the attic of the new mosque. Dr G. F. Pijper has made a brief reference to the fact that these remains were there and thinks that there were also regulations of forbidding damage to or sale of the remains of a ruin of a mosque in Indonesia. Therefore, we are now attempting to make a reconstruction of the mosque as regards its original condition and shape, based on (1) a study of the remains above, (2) information obtained from old village people, and (3) photographs of the mosque before it rebuilt, which we found in the collection of the Archaeological Service.

THE PLAN of the ancient mosque is square and measures 15 x 15 m. According to the original plan, it had been extended during the rebuilding as much as 3.60 m. On the original plan are an inner hall and a veranda. The entrance to this veranda was formerly in front and precisely in the centre, while another entrance is on the southern side. The staircase which was the original entrance to the veranda was decorated by stair wings which have a profile like the stair wings of a split gate. The terrace wall which was the fundament of the mosque was adorned with decorative panels. Two of these panels have found in front of the mosque now used stepping stones from the new tank to the staircase. These panels show on a photograph of the original mosque. The decorative motifs were plants, particularly lotus.

According to the old people, the doors are now in the same place as before. The difference lies in the fact that original doors were too short of forcing the people to enter into a bowing pose. The information suits the fact the original door leaves now still uses to receive an additional frame. The old door leaves measure about 30 cm with a height of 1.30 m. We can compare this with the measurements of the doors of Panjunan and the Masjid Agung in Cirebon.



Door of Agung Kasepuhan, Cirebon (1498)

We may regard this making of short doors as a deliberate attempt to force people to bow their head or body upon entering the mosque, which again has the intention to educate people to be polite, and not conceited or insolent on that spot. The purity of a mosque can connect with what we find in some *Hadith*. For example, the trade should not discuss in a mosque. Nor should there

be noise, shouting, spitting on the floor or soiling of other parts of the mosque. There are also certain parts of the Koran which state that it is a merit to clean the mosque, as is said:

He only shall tend Allah's sanctuaries, believeth in Allah and the Last Day and observeth proper worship and payeth the poor-due and feareth none save Allah. For such (only) is it possible that they can be rightly guided.

Mahmud Yunus states that this "tend" means religious devotion, to restore the structure, to clean, etc. It is for this reason that many Muslims like to do voluntary work by cleaning the mosque, fill the water tank, wash the mats, etc. The building of a mosque often supported by members of the Islamic community who give their money or workforce. It also writes in *Hadith* that "he who builds a mosque because of God and hopes for his reward, God will build him a home in heaven". That is why the Islamic community in Indonesia also absorbs perhaps the influences from the Koran or *Hadith*. In addition to this is the national tradition that temples, sanctuaries and divine buildings or spirit houses are sacred and have to keep getting a blessing.

Returning to the problem of the doors of the ancient mosque, the old people of the village told me that when they were still children, those doors were never opened on ordinary days, but only opened on Fridays or other Islamic festival days. This central door has an upper part which has a kala-makara arch decoration. We may compare this with the central door of the Panjunan mosque in Cirebon. The entrance door of the Panjunan mosque is never opened on ordinary days and has the same decoration of a kala-makara arch in its upper part.



The door of Panjunan, Cirebon (1480)

The wall of the ancient mosque has no windows as there are now. It was the same case with the wall of the inner hall, which might have been in the dark. The sun rays could only enter this inner hall through the small entrance doors and holes in the upper part of the southern wall. It is also possibly deliberately done to give it a unique quality or a sacred atmosphere like in the temples of the Hindu-Indonesian period.

The old water tank had a roof. People could enter the old mosque from that water tank without passing through the front door. So this door was located in another place than the present

one, which is north of the veranda. The numbers of pillar inside and outside the veranda are 20, viz. 16 inside and four outside the veranda. They are round but measure less than the pillars of the new mosque. The height of the ancient pillars till the first ceiling is 5 m, while they are only 83 cm in girth. The pillar bases are round looking like jars which are 93 cm in the upper part, in the middle 1.46 m and 36 cm high.

Dr W. F. Stutterheim believes that the form of those pillar bases seems a kind of melon which also found in Chinese art. In India in the chaitya of Karli of the beginning of the first century, there are also pillars supported by jar bases which according to Benjamin Rowland remind us of the form of a water jar of “loth” of a Brahman. Besides, also the wihara pillars of Nasik no. 10 which is from the second century are supported by jar shaped pillar bases. Though the pillars made of rock stone, the way they constructed reminds us of the wooden structure.



Soko guru: Agung Demak, Demak (1479), Sendang Duwur, Kanari, Banten (1596-1651)

This comparison does not imply that the influence on the form of the pillar bases of Sendang Duwur has come from those parts. There is a too great distance in time between these monuments and Sendang Duwur. The round pillars of the mosque can compare with the pillars of the same form of the mosque in Demak, the Great Mosque of Cirebon, etc. But these round shafts were also found in mosques in Persia, Cordova, Egypt and other places. It is interesting to note that a pillar in the mosque is surrounded by a wooden fence, made by way of lathing. These wooden fences in such a way remind us of the window trellis or niches of Banteay Seri which was built at the time of Jayawarman V (968-1001) and the central temple of Angkor Vat which was built at the time of Suryawarman II (1152-52), making these elements a part of the Khmer art of Cambodia.

This kind of window trellis is still visible on the mosque of the Balinese of Angke, Jakarta, built around 1761. This kind of trellis was not yet known in the Hindu-Indonesian buildings. If they had existed, they surely would not have lasted long. This kind of fence could have come into being after there were close connections of Indonesia with other countries in Southeast Asia like Champa and Cambodia. The inner hall of the ancient mosque divides into two parts, namely 1/3 for the women's part and 2/3 for the men's part. The part for the women is on the left side (south), while the part for the men is on the right side (north). The division between these two parts is

made of matted bamboo, and it has only the height of a man. In old mosques and those which built following the old style, an additional building has made on the southern side which has a door of its own.

These extra rooms used for the prayer meetings of the women called “pawadonan” or “pawestren” in Javanese. This kind of extra room was known already centuries ago in the oldest Javanese mosques, particularly in Java, like in the small mosque of Panjunan, and the Great Mosque of Cirebon, the Giri mosque near Gresik, the Great Mosque and the mosque of Kanari in Banten, the mosque of Kuta Gede and of Imogiri. The mosque of Demak and Kudus also had the pawestren.



New pawestren, Kanari, Banten (1596-1651)

In Demak the pawestren was not attached to the mosque but separated by a corridor. Also in the western mosque of Kudus the pawestren was made parallel to the mosque. Though there is no pawestren in the mosque of Jepara and Mantingan it was probably thus in the past. In recent years, special mosques of women have built in Java, for example the Kauman of Yogyakarta, founded in 1922-23, the Masjid Istri in Garut, built in the kampong Pengkolan in 1926, the mosque in Karangajen, Yogyakarta of 1927, the mosque of the kampong Plampitan in Surabaya and one is the kampong Keprabon in Surakarta. Dr G. F. Pijper believes that there are no places in Islamic law referring to special mosques for women, and when one reads articles on the religious life in Islamic countries this kind of mosques do exist, but they are not common. The fact that there are mosques for women in Java is an indication that the women participate in prayer meetings in the mosque.

The roof of the ancient mosque had three stories and made of big wooden tiles. The old roof is therefore not different in set up from the new one. The ancient mosques in Indonesia and those which were younger had roofs indeed with 2, 3 or 5 stories. An example of a mosque roof with two stories is the mosque of the Balinese in Angke, Jakarta, and the Panjunan mosque in Cirebon. The 3-storied roof is found amongst others on the mosque of Mantingan, Jepapra, the mosque of Demak, the Masjid Agung of Palembang, while the mosques with 5 stories are the Masjid Agung of Banten, the mosque of Jepara already mentioned in 17th-century reports, and the mosque of Ternate. It is on this basis that we can place the mosque of Sendang Duwur among the mosques of

the ancient type. These mosques with the many storied roofs remind us actually of the period before the advent of Islam. In East Java buildings with plural roofs were depicted on the reliefs of Surawana, Jawi, Panataran and Kedaton. There was 2 or 3 storied-roof. On the relief of Candi Jago and one of Candi Jawi there are even 11 stories, which called “Meru” as it is still the case in Bali.



The roof of Agung Demak, Demak (1479)

Dr G. F. Pijper, therefore, thought that these buildings with plural roofs are a survival of the meru buildings, while the massive fundaments which are also high are survivals of the candi base or fundaments. Considering these peculiar traits of the ancient mosques in Indonesia, Pijper concludes that the mosques in Java are of a type not known by the Islamic missionaries from abroad, but original types used by the followers of Islam in this country.

AS REGARDS the mihrab or the place of the Imam in the ancient mosque of Sendang Duwur, we do not know how it seemed. But according to the information from local people, the truthfulness of which we still take into doubt, it was a simple one, and the niche was not so deep. It might be not so different from the mihrab in the new mosque. In some mosques, the mihrab has no niche, but the right corner of the mosque used as one. The orientation (kiblat) of the mihrab in Sendang Duwur is northwest. But in some mosques, in Java which has built on the western side of the alun-alun (a square in the middle of the town) the mihrab is not oriented to the northwest, but the west. It might have been a misunderstanding in the past that the kiblat is to the west like the location of the mosque which is in the west.

MINBAR

The ancient minbar in the mosque of Sendang Duwur is no longer in good shape and looks dilapidated in the storeroom on the left side of the new mosque. But we can still see how fine it looked when we see the photograph. The minbar made of teakwood, and its form is that of a high chair. The front legs are higher than the hind legs. They are square, except that the front legs also show a variation between square and octagonal. The top of these legs or pillars connect with an arch which ends on both sides in a curl which looks like a makara. The centre of these arches has a circle with rays, while inside an eye, nose and mouth carved. It reminds us of the kala head combined with a halo as we know from certain statues or reliefs from East Javanese art of the

Hindu-Indonesian period. The arch-shaped arms of the minbar connect from the top of the pillars at the back to the centre of the front pillars. These arms of the minbar decorate with leaf or lotus motif. The covering part on the left, right and below more richly decorates with even more visible floral and leaf motifs. The covering parts on the left and right of the minbar legs which connect with the makara motif decorate with the same motifs.



Minbar of Agug Kasepuhan, Cirebon (1498)

We can compare the ancient minbar of Sendang Duwur with the minbar in the Masjid Agung of Cirebon, of the Masjid Paramasana in the keraton of Solo. Though these two minbars are not identical, they are similar in style and form. It is the same case with the decorations which all three of them consist of floral or lotus motifs which made into scrolls. The two decorations of the pillar top of the two arches are like a kala-makara motif. As regards this minbar of the Paramasana mosque, P. A. J. Mooyen believes that the minbar not only gives the impression of a classical artistic Hindu style but also shows the idea of the artist who shows heaven and earth according to Hindu tradition. The lotus is a symbol of life, forest and mountain, while the kala head symbolises the forest. In other words, the form and decoration of the ancient minbar in Indonesia were not created by foreign Muslims, but by Indonesians who already knew the artistic tradition and the Hindu-Indonesian religious concepts. It also proved by the fact the form of the minbars abroad like the one in the Masjid Sida Ukba in Qashroem and the Masjid Jauhar Syad in Mesjhed (Iran) and perhaps in other places shows no similarities in shape or style to the ancient minbar in Indonesia.

It is possible that the Muslims from other countries only introduced the terms and function, but left the style and forms to the Indonesian Muslims. Indonesians before the advent of Islamic culture had already known forms of altars in the form of thrones for the gods they worshipped in mountain sanctuaries. Hindu Balinese art has its seats (padmasana) for the god Surya. Besides, Indonesians have already known spirit seats for their ancestors since prehistoric times, especially in the megalithic period. H. R. van Heekeren held previously the opinion that the Surya-seats in Bali might have been a development from those spirit seats. Dr A. N. J. Th. a Th. van der Hoop has also explained the connection and the development in form of pepadons from the stone spirit seats

for the ancestors in the megalithic period. These factors could certainly not have forgotten by the Indonesian Muslims.

THE MOST SACRED TOMBSTONE

The interesting central part of the most sacred tomb is the style of its decoration. As its most important feature, the building has only the stair wings which remind us of stair wings on certain split gates and candis in East Java. The decorative style of the panel of the stair wing which consists of stems of flowers and leaves, especially the way a curling flower stem is depicted as resembling a question mark, is very similar to the style of the panel of a stair wing in Candi Jago, the Naga temple in Panataran and on some other stair wings in East Java. But actually, the triangular tumpal motif was already known before there were Hindu cultural influences.



Tumpal motif of Candi Jago (1268)

The rows of leaf decoration in the frame of the stair wing with a heart form gives the impression that this decorative motif was only known after there was no more Hindu-Indonesian art, since as far as we know this decorative motif does not find on candis of Central and East Java. On the other hand, we see this motif on individual tombstones and tombs in north Sumatra amongst others on the grave of a princess in Kuta Kareuëng (1428). If we follow Moquette's opinion that the styles of the tombstones or the graves in north Sumatra of the oldest Islamic kingdom in Indonesia imported from Cambay in India, we may say that the decorative motifs with the heart-shaped leaf garlands are perhaps also derived from Indian art. It is remarkable that on the mosque of Lal Barwaza (about 1450) in Jaunpur the same kind of decoration was used.



Heart-shaped motif, Sendang Duwur

Unfortunately, we cannot find out whether this decoration was on other mosques and buildings as the pictures are not so clear. But this decoration could also have been used on other structures than the Lal Barwaza. In Java, it is on the tomb of the Queen of Kalinyamat in Mantingan where we find heart-shaped floral and leaf decoration. We have noticed that the tombs of north Sumatra have these same decorations, so the Mantingan motifs could have imported from that place which had it originally from India. Islamic artistic influences from Sumatra to Java in particular to Mantingan are probably due to the connections between these areas during the rule of Queen Kalinyamat or even before.

We know that in 1574 Queen Kalinyamat rushed to the assistance of Aceh during the rule of Sultan Ri'ayat Syah in the attack of the Acehnese on the Portuguese in Malaca. There might have been older connections between Java and northern Sumatra. Sunan Gunung Jati hailed from Pasei, came to Demak, and became the son-in-law of Treggana. Besides, we may refer to the fact that a tombstone in Aceh from the cemetery in Teungku Peuet Ploh Peuet' Gampong Minye Tujoh, Meunasa Minye Tujoh, Mukim Ara Keumidi, had Arabic script on one side and Old Javanese script on the other side. According to Dr F. D. K. Bosch, the form of this Old Javanese script is a continuation of the same script in East Java. In the Arabic inscription it is said that a princess died on Friday 14 Dulhijah 791 A.H., or Saturday, December 4, 1389 A.D.



Lotus flower motif, Sendang Duwur

The decorative motifs on the body of the tombstones and the doors are mostly lotus flowers and leaves. We have mentioned above that the style of this decoration is similar to that of Mantingan, with the difference that it was carved in stone in Mantingan whereas in Sendang Duwur in wood. The decorative panels which show a similarity to those in Mantingan are amongst others demonstrated by the first, fourth and fifth panel from the door. Also are the second, third and fourth panels from the door. Among the decorative motifs of the lotus flower are some which show the Yui style in Chinese art and which might have also been in use in the Hindu-Indonesian period in East Java as proved by the decorations on the relief of Candi Surawana. The decoration on the door of the ancient mosque which consists of a creeper with a gourd as the fruit is also in the Mantingan decorations. This kind of vegetable is called by Dr A. Steinman "Lagenaris Leucantha Rusby" or kukuk (Sundanese), waluh kendi (Javanese), labu aer (Malay).

Another decorative motif which might be valuable for Indonesian decorative art is that of the woven bamboo, as we have seen on the small decorative panels near the pillars of the tomb doors, and which look even more evident on the doors of the ancient mosque. This motif is found in Mantingan too, but again, it could not have derived from Hindu-Indonesian decorative art. On the tombstone of Malik Ibrahim in Gresik which dated 1419 is also a woven bamboo motif like on the door of the ancient mosque of Sendang Duwur. It is found on the tombstones of the old Islamic kingdom of Samudra-Pasei in northern Sumatra, as we mentioned above while we described the base of the tomb in Kuta Kareuëng.



Wing motif, Sendang Duwur

Another decorative motif which is no less critical as it gives perhaps new indications for decorative art is the wing motif (“lar” in Javanese) which is found on the decorative panel of the base of the tomb and in other places. It is clear from the descriptions above that the decorative style of Sendang Duwur shows a mixture of elements from a Hindu-Indonesian tradition which Islamic-Indonesian decorative art.

GATES

The gates of Sendang Duwur have two styles: the *candi bentar* or split gate (gates C. D. G) and the closed gate which has a roof (gates B. E. F). The first gates are called “*candi bentar*” in Bali, while the closed gates may be called “*paduraksa*”. The *candi bentar* or split gate is exciting because of this kind of form known in the Hindu-Indonesian art of East Java among the ruins of the palace of Majapahit¹. That of Sendang Duwur is considered to be an example of a *candi bentar* from that period, but there might have been other gates of the same type in other places which at the time erected in high numbers, but their remains have not kept.

According to Dr Stutterheim, a *candi bentar* is also found on the compound of the Candi Jawi. Though there are at present not many remains of this split gate type, we can still see them on reliefs, like those found in Trowulan, on the Jawi temple, a relief on the Jago temple, and a relief of Candi Tigawangi. In Bali, these gates are not only built in the past but also at present where

¹ Raffles called it the “Jati Pasar Gate” and Hoevell Waringin “Lawang gate”.

they serve as entrance gates to the temples. A split gate in Bali may consider as an ancient one, is the gate of the Pura Prasada at Kapal which dates back to the period of art between Singasari and Majapahit, according to Dr Goris.

These split gates were in Java also built after the fall of the Hindu-Indonesian kingdoms in the period when Islamic influences were flourishing, which is called “the transition period”. Islamic monuments which have split gates are, for example, the monument of Mantingan (not only its shape, but it appears also on a relief), the grave of Sunan Muria in the village of Colo north of Kudus, the tomb of Sunan Kudus in Kudus, the grave of Sunan Bonang in Tuban, the ancient grave of Gapura Wetan in Gresik, the tomb of Pandan Arang or Sunan Bayat in the Klaten area, the palace of the Sultan Kasepuhan and in the Suniaragi cave compound of Cirebon, the tombs of the Sultans of Yogya in Imogiri, on the old palace compound of Kaibon in Banten, and on the tomb of Sunan Berajat in the village of Derajat in the Paciran area. When we compare the split gates of Bali and Java, it appears that they are nearly identical in style and form, but they show local differences in the details of their decorations. It is, therefore, possible that the forms of the split gates in Java and Bali derived from the Hindu-Indonesian art of the Majapahit period or even from an earlier period.



Two types of gate, Sendang Duwur

THE GATES which have a roof on top, called “paduraksa” have a form which shows signs of new development in gate architecture. Of gates E and B of Sendang Duwur, we name them “winged gates”. On the split gate mentioned above, there were parts which can consider as wings, but in a modest shape, as it only exists of a wide panel which has curls and ends in a round shape.

This modest form of a wing is found on some closed gates as is shown by the gates of Plumbangan and Belahan, which belong to the Hindu-Indonesian architecture of East Java. B. de Haan regards the shape of the panel which connects the two parts of the gate bodies as a shape which shows a transition from the stepped arch or the stair wings of Central Java which afterwards developed into the gate forms of East Java. There are in other places no gates which show wings like gates E and B of Sendang Duwur.

The image of the wings can connect with the sun, the sunbird, winged suns, etc. In Javanese literature, namely in the Arjuna Sasrabahu the winged-door is compared with a garuda bird flying

in the air. Dr Stutterheim believes that the winged-door can connect with the Meru. Even on batiks, there are patterns which consist of wings which are winged Meru. If there is a close connection between the winged gate and the image of the garuda flying through the air, this seems to be the case for the winged gate of Sendang Duwur. A relief depicting the head and beak of the same bird is found on the right corner of the top of the gate and in the corners between the wings and the body of the gate.

In Hindu mythology, the garuda regards as the vehicle of Vishnu whose statues found in high numbers. The Garudeya story which is, in fact, a “delivery story” is depicted on the Candi Kedaton, South of Keraksaan. The garuda bird had in the Hindu-Indonesian period a vital role in sculpture and literature. Dr van der Hoop suggests that the worship of the garuda bird might go back to a much older form of bird worship. It is therefore not surprising that in the Hindu-Indonesian and Islamic periods, and later on, the bird myths took an essential part in the mind of the Indonesians.

H. Bergema in his book *De Boom des Levens in Schrift en Historie* shows an example of a winged gate motif on a roundel seal of ancient Babylonia. This scholar states that the meaning of the winged gate is not yet known for sure. But it is not impossible that it had some connection with the idea to suggest a gateway to heaven besides a sun gate and the sun is often shown as a wing with a round object. It can also regard as to have been derived from the guardians of the gate who had wings and that later on those wings were attached to the gates themselves.

On the lower panel, on the right and left of the wing of Gate E and below the left wing of Gate B, there is also a sculpture of these winged-doors. The winged-door of this relief is quite impressive, as the door past above decorates with a kala head motif while above that there is a sculpted representation of a tree with many branches. This tree has by several scholars regarded as the life tree, celestial tree, wishing tree (kalpadruma), kalpawrksa, kekayon or gunungan.

This kind of tree shows on several reliefs of temples of the Hindu-Indonesian period. But this does not mean that this tree motif was only known in that period, as the kekayon or gunungan as Bergema states is an element showing the relations of Indonesian and ancient Asian culture. This would not be surprising for an Islamic building like Sendang Duwur, as this tree motif had already developed in the Hindu-Indonesian period. And it might have been known even before the advent of Hindu culture, and besides, also Islamic culture has the idea of an eternal tree (sajarat-ul-chuldi) which in certain respects has a close connection with Christian and Jewish concepts.



Wishing tree motif, Sendang Duwur

As we saw above, Stutterheim, Bergema and others had the opinion that the *kekayon* is also related to the idea of the Meru and the life on Paradise, as is also the case with the winged-door, garuda or sunbird. Besides the representation of the winged-door which is interesting there is a peacock depicted on the right and left side of the base of Gate E. On a *candi* pillar of Mount Penanggungan which is from the late Majapahit period there is a similar peacock. A peacock closely connects with the elements of paradise as it is also regarded as a sunbird or garuda and is called “*pauh janggi*”.

As there is nothing more of interest on Gate E, we move to the winged gate which the inhabitants call “*gapura urung-urung*” (Gate B). We did not mention the decorative elements of Gate B, which consist of the *kala-marga* arch. Though there are no *kala-marga* gate decorations of temples, it is clear that this motif was already known in the Hindu-Indonesian art. Several *candis* in East Java, like the *Candis Jago* and *Panataran*, *Tigawingi*, *Sukuh*, the sanctuary on the Mount at *Penanggungan*, prove the *kala-marga* motif in reliefs. This decorative motif is not only on reliefs but also on particular objects. On these reliefs the *kala-marga* is often shown floating above the heroes.

It made Stutterheim conclude that the *kala-marga* served to show the supernatural power and the courage of the heroes depicted. Moreover, Dr van Stein Callenfels has connected this *kala-marga* with the symbol of the rainbow. According to Javanese conception, this rainbow has the body of a serpent with the two ends whose shape are deer or buffalo heads and float above the isle of Java. The two heads suck water from the Javanese and the Indian Ocean respectively. When they are satisfied, they spit it out again down to the earth. It is remarkable that this idea of a rainbow is found both in Java and the *Torajas*, *Ngaju Dayaks*, *Nias*, in Bali, etc.

There is a common belief that the rainbow is a vehicle, a ship or bridge which connects the earth and heaven, the abode of the spirits. This belief is not only among those Indonesians which had received the cultural influences from Hinduism or Islam but also among those who had never experienced this. As regards to this, Dr Bosch suggests that the *kala-marga* is an Asian cultural element as this kind of decorative motif is already found in the art of *Mison* in *Champa* of the

seventh century and on the bas-reliefs of Hiso-l'ang-chan of the second century A.D. in China and still, farther back on a pictogram of a bone, found in Ho-nan from the sixth century B.C. From these explanations, it becomes clear that the kala-marga decoration on gate B of Sendang Duwur is a proof of the continuation of an art or cultural tradition from the previous period (Hindu-Indonesian and original Indonesian). This situation was not as strange as the original elements were also used in the Hindu-Indonesian art in East Java, as is shown in decorative motifs, sculptures, architecture, literature, etc.

PENDAPAS AND CARVED PILLARS

The buildings of Sendang Duwur in the form of a pendapa were used as storerooms for the remains of the ancient mosque, a building next to it, a building for the most sacred tomb and the building for the tomb of Pembayun. It seems that there were formerly two buildings of the same type in the left and right corner of the mosque. There are no remnants of these buildings left, but they are still there on the blueprint of 1938.

Regarding the number of pillars, we may divide the buildings mentioned above into 6-pillared and 8-pillared pendapas. The 6-pillared buildings are the pendapa next to the storeroom of the remnant of the ancient mosque, the building of the most sacred tomb and the building of the tomb of Pembayun. The 8-pillared buildings are the storeroom of the remnants of the old mosque and the two vanished buildings on the left and right in front of the mosque. These buildings had roofs with large sized wooden tiles earlier. The form of the roof was simple, consisting of a level and long rooftop. The pillars were square with a few decorations in the upper part. These pillars stood on square pillar bases which were on the ground. In other Islamic monuments are also 6-pillared buildings like in Sendang Duwur, for example, the bale rante in the tomb of Sunan Derajat and Trusmi, near Cirebon.

The 6-pillared buildings with level roofs were already known in the Hindu-Indonesian art as is proved by certain reliefs of East Javanese monuments. The candis with this kind of reliefs are Candi Jago, Jawi, Suku, a relief from Trowulan, and Candi Jabung. These buildings were sometimes called "pendapa" or sometimes "bale". The building in front of the most sacred tomb of Sendang Duwur was in the past used as a pendapa as it still used for a place to sit on by the people who pay a visit to the tomb of Sunan Sendang. This building has at the moment a two-fold function: that of a pendapa and that of an open cungkup. The building beside it and the storehouse for the remnants of the old mosque are better classified under the bale types.

While the 6-pillared buildings were known in the Hindu-Indonesian art, the same is the case with the 8-pillared buildings, which is again proved by their appearance on reliefs of the candis mentioned above. These 6-and 8-pillared buildings are therefore nothing new for Indonesian Islamic art, as it is only the continuation of an old tradition. Besides these buildings, there is also

the ruin of a building which consists only of one pillar. This pillar is quite vital from woodcarving and its function in the building. This pillar originated from a building with five pillars, of which it was the central one. It has three branches and is full of carving.



Old carved pillars, Sendang Duwur

Also, the 5-pillared hall is no innovation in the architectural form in Indonesia. It can be proved by certain temple reliefs like on Candi Jawi and Panataran. In Islamic art of the Transition Period, this kind of buildings appeared not only on reliefs like those of Mantingan mosque, but they existed, as is proved by the 5-pillared hall in a left corner of the Sitinggil of the Kasepuhan Palace in Cirebon. The 5-pillared building of the Mantingan relief was regarded by Dr Bosch and Dr Steinmann as a *bale kambang*, while the building in Cirebon is called “the *Pendawa Lima*” according to Perquin. The opinions of Bosch and Steinmann were criticized by Th. P. Galestin who considers them as a sacred building of small *langgars* (prayer houses), as they are not standing in a pond.

Besides the *bale kambangs* on the reliefs of the candis are standing in a pond and have not five but only four pillars. Galestin explains that there are no *bale kambangs* in Java and Bali which have five pillars. Therefore, these buildings and the one on the relief of the pillar in Sendang Duwur is a sacred building. The pillar with branches which entirely carved shows resemblance to the same type of pillar on the tomb of Sunan Bonang in Tuban. On the pillar of Tuban is visible a five-pillared hall with a central pillar with branches. The difference is small, as there are on the Tuban pillar carvings of deer, horse and elephants, which are absent in Sendang Duwur. But the style of the trees depicted in the forest on the two pillars shows similarity. Judging from the artistic quality of the woodcarvings, we may say that it was the work of gifted and experienced artists from the Transition Period.

GRAVES AND THEIR TOMBSTONES

On the compound of the Sendang Duwur monument are not only a few graves but even hundreds of them. They are mostly new, whereas there are just a few ancient ones. The probably ancient graves are other three on the second courtyard of the group of buildings north of the mosque, the grave of Pembayun of the group west of the mosque and a grave on the courtyard below; the grave

of Sunan Sendang in the tomb house west of the mosque; the grave of Prince Arjo and Glondong on the second courtyard south of the mosque.

All these graves have the form of a trapeze, consisting of bigger and smaller frames which are protruding. These frames have decorations made out of antefixes which are like bunches of lotus flowers. These graves resemble in form the graves of Sunan Bonang in Tuban and Sunan Derajat in the village of Derajat (Paciran) and graves in other places. Dr P. G. Rouffaer believes that the way of grave construction reminds us of the “stepped” buildings of the Hindu-Indonesian period. But if we look farther back in history, we see that the idea of making stepped buildings was known before there was any Hindu influence as is shown by the monuments from the megalithic period.

As regards the tombstones of Sunan Sendang, they are like those of the tombstones of Sunan Bonang and Sunan Derajat which are without any decoration. They are square and near the sides of the top are two sections which form an accolade. On the foot which is also square is an incision which separates the body and foot. This foot is getting smaller to end in a kind of peg to fit into the base on top of the tomb. The stones on the head and foot end are identical. The form of the tombstone of Sunan Sendang is similar to the tombstone of Prince Pembayun who buried in the open tomb house in the compound west of the mosque. Interesting are the graves on the courtyard below, of the compound north of the mosque. It is regrettable that the persons buried there are unknown as their names did not mention in the Arabic inscription on the headstone which contains the syahadat (the Muslim creed). This kind of tombstones with only the Muslim creed also found in Troloyo (Mojokerto).

As we mentioned above, the decoration on the foot of the tombstone of Sendang Duwur of the compound north of the mosque consists of square leaves which have a serrated top. These leaves are put in a row to make them a frame decoration on the foot of the tombstone. The style can compare to that of the decoration of the tombstone on the grave of Ratu Kalinyamat in Mantingan. It adds to the fact that there is a similarity in the decorative art applied in Sendang Duwur and Mantingan as we have already discussed before.



Graveyard, Sendang Duwur

The tombstone decoration of the second courtyard on the compound north of the mosque is the same as that of the tombstone on the courtyard which is on a lower level than the tomb of

Prince Pembayun. The tombstone which we can consider as ancient is that of Kiyai Samsuddin. The tombstones of the grave of Pangeran Arjo and Glondong which stand on the compound south of the mosque are much bigger if we compare it with the tombstones and graves we already mentioned. The height of graves and tombstones is about 1.5 m, while the previously mentioned stones and graves are only 1 m high. The tombstone is square while its upper part is slightly round.

It is regrettable that this tombstone does not have any carving which would have been of interest to us to draw comparisons with other tombstones received. The information that it was the tomb of Prince Ajo received from the local inhabitants.

BUILDINGS AND OTHER OBJECTS

We mentioned above the well with the wheel, the stone statue, the spout with the pond, the vats and the ceramic sherds. As regards this well with a wheel that it is not only found on Sendang Duwur but also other Islamic monuments like by the tomb of Syech Mojoagung (Tuban). The well of that monument can no longer use due to its ruinous condition. The well of Sendang Duwur may connect with the time of the foundation of the mosque. In the copy of the manuscript of Sunan Sendang, owned by Haji Maulani, the construction of this well mentioned as follows: "Sampune lami-lami boten wonten toya kang celak, nunten manjing Asar ningali kukus lajeng dipun duduk siti punika kinarya sumur. Sampunipun lebet wonten duwung ngadeg peksinipun, lajeng kajabut medal sumberipun toya langkung agung".

It is also interesting to note that on this Islamic compound a statue was found which was certainly not from the Islamic period. As discussed before, the statue represents probably the Hindu God Siva. We base this opinion on the fact that it carries objects in the left and right hand which look like a camara (flywisk) and an aksamala (rosary). From sculpture, we cannot say that it is a fine statue. The body is out of proportion, with the legs, the hand and other parts. It is possibly the work of a local Hindu artist. As there are no other statues around it is hard to determine its age. The statue may connect with the spout which we can compare with spouts from other places.

THE SPOUT consists of a spout with relief on which a man depicted who sits on top of the spout's head. In other places in Java and Bali the spout statue usually stands up, and the hole for the water is in the breasts or the navel. Fortunately, we have the spout of the style of Sendang Duwur. The spout statues we have in mind are the statues from the bathing place Watu Gede in the Singasari area. The spouts from Watu Gede consist of reliefs representing a man and a woman. The way they are seated on top of a spout reminds us of the spout of the pond at Sendang Duwur.

Dr Jessy Blom placed the bathing place of Watu Gede in the 14th century. As the style of the spout of Sendang Duwur has nearly the same style as that of Watu Gede, we are influenced to

believe that the Sendang Duwur spout is from the same period. It is probably also the case with the above mentioned Siva statue. Considering the presence of these statues on the Sendang Duwur compound and in its immediate surroundings, we may assume that before that advent of Islam there had been a Hindu community who had to surrender their position to Muslims.

In front of the mosque of Sendang Duwur are also several big jars. Their shape and the material used do not find on Indonesian jars. After we compared them with the big jars of the Jakarta Museum, we may assume that two Sendang Duwur jars had imported from Cambodia. According to local tradition, these jars came from Majapahit during the rule of Brawijaya. The jars were taken to this place by two spirits or genduruwos (jins) who had to defeat Sunan Sendang by order of King Brawijaya. But due to the sakti (supernatural power) of Sunan Sendang, the two jins whose names were Ki Taruna and Ki Taruni were found lying paralysed under the mosque. They finally begged for mercy which was granted them, on condition that the two jins should always protect the descendants of the Sunan, while they were compelled to remain in the well-with-wheel.

Considering the story and the form of the objects, there is a possibility that the jars had brought from Majapahit after its fall, but that these Cambodian jars had purchased in another place. They afterwards brought into connection with the story mentioned above to show the superiority in the supernatural power of Sunan Sendang over king Brawijaya who followed another religion.

THE CERAMIC sherds found among the group of graves south of the mosque and in other places of the village showed to some experts, Mr. Orsoy de Flines and his assistants. They assume that these sherds are from several periods of reign in China. To clarify this we give here the following details: (1) a sherd of a plate from the 15th century, Sung period, (2) a sherd of a plate with a fish design (?), Cambodian style of the 15th century, (3) a sherd of a bowl of porcelain of about the 16th century, Ming period, (4) fragment of a small pot with Chinese characters about the 16th century, Ming period, (5) fragment of a plate with a picture of the Feng-Wang bird, and a large fragment of a plate of porcelain from Fu-kien about the 17th century, (6) fragment of a large pot of about the 17th century, fragment of a small pot of about the 15th-16th century, (7) fragment of a plate-rose coloured, with a picture of a peacock (?) of about the 16th century, Ming period, (8) fragment of a plate-half stoneware of about the 17th century, Tonkin style, (9) fragment of terracotta, perhaps a bottle for oil or fat, used in ceremonies, perhaps from Majapahit.

We may add that in the house of Haji Maulani a flowered stoneware plate, and the lid of a jar kept. This lid is precisely like the lid of a jar of the ceramic collection of the Jakarta Museum. The lid originated from the 17th century (Ming period) which is a ceramic made in the town of Kong Hoi in southeastern China. The detailed list above shows clearly that the ceramics were from the 15th to the 17th century. The potsherds prove that Sendang Duwur was possibly not an isolated village in the past. It is not necessary to suppose that the ceramics were brought straight to Sendang Duwur by Chinese traders but to towns or places on the coast visited by foreign merchant ships.

On the north coast of East Java between Tuban and Surabaya are places which were well-known as important ports of the Hindu-Indonesian kingdoms, particularly Majapahit. It is also interesting to note that during a survey we made of Sendang Duwur and surroundings, we found two Chinese coins on the side of the ancient road which connected Sendang Duwur with Paciran. The exact finding place is in front of the caves of the rocks on the right side of the road at the feet of the Kendil hill. For the examination of the two coins, we have asked the help of Drs. Sie Ing Djiang of the Sinology Institute, University of Indonesia. It is his opinion that the coins are from the period of the kingdom of T'ien Sheng (1023-1032) and the kingdom of Yuan Feng (1078-1085). The harbours of Jepara, Tuban, Sedayu, Gresik, Jaratan, Surabaya, Pasuruan and Panarukan were in the 16th and 17th centuries still important and participated in international trade while having communications with the interior of the country.

After having given all the explanations above, we may conclude that the Islamic monuments of the village of Sendang Duwur can place in the framework of cultural history. Our conclusions regarding the architecture and decorative art are as follows:

(1) The architecture and decorative art of Sendang Duwur based on historical and archaeological data are the product of the process of Islamisation in the Transition Period of Hindu-Buddhism to Islam of the 16th century. The precise date could refer to the chronogram in 1561 (1483 A.J.) and 1585 (1507 A.J.).

(2) The architecture and decorative art of Sendang Duwur are very similar to those of Mantingan. It could be because certain parts of the monument, mainly the carved panels ordered from Mantingan or the woodcarvers of Mantingan invited to Sendang Duwur. But another possibility is that the inhabitants from Sendang Duwur learned the crafts in Mantingan and returned to their village for the construction of the mosque and other buildings, which could solve the problem of the absence of elements of architecture and decorative art in Mantingan.

(3) Several structures in Sendang Duwur like the winged gates were very probably made by the craftsmen from the village itself as local creativity since this element does not find on the other monuments in East Java. These winged gates are therefore indeed a new development in ancient Indonesian architecture, as they do not find in other places from the period of Hindu-Buddhism as well as from the period of Islam in Indonesia.

(4) Some elements of decorative motifs which do not find in Mantingan like kala-marga, tree of life, peacock, garuda and some other objects are proof that the artist of Sendang Duwur still used and continued the Javanese Hindu-Buddhist tradition and the prehistoric one. It also applies to the split gate, candi-laras, the construction of the mosque roof, and other buildings, the location of the monuments on the high place, the division of the cemetery in three courts, etc.

(5) The Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur show clearly a blend of cultural elements which are prehistoric, Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic elements. It is therefore not wrong to regard the monuments as a product of Indonesian Islamic art.

(6) The Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur perhaps built on a former Hindu temple compound, which can be proved by the find of the Siva statue from the staircase of gate D.

(7) After examining the Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur and other places, one gets the impression that Islamic belief penetrated slowly into the minds of the Indonesians and without force due to the principle concept of the preaching of Islam. Therefore the Islamic monuments of Sendang Duwur reflect the process of acculturation with tolerance, syncretism, local genius, the friendship of the Javanese-Indonesian in the Transition Period of Hindu-Buddhism to Islam.

Part Two
**Syncretic Ornament of Sendang Duwur:
Communication of Cultural Heritage**

Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja

Part two deals with theories of Islamic ornament and four syncretic pre-Islamic motifs in Javanese temples and mosques. It is part of 'The Continuity of Pre-Islamic motifs in Javanese Mosque Ornamentation' (2007) by Hee Sook Lee-Niinioja.

B E A U T I F I C A T I O N O R S Y M B O L I S M

Among the thousand sentences in the Holy Koran and the *Hadith*, one of the most fundamental and prestigious is 'GOD LOVES BEAUTY'. To pay tribute to God, Muslims have laboured through all kinds of means throughout history. One effort was the creation of characteristic ornaments of arabesque, geometry, and calligraphy. However, Islamic ornament is mainly designed to bestow visual pleasure, rather than to signify a meaning behind it, as Hindu-Buddhist ornament does.

A proper understanding of their meaning can only be reached by detailed studies not only of the formal and technical aspects of these decorations but also by considering the regional, social and religious variations of people who created and beheld them (Baer 1998).

It has generally accepted that the primary function of Islamic ornament is that of beautification, giving visual pleasure, although many efforts have been attempted to explain that it also has a symbolic role. In this discussion, Brend (1991) argues that Islamic ornament rarely demands to be read as a symbol; instead, it stands as an affirming background with a latent symbolism. Hillenbrand (2001a) goes further, saying that Islamic ornament serves mainly to beautify the structure, but can also evoke a mystical idea. As no constant association between particular buildings and symbolic connotations exists, ornament as visual pleasure is often the first aspect of the buildings to consider.

The dual nature of ornament earlier was observed by Grabar (1987). Ornament could possess both a symbol and an illustrative meaning. For instance, the inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock can consider aesthetic, while landscapes in the Grand Mosque of Damascus can present a symbol of Paradise, based on an Islamic concept. Clévenot (2000) shares Grabar's view, suggesting the omnipresence of plants as conveying an idea of 'the Garden of Felicity', nourished by the Koranic description.

Nonetheless, Burckhardt (1976) stressed notions of the divine through ornament. They are not expressed through devotional images but through the totality of form that unites and characterizes all the visual arts of Islam. Ardalen and Bakhtiar (1973) emphasize that anyone who is overwhelmed by the amplitude of nature tries to convey the same multiplicity in both symbolic and abstract ways to pay tribute to the Creator. This type of debate about combining beauty with symbolic meaning took place among Islamic scholars even within the first few centuries of Islam. Tha'libi and Muqaddasi said that the multiplicity of forms and colours in Islamic ornament leads the beholder to identify new features which arouse his curiosity and invite contemplation. In contradiction, al-Ghazzali (d.1111) claimed that ornaments are entirely related to religious beliefs and the notion of God.

Whether aesthetic or symbolic in intention, it has contended that Islamic ornament aims at concealing the structure of a building rather than revealing it. Or it can make it more attractive, bring out the essential nature of architecture, accentuate a plastic shape, and change it into something lively. Behrens-Abouseif (1998) seems to share with Davies, underlining that “Ornament did not conceal the frame, rather it emphasized connections between vertical and horizontal elements, articulated links and joins, and framed access and openings”.

From different views, ornament highlights architectural elements and structural compositions, interacting with them either by disguising, or by revealing them, or by being its subordination to architecture. Therefore, the main function of Islamic ornament can be summarised as an adornment of the surface, expressing contemporary ideas of beauty and aesthetic concepts through forms, materials, and techniques. Some ornaments designed for the communication of symbolic connotation. The complex definitions of Islamic ornament are proclaimed by Hillenbrand (2001) that “Islamic art is not a mere concept, an abstraction, but is recognizably an entity, even if that entity defies easy definition”.

T H R E E G E N R E S

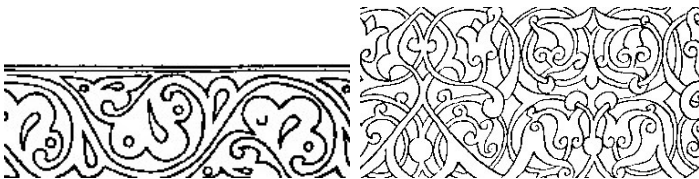
Islamic art is essentially a way of ennobling matter by means of geometric and floral patterns, united by calligraphic forms which embody the word of God as revealed in the sacred book, the Holy Koran. (Foreword by Nasr in Critchlow 1989:6)

In broadly speaking, Islamic ornament has three genres of arabesque, geometry, and calligraphy. Hillenbrand (2001) argues that the reluctance to depict living figures in the Islamic religious context could direct attention towards creating arabesque. But it would be a mistake to regard them as fixed because Islamic artists reinterpret nature through their creation. The arabesque is “a form that is a plant and yet not a plant.”

The geometric mode appears in relatively basic forms, such as in angular repetitive grids, stellar patterns, or curvilinear networks on the windows of mosques and palaces. To appreciate the interlacement of the stonework, it needs to read by allowing the eye to follow the flow of intertwining forces. Moreover, epigraphic decoration intends to evoke mystery. In many of the most beautiful Islamic monumental inscriptions, their meanings are not precise, due to the rhythmic exuberance of the lettering and the pattern. All three genres are inter-related. Epigraphic letters cramped into angular geometric forms, while vegetal arabesque unfolds concentrically or spirally. Geometric networks have the edge, taken off angularity by using buds of leaves. The distinctiveness of Islamic ornament is that three elements infiltrate each other, creating ambiguity of their function.

ARABESQUE

Arabesque identified during the 19th century as the primary characteristic of Islamic ornament by Orientalists. In *Stilfragen (Problems of Style, 1893)*, Riegl limited the term “arabesque” to a stylized form of the vegetal and regarded it as the original creation of the Arab spirit. For him, the key feature of the arabesque was the geometrisation of the stems of the particular vegetal elements. These can grow from one another infinitely in any direction, rather than branching off from a single continuous stem.



Ibn Tulun Mosque in Cairo, the end of 9C; Woodcarving, Egypt, 13C (Kühnel 1949)

In the first edition of *'The Encyclopaedia of Islam'* (1938), Herzfeld noted that "the term arabesque in its wider sense, as denoting the ornament of Muslim art in general, also comprises several figurative elements". However, the ornament can hardly be described and analysed as all the same, owing to the considerable differences in the display according to time and place. It was Kühnel who claimed the arabesque as the most expressive artistic manifestation in Islamic ornamentation, emphasizing its purely ornamental character. In *Die Arabeske* (1949), he does not accept Herzfeld's definition of the arabesque but has adopted Riegl's theory of the arabesque as a vegetal type of ornament, which could intertwine with geometric, calligraphic, and stylized figural elements. Kühnel further identified two aesthetic principles of the arabesque: (1) rhythmical and harmonious movement, and (2) filling the entire surface. "Decisive is a decorative intent which is devoid of a meaningful purpose".

The function of the arabesque was further analysed by Burckhardt (1976), stressing that the arabesque includes both stylized plant forms and geometrical interlacing work. The former expresses a perfect transcription of the law of rhythm into visual terms, the sense of rhythm, while the latter represents 'the spirit of geometry'.

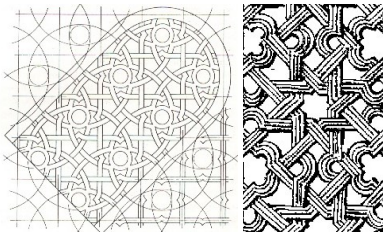
The idea of the arabesque as solely decorative met opposition from Sufi scholars. Ardalan and Bakhtiar (1973) argued that the arabesque recreates the cosmic processes of the Creator through nature. They held that a rhythmic component in the arabesque reflects movement, manifests time, and symbolises the infinity, glorifying the concept of the 'Garden of Paradise'. With a combination of geometry and calligraphy, it exhibits the harmony of unity and multiplicity. Despite debates about its categorisation, the arabesque in its vegetal form has been given the most attention. It is a distant relation of the acanthus and vine scroll ornamentation from the eastern Mediterranean area before the advance of Islam. Regardless of its function, whether beautification or symbolism, the arabesque is to be the great achievement of Islamic ornament.

GEOMETRY

According to Grabar (1992), geometry has three functions of framing, filling, and linking motifs. The word "geometric" applies to three different kinds of form in Islamic ornament. The first is a geometric pattern that presented in mosaic tiles and stuccoes of the Alhambra in the 14th century. Despite changes in the composition and reconstruction and different social and contextual meanings, geometry denotes a 'regular' element which creates a 'regular' pattern. The second form is less rigid and more difficult to define than the first. In the Mshatta palace of the Umayyad, the majority of vegetal motifs enclosed as a circular unit which makes a regular outline and classed as geometric. The third form is 'loose' geometry and includes all repetitive and rhythmic motifs which appeared in border patterns on mosaic floors and in overall designs.

Referring to the first form suggested by Grabar, stricter linear and geometric shapes have displayed in a variety of combinations in all periods. Geometric patterns were familiar to classical Greek and Roman designs, but Islam elaborated them in complexity and sophistication, transforming decorative geometry into a major art form. It demonstrates the fascination of Islamic artists with the visual principles of repetition, symmetry, and continuous generations of pattern, clearly related to the study of mathematical calculations.

All patterns were built up from a circle as a basic linear unit and a determining factor of the system of the proposition. The circle can be developed into a square, a triangle or a polygon, and elaborated further by multiplication and sub-divisions by rotation and by symmetrical arrangements, giving prominence to decorated borders or other surfaces. Moreover, Islamic culture has proved itself best in the use of geometric patterns for artistic effect. Anyone contemplating its abstract patterns could associate them with mystical thought because geometric patterns reveal an aspect of the multiplicity of the Creator. For example, roofs tend to be circular as a symbol of the cosmos, and a square floor implies the earth itself. Both in harmony signify infinity.



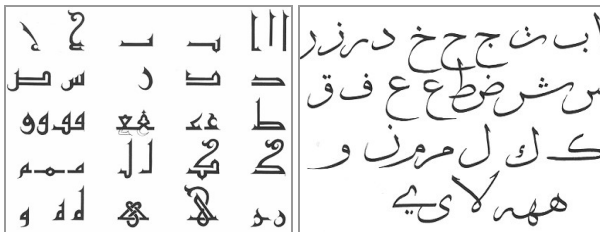
Window grills, the Great Mosque of Damascus, 706-15 AD (Creswell 1989); the Great Mosque of Cordoba, 785 AD (Marçais 1954)

In this regard, Critchlow (1989) elaborates on the symbolic circle. The lower half of the circle represents 'the world of sense', while the upper half expresses 'the world of being'. A circle corresponds to the Islamic view of creation. Again, this circle as a metaphor for Divine Unity is stressed by Nasr (1987) who maintains that the Muslim love of geometry and number directly connects to the doctrine of Unity (al-tawhid). The sacred character of mathematics is evident in ornamentation which presents the One and the many. On the other hand, Grabar views geometry as an intermediary for displaying aesthetic beauty.

CALLIGRAPHY

Recite in the name of thy lord who created
 Created man from a clot;
 Recite in the name of thy lord,
 Who taught by the pen,
 Taught man what he knew not
 (The Holy Koran, surah 96:1-5)

The only real novelty in Islamic ornament is calligraphy. It became a major vehicle for aesthetic energies and symbolic meanings because the word of God recorded in the Holy Koran. Muslims understand that the use of a fine script (*kalle*, beautiful; *graphe*, writing) is not only their religious duty, but it also is the most appropriate ornamentation for a mosque building. Forms and styles of calligraphy should be learned to underline epigraphy as a dominant factor in Islamic ornamentation. Its advantage lies in the variety of styles, depending on the nature and context of texts in different periods. Holy inscriptions usually place where any Muslim viewer can see them and learn them by heart, while an amalgam of lettering, texture, colour, and inscription embellishes the building. Calligraphy can also identify a building or its builder or patron.



Kufic style and Thuluth, a type of Naskhi style (Lee 2000)

Two main styles of calligraphy developed: (1) the script known as *Kufic* from the name of the city Kufa in Iraq in the seventh century, and (2) the *Naskhi*, a word derived from signifying 'to copy' and its meaning is almost equivalent to 'cursive'. The *Kufic* is a rectilinear and angular form which fits for a specific aesthetic intention and scope. It customarily used in the Holy Koran, because of the vertical strokes as its character and its more geometric configuration than the *Naskhi*. Up to the 12th century, the *Kufic* was the only script utilized in the decoration of mosaics and carved stones, due to its monumental character, its easy transposition into different materials, and its straight lines and empathic uprightness. The first use of epigraphic decoration was in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem in 685-691.

The *Naskhi*, a cursive form of writing, was invented by Ibn Muqla, and acquired its status as a major script at the hands of successive master calligraphers, such as Ibn al Bawwab and Yaqut al Musta'simi. The script was inherited from pre-Islamic and early Islamic scripts and appeared in a more systematized form at the end of the ninth century. Less stately and monumental than the *Kufic*, it mostly applied to inscriptions, rather than decoration.

Islamic calligraphy can consider 'the geometry of line.' The proportion of the letters and the curved strokes executed according to mathematical calculations. The term "spiritual geometry" describes both the structure of calligraphy and the whole essence and spirit of Islamic art. Mystical values are also manifest in calligraphy as well as in arabesque and geometry. A Sufi belief in awareness of God's presence and purpose in His creation is exemplified in the iconic form in the art of calligraphy. Islamic calligraphy appears to be the most potent means of expressing God's message to Muslims.

THREE GENRES OF ARABESQUE, GEOMETRY, CALLIGRAPHY IN SENDANG DUWUR

Arabesque (hearted leaf)



Geometry



Calligraphy



C O N T I N U I T Y O F P R E - I S L A M I C M O T I F S

The reason for choosing four motifs (tumpal, kala-makara, lotus bud, and scroll) is that during the field study, the researcher often noticed them in Javanese temples and mosques. As the research concerns on continuity of pre-Islamic motifs in Javanese mosque ornamentation, prehistoric tumpal was selected to represent indigenous ornaments in Indonesia. Hindu-Buddhist kala²-makara, lotus bud, and scroll can represent Hindu-Buddhist ornaments after Hinduisation in Java from the fifth century.

Although *Hadith* (Sayings of the Prophet) forbade depicting living animals in Islamic art, surprisingly, kala-makara did not disappear in Javanese mosques. Instead, they modified as an outcome of Hindu-Javanese syncretism. Therefore, the researcher decided four motifs as excellent syncretic motifs across the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods, for answering the research question.

PREHISTORIC TUMPAL

A tumpal, a decorated triangle, is one of the most widely distributed ornamental motifs on temples. The motif not only originated from very ancient Neolithic and megalithic times but survived in regions where Hinduism almost infiltrated. No certainty on its origins has reached. Some scholars interpret it as a human figure which became unrecognisable, due to extreme stylisation, while others consider it to be a stylized bamboo shoot. As an ancestral figure or bamboo, it had either a magic character or represented an idea of fertility respectively.

A probably ceremonial vessel from Madura outside Java, shaped like a fisherman's basket which exhibits at the Museum Nasional in Jakarta, reveals that a triangular decoration forecasts the tumpal ornamentation of later Indonesian art. Tumpals, filled with scrolls, were most prevalent in batik work. Sometimes the triangle itself is omitted; thus only the scroll ornament remains to keep a more or less triangular shape. For Tjandrasasmita (interview 2005), Hindu-Buddhist tumpals have another role: "The tumpal is a symbol of the Cosmos Mountain, Meru. Beliefs about its role existed in prehistoric times. This thought expressed in Hindu-Buddhist temples and Islamic mosques, owing to Javanese Islam being a syncretic religion".

For example, the tumpal border, composed of a row of isosceles triangles, is beautifully elaborated on the Naga Temple of Panataran (1197-1454). Here the tumpal is embellished with scrolls, and occurs four times, twice to the right and twice to the left on stairways. It can say that the tumpals are the important sacred motif, linking mystic animism to Hindu-Buddhism in the pre-Islamic period in Java.

² Referring to the origin of the kala, Subarna, an Indonesian scholar specializing in indigenous art, insists that a similar type had already made an appearance in the prehistoric period in Indonesia (interview 2004).



Megalithic tumpal from Madura outside Java (Kempers 1959); Kalasan temple (90), Central Java; Panataran temple (1197-1454), East Java

HINDU-BUDDHIST KALA-MAKARA

A kala head frequently shows in Hindu-Buddhist temples. In India, it was often taken to be a lion's head (*kirtimukha*, *banaspati*), but in Indonesia, it merged into a human face or a demon's head. The kala head with the swollen eye and tusk appears over an arched gate of any Javanese Hindu-Buddhist temple, while a pair of makaras by curving outwards terminates at the bottom of a gatepost. The makara, an imaginary animal with the shape of a fish and the trunk of an elephant, was introduced into Indonesia during Hinduisation.

According to Wagner (1959), the kala-makara (or kala-naga/snake) represents the Cosmos Mountain where the gods reside in Indian mythology. It also serves to ward off demonic influences from the temple. Kempers (1959) proposes another meaning that the kala and makara stand respectively for the celestial and watery elements in creation. In combination, they represent a duality, such as celestial/watery, or male/female. They imply the principal aspects of a totality, illustrated in a beautiful kala head from *candi Kalasan*. The face protrudes against a background of floral ornament, and part of the head has transformed into leaves and shoots.

The kala head had various symbolism in Java. As a head completes with the lower jaw, it could interpret as the bodyless head of the monster that swallows the moon, causing eclipses, and which was punished by decapitation. Central and East Javanese kala are differentiated by Suleiman (1976) and Klokke (2000). The kala of Central Java has no lower jaw and shows a friendly appearance, whereas that of East Java has a full face with a jaw having a fiercer look. Moreover, a combined kala-naga in East Java is used instead of the kala-makara in Central Java. In short, kala-makaras appear to be a sacred motif for protecting gods. They can also imply a totality.



Makara, Prambanan temple (8-9C), Central Java; Kala, Singasari temple (12C), East Java

HINDU-BUDDHIST LOTUS BUD

It generally believes that in Hindu-Buddhist art, many symbols also have a decorative function and may be components of a highly advanced system of ornamentation. They encountered on a variety of works of art, for example, on buildings, and in carved and painted figures. Some motifs repeat in all Hindu-Buddhist lands, and many of them have a common link. The less representational and the more fitted they are for abstract decoration, the easier to apply as ornaments. Plant motifs predominate over animal ones and geometric motifs over those consisting of figures.

The lotus played the most significant role in Hindu-Buddhist art. Three types exist: (1) the red lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*, in Sanskrit *padma*), (2) the blue lotus (*Nymphaea stellata*, in Sanskrit *utpala*), and (3) the white lotus (*Nymphaea* lotus, in Sanskrit *kumuda*). According to Hindu mythology, the world composes of *atman* (the soul) and *maya* (illusion), and its creation was symbolized by the growth of the lotus. As the primordial lotus grew from the waters of eternity, bringing the Brahma (the god of creation) and all other creations, it became a dominant motif in representing creation and sanctity. In the Hindu-Buddhist temples of Central Java, the lotus, characterised by naturalism, was extensively used for wall decoration, signifying ideal beauty which considered as integrating natural forms and supernatural power.

The identity of the primaeval lotus and Dharma (mystical doctrine) is fundamentally important in the Mahayanist (Great Vehicle) Buddhism, too. The lotus, as the creator and supporter of the cosmic tree, became the pattern for the abstract notions of the Dharma, preached by the Buddha. The lotus in iconography has four main forms: (1) the lotus goddess, (2) lotus supports, (3) Bodhisattva lotus-in-hand, and (4) lotus flowers (Zimmer 1960). Notably, the lotus flower undergoes a series of evolutionary stages, beginning with a bud as a basic form of symbolic transformation. Three forms of development showed: the half-open flower, the fully open flower, and the half-withered flower. The lotus symbol can be applied when the lotus flower becomes part of a composite plant whose branches of candelabrum are spread, bearing the figure of a god or other object of worship. It is apparent that the lotus is the most potent means of expressing the sacredness in temple ornamentation.



Bodhisattva lotus-in-hand, Borobudur temple (8C); Prambanan temple (8-9C), Central Java

HINDU-BUDDHIST SCROLL

In Hindu-Buddhist ornament, the scroll motif often occurs in the shape of a recalcitrant spiral. It is the rootstock of the undulating lotus which produces nodes (Sanskrit, *parvan*) at regular intervals; from each node emerges a leaf-stalk in the shape of a spiral. These spirals undulate alternately to the right and the left. For this reason, Brandes named it “the recalcitrant spiral”. Bosch (1960) observes that various adaptations were introduced to employ the natural plant of lotus scrolls on temple ornamentation for decorative purposes. Rather stylized, the submerged, horizontally growing part of the plant was made visible to the spectator and transformed into a decorative motif. Nevertheless, the importance of the scroll lies in its function as a symbol. It is the start of life, called *Hiranyagarbha*, “the Golden Germ”.

The Indian concept of the origin of life has dominated by the belief in dual forces in nature. The one, the male element, is creative and omnipresent, while the other, the female element, is chaotic, an inert mass of primaevial waters. When creative breadth enters the waters, the Golden Germ as the beginning and origin of all creation is born.

A close look at Borobudur exposes an exciting variant on the lotus rootstock. An animal or a human or another emblem in a circular form replaces the lotus root, and rises upwards, introducing nodes, indicating the Golden Germ. On the other hand, East Javanese scrolls are more stylized and indigenous than Central Javanese ones. It is likely that scrolls on temples in Central and East Java are present not only for their beauty but they also stand for the symbolic connotation of the sacred life, stretching out horizontally and vertically.



Kalasan temple (9C), Central Java; Panataran temple (1197-1454), East Java

**FOUR SYNCRETIC PRE-ISLAMIC MOTIFS:
TUMPAL, KALA-MAKARA, LOTUS BUD, SCROLL IN SENDANG DUWUR**

Tumpal



Kala-Makara



Lotus Bud and its kind



Scroll

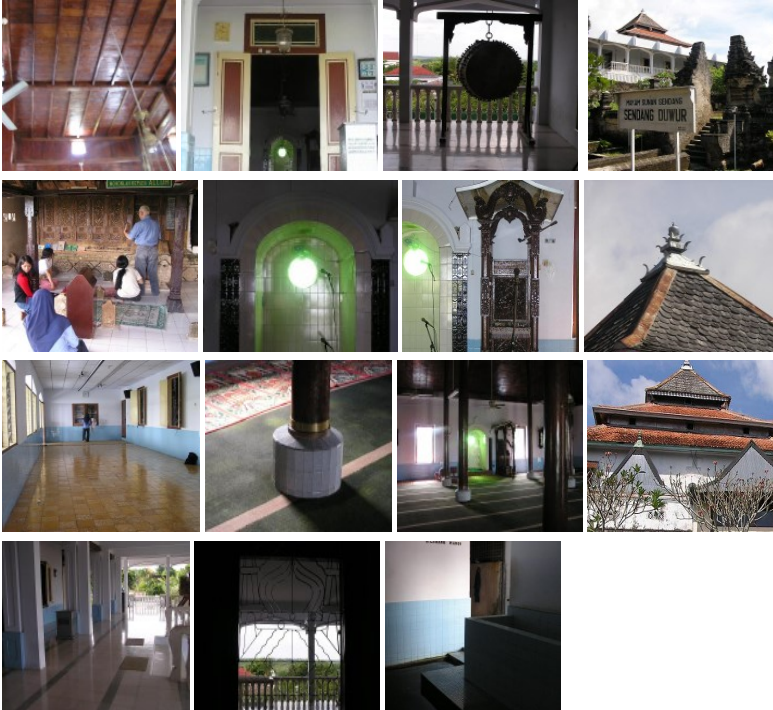


SENDANG DUWUR MOSQUE, PACIRAN, JAVA EAST (1561)

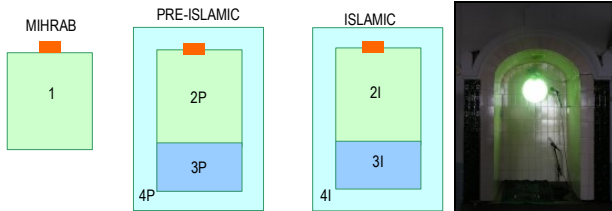


Location: Sendang Duwur Village, Sub-district of Paciran, District of Lamongan.

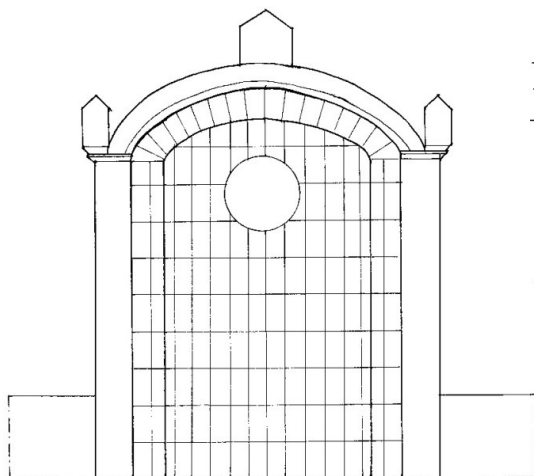
Founder: Raden Nur Rahmat, Sunan Sendang Duwur



Ceiling/ Door/ Drum/ Gate/ Makam/ Mihrab/ Minbar/ Mustaka/ Pawestren/ Pillar/ Prayer hall/ Roof/ Serambi/ Window/ Wudhu(ablution)



kala-makara(1P); kala-makara, lotus bud(2P); tumpal, lotus bud, scroll(4P); calligraphy(4I)



Mihrab (2120 x 1820 cm, renovated)

Islamic ornament is likely to be designed both to give pleasure to Muslim eyes and to represent God's existence in their minds. However, the primary function of Islamic ornament is to be aesthetic beautification, although its symbolic connotation is also stressed by Sufi scholars, in terms of representing a paradise concept.

The three genres of Islamic ornament are arabesque, geometry, and calligraphy. The arabesque is a stylized form of the vegetal ornament and is considered to be the original creation of the Arab spirit, signifying the concept of Paradise. Geometry reveals an aspect of the multiplicity of the Creator, while calligraphy is an important invention by Muslims as the most powerful means to express God's message.

Javanese religion has a fusion of mystic animism, Sivaite Hinduism, and Mahayanist Buddhism, and this syncretism has fully displayed in Hindu-Buddhist candis (temples), the abode of gods to present a replica of the Cosmos Mountain, Meru. Hindu-Buddhist temples are adorned with many types of the ornamental motif, providing both aesthetic beauty and symbolic significance. Four frequent motifs are tumpal, kala-makara, lotus bud, and scroll. The tumpal, a triangular shape, was derived from Neolithic and megalithic times in Indonesia, while the kala-makara (a lion head and the fish-elephant trunk), lotus bud, and scroll were introduced by Hindu-Buddhist India. They are, however, integrated side by side in temples, as the most significant sacred ornaments.

Hindu-Buddhist culture in Java shows the compelling connection between the prehistoric and Islamic periods, providing an inheritance for Javanese mosque ornamentation. (1) A syncretic religion in the Hindu-Buddhist period anticipates a peaceful introduction of Islam into Java, using local mosque architecture and ornaments. (2) The sacred character of temple ornamentation endows ornaments in Javanese mosques to be holy, differentiating them from orthodox Islamic ornament which stands for aesthetic beauty. The four motifs have symbolic connotations in the Javanese context. They can see in Sendang Duwur.

Part One**ABBREVIATIONS**

B.E.F.E.O: Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient, Hanoi.

B.K.I: Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal-Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië; den Haag, Martinus Nijhoff.

D.P.: Dinas Purbakala.

Djawa: Djawa, tijdschrift van het Java-Instituut.

H.J.G.: Hindoe-Javaansche Geschiedenis door Dr N.J. Krom. Tweede herziene druk. 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff 1931.

H.J.K.: Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst. door Dr N.J. Krom. Tweede herziene druk. 's Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff 1923.

K.B.G.: Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

N.B.G.: Notulen van de Algemeene en Bestuurs Vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

O.V.: Oudheidkundig Verslag. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

R.O.C.: Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madura. Uitgegeven voor rekening van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

R.O.D.: Rapport Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië. Uitgegeven door het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

T.B.G.: Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land en Volkenkunde Uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasche Genootschap van Kunsten en wetenschappen.

V.B.G.: Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen.

V.K.I.: Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde. 's Gravenhage-Martinus Nijhoff.

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Detailed information on The Continuity of Pre-Islamic Motifs in Javanese Mosque Ornamentation, Indonesia can be found in a Korean book version, called “Syncretic Architectural Heritage in Javanese Islam”. Published by Korean Studies Information, 2015. <http://ebook.kstudy.com>

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