Heritagisation of Borobudur

A conflict between Western heritage legacies and local heritage practices

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Note on translation and transliteration

Concerning all Indonesian and Dutch names, terms and concepts in the following, I have always verified whether there is already an official or accepted English translation in existence. I have conducted this verification by looking for the translations in academic, official and legal sources, as well as switching to English version of websites. If an established translation was not available, I have resorted to my own knowledge of the Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and Dutch languages as a native speaker and as an English speaker with bilingual proficiency. Bearing in mind the existence of multiple registers of Indonesian, I have translated to my best ability and when necessary, with the help of tools, such as: the *vademecum* of the Indonesian Ministry of Education and online versions of the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI) and the Oxford Dictionary.

List of abbreviations and acronyms

Abbreviations or acronyms	Indonesian	English
ICOMOS	Dewan Internasional untuk Monumen dan Situs	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IPA	Alfabet Fonetis Internasional	International Phonetic Alphabet
JICA	N/A	Japan International Cooperation Agency
KBBI	Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia	Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language
MoEC	Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan	Ministry of Education and Culture
RI	Republik Indonesia	Republic of Indonesia
TWC	Taman Wisata Candi	N/A
UNESCO	Organisasi Pendidikan, Keilmuan dan Kebudayaan Perserikatan Bangsa-Bangsa	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Office

Introduction

Historical background

Completed in the ninth century AD, Borobudur is a temple complex in Magelang Regency, Central Java, Indonesia and in 1991 it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Site List (Figure 1). Ever since the Dutch colonial administration took interest in studying Borobudur, the site has been the subject of Western heritage practices. These practices included the reduction of Borobudur from a religious and cultural community to a monument, as well as its inclusion as part of Dutch imperial heritage. After Indonesia's independence from the Kingdom of the Netherlands in 1945, the Indonesian national government continued similar Dutch heritage practices under the guise of realising the *Pancasila* (IPA: pantʃaˈsila), the Republic of Indonesia's (RI) five-point national ideology.

The very basis of Indonesia's statehood, the *Pancasila* is an ideology that expresses *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, or 'Unity in Diversity', in order to safeguard the national identity. Given the presence of numerous ethnic, linguistic and religious groups in the country, the *Pancasila* is of paramount importance in all aspects of life in Indonesia. Among the most significant manifestations of the colonial legacies are the 1991 UNESCO inscription, which solidified Borobudur's status as a 'monument'. As a result, the Indonesian authorities have largely neglected scientific evidence of Borobudur's extent as a cultural landscape and exacerbated the near-diminishment of its Buddhist identity.

Due to the above context, I assert that the process of executing Western heritage practices by the Dutch colonial administration *and* maintaining the colonial legacies in the study and management of Borobudur by the Indonesian government is a form of heritagisation. For the sake of this argument, I concur with Walsh's definition of heritagisation (1992), a process of selectively reducing a functional space into a fenced or enclosed area to achieve economic profitability.[1] Additionally, in the context of this thesis, I present heritagisation as a direct result of imperialism and as a means to achieve national unity. Although the post-1945 Indonesian authorities have established a comprehensive legal framework to limit the effects of heritagisation, they have little willingness to enforce the law. This is especially ironic for a state that highly prides itself in its possession of a rich cultural heritage.[2]

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[1] Walsh, Kevin. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and heritage in the post-modern world*. Routledge, 1992, p. 4, 68, 85 & 135.

[2] Hastuti, Noor Tri. "Hukum cagar budaya dan korsespondensinya dengan perlindungan bangunan peninggalan kolonial Belanda di Indonesia" (Cultural heritage laws and their applicability regarding Dutch colonial structures in Indonesia). *Perspektif*, Vol. VII, No. 4, Oktober 2002, p. 236.

Research questions, argumentation, scope and structure

This thesis is a historical analysis of the heritagisation of Borobudur and pertains to semantic, political and legal discrepancies. In order to maximise the theoretical scope of this thesis, I have formulated the following main research question: **How has the post-1945 Indonesian state been continuing Western heritage practices and legacies as manifested in the 'heritagisation' of Borobudur**? The temporal scope is from the early twentieth century until the present. The argument of this thesis is that Westerners initiated the 'heritagisation' of Borobudur and that the Indonesian national government have built upon this practice harbouring the same intentions and using the same methods, in order to consolidate national identity and receive international recognition for its administrative competence. It is imperative that the reader comprehends that 'heritagisation' is a modern concept and as a phenomenon has only been studied since the early 1990s. Anything attributed to 'heritagisation' in this thesis is therefore based on modern perspectives.

The complexity of this argument is further emphasised by the incoherence of the Indonesian legal framework on cultural heritage. This legal framework is both a part of and a solution to the heritagisation of Borobudur. On the one hand, the vague formulations of the heritage laws allow various governmental institutions to claim responsibility over the management of the site. On the other hand, the very existence of the framework allows scholars opposed to the status quo to have a legal standing in their case against the Indonesian state. To substantiate the argument, I have formulated the following subquestions, which are to be discussed per chapter. The argumentation is structured according to the following order.

Chapter 1: What is Borobudur?

1.1. What heritage concepts allude to the function of Borobudur as a cultural landscape?
1.2. What is the significance of the Borobudur Temple according to Buddhist theology?

Borobudur is more than a 'monument'. Based on the theory of Borobudur as a representational *mandala*[3] and *axis mundi*,[4] I argue that Borobudur is in fact a cultural landscape that covers the entire

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[3] Priyana, Jack. "Borobudur *mandala*: The temple compound and surrounding villages". In: Kanki, Kiyoko et al. (eds). *Borobudur as Cultural Landscape: Local Communities' Initiatives for the Evolutive Conservation of Pusaka Saujana Borobudur*. Kyoto University Press & Trans Pacific Press, 2015, p. 105-112.

[4] Paskaleva, Elena. "The Architectural Representation of Paradise: Sufi Cosmology and the Four-*iwan* Plan." Chapter 3 in: Aart Mekking & Eric Roose (eds). *The Global Built Environment as a Representation of Realities: Why and How Architecture Should be Subject of Worldwide Comparison*. Pallas Publications, 2009, p. 95-140.

Kedu Plain in Central Java.[5] Therefore, Borobudur is also more than a temple. Through a semantic and cultural analysis, I demonstrate that Borobudur is a *candi* (IPA: ˈtʃɑndi), a structure with comprehensive characteristics and unique to Indonesia.[6]

Chapter 2: How was centralisation of cultural policy connected to the heritagisation of Borobudur in the twentieth century?

2.1. How did the heritagisation occur during its first restoration?

2.2. How did the heritagisation occur during its second restoration?

In the late nineteenth century, the government in the Netherlands promulgated the *Ethische Politiek* ('Ethical Policy), a two-fold cultural policy for the Netherlands Indies: one for the Europeans and one for the 'natives'.[7] This Darwinist policy has influenced the first restoration of Borobudur and led to the commencement of its spatial reduction. In the post-1945 period, the Indonesian state adopted a similarly centralised policy, which excluded the Borobudur locality from decision-making.

Chapter 3: What are the ramifications of the heritagisation of Borobudur?

3.1. How is heritagisation of Borobudur connected to the 'revival' of Buddhism?

3.2. How is heritagisation connected to the expansion of bureaucracy in Indonesia?

This thesis ends with the discussion of the effects of heritagisation in the Borobudur locality and in Indonesia as a whole. Interestingly, the heritagisation of Borobudur is a result of the marginalisation of Buddhism, yet also the cause of the 'revival' of Buddhism. [8] Another theme of this chapter is the questionable quality of the post-1945 legal framework for cultural heritage protection, which is elaborate yet incoherent.[9]

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[5] Ekarini, Fransiska Dian. "The Landscape of Borobudur Temple Compounds and its Environment". *Journal of World Heritage Studies*, Special Issue, 2017, p. 24-29.

[6] Soekmono. *Chandi Borobudur: A Monument of Mankind*. Amsterdam/Assen: Van Gorcum & The UNESCO Press, 1976, p. 1-12.

[7] Jones, Tod. *Culture, Power and Authoritarianism in the Indonesian State: Cultural Policy Across the Twentieth Century to the Reform Era*. Leiden & Boston: Brill. Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde (KITLV), Vol. 287, No. 3, p. 43-63.

[8] Brown, Iem. "Contemporary Indonesian Buddhism and Monotheism". *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, March 1987, p. 108-117.

[9] Fitri, Isnen et al. "Cultural heritage and its protection in Indonesia since the Dutch East Indies Government period". *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research (ASSEHR)*, Vol. 81, 2016, p. 127-134.

Preceding research and theoretical framework

This thesis contributes to the existing literature by addressing political and legal issues in the context of critical heritage studies, as well as by discussing the Indonesian government's inconsistent understanding of heritage terminology. As far as I am aware, there are as of yet no works available regarding the discrepancies of heritage terminology between English and Indonesian. As such, the discussion on the semantics and nomenclature in this thesis might be a useful addition to the literature on heritage in Indonesia.

The formal commencement of heritagisation at Borobudur may be marked by its first restoration under the Dutch colonial administration (1907-1911), which sought to integrate Borobudur into the Dutch imperial cultural heritage.[10] In their work on heritagisation in Soviet Central Asia, Gorshenina & Tolz (2016) elucidate that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, such an integration was not uncommon in interactions between Western powers and their colonised territories. They argue that the USSR continued Imperial Russia's heritage practice in Central Asia partly due to the European trend of preserving "historical monuments", "for the development of the concept of Civilization".[11] The reason for this development was the notion that "civilized nations" were expected to possess such "historical monuments" and preserve them to justify the nations' "civilizational level".[12] Given the focus on the importance of 'monuments', or physical man-made "architectural works",[13] the Dutch colonial administration only sought to restore the Borobudur *Temple*. In so doing, the temple was removed from its 'original' Buddhist context, i.e. the surrounding cultural landscape[14] and its connection between the smaller *candi* of Pawon and Mendut.[15]

As with 'heritagisation', UNESCO and its state parties recognised the concept of 'cultural landscape' only in the 1990s.[16] According to Soeroso (2007), a cultural landscape, or *saujana budaya*

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[10] Borobudur Conservation Office. "The Life and Work of Theo van Erp", in *100 Tahun Pascapemugaran Candi Borobudur. Trilogi I – Menyelamatkan Kembali Candi Borobudur* (100 Years After the Restoration of *Candi* Borobudur: Trilogy Part I - Re-salvaging *Candi* Borobudur). Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture, 2011, p. 1-21. See also: Chapter 14 in Stubbs, John H. & Thomson, Robert G. *Architectural Conservation in Asia: National experiences and practice*. Routledge, 2017, p. 317-329.

[11] Gorshenina, Svetlana & Tolz, Vera. "Constructing Heritage in Early Soviet Central Asia: The Politics of Memory in a Revolutionary Context". *Ab Imperio*, 4/2016, p. 81-82.

[12] Ibid.

[13] See: UNESCO. 2017 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention, p. 18-19 for a full description of UNESCO's definitions and cultural and natural heritage. https://whc.unesco.org/document/163852 (11-11-2018)

[14] Rahmi, Dwita Hadi et al. "Pusaka Saujana Borobudur: Perubahan dan kontinuitasnya" (Borobudur Cultural Landscape: Change and Continuity). *Jurnal Manusia dan Lingkungan*, Vol. 19, No. 1, Maret 2012, p. 85-94.

[15] Taylor, Ken. "Cultural landscape as open air museum: Borobudur World Heritage Site and its setting". *Humanities Research*, Vol. 10, No. 2, 2003, p. 52.

[16] UNESCO. Cultural Landscapes. https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/ (11-11-2018)

in Indonesia may be defined as follows: "a landscape that manifests a variety of interactions between man-made culture, human emotions, human works; and their natural environment to the extent that these interactions represent a continuum of a system of land use. [The maintenance of] this continuum and system stretch over multiple generations and include the system's biological diversity (i.e. various [medicinal] plant species) as well as cultural diversity, such as art, dance, the craft of sculpting, cuisine and traditional rituals".[17] Nagaoka (2016) strongly asserts that Borobudur is indeed a cultural landscape, exactly because local beliefs prescribe that the Borobudur Temple and its geographical environment are a representational microcosmos, where man receives sustenance from the agricultural lands and is in return tasked with protecting their heritage.[18]

In the English-language academic literature, there are already numerous postulations as to what heritage itself may be,[19] but Lowenthal (1998) points to the importance of the timeless character of heritage that is present in all definitions of the concept. Not only does the very existence of heritage allow us to just revel in history, but we can also take nostalgia with us into the present and future.[20] With this statement, I am referring to the continuation of Western heritage practices in post-1945 Indonesia in the study and management of Borobudur. The timelessness of heritage has enabled the Indonesian state to also monopolise heritage, just as the Dutch colonial administration had done before 1945. In reality, Indonesia has become a 'crypto-colonial' state, where, according to Herzfeld (2002) "internal elites put civilizational discourses to enhance their own power, at the cost of accepting the collective subjugation of their country to a global cultural hierarchy". [21]

The 'crypto-colonialist' dimension of this thesis is explained by the Indonesian archaeologist Tanudirjo's assessment (2013) of the Borobudur locality's interaction with the authorities. Despite the existence of a comprehensive national legal framework for the protection of cultural heritage, this framework has been ineffective from the beginning.[22] Tanudirjo finds that the lack of law enforcement is best exemplified by the exclusion of the Borobudur locality in decision-making, which itself is caused by the uncompromising attitude of the Indonesian state. Despite Borobudur's popularity and profitability as a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Tanudirjo notes that Borobudur Village is the "poorest

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[17] Translated from: Soeroso, Amiluhur. "Konservasi saujana budaya Kawasan Borobudur: Zonasi ulang dengan pendekatan ekosistem" (The conservation of the Borobudur cultural landscape area: Zoning renewal with consideration for the ecosystem). *Jurnal Manusia dan Lingkungan*, Vol. 14, No. 3, November 2007, p. 116.

[18] Nagaoka, Masanori. *Cultural Landscape Management at Borobudur, Indonesia*. Springer, 2016, p. 20-22.

[19] Meskell, Lynn. *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage and the Dream of Peace*. Oxford University Press, 2018 and Smith, Laurajane. *Uses of Heritage*. Routledge, 2006.

[20] Lowenthal, David. *The Heritage Crusade and The Spoils of History*. Cambridge University Press, 1998, 1-30.

[21] Herzfeld, Michael. "The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism". *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 101: 4, Fall 2002, Duke University Press, p. 903.

[22] Hastuti 2002: 234.

village in Magelang Regency", which is attributed to a shortage of land.[23] Because the Borobudur World Heritage Site and its buffer zones occupy so much of the villagers' agricultural lands, since the completion of the park in 1991 there is insufficient land to cultivate. Almost the entirety of the immediate vicinity of Borobudur has been allocated for tourism as its zoning plan is based on economic profitability through tourism.[24] Although the achievement of "agricultural productivity" was also targeted in the 1979 Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) final assessment leading up to the site's UNESCO inscription in 1991,[25] the construction of the park still came at the cost of the socio-economic wellbeing of the locality.[26] As such, the very existence of the Borobudur World Heritage Site has not only reduced the locality's agricultural and economic output, but also distorted the local social cohesion.[27]

Ultimately, the discrepancies in the study and management of Borobudur directly contradicts *Pancasila* ideology. The post-independence Indonesian cultural policy was essentially also as centralised as that of the Dutch colonial administration. According to a 1973 UNESCO survey, Indonesia's cultural policy at the beginning of the second restoration was based on a Five-Year Development Plan (1969-1974) for the amelioration of Indonesia's cultural heritage. In turn, this plan lent its legitimacy from *Pancasila*.[28] Promulgated by Indonesia's first president Sukarno (1901-1970), the *Pancasila* consists of five principles that form the source of legitimacy of the 1945 Constitution and therefore all legislation ever created in Indonesia since 1945.[29] As such, the ideology is the justification of RI's very statehood. Consequently, the *Pancasila* was and still is a manifestation of the collective identity in Indonesian culture. However, given the marginalisation of Buddhist theology in Indonesia, the national government therefore maintains a double standard regarding the study and management of Borobudur.

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[23] Tanudirjo, Daud. "Changing perspectives on the relationship between heritage, landscape and local communities: A lesson from Borobudur". Chapter 5 in: S. Brockwell et al. *Transcending the Culture-Nature Divide in Cultural Heritage: Views from the Asia-Pacific Region*. ANU Press, 2013, p. 72.

[24] Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA). "Republic of Indonesia: Borobudur & Prambanan National Archaeological Parks. Final Report, July 1979, p. 11-12 & 19-20 **and** Nagaoka 2016: 25-32.

[25] JICA 1979: 11-12.

[26] Ekarini 2017: 26-28.

[27] Tanudirjo 2013: 71-74; Nagaoka 2016: 41-42 and Kusno, Nur Adi. "Nilai Ruang Kawasan Wisata Borobudur" (The value of the Borobudur Tourism Area). *The 6th University Research Colloquium 2017, Universitas Muhammadiyah Magelang*, p. 31-36.

[28] UNESCO. *Cultural Policy in Indonesia*. UNESCO Press, 1973, p. 12.

[29] Nishimura, Shigeo. "The development of *Pancasila* education in Indonesia". *Southeast Asian Studies*, Vol. 53, No. 3, December 1995, p. 303.

Chapter 1

The multivalence of Borobudur

1.1. Borobudur as a cultural landscape

In order to convey the argument of Borobudur as a cultural landscape, the aim of this section is to give the reader a sense of the Indonesian understanding of the heritage concepts 'heritage', '(in)tangible heritage' and 'cultural landscape'. This analysis starts with the juxtaposing of such concepts and their definitions with their Indonesian 'near-equivalents'. I use the term 'near-equivalent' to allude to the *mélange* of the Indonesian language, as its vocabulary is sourced from a wide range of languages.[30] It is imperative that by using the term 'Indonesian language', I refer to the standard national language of *Bahasa Indonesia*. The essence of the concept 'heritage' is highly debated in the English literature, but seemingly less so in the Indonesian academic environment. This section contributes to the literature by introducing the multivalence of the term 'heritage' from an Indonesian viewpoint.

In *Bahasa Indonesia*, the concept of heritage can be expressed using the term *warisan*. The literal meaning of *warisan* is 'inheritance' or 'heirloom' and, according to the Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language (KBBI), can be both tangible and intangible. *Warisan* includes not only "property", but also a "good name" and *pusaka*, an heirloom (either concrete or abstract) with sacred qualities that has been handed down for generations.[31] Given the scope of the associations of *warisan*, and for the sake of the argument, it can be considered the equivalent of the English term heritage. Cultural heritage is expressed by the term of *warisan budaya* (lit. heritage-culture) and according to Law No. 11/2010 on cultural heritage, is most often represented in the form of *cagar budaya*, which are the products of Indonesian "cultural richness" and the physical manifestations of "human thought and behaviour".[32] Cultural heritage is also known as *pusaka budaya*, a term used in the 2003 Indonesia Charter for Heritage Conservation.[33] According to Articles 1.1. to 1.6. of Law No. 11/2010, cultural heritage is comprised virtually exclusively of tangible or material heritage.[34]

The Indonesian government recognises the division between 'tangible' and 'intangible' heritage. 'Tangible heritage' is translated as *warisan benda* (lit. 'heritage-object'). According to the Indonesian Ministry of Education (MoEC), *cagar budaya* is a form of *warisan budaya* and specifically

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[30] Pastika, Wayan I. "Pengaruh bahasa asing terhadap Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Daerah: Peluang atau Ancaman? *Jurnal Kajian Bali* (Journal of Bali Studies), 1 October 2012, Vol. 2(2), p. 141-164.

[31] Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI). https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/warisan (11-11-2018)

[32] See: Undang-undang RI No. 11/2010 tentang Cagar Budaya (Law No. 11/2010 on cultural heritage, 'Law No. 11/2010'). Point a), p. 1 https://bit.ly/2tg54pe (10-10-2018) and Glossary.

[33] ICOMOS. Indonesian Charter for Heritage Conservation, 2003. https://www.icomos.org/charters/indonesia-charter.pdf (11-11-2018)

[34] Law No. 11/2010.

refers to 'cultural properties', which may be grouped under these five categories: 'Objects' (*Benda*); 'Structures' (*Struktur*); 'Buildings' (*Bangunan*); 'Sites' (*Situs*) or 'Areas' (*Kawasan*). A full description of this categorisation can be found in Articles 1.1 to 1.6. of Law No. 11/2010.[35] Karmadi (2017) translates 'tangible heritage' into *warisan (budaya) fisik*, or 'physical (cultural) heritage'.[36] Based on this nomenclature, the MoEC tends to place the emphasis on the materiality of heritage. Most importantly, the MoEC is inconsistent in its own nomenclature. Derived from the title of Law No. 78/2007 on the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention of the Safeguarding of Intangible Heritage, the English term 'intangible heritage' is *warisan takbenda* (lit. 'heritage-not-object'),[37] but the 2003 Indonesian Charter of Heritage Conservation uses *pusaka tidak berwujud*, lit. *pusaka* that is 'not tangible or concrete'. Karmadi (2017) uses the term *nilai budaya*, or 'cultural attribute' to denote 'intangible heritage'.[38] Through Ministerial Decree No. 106/2013, the Indonesian state acknowledges 'intangible heritage' as *warisan takbenda*, which are "products of actions and thoughts, existing in the form of identity, ideology, mythology; concrete expressions in the form of sounds, movements or notions contained in objects; systems of behaviour, system of beliefs and customs in Indonesia".[39]

I have explained that the concept of 'heritage' or *warisan* is one with much nuance from an Indonesian perspective (Figure 2). *Warisan* can mean or associated with the concepts of 'cultural heritage' (*warisan budaya* or *cagar budaya*), *pusaka* and 'intangible heritage' (*warisan takbenda*, *pusaka tak berwujud* or *nilai budaya*). Although these concepts may be understood as synonyms at first, they are not one and the same. Respectively, their meanings do have a considerable degree of overlap, but this extent highly depends on the contextual nuance. As both a Buddhist place of worship and a tourist attraction surrounded by natural features, I argue that Borobudur holds the mentioned elements of both tangible and intangible heritage, which are all present in the concept of 'cultural

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[35] Undang-undang RI No. 11/2010 tentang Cagar Budaya (Law No. 11/2010 on cultural heritage). https://bit.ly/2tg54pe (10-10-2018)

See also: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). Sistem Registrasi Cagar Budaya (Cultural Heritage Registration System). 5 Kategori Cagar Budaya (Five Categories of Cultural Heritage). https://cagarbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id/public/informasi (01-11-2018)

[36] Karmadi, Agus Dono. "Budaya sebagai warisan budaya dan upaya pelestariannya" (Culture as cultural heritage and its preservation efforts). Working Paper, Direktorat Jenderal Kebudayaan Yogyakarta, Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan (Directorate General of Culture of Yogyakarta, Ministry of Education and Culture), 21 March 2017, 1-5.
[37] Peraturan Presiden RI No. 78/2007 tentang Pengesahan *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (Konvensi untuk perlindungan warisan budaya takbenda).

https://bit.ly/2RQW507 (01-11-2018)

[38] Karmadi 2017: 1.
[39] Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI No. 106/2013 tentang Warisan Budaya Takbenda Indonesia (Decree by the Ministry of Education and Culture on the intangible heritage of Indonesia). https://bit.ly/2UOJt2m   (01-04-2019)

landscape' or *saujana budaya*.[40] *Saujana budaya* is the Indonesian translation of 'cultural landscape', which in Indonesia and by UNESCO is understood as a combination of a natural and man-made landscape, in which both elements of tangible and intangible heritage support and complete one another, so as to sustain a "harmonious" interaction between man and nature indeed[41] (for more semantic detail, see Glossary). Rahmi et al. (2012) posit that this interaction within the Borobudur cultural landscape has developed "over a long time" and that human activity is the primary drive behind this development.[42]

Although there is no legal basis for the recognition of 'cultural landscape' or *saujana budaya*, the successful inscription of Bali Province's cultural landscape on the World Heritage List in 2012 does demonstrate the national government's interest in expanding and updating its own knowledge of heritage. Bali's cultural landscape consists of a network of man-made irrigation channels that distribute water evenly throughout rice terraces, allowing them to receive an equal amount of water. This irrigation system, known as *subak*, is based on the Balinese Hindu philosophy of *Tri Hita Karana*, which "promotes a harmonious relationship between the realms of the spirit, the human world and nature".[43] There is evidence that Borobudur can be considered a cultural landscape as well, specifically as an representational *axis mundi* and *mandala* within an even larger *mandala*, one that roughly encompasses the area of the Kedu Plain in Central Java (Figure 3).[44] The proposition of Borobudur as a cultural landscape constructed on theological principles is similar to that of the Balinese *subak* system. According to Hindu-Buddhist theology, a *mandala* is a "scheme and representation of the cosmos",[45] whereas *axis mundi* translates as 'axis of the world', a point where the axes of the perceivable world converge to and simultaneously diverge from.[46] Building on the argument of Borobudur as a cultural landscape and based on Hindu-Buddhist theology, this plain is in fact a whole system of smaller *mandalas* that lend protective powers to one another (Figure 4).

However, views on the theory of Borobudur as a cultural landscape has yet to win support from the Indonesian state, UNESCO and other scholars. From an art historical perspective, Klokke (1995) asserts that the Borobudur Temple is not a *mandala*. Klokke argues that although the layout of

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[40] Soeroso 2007: 116.

[41] UNESCO. Cultural Landscapes. https://whc.unesco.org/en/culturallandscape/ (11-11-2018)

[42] Rahmi et al. 2012: 86-87.

[43] ICOMOS. "Cultural Landscape of Bali Province (Indonesia) No. 1194rev".
https://whc.unesco.org/document/152004   (01-04-2019)

[44] Rahmi, Dwita Hadi. "The Cultural Landscape of Borobudur — Borobudur villages: continuity and change". Chapter 3 in: Kanki, Kiyoko et al. (eds.). *Borobudur as Cultural Landscape: Local Communities' Initiatives for the Evolutive Conservation of Pusaka Saujana Borobudur*. Kyoto University Press & Trans Pacific Press, 2015, p. 39-58 f Soeroso 2007: 116.

[45] Priyana 2015: 105-112.

[46] Paskaleva 2009: 96-98.

the temple does support its representation as a *mandala* (Figure 5), its relief panels do not.[47] Another iconographical suggestion as to why the temple may not be a *mandala* is the ubiquitous reliefs. According to Klokke, a *mandala* can contain some reliefs, but not as many and intricate as in the temple. Although it is plausible that the reliefs are of fundamental importance for the physical structure of the temple, they seem not indicative of the possible function of the temple as a *mandala*.[48] As I will explain in the next section, the understanding of Borobudur as a cultural landscape is ultimately primarily derived from Buddhist theology. Although the above argumentation does not mean that a *mandala* and a cultural landscape are generally one and the same, this might be the case of Borobudur.

The core Western heritage concepts necessary to understand what Borobudur is, are 'heritage', 'cultural heritage', '(in)tangible heritage' and 'cultural landscape'; Borobudur is a manifestation of all these concepts. By explaining how the concepts are perceived from an Indonesian perspective, I have shown that Borobudur does not only refer to the temple, but is also (part of) a larger cultural landscape that covers the volcanic plain in which it is situated. Linguistic nuances present in *Bahasa Indonesia* allow one to have a specific image of what Borobudur is. This specificity will be further illustrated using evidence from Buddhist theology.

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[47] Klokke, Marijke J. "Borobudur: A *mandala*? A contextual approach to the function and meaning of Borobudur". Chapter 14 in: *IIAS Yearbook*, Vol. 1, 1995, p. 191-219.
[48] Ibid: 194. For more detailed information on the Buddhas of Borobudur Temple, please see: Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. van. "The Dhyani-Buddhas of Barabudur". *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Vol. 121, Issue 4, 1965, 389-416.

1.2. The Borobudur Temple according to Buddhist theology

The significance of Borobudur according to Buddhist theology is divergent. Apart from a *mandala* and an *axis mundi*, various scholars who support the study of Borobudur from a theological perspective believe that its physical structure can also represent either a mountain or a stupa. However, it is imperative to know that in Indonesia — especially on Java — the Borobudur Temple is first and foremost known as a *candi*. In the broadest sense, it is an ancient stone place of worship, particularly from Hindu-Buddhist era Indonesia.[49] Remarkably, in the publications selected for this thesis, I have not come across any (in-depth) discussion on the semantics and symbolic associations regarding the term *candi*. As such, I believe that this lack of information may be one of the causes of possible misconceptions about Borobudur.

The most straightforward English translation of *candi* is 'temple', but the term has many connotations. Gomez & Woodward (1981) describe that *candi* is the Javanese word for 'temple', but "especially one with funerary or memorial associations".[50] Moreover, the MoEC *vademecum* states that *candi* are "sacred Hindu and Buddhist buildings", but if they are "part of a system [complex], then they can be accompanied by annexes".[51] Consequently, *candi* cannot be directly translated into or conceptualised as 'temples' in the most general sense of the word (see the Glossary for a more detailed semantic description of *candi*). Soekmono (1995) adds that the primary function of a *candi* might indeed be that of a tomb, but notes that neither academic studies nor archaeological surveys give conclusive evidence for his observation.[52] The definition of *candi* is therefore much broader than that of 'temple', or 'monument'. I also assert that the term 'monument' is conducive to misunderstanding Borobudur, as it does not do justice to its significance according to Buddhist theology.

For the purpose of my argumentation, I identify the use of the term 'monument' in the study of Borobudur as a Western heritage legacy. Drawing on Gorshenina & Tolz (2016), I describe 'monuments' as physical structures and objects that have memorial significance, which were

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[49] Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI). https://kbbi.kemdikbud.go.id/entri/candi (01-04-2019)

In *Bahasa Indonesia*, the singular and plural form are indistinguishable. Whether to translate an Indonesian word into the singular or plural form in another language depends on the context.

[50] Gomez, Luis & Woodward, Hiram W. Jr (eds). *Barabudur: History and Significance as a Buddhist Monument*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981, p. 232.
[51] Translated from: Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). Sistem Registrasi Cagar Budaya (Cultural Heritage Registration System). Dokumen Panduan (Vademecum), p. 8.

https://cagarbudaya.kemdikbud.go.id/public/informasi/dokumen   (01-11-2018)

[52] Soekmono 1995: 1-12.

popularised in nineteenth-century Europe. In this period, coinciding with the zenith of imperialism, monuments represented the eminence of historical achievements of the nation-state. Monument preservation became key to preserving this greatness and by extension, also essential for displaying the nation-state's "civilizational level". As such, monument preservation was an exclusively European prerogative and practice.[53] The Europeans would determine this level by comparing themselves to the colonised peoples, who were deemed to be too culturally inferior to preserve their monuments. This imbalance between Europeans and non-Europeans did not only justify European colonial rule overseas, but also shaped academic studies according to Darwinist views.[54] Since Borobudur was first studied by the Dutch colonial administration,[55] consequent surveys have been framed within that mindset. Consequently, based on historical and linguistic reasons, the terms 'monument' and *candi* are not interchangeable.

Nevertheless, a case could be made of *candi* being a type of monument. As presented earlier, from an Indonesian perspective, *candi* do have memorial significance, particularly in the form of funerary associations. The funerary associations of the Borobudur Temple are featured in the analysis of its representation as a stupa. Based on Gomez & Woodward, a stupa was originally a "funerary mound or tumulus containing the remains of Sakyamuni[56] or one of his great disciples",[57] but later in history, a stupa had become "a monument commonly built of brick, or hemispheric shape or having a hemispheric element, frequently commemorative in nature, and ideally housing relics or possessions of the Buddha or of a Buddhist saint or a fragment of Buddhist scripture".[58] Drawing on Miksic (1990), the shape of the stupa finds its source from "pre-Buddhist India as a burial tumulus of earth surmounted by a wooden pillar symbolising the link between heaven, earth and the underworld".[59] This "link" between three dimensions is exactly what the concept of *axis mundi* represents. The *axis mundi* functions as the centre of gravity within a *mandala*, i.e. where the interdimensional connection is most profound.[60] This reasoning is in line with Snodgrass' work on the stupa (1988), which states

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[53] Gorshenina & Tolz 2016: 81-82.
[54] Ibid.
[55] BKB 2011: 1-21.

[56] Sakyamuni is one of the many names the historical Gautama Buddha is known for and is associated with Tantric Buddhism. See: Wayman, Alex. "Reflections on the Theory of Barabudur as a *Mandala*." In: Gomez, Luis & Woodward, Hiram W. Jr (eds). *Barabudur: History and Significance as a Buddhist Monument*. Berkeley: Asian Humanities Press, 1981, 139-172. See also: Buswell, Robert E. & Lopez, Donald S. *The Princeton Dictionary of Buddhism*. Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 741. Buswell & Lopez defines Sakyamuni as "Sage of the Sakya Clan", an epithet especially used within the Mahayana tradition of Buddhism. The Sakya was a tribe in present-day Northeastern India to which the historical Buddha belonged.
[57] Gomez & Woodward 1981: 242.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Miksic, John. *Borobudur: Golden Tales of the Buddhas*. Berkeley & Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1990, p. 47.
[60] Paskaleva 2009: 96-98.

that "the stupa exists to emphasise the existence of a perpendicular".[61] According to Huang (2012), the axes that go through the *axis mundi* "represent the multiplicity and plurality of the world as a divine, time-governed manifestation by using the human coordinates as an architectural tool".[62] The argumentation that the Borobudur Temple is a place where the material world is connected to the immaterial world also denotes that it is where the deceased transition into another dimension. Ultimately, this justifies the representation of the Borobudur Temple as a stupa. Still, opinions on the temple as a stupa diverge. Soekmono (1995) opines that "the stupa merely serves as a top piece".[63]

Another structure that the Borobudur Temple may represent is a mountain. Miksic (1990) suggests that its "silhouette was clearly meant to suggest a mountain",[64] whereas De Casparis (1981) and Soekmono (1995) specifically refer to Mount (Su)meru, the most sacred mountain in Hindu mythology.[65] According to an inscription dated 792 AD at Ratu Boko, a Hindu settlement 65 km east of Borobudur, the temple is compared to a "Cosmic Mountain", which stands "in the midst of rice fields, in the center of an island surrounded by the ocean. During part of the year, when the rice has not yet ripened, the area surrounding Barabudur almost looks like a huge lake".[66] De Casparis continues by saying that writer Paul Mus shares this conception, namely that he regards the temple as a "huge lotus-seat for the future Buddha, rising out of the middle of a huge lake".[67] The idea of the Borobudur Temple as a "Cosmic Mountain of the Buddhas […] surrounded by the Ocean of Supreme Virtues" is indeed a firm substantiation that conceptually, Borobudur does not refer to its form as a static temple only, but mainly to its position as part of a dynamic landscape that has been maintained for centuries.[68]

The Borobudur Temple nowadays seem to stand on ground level, but throughout the years, the surrounding elevation has increased to such an extent that the hill is not clearly visible anymore. The elevation change can be substantiated by a study by Bernet Kempers (1970), who observes that "it must have been difficult to align each of the four flanks with each of the four wind directions, […] for they [the builders] did not find themselves on a flat terrain, but a terraced hilltop".[69] By saying this, Bernet Kempers also alludes to the adeptness of the builders, who managed to achieve the alignment

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[61] Snodgrass, Adrian. *The Symbolism of the Stupa*. Cornell Southeast Asian Program, 1988, p. 13.
[62] Huang, En-Yu. *Comparing the Do's and Taboos in Chinese Feng-Shui and Indian Vastu-Shastra Architectural Traditions*. PhD dissertation, Leiden University, 2012, p. 140.
[63] Soekmono 1995: 8.
[64] Miksic 1990: 47.
[65] De Casparis, J.G. "The Dual Nature of Borobudur". In: Gomez & Woodward 1981: 70-71 and Soekmono 1995: 9, 15 & 43-46.
[66] De Casparis 1981: 70-71.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid: 71. Here, the Borobudur Temple is likened to the "Hindu Cosmic Mountain [that] arises in the middle of the Milk Sea".
[69] Bernet Kempers, A.J. *Borobudur: Mysteriegebeuren in steen, verval en restauratie, Oudjavaans volksleven* (Borobudur: Mystery in stone, decay and restoration, Old Javanese folk life). Wassenaar: Servire, 1970, p. 42.

with as little as 1.5 degrees.[70] Even more, Coedes (1983) mentions that the name of the ninth century AD dynasty that built Borobudur, Sailendra, literally means 'king of the mountain'.[71] The Buddhist Sailendra considered mountains sacred, as they were the dwelling places of the gods.[72]

By highlighting the cosmological significance of the Borobudur Temple, it has become clear that it is more than a 'monument' known in Western academic literature. The temple is crowned with a large stupa at the summit, which is surrounded by 72 smaller stupas. Seen from a bird's eye view, the outer ring has 32 stupas, the middle ring 24 and the inner ring 12 (see Figure 5). In fact, the entire temple could represent one large stupa, of which is divided into three vertical platforms and ten levels (see Figure 6). Two of these platforms are square, while the top platform is circular. Each platform is analogous to the underworld, earth and heaven respectively as quoted from Miksic's observation. He elucidates that the ten levels represent the "ten stages of existence", which all pilgrims to the temple had to pass in order to attain enlightenment. The reliefs on the ten levels of the temple depict the deeper significance of the respective level itself. Indeed, the climbing of Borobudur is supposed to be analogous to achieving enlightenment.[73] As stated by Fontein (2010), enlightenment, or *nirvana*, is ultimately the "triumph over *samsara*, the endless chain of rebirths" and suffering of our lives in the physical world.[74]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] Coedes, George. *The Making of South East Asia*. University of California Press, 1983, p. 96-97.

[72] Soekmono 1995: 9, 15 & 43-46.

[73] Miksic 1990: 48.

[74] Fontein, Jan. "The Path to Enlightenment". In: Miksic, John et al. *Borobudur: Majestic, Mysterious, Magnificent*. PT. (PERSERO) Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur, Prambanan & Ratu Boko. First Edition, 2010, p. 112.

1.3. Summarising remarks: More than a 'monument'

Based on the analysis provided above, Borobudur is both an intangible and tangible form of cultural heritage. On the one hand, there is substantial evidence that it is a cultural landscape. Using a semantic analysis, I have demonstrated that from an Indonesian perspective, heritage terminology tends to be more nuanced than presented in Western academic literature. Since those semantic nuances are virtually absent in the English language, it is therefore clear why there are discrepancies regarding formulations and conceptualisations. The limitations of the application of Western heritage terminology in the study of Borobudur may therefore be classified as a Western heritage legacy and practice. The existence of such linguistic nuances also alludes to the immaterial qualities of Borobudur, such as being a representational *mandala* and *axis mundi*. Therefore, this analysis is supportive of the theory of Borobudur as a cultural landscape. Additionally, it is interesting that the Indonesian national government itself does not employ a standard terminology. Given the existence of the MoEC's *vademecum* and the legal recognition of the 2003 UNESCO Charter, the linguistic incoherence may indicate factional conflict within either the MoEC or the national government. Due to space limits, this incoherence could be the subject of a broader research on heritage law and/or management in Indonesia.

On the other hand, in Western academic literature, Borobudur is often explicitly referred to as a 'monument' and not a *candi*. I have also identified this reference as a Western legacy, as the Dutch colonial administration was the first to conduct surveys on Borobudur and therefore established a Western framework for following scientific studies. Based on imperialist and Darwinist views, the application of the term 'monument' limits or even overlooks the overall picture of what Borobudur is according to Buddhist theology. However, it can be argued that a *candi* is a type of monument, in the sense that the Borobudur Temple does have memorial significance. From a Buddhist theological viewpoint, Borobudur is factually more than a monument or even a *candi*; it may also represent a sacred mountain and a *stupa* with funerary associations. In sum, the representational qualities of Borobudur are at least as profound as its physical characteristics. In the following two chapters, I will describe in more detail how and why Western ideas of heritage may not always correspond with reality.

Chapter 2

Centralisation and nationalism

2.1. *Ethische Politiek* and 'authenticity'

This chapter discusses how both the Dutch colonial administration have put into practice centralised heritage policies, with the post-independence Suharto regime adopting the same attitude in a different setting. The main argument in this section is that another Western legacy, namely centralised cultural policies, has contributed to the heritagisation of Borobudur by limiting its physical scope to the temple only. This is why the name 'Borobudur' currently corresponds with the temple and is associated with the term 'monument'. However, it is crucial to comprehend that 'heritagisation' is a concept unknown at the time of the first restoration between 1907 and 1911. Therefore, the following description is one of a process that one now can identify as 'heritagisation'. Over time, the spatial limitations imposed would increasingly pertain to economic profitability. In section 1.2, I mentioned how imperialist and Darwinist notions of cultural inequality between Europeans and non-Europeans initiated the practice of monument preservation.

The historical and political background of monument preservation in the Netherlands Indies can be traced back to 1900, when the central government in the Netherlands decided to introduce a cultural policy specifically for the colony, known as the *Ethische Politiek* ('Ethical Policy'). Jones (2013) describes that this policy was two-fold. On the one hand, the Europeans were encouraged to collect objects, describe monuments, conduct scientific research on them and display their findings in publications and museums. These practices were already commonplace in the nineteenth century, but were considered 'cultural activities' rather than official policy.[75] On the other hand, the guidelines for the natives[76] prioritised the standardisation and registration of the Malay language[77] and its related languages. The *Ethische Politiek* was vital in developing the educational system for the native people, who the Dutch then deemed to be culturally and intellectually backward in comparison to Europeans.[78]

Bloembergen (2002) adds that the policy had to facilitate "economic development" in the Netherlands Indies, which coincidentally gave legitimacy for the Dutch authorities to exert even more political control over the territory. Moreover, this policy did not take into account the inequality among the native population as the beneficiaries of this group would be the select educated elite only.[79] In

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[75] Jones 2013: 43-45.

[76] Here, I refrain from using the term "Indonesian" as this has relevance to the Republic of Indonesia, which was not formally proclaimed until 17 August 1945.

[77] Before independence, the lingua franca of the Netherlands Indies was known as Malay. After independence, Malay split into two registers: known as *Bahasa Indonesia* in RI and *Bahasa Malaysia* in the federal state of Malaysia.

[78] Jones 2013: 56, 120-123.

[79] Bloembergen, Marieke. *De koloniale vertoning: Nederland en Indië op de wereldtentoonstellingen, 1880-1931* (Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931). Wereldbibliotheek, 2002, p. 29, 55 & 224-226.

fact, separate cultural and academic institutions have always existed in the Netherlands Indies, but this segregation now had legal justification.[80] The *Ethische Politiek* was meant to significantly raise the sociocultural position of the native population, but this did not mean that it would end inequality. As such, to what extent this policy was 'ethical' remains disputable. Nevertheless, the *Ethische Politiek* ensured that the Netherlands Indies did receive more financial support from the central government than before. The extra funds allowed for the establishment of the *Oudheidkundige Commissie* (Commission of Antiquities) and the Borobudur Commission in 1901, making the first restoration of Borobudur possible.[81]

Having been appointed by the commissions to lead the project, Dutch archaeologist Theodoor van Erp (1874-1958) aimed to only partially restore the temple. The restoration would take place between 1907 and 1911, in two stages. Although concerned with its poor state, he believed that a complete restoration would go against the "ancient principles" of a "religion completely disappeared from Java", (i.e. Buddhism).[82] In other words, Van Erp acknowledged that he did not have either the knowledge or the means to "restore" the Borobudur Temple as it appeared after its construction in the ninth century AD. He wished to respect the state of the temple as he saw it, since he did not want to conduct repairs that might be too intrusive. He decided to only have the main gallery walls reinforced, for which the Borobudur Commission had already set apart a budget of 135,000 guilders in 1902.[83] The involvement of the two commissions meant that Van Erp employed a centralised approach to the restoration, which ultimately did not take into account the religious function of the temple.

When Van Erp commenced the second stage of the project in 1910-1911, he noticed that a large number of decorative elements of the temple were missing. Most notably were several of the gargoyles, which were part of a drainage system running throughout the temple. It was discovered that King Chulalongkorn of Siam took back to Bangkok no less than "eight cartloads of sculpture" after his visit to Java in 1896,[84] while "three Buddha heads were found in a chicken coop of a military encampment; one as a tombstone on a grave".[85] It was only then that Van Erp realised the decorative elements were also functional and vital for water drainage. It could be argued that the disappearance

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[80] Jones 2013: 45-49.
[81] Ibid: 45 and Erp, Theodoor van & Krom, Nicolaas Johannes. *Archeologisch Onderzoek in Nederlandsch Indië, III: Beschrijving van Barabudur. Tweede deel: Bouwkundige beschrijving* (Archaeological research in the Netherlands Indies, III: Description of Barabudur. Second part: Architectural description). 's-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1931, p. 441. The *Oudheidkundige Commissie* was only active in Java and Madura.
[82] Van Erp & Krom 1931: 442-444. See also: Soekmono 1995: 1. According to Soekmono, the increasing influence of Islam since the 15th century shifted the concentration of the Buddhist-Hindu culture from Central Java to Eastern Java. As such, Van Erp's comment is not correct.
[83] Van Erp & Krom 1931: 440-444.
[84] Miksic 1990 : 29.
[85] BKB 2011: 6-8.

and fate of the structural elements were consequences of the Dutch administration's inaction after an inspection in 1883, when it decided not to leave the temple as it was.[86] Gunarto (2007) is critical of Van Erp's restoration: although Van Erp conducted an intrusive concrete reinforcement of the gallery walls, they would gradually sink again in the following six decades.[87] Indonesian authorities would not address this problem until the second restoration of the temple, between 1973 and 1983.[88] Depending on one's personal evaluation, the issue concerning the gallery walls can either support or contradict Van Erp's intention to partially restore the Borobudur Temple. In any case, this highlights the discrepancies of a centralised approach to heritagisation: being a member of a national commission of "experts", such as Van Erp, does not mean that one can determine what may prove to be effective for heritage conservation in the long term. In sum, the *Ethische Politiek*, a centralised cultural policy, materialised in the creation of national commissions and the 'restoration' of the Borobudur Temple was not as beneficial as it sounded. Furthermore, as I had indicated, no native people were involved in the decision-making, leaving out the possibility for them to gain and exchange knowledge.

Retrospectively, this is where the modern-day dilemma of 'authenticity' comes into the narrative, an intensely debated issue within critical heritage studies. Starn's critique of the concept (2002) explains that 'authenticity' is impossible to determine, as there can be no objective methods to establish how, when and why something classifies as 'authentic'.[89] Therefore, centralised and 'objective' authenticity, such as manifested in the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity, is unfeasible.[90] Based on the theoretical framework of this thesis, I describe the concept as follows: the state of a form of cultural heritage, either material or immaterial, as it was during a certain period in history. Usually, this historical period refers the first attestation of the cultural heritage. I do realise that this description is imprecise, but this is because the degree and criteria of 'authenticity' strictly depend on the context. Lowenthal (1985) states that the pursuit of 'authenticity' and the act of restoring are examples of romanticisation of history. In the pursuit of 'authenticity', one does not and cannot even know what the 'original' state of the structure might have been, as one was not present when it was being built.[91] Lowenthal adds that "restored structures were not only dead, but

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[86] Miksic 1990: 29.

[87] Soekmono. *Pemugaran Borobudur selayang pandang* (The restoration of Chandi Borobudur at a glance). Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture: Special Issue of the Borobudur Restoration Project, February 1983, p. 8-9.

[88] Gunarto, Hary. "Preserving Borobudur's Narrative Relief Wall of UNESCO Cultural World Heritage". *Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University Occasional Paper*. No. 07-5, October 2007, p. 8-9.

[89] Starn, Randolph. "Authenticity and historic preservation: Towards an authentic history". *History of the Human Sciences*, Vol. 15, No. 1, 2002, p. 1-16.

[90] Ibid and ICOMOS. The Nara Document on Authenticity, 1994.
https://www.icomos.org/charters/nara-e.pdf (27-01-2019)
The document starts with: "We, the experts assembled in Nara..."

[91] Lowenthal, David. *The Past is a Foreign Country*. Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 278-282.

anachronistic": [92] A restorer always shapes a structure according to his own contemporary image, not according to the image of someone from a previous historical period. On this account, a restorer does not only alter the structure, but also the entire image of the past by proxy. Ultimately, the pursuit of 'authenticity' itself is a form of mental and physical heritagisation. On the one hand, the image of the past is distorted by one's own thinking; on the other hand, this mental image is materialised in a restoration, a phenomenon that contradicts the very idea of 'authenticity'.

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[92] Ibid: 278.

2.2. 'Crypto-colonialism' and 'development'

This section continues the discussion on centralised cultural policy and the pursuit of authenticity in the setting of post-independence Indonesia. I argue that these two factors, combined with Indonesian nationalism and its push for 'development', were the main drives behind the second restoration of Borobudur (1973-1983). Consequently, the *modus operandi* of the Suharto regime (1965-1998),[93] which was responsible for the nomination of Borobudur on the UNESCO World Heritage List, has made the second restoration a partially 'crypto-colonialist' venture. Herzfeld (2002) describes 'crypto-colonialism' as a phenomenon whereby polities or communities gain a degree of "political independence at the cost of massive economic dependence [...] articulated in the iconic guise of aggressively national culture fashioned to suit foreign models".[94] However, in the case of Borobudur, whether the locality there has gained any independence at all is debatable.

From a Javanese perspective, specifically in the 1970s, Nagaoka (2014) remarks that some Javanese people considered their own village a mini-cosmos and therefore already 'independent'. Because they believed their own community is autarkic, it would be contradictory to depend on the outside world for sustenance.[95] Ekarini (2017) substantiates this by highlighting the local custom of reciprocal services and the use of local knowledge in the Borobudur area. When a farmer asks his neighbour to help him yield his crop, he will pay his neighbour up to half of the proceeds.[96] Given that this is a generous amount, people are willing to help each other out. They do not only receive sufficient remuneration, but also develop close ties with their neighbours. Farmers in the Borobudur area commonly gather their crop using the labour-intensive method of *ani-ani*, which entails "cutting the stalks of rice with a bamboo tool clipped on their fingers".[97] This is exactly the idea behind Borobudur as a cultural landscape: each village is self-sufficient, but not unique in itself, as they are part of a larger system of similarly construed villages (Figure 4).[98]

Soeroso (2007) and Kusno (2017) observe that since the 1970s, the development of tourism has pressured local villagers into leaving the historically dominant agricultural industry for commerce, with Soeroso dubbing Borobudur an "economic battleground".[99] In turn, the land expropriation and social exclusion are characteristic of 'spatial cleansing', which Herzfeld (2006) presents as the

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[93] Also known as the 'New Order', as opposed to the 'Old Order' presidency of Sukarno (1945-1965).

[94] Herzfeld 2002: 900-901.

[95] Nagaoka, Masanori. "European and Asian approaches to cultural landscapes management at Borobudur, Indonesia in the 1970s". *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 21, Issue 3, 2014, p. 236-237.

[96] Ekarini 2017: 25.

[97] Ibid.

[98] Rahmi 2012: 89-92 and Rahmi 2015: 39-58.

[99] Soeroso 2007: 116-117 and Kusno 2017: 32-35.

"conceptual and physical clarification of boundaries". In the occurrence of 'spatial cleansing', buildings and residents are to make place for a new area, which disturbs or even destroys existing sociocultural structures.[100] The initiators of 'spatial cleansing' are often governments and government-affiliated companies, which have the power to provide residents with basic facilities and remove both. 'Spatial cleansing' thus coerces people to abandon not only their homes, but also a way of life inherent to their community. The second restoration of the Borobudur Temple commenced on 10 August 1973, commemorated by Suharto's words in a stone plaque (Figure 7). One of the most distinctive aspects of the Suharto regime was the promotion of Indonesian nationalism, as set out in the *Pancasila*. Formulated in the eve of the 1945 Proclamation of Independence by Soekarno and Mohammad Hatta,[101] *Pancasila* is the Republic of Indonesia's five-point foundational, philosophical theory (Figure 8). Integrated in law and the national curriculum, it essentially emphasises the preservation of Indonesian nationhood and culture by practicing religion, showing solidarity for one another and trusting the government to safeguard democracy.[102] In line with *Pancasila*, the state-commissioned Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA) declared the aim of the second restoration was "to achieve the national task of proper protection of such historical cultural assets, giving them their proper place in the national consciousness, and making proper use of them".[103]

In reality, the process of the restoration did not correspond with the ethos of *Pancasila*. In preparation for the works, Indonesian authorities evicted villagers from the vicinity, in most cases without providing any compensation.[104] Many of these villagers used to live within the five zones of what is now the Borobudur Tourist Area (Figure 9). After the villagers had left, the Indonesian government and various contractors developed the nationalised land to preserve other *candis* in the area and the natural environment, as well as make them accessible for commerce and tourism.[105] However, to what extent the building plan has contributed to preservation is highly questionable. JICA based the delineation and division of the zones on surveys conducted between 1975 and 1979, which was after the restoration had started. In other words, restoration works were already ongoing before the planning was even finished. At the same time, in its 1979 final report, JICA recommended that the outline of the park respect Buddhist theology and the locality participate in the park's management

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[100] Herzfeld, Michael. "Spatial Cleansing: Monumental Vacuity and the Idea of the West". *Journal of Material Culture*, Vol. 11, No. 1/2, 2006 p. 142.
[101] The first President and Vice President of Indonesia.
[102] Penetapan Presiden RI No. 19/1965 tentang pokok-pokok system pendidikan nasional Pancasila (Presidential Statement on the specifics of the national *Pancasila* education system). https://bit.ly/2Va4QAm (01-04-2019)

[103] JICA 1979: 9. "...such historical cultural assets..." refers to Borobudur, Loro Jonggrang (Prambanan) and "other monuments and ruins remaining in the area".
[104] Nagaoka 2016: 64-67.
[105] JICA 1979: 19-20 & 69-72.

and further development.[106] For example, JICA suggested that the Borobudur Temple be in the exact geographical centre of the tourist area so as to represent Mount Sumeru, "which is the central axis of the world on the earth and is surrounded by seven circular mountain chains".[107] JICA also proposed that the tourist area be designed according to the *Pursha Mandala*, a "square grid pattern" based on the crushed body of the mythological figure Pursha, who was punished by the god Indra for causing havoc in the world (Figure 10).[108] These recommendations seem to correspond with my argumentation in Chapter 1, but they do not resonate with any *Pancasila* principles. Regarding the involvement of the locality to the management of the park, JICA advised that the government nationalise the land surrounding the temple to "modernize living [conditions]" and in return, residents had to proactively contribute to "community development".[109] Stated differently, JICA presents 'modernisation' as something that is necessary and worth the effort for the evicted villagers, who then had to 'repay' the authorities for latter's effort, by proposing methods for the upkeep of the temple and the park. Factually, JICA and the government were instilling a sense of guilt into villagers and coerced them into eviction.

The above process is strongly characteristic of the pursuit of 'development' by the Suharto regime. Specifically in the context of the cultural anthropology of Indonesia, Li (1999) defines 'development' as a "project of rule", a governmental initiative to legitimise its superior legal standing vis-à-vis the population, in the guise of democratic participation.[110] The notion of 'development' entails "transformation and improvement" of the population's living conditions and the government often labels it as "national interest". Given the importance of 'development' for the entire nation, the government expects the population itself to also contribute to its realisation.[111] Concretely, Li notes that the Suharto regime tended to use terms such as '*membangun*' (IPA: məmbaŋun; to construct, develop) or '*pembangunan*' (IPA: pəmbaŋunan; construction, development) in order to ingrain a sense of duty and responsibility among Indonesians.[112] Therefore, the logic or narrative behind the evictions in the run-up to the second restoration of Borobudur was that the locality had to sacrifice itself for 'the greater good'.

In sum, the second restoration prioritised the preservation of monuments over human welfare. The human cost of the restoration was the price that the 'New Order' regime was ready to pay to show UNESCO and the international community in general that Indonesia was not only able to

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[106] Ibid: 7-10 & 19-24.
[107] Ibid: 7-8.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid: 9-10.
[110] Li, Tanya Murray. "Compromising Power: Development, Culture, and Rule in Indonesia". Cultural Anthropology, Vol. 14, No. 3, Aug. 1999, p. 295.
[111] Ibid: 297.
[112] Ibid: 300.

direct major projects, but also take care of its own cultural heritage. There was indeed much publicity of the restoration, with much support from the Netherlands. Already in 1971 the Dutch newspaper *De Tijd: Dagblad voor Nederland* reported that Philips Eindhoven and the *Behoud Borobudur* (Preserve Borobudur) foundation sent a painter to Borobudur to make etchings of the reliefs. The income generated from the sale of the etchings would go straight to the foundation.[113] In the same year, another Dutch newspaper, *Nieuws van het Noorden*, stated that a "complete dismantling" of the temple was key to thoroughly reinforcing the structure.[114]

Bernet Kempers (1978), the head of the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* (OD; Archaeological Service) in the Indies between 1947 and 1953, states that Europeans introduced the practice of monument protection to exactly be "the matter of the government".[115] Given that the OD existed until 1977, Western influences in heritage preservation and management were still present even after Indonesia had been formally independent for 32 years.[116] The interpretation of monument care in both the colonial and 'New Order' contexts was thus equally centralised and paternalistic. It seems that the Suharto regime has conveniently made use of the colonial administrative structures that had already been in place. Despite the *Pancasila*-based, nationalist nature of the establishment, the regime continued to engage in colonial-era practices and therefore also continued the heritagisation of Borobudur.

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[113] *De Tijd: Dagblad voor Nederland.* "Voor behoud van de Borobudur" (For the preservation of Borobudur), 15 March 1971. https://bit.ly/2WtQcVj (08-05-2019)

[114] *Nieuws van het Noorden.* "Restauratie van Borobudur op Midden-Java nodig" (Restoration of Borobudur in Central Java necessary", 4 March 1971. https://bit.ly/2WdMIRB (08-05-2019)

[115] Bernet Kempers, A.J. *Herstel in eigen waarde: Monumentenzorg in Indonesië.* Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1978, p. 37-38.

[116] Ibid: 47-50 & 78-79. Established in 1913, the *Oudheidkundige Dienst* replaced the *Oudheidkundige Commissie* (Commission of Antiquities) of 1901. The Commission was disbanded in 1905 after the death of its only chairman, the philologist J.L.A. Brandes (1857-1905). It was only active on Java and Madura, whereas the OD covered the entire Dutch East Indies. The successor of the OD is the *Pusat Penelitian Arkeologi Nasional* (National Centre of Archaeological Research), now part of the Ministry of Education and Culture.
See also: Sejarah Pusat Arkeologi Nasional (History of the National Archaeological Centre).
http://arkenas.kemdikbud.go.id/page/profile/sejarah-arkenas (07-05-2019)

2.3. Summarising remarks: More than 'restorations'

The objective of this chapter was to explain how the enactment of centralised cultural policy in the twentieth century was connected to the heritagisation of Borobudur. Generally, the Dutch colonial government and the Suharto regime have made use of centralised cultural policy to legitimise their mandate to rule. Both authorities have exhibited a paternalistic attitude towards the general population by encouraging people to commit themselves to the 'greater good'. This attitude manifested itself in the use of seemingly democratic notions such as public participation and 'development' in the political narrative, but I have demonstrated that these notions were and still are rather misleading. At the end of the day, the realisation of such a paternalistic standpoint has served the government at a significant human cost.

In the spirit of the *Ethische Politiek*, the Dutch administration introduced the practice of monument preservation in the East Indies to stimulate the scientific and educational output of the polity. However, the *Ethische Politiek* was a Darwinist cultural policy that encouraged only the Europeans, not the native people, to conduct research and publish their findings. The first 'restoration' of Borobudur was an example of this policy, whereby Theodoor van Erp conducted 'repairs' under the auspices of a national commission and by extension, the Dutch government itself. He shaped the Borobudur environment according to a Western worldview, which reduced Borobudur to a monument and overlooked its religious significance.[117]

To instil nationalism in the minds of the Indonesian people, the Suharto regime has substantially contributed to the heritagisation of Borobudur and adopted an attitude similar to the Dutch colonial administration, exemplified by expropriating agricultural land and excluding the locality from decision-making.[118] In comparison with the temple architecture or the natural landscape of Borobudur, there is relatively little research of the relation between the locality and the government. This aspect could be the subject of research on heritagisation from the viewpoint of human rights advocacy. The physical space of the Borobudur cultural landscape was further reduced during the second restoration. Borobudur was already 'heritagised' into a monument, but now also into a tourist park. By using the colonial administrative and narrative, the 'New Order' had systematically enforced heritagisation, a practice that would have grave ramifications until present.

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[117] Ibid: 12-13.
[118] Nagaoka 2016: 49-69.

Chapter 3

The consequences

of heritagisation

in Indonesia

3.1. The marginalisation and 'revival' of Buddhism

This final chapter addresses the following phenomena: the marginalisation and 'revival' of Buddhism and the expansion of bureaucracy, both taking place in the second half of the twentieth century. I have identified these phenomena as the effects of heritagisation for the following reasons. Firstly, explained in this section, the spread of Islam in the Indonesian archipelago since the fifteenth century has considerably reduced the number of Buddhist adherents (Figure 11). In the course of centuries, Buddhism has transformed from a majority to a minority 'religion'.[119] However, the second restoration reinvigorated the interest in Buddhism, but mostly for the sake of the national unity. Secondly, to be featured in 3.2, the establishment of a tourist area around the Borobudur Temple during the second restoration required more manpower to manage the site. This meant that the national government had to create a legal framework and a managing agency to also ensure the protection of Borobudur. However, since the opening of the tourist area in the 1980s, a proliferation of managing agencies occurred, complicating an already elaborate network of governmental institutions. My argument is that the marginalisation and 'revival' of Buddhism and the expansion of bureaucracy were initially a natural process that had become highly politicised in the wake of Indonesian independence.

The heritagisation process under the Suharto regime discussed in Chapter 2 resulted in the creation of the Borobudur Tourist Area (1980s) and ultimately the inscription of Borobudur on the World Heritage List (1991). Remarkably, despite the immense publicity of the second restoration and the opening of the site, the Buddhist religion or local population itself has received little attention. Soediman (1973) highlights the 'Indonesian' characteristics of the Borobudur Temple rather than its Buddhist features. As with many other authors, he emphasises the physical qualities of the structure rather than its religious significance. Soediman concurs with the argument that the Borobudur Temple is indeed a stupa, a construction "related to the Buddhist religion".[120] Because the temple decorations have apparently been modified throughout the years, he finds that it is fitting to name Borobudur an 'Indonesian' rather than a Buddhist monument.[121] Voûte's assessment of the second restoration (1973) does not explain anything about the religious functions of the temple either. Voûte merely highlights the technocratic approach to the restoration: "The importance of the monument is reflected

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[119] Buddhism is not a 'religion' in the sense of an organised religion, such as Christianity or Islam. Buddhism is a comprehensive collection of highly divergent beliefs, lifestyles, rituals and traditions. Although the numerous branches of Buddhism do share fundamental principles (e.g. enlightenment and reincarnation), instructions on how to practice Buddhism are far more open to personal interpretation.

[120] Soediman. "Borobudur, Indonesian Cultural Heritage". *Studies in Conservation*, Vol. 18, No. 3, Special Issue on the Conservation of Borobudur Temple, Indonesia. August 1973, p. 109.

[121] Ibid.

by the Indonesian and international efforts to obtain its repair and lasting protection, and by the worldwide publicity given to the project activities".[122]

The question that arises from these observations is why neither scientific publications nor media reports featured anything about the Buddhist community in the Borobudur area or even throughout Indonesia. A major factor behind this is that Buddhism had only just been 'reintroduced' in the 1960s-1970s. According to Kimura (2003), it was the Chinese Indonesian intellectual Thé Boan An (1923-2002; Chinese: 戴滿安) who "revived" Buddhism in Indonesia by rebranding it according to monotheistic traditions. Kimura describes that Thé was an active member of the Theosophical Society in the 1930s in Buitenzorg (now Bogor, West-Java).[123] Formed in 1875 in New York City, the Theosophical Society was an organisation that promoted Theosophy, a Western esoteric religious movement that incorporates elements of Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity and European philosophies. Revolving around the attainment of "ancient wisdom", Theosophy prioritises the enrichment of body, soul and spirit.[124] As Thé pursued his studies in the Netherlands, he prepared himself for the launch of his own Theosophy-based Buddhism in the Indies. Interestingly, this meant that the 'reintroduction' of Buddhism in the Indies / Indonesia was a partially Western initiative.

Thé's Buddhist 'revival' was momentous, as since the fifteenth century, Buddhism had transformed from being the majority to a minority religion.[125] According to Harvey (2013), influences of Buddhism was present in Java and Sumatra as early as the fifth century AD. These influences, i.e. conversions of small communities, made its way from present-day India through the Malay Peninsula a century before. It was only in the eighth century that Buddhism was widely practiced in Java and Sumatra.[126] Harvey also notes that merchants first introduced Islam in the Indonesian archipelago in the fourteenth century, whereupon the religion began to widely spread in the following century.[127] Given that Islam had rather rapidly replaced Buddhism as the dominant religion in the archipelago and had been institutionalised after independence, Thé was facing an arduous task.

After Thé returned from studying in the Netherlands in 1954, he renamed himself *Bhikku* (monk) Ashin Jinarakkhita and established Buddhist groups in various large Indonesian cities. In 1958, his efforts culminated in the establishment of *Perbuddhi* (*Perhimpunan Buddhis Indonesia*; 'Indonesian

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[122] Voûte, Caesar. "The restoration and conservation project of Borobudur Temple, Indonesia: Planning, research, design". *Studies in* Conservation, Vol. 18, No. 3, August 1973, p. 113.

[123] Kimura, Bunki. "Present situation of Indonesian Buddhism: In Memory of Bhikku Ashin Jinarakkhita Mahasthavira. *Nagoya Studies in Indian Culture and Buddhism: Sambhasa* 23, 2003, p. 53-54.

[124] Steiner, Rudolf. *Theosophy: An Introduction to the Supersensible Knowledge of the World and Destination of Man*. Translated by M. Cotterell and A.P. Shepherd. Revised Edition, 2011, p. 7-15.

[125] Brown 1987: 108.

[126] Harvey, Peter. *Introduction to Buddhism: Teachings, History and Practices*. Cambridge University Press, Second Edition, 2013, p. 200-201. There is very little historical evidence of the early prevalence of Buddhism on other Indonesian islands. Outside Sumatra and Java, throughout the centuries, the practice of Buddhism would only be restricted to Chinese communities, which were mostly confined to coastal areas.

[127] Ibid.

Buddhist Association').[128] Although he gained many followers, he was soon suspected of disregarding the *Pancasila*.

In post-independence Indonesia, the status of Buddhism had been problematic due to an absence of a central deity in Buddhism. The first principle of the *Pancasila*, "Belief in the One and Only God" (*Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa*), explicitly prescribes the adherence to a monotheistic religion. Interesting about this first principle is the notion of *ketuhanan*, which may be translated as 'God' or 'deity'.[129] Steenbrink (1999) explains that the thinkers behind the Indonesian 1945 Constitution deliberately chose this 'vague' formulation in order to seek a balance between the importance of Islam, Christianity and other religions in Indonesia. As such, the *Pancasila* was to serve as a neutral set of ideological guidelines that would not suggest a preferential status of any religion in Indonesian law and society.[130] At the same time, the *Pancasila* was to provide a basis for political stability in the newly independent country. Steenbrink further comments that most Muslim political forces insisted on establishing Indonesia as an officially Islamic republic. However, since the eastern areas of Indonesia had been home to largely Christian communities, the founding fathers of the republic feared that these areas might separate from the rest of the country. Ultimately, the *Pancasila* remained the foundational ideology, lest a political crisis or even civil war broke out.[131]

Given this turbulent political context, both the first principle of the *Pancasila* and Islam as the dominant religion formed two of the main reasons for the opposition against Thé's endeavours. Another factor that contributed to the difficulty of the acknowledgement of Buddhism was that the New Order likened Buddhism to communism, which is antithetical to religion. As Buddhism is not a (monotheistic) religion, the regime found that its theology was in violation of the *Pancasila*. The New Order regime severely repressed communism in 1960s to prevent it from gaining any influence in Indonesia's state apparatus.[132] Emmerson (1976) notes that the regime eventually banned communism not only because of its viewpoint on religion in general, but also due to its support of political groups associated with moderate forms of Islam, Christianity and non-Javanese ethnicities.

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[128] Brown 1987: 109-111.

[129] The understanding of *Tuhan* in Indonesia is that of '*the*' God (e.g. Allāh or Yahweh; depending on one's beliefs), whereas *ketuhanan* refers to '*a*' god, e.g. Shiva or Vishnu. As such, *Tuhan* denotes a monotheistic god and *ketuhanan* applies to a polytheistic god or non-theistic deity.

[130] Steenbrink, Karel A. "The *Pancasila* Ideology and an Indonesian Muslim Theory of Religions". Chapter 19 in: Waardenburg, Jacques (ed). *Muslim Perceptions of Other Religions*. Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 281.

[131] Ibid: 282.

[132] Emmerson, Donald. *Indonesia's Elite: Political Culture and Cultural Politics*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1976, p. 21-25.

The escalation of this complicated situation therefore led the regime to 'pacify' splinter groups and opposing stakeholders under the name of the *Pancasila*.[133]

When clashes broke out between Thé's supporters and his opponents, he worked towards creating a central deity, Sang Hyang Adi Buddha. The creation of this deity was an attempt to have Buddhism recognised in the *Pancasila* and therefore as a religion for all Indonesians, irrespective of their ethnic identity. Another element of the perception of Buddhism in Indonesia at that time was that it was strongly associated with the Chinese diaspora in Indonesia. Consequently, Buddhism seemed not accessible or welcoming to non-ethnic Chinese people in Indonesia. Due to the profound anti-foreign attitude of the New Order, the Chinese community was also met with suspicion and discrimination.[134] Nevertheless, Suryadinata (2015) notes that Buddhism had gradually been 'Indonesianized' to such an extent that the regime was willing to recognise it as an official state religion by the late 1970s. Due to the establishment of multiple Buddhist groups at that time, Buddhism had more or less transformed into an organised religion such as Christianity and Islam.[135]

The breakthrough of the 'revival' of Buddhism was Presidential Decree No. 22/1980, which stipulated the creation of the Directorate-General for Buddhist Community Guidance. Not only was Buddhism enshrined in law as a monotheistic religion, but the Buddhist community now also enjoyed legal protection.[136] Interestingly, this recognition was simultaneous with the introduction of the legal framework for Borobudur. In sum, the heritagisation of Borobudur in the second half of the twentieth century is related to the 'revival' of Buddhism as they were parallel processes. Promoting Borobudur without promoting Buddhism would have been unacceptable for UNESCO, with whom the Indonesian authorities were trying to convince to inscribe Borobudur on the World Heritage List.

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[133] Ibid: 28-31. In the 1960s political environment of Indonesia, there were three major ethnic, ideological, political and religious divisions: 1) between Muslims and non-Muslims; 2) between the 'strict' Muslims and 'moderate' Muslims and 3) between Javanese and non-Javanese people. The Javanese are the most populous ethnicity in the Indonesian archipelago and comparatively, non-Javanese ethnic groups had not experienced the same socioeconomic standards or extent of political influence.

[134] Brown 1987: 108, 111.

[135] Suryadinata, Leo. "State and 'Chinese religions' in Indonesia: Confucianism, Tridharma and Buddhism during the Suharto rule and after". Chapter 19 in: Tan, Chee-Beng (ed.). *After Migration and Religious Affiliation*, World Scientific, 2015, p. 29-39.

[136] Keputusan Presiden RI No. 22/1980 tentang Perubahan Pasal 9 Lampiran 14 Keputusan Presiden No. 45/1974 (Presidential Decree No. 22/1980 on the Amendment of Article 9, Attachment 14 of Presidential Decree No. 45/1974). https://bit.ly/2ZhAUj9 (18-05-2019)

3.2. Increasing legal responsibilities

In order to be able to inscribe cultural heritage in the World Heritage List, UNESCO requires its State Parties to provide a sound legal framework. Such a legal framework provides not only legal assurances for the protection of the UNESCO site, but also outlines the rights and responsibilities of stakeholders. Some State Parties may also provide laws or guidelines that specifically pertain to the UNESCO site, which is in the case of Indonesia. The current legal basis for the protection and management of Borobudur is law No. 11/2010 on the Conservation of Cultural Heritage. This law was formulated as the previous laws of 1992 "no longer corresponded with the developments, demands and needs" that have occurred since then.[137] The predecessor of law No. 11/2010 was Presidential Decree No. 5/1992 concerning the management of Borobudur, Prambanan and Ratu Boko.[138] What has seemingly not changed with the introduction of law No. 11/2010 is the assignment of the responsibility of Borobudur. This assignment is recorded in Presidential Decree No. 1/1992. In Article 1.1 of law No.1/1992, it is explicitly stated that the "area surrounding *Candi* Borobudur and all of its facilities are the responsibility of Taman Wisata Candi" (TWC).[139] The technical upkeep of the site is to be conducted with the Directorate General of the MoEC. As such, zones 1 and 2 are effectively under joint management. [140]

It is highly imperative to comprehend that law No. 1/1992 pertains to Borobudur specifically, while No. 5/1992 is a general law that applies to all of Indonesia's cultural heritage on a national level. The operational guidelines for law No. 5/1992 are presented in the Governmental Decree No. 10/1993 on the implementation of law No. 5/1992 regarding cultural heritage (Law No. 10/1993). Article 3.2 of law No. 10/1993 prescribes that the exact conservation methods of cultural heritage depends on the

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[137] Law No. 11/2010. https://bit.ly/2tg54pe (10-10-2018). See also: Fitri (2016: 131). Based on Fitri's research, Law No. 11/2010 is a general legal framework that pertains to all national cultural heritage.

[138] Undang-undang Republik Indonesia No. 5/1992 tentang Benda Cagar Budaya (Presidential Decree No. 1/1992 on the maintenance of *Candi* Borobudur Tourist Park and Prambanan Tourist Park, along with the management of the area's surroundings, 'Law No. 5/1992'). https://bit.ly/2SkdElw (09-10-2018)

[139] Keputusan Presiden No.1/1992 tentang Pengelolaan Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur dan Taman Wisata Candi Prambanan serta pengendalian lingkungan kawasannya (Presidential Decree No. 1/1992 on the maintenance of *Candi* Borobudur Tourist Park and Prambanan Tourist Park, along with the management of the area's surroundings, 'Law No. 1/1992'). https://bit.ly/2St12Ja (09-10-2018)

[140] Ibid, Article 8.2.

legislation formulated by the "relevant ministry".[141] However, as of now, it is unclear what ministry is fully responsible for the upkeep of Borobudur.

In 1980, Taman Wisata Candi (TWC) was established as a state company under the auspices of the Ministry of Finance. The purpose of TWC was to manage both Borobudur and Prambanan.[142] As of 1998, However, the very wording of TWC's founding document, law No. 7/1980, already undermines TWC's freedom. According to this document, TWC's funds are available for both the Central Java provincial government and the Special Region of Yogyakarta administration.[143] Articles 6 and 8 of law No. 1/1992 further specify that TWC is to take care of zones 1 and 2 together with the MoEC, while zone 3 is managed in cooperation with the local government.[144] However, who exactly represents the local government, is not specified. According to Article 1.6, this may range from the Central Java provincial government to the regent of Sleman.[145] Sharing its responsibility with the MoEC and local governments, TWC factually has limited authority.

The No.1 and 5 1992 legislations themselves are derived from the first Dutch colonial law concerning heritage protection in the former Netherlands Indies, *Monumenten Ordonnantie*, announced in the *Staatsblad* 1931, No. 238. Formerly known as the *Staatsblad der Vereenigde Nederlanden* (1813-1814),[146] the *Staatsblad van het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden* is a government gazette that has been publishing all legislation of the Kingdom of the Netherlands since 1815.[147] The *Monumenten Ordonnantie*, or Monument Statute 1931, No. 238 recognises three types of 'monuments': a) "immovables or moveables", that are 50 years or older and "of great interest to

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[141] Peraturan Pemerintah RI No. 10/1993 tentang pelaksanaan undang-undang No. 5/1992 tentang benda cagar budaya (Governmental Decree No. 10/1993 on the implementation of law No. 5/1992 regarding cultural heritage; 'Law No. 10/1993'). https://bit.ly/2E2tyrS (10-10-2018).

[142] Taman Wisata Candi. Annual Report, 2017, p. 19.
https://bit.ly/2IMIyeD (01-11-2018)

[143] Peraturan Pemerintah Republik Indonesia No. 7/1980 tentang penyertaan modal negara Republik Indonesia untuk pendirian perusahaan perseroan (PERSERO) Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur dan Prambanan (Governmental decree No. 7/1980 on the allocation of capital of the Republic of Indonesia for the establishment of Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur and Prambanan LLC, 'Law No. 7/1980'), Article 3.4. https://bit.ly/2RUT99W (09-10-2018). Whoever controls the budget, also controls the policy. From the wording of this law, it is undiscernible who holds the most power.

[144] Law No. 1/1992. https://bit.ly/2St12Ja (09-10-2018).

[145] Ibid.

[146] Between 1813 and 1815, the country now known as the Kingdom of the Netherlands (est. 1815) was officially known as the Sovereign Principality of the United Netherlands (*Souverein Vorstendom der Vereenigde Nederlanden*).

[147] "Wet van 4 februari 1988, houdende regeling van de uitgifte van het Staatsblad en de Staatscourant en van de bekendmaking en de inwerkingtreding van wetten, algemene maatregelen van bestuur en vanwege het Rijk anders dan bij wet of algemene maatregel van bestuur vastgestelde algemeen verbindende voorschriften" (Bekendmakingswet). In: *Verzameling Nederlandse Wetgeving. Deel A: Staats- en bestuursrecht*, Sdu Uitgevers, 2007, 35-36. https://bit.ly/2IeqIlM (11-11-2018)

palaeontology [and] history of art; b) "goods which from palaeontological point of view are considered of great interest" and c) areas, for which there must be evidence that they contain the elements mentioned in a) and b).[148]

Secondly, the absence of several conventions that UNESCO has adopted into its compendium throughout the 1990s and 2000s also contribute to the lack of congruence in the legal framework. Fitri et al.'s analysis of the cultural heritage laws of Indonesia (2016) also express concern about their validity and applicability. Although law No. 11/2010 was designed to accommodate the changes within the UNESCO compendium, Figure 12 indicates otherwise. In 79 years there have only been two revisions of the legal framework concerning cultural heritage. Also, law No. 11/2010 has not reflected UNESCO's acknowledgement of cultural landscapes in 1992.[149] On the one hand, it can be understood that UNESCO's decision and the formulation of the 1992 laws took place at the same time, meaning that the 1992 UNESCO ruling on cultural landscapes can only be incorporated retroactively. On the other hand, the Indonesian government could have at least attempted to amend them. Thirdly, although the term 'intangible heritage' was introduced in 2003, there is no mention of it (*warisan takbenda*) in the 2010 legislation at all. As such, this analysis substantiates that the post-war Indonesian state has virtually indiscriminately copied the structure of the legal framework from the Dutch colonial administration.

Moreover, the absence of the recognition of intangible heritage in the 2010 legal framework is even more curious due to the existence of Presidential Decree No. 78/2007 on the ratification of the 2003 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.[150] Although law No. 78/2007 only recognises the English text of the 2003 UNESCO Convention, why was it not included in the No. 11/2010 national framework? Nevertheless, in recent years, the Indonesian government has demonstrated its intent to optimise the country's legal protection of cultural heritage. An important addition has been Decree No. 106/2013 by the Ministry of Education and Culture on the intangible heritage of Indonesia, which is an elaboration of law. No. 78/2007. Law No. 106/2013 does not only specify what 'intangible heritage' entails, it also sets out terms and conditions seen from and Indonesian viewpoint. For example, in the definition of 'intangible heritage', Article 1.1. includes the

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[148] *Monumenten Ordonnantie, Staatsblad 1931, No. 238, Besluit van de Gouverneur-Generaal van 13 juni 1931, No. 19* (Monument Statute 1931, No. 238, Decree of the Governor-General of 13 June 1931, No. 19), Article 1. https://bit.ly/2SBdkOP (06-01-2019)

[149] 1992 Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage. https://whc.unesco.org/archive/1992/whc-92-conf002-12e.pdf (11-11-2018)

[150] Peraturan Presiden RI No. 78/2007 tentang Pengesahan *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* / Konvensi untuk perlindungan warisan budaya takbenda (Presidential Decree No. 78/2007 on the Ratification of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 'Law No. 78/2007'). https://bit.ly/2RQW5o7 (11-11-2018)

term *adat istiadat* ([system of] customary law), which reflects the legal pluralism of the country.[151] Articles 2-12 further state that Indonesian 'intangible heritage' must also 'be based on' the *Pancasila* and the 1945 Constitution, meaning that a specific 'intangible heritage' is representative of both the locality and the entire nation. Furthermore, practitioners of 'intangible heritage' are encouraged to register with their local cultural preservation office in order to enjoy individual legal protection.[152] Practitioners are also reminded of the importance of 'intangible heritage', as it is an expression of Indonesia's 'national character'.[153] The emphasis on the preservation of the national identity is therefore still prevalent, but at least this law also takes into account skills of individuals.[154]

Finally, Presidential Decree No. 58/2014 on the plan of the Borobudur area and its surroundings[155] and Law No. 5/2017 on Cultural Advancement[156] are the latest additions to the expansive legal framework. Law No. 58/2014 is a noteworthy improvement of the No. 5/1992 and No. 10/1993 laws. For example, Article 5.4 of No. 58/2014 includes the accurate coordinates of the demarcations of the Borobudur area as recognised by UNESCO and Article 31 recognises the importance of the agricultural output of the surrounding villages.[157] These articles indicate far more precise geographical borders than the 1979 JICA zoning plan and the mentioned villages are now officially guarded against unfair treatment. Although not yet mentioned in the selected literature of this thesis, Law No. 5/2017 might be considered the successor to laws No. 5/1992 and No. 11/2010, as it does exhibit a comprehensive structure of cultural heritage protection. Article 16 mandates a procedure of documentation; Article 35 calls for the co-optation of international developments and Articles 50 to 58 clearly explicates that cultural heritage must be respected and its damage be considered a 'crime' that carries heavy penalties.[158] The recent laws present a positive outlook for cultural heritage preservation in Indonesia, but the question remains whether they will be enforced to curb further heritagisation of Borobudur.

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[151] Peraturan Menteri Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan RI No. 106/2013 tentang Warisan Budaya Takbenda Indonesia, p.3. https://bit.ly/2UOJt2m (01-04-2019). See also: Lukito, Ratno. *Legal Pluralism in Indonesia: Bridging the unabridgeable.* Routledge, 2013 for more on the dynamics of customary law, cultural heritage and national identity in Indonesia.

[152] Ibid: 5-8.

[153] Ibid: Article 7C, p. 6.

[154] Ibid: Article 13.1, p. 8.

[155] Peraturan Presiden RI No. 58/2014 tentang rencana kawasan Borobudur dan sekitarnya (Law No. 58/2014). https://bit.ly/2N2kgPO (01-11-2018)

[156] Undang-undang RI No. 5/2017 tentang Pemajuan Kebudayaan (Law No. 5/2017). https://bit.ly/2GOqK5b (26-01-2019)

[157] Law No. 58/2014: 4, 5 & 13.

[158] Law No. 5/2017: 12, 23-24 & 27-30.

3.3. Summarising remarks: More than 'exploitation'

This chapter has examined what roles the marginalisation of Buddhism and the increase of legal responsibilities in Indonesia have played in the heritagisation of Borobudur. The general development that I have extracted from analysing these phenomena is that the Indonesian government have instrumentalised Borobudur for the sake of international recognition of the nation's competences and the consolidation of the national identity. In sum, the phenomena discussed in the above are of ups and downs.

The marginalisation of Buddhism as a result of the spread of Islam since the fifteenth century has gradually rendered Borobudur 'irrelevant' and have been the result of discriminatory policies of the New Order regime. This same regime then conveniently recognised Buddhism as one of the six state religions in 1980, as the second restoration of Borobudur entered its last stages. Although the efforts of Thé Boan An have been tremendous, they remain virtually unmentioned in the literature on Borobudur. The Western legacy of disregarding Buddhist theology itself remained despite the official recognition of Buddhism, enabling the national government to continue instrumentalise Borobudur to achieve recognition by UNESCO in 1991.

Although Indonesia does have an exhaustive set of laws and regulations for the protection of cultural heritage, this system has been relatively outdated until 2017. The laws of the 1980s and 1990s are manifestations of Indonesia's ongoing state formation. Despite the logical incoherence of these laws, I recognise that the promulgation of these laws also demonstrates Indonesia's intention to continue co-opt UNESCO/international regulations into its own legal system. However, this intention remains ambiguous, as the existence of laws does not mean that they will be enforced. Indonesia's poor reputation of law enforcement may project a negative outlook for the future of cultural heritage protection in the country, but individuals and communities at least have their rights and obligations enshrined in law, guaranteeing voluntary public participation.

Conclusions
and suggestions for
further research

Heritagisation as part of colonisation and 'decolonisation'

Using a comprehensive semantic and historical analysis based on a variety of sources, this thesis has explained how the post-1945 Indonesian government have built upon Western heritage practices and legacies as manifested in the heritagisation of Borobudur. In conclusion, my overarching observation in this thesis has been that in the course of the twentieth century, the Dutch colonial administration and the Indonesian national government have essentially instrumentalised Borobudur to create a 'common identity' based on centralised cultural policies, which almost completely removed Borobudur from its 'original' context according to Buddhist theology. As a result, there are significant discrepancies regarding the study and legal protection of Borobudur, its geographical environment and its localities. Ultimately, the heritagisation of Borobudur is a phenomenon that continued to exist during and after the colonial period in Indonesia.

Chapter 1 has addressed the multivalence of Borobudur as expressed in its architecture and geographical setting. Although researchers agree that Borobudur temple can either represent the sacred Mount Meru, stupa or mandala, there has been little attention for the immaterial significance of the structure. I have found that the temple is first and foremost a *candi*, which is a type of Hindu-Buddhist structure only found in the Indonesian archipelago. The concept of a *candi* is that it comprehensively includes the material <u>and</u> immaterial characteristics of the representational mountain, stupa and mandala. The evidence for Borobudur as being more than a temple as understood in the English language is its location within the volcanic Kedu Plain. According to Buddhist theology, Borobudur temple is also a representational *axis mundi*, a point where the axes of the world diverge and converge, as well as a portal where the heavenly realm, the physical world and underworld are vertically connected to one another. At the same time, Buddhist theology also regards the Kedu Plain itself as a network of *mandala* or protective force field. Since Borobudur temple is situated in the middle of this network as the centre of the protective force, there is compelling evidence that Borobudur may be studied and understood as a cultural landscape. Regarding to the research question of this thesis, the legacy of the quite early Western practice of studying monuments out of their cultural context has contributed to the spatial reduction of Borobudur.

Chapter 2 discussed how centralised policies such as the *Ethische Politiek* and the second restoration have caused not only the geographical, but also the social heritagisation of Borobudur. The geographical heritagisation of Borobudur in the Dutch colonial period was initiated by the first and partial restoration of Borobudur temple. This restoration project itself was a realisation of the *Ethische Politiek*, which prescribed Europeans to conduct extensive scientific study and publications, excluding

the native population from the historical narrative. Moreover, by only restoring the temple structure, the name 'Borobudur' became exclusively associated with the temple. Considering the evidence presented in Chapter 1, the Borobudur area indeed became physically reduced to the temple, which is also an example of the Western prioritisation of monumentality and 'authenticity'. The Western view of monumentality presupposes that the memory of a historical occurrence can be compressed into a physical monument, neglecting the atmosphere or the larger environment in which the historical event has taken place. The issue with 'authenticity' is that it remains an ill-defined concept that is based on subjective observations. As the value and function of heritage changes throughout centuries, the pursuit of 'authenticity' is a highly selective process and unfair towards those who are excluded from decision-making.

This latter concern had severe consequences for the locality of Borobudur during the second restoration in the 1970s and 80s. I described the second restoration as a centralised policy, because it was an extreme expression of the *Pancasila* and which resulted in the eviction of villagers who had been living in the vicinity of Borobudur for generations. The exaggerated nationalist nature of Suharto's New Order regime caused the general population to be excluded from decision-making once more, which was essentially not much different from the thought behind the *Ethische Politiek*. As such, the spatial and social heritagisation in the 1970s and 80s were a continuation of discrimination by the state as introduced by the Dutch in the early 1900s. Given the lack of attention for the social and economic implications for the locality of Borobudur, I believe that the theme of this thesis may be further developed in a research in the framework of human rights.

Finally, Chapter 3 has extensively covered the ramifications of and the larger political context behind the heritagisation of Borobudur, using the marginalisation of Buddhism and the expansion of the Indonesian legal framework on cultural heritage as examples. Although the decline of Buddhism has been a 'natural' process due to the spread of Islam since the fifteenth century, in post-1945 it had become an explicitly politicised process. Reintroduced by Western Theosophists in the 1800s and associated with the Chinese diaspora, the New Order considered Buddhism a foreign 'threat' that might jeopardise the social structure based on the *Pancasila*. However, the fact that the acknowledgement of Buddhism occurred almost simultaneously with the reopening of Borobudur is a strong indication that Buddhism was instrumentalised for the sake of the site's UNESCO bid. Given that this phenomenon appears to be lacuna in the literature on Borobudur, I find that the connection between domestic politics and the nomination process of Borobudur is also an interesting topic to investigate.

The existence of the legal framework for cultural heritage protection in Indonesia does not guarantee its enforcement. The logical irregularities of the laws of the 1980s and 1990s suggest that the nomination process of Borobudur seemed truncated for appearances' sake, but in recent years, the Indonesian state has become more serious about its image. The formulation of new laws in 2013, 2014 and 2017 has demonstrated that the state attempts to become more assertive in the international community and more welcoming towards its own Buddhist population. The formulations of the new laws also indicate the positive outlook of more open dialogue between the authorities and Borobudur localities, perhaps increasing the possibility of listing Borobudur as a cultural landscape.

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Appendix

I.   List of figures

Thesis cover page: View seen from the southwestern part of Borobudur, overlooking the Kedu Plain in Central Java.

Source: Author's photograph, 11-09-2018.

Figure 1: Location of Borobudur in Central Java.
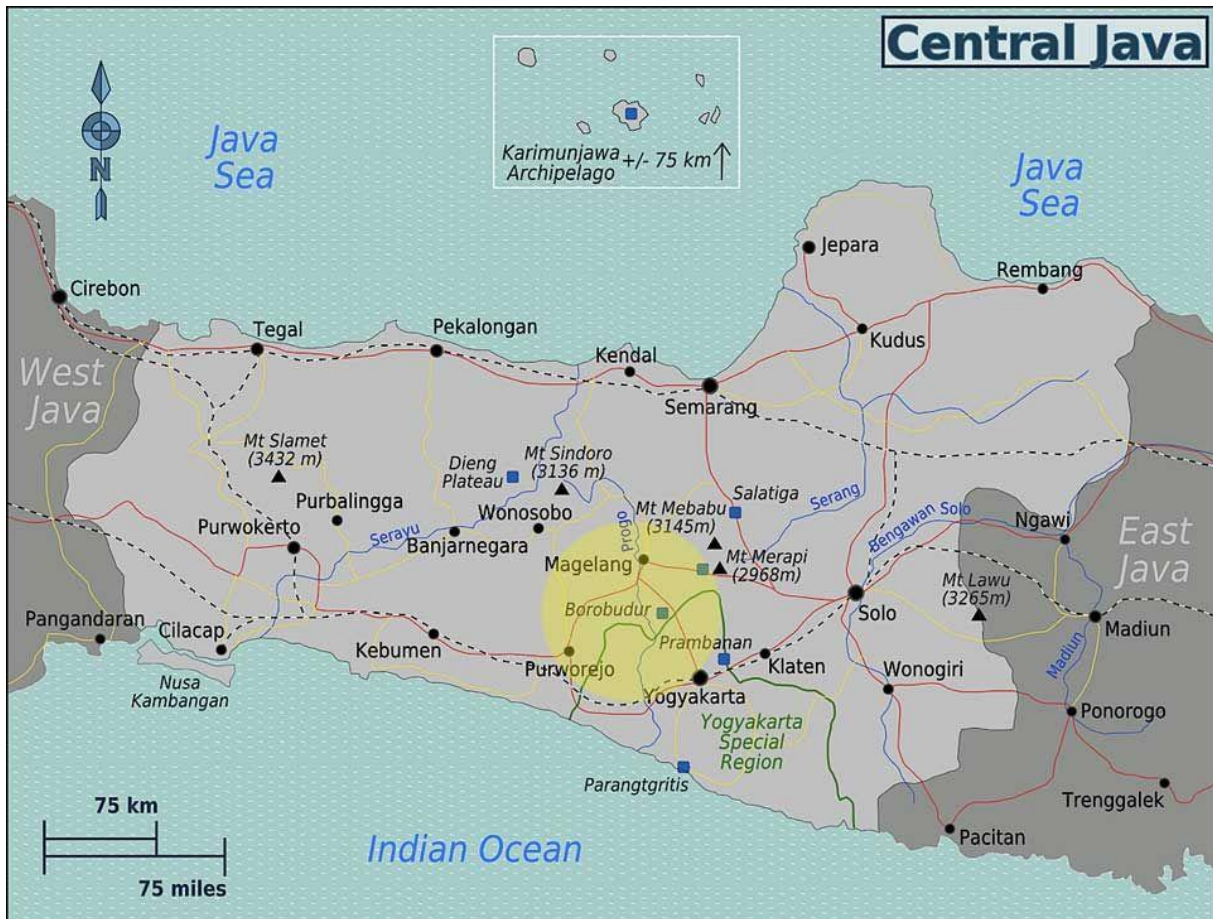
Source: Pinterest, unknown creator and date.

https://i.pinimg.com/originals/b3/02/0c/b3020cf76e40faea1bf8ac1ed4639f40.jpg (03-01-2019)

Figure 2: Semantic scheme of the concepts of 'heritage' and *warisan (budaya)*.

From an Indonesian perspective, the concepts below can be used interchangeably, but this highly depends on the context.

Source: Author's work, February 2019.
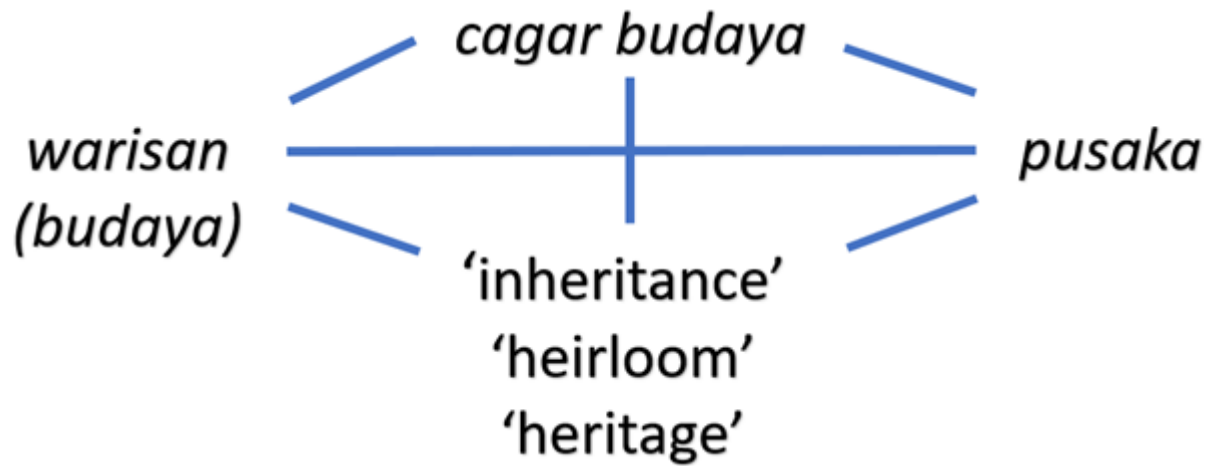
Figure 3: The geographical extent of the proposed Borobudur cultural landscape.

Source: Tanudirjo 2013, p. 66.
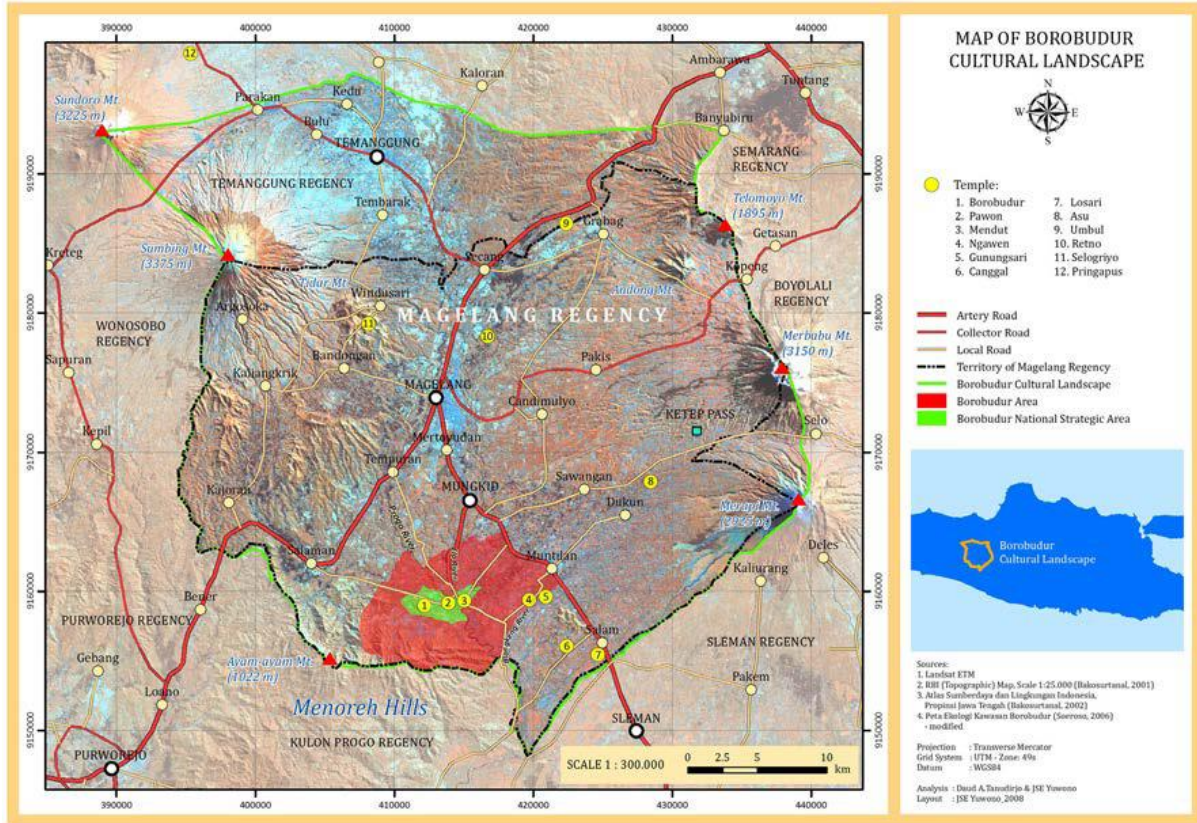
Figure 4: The Borobudur cultural landscape corresponding with the Kedu Plain in Central Java and the *mandala* concept projected onto the same area, with the Borobudur Temple as a smaller *mandala* and the representational *axis mundi* within the entire construct.

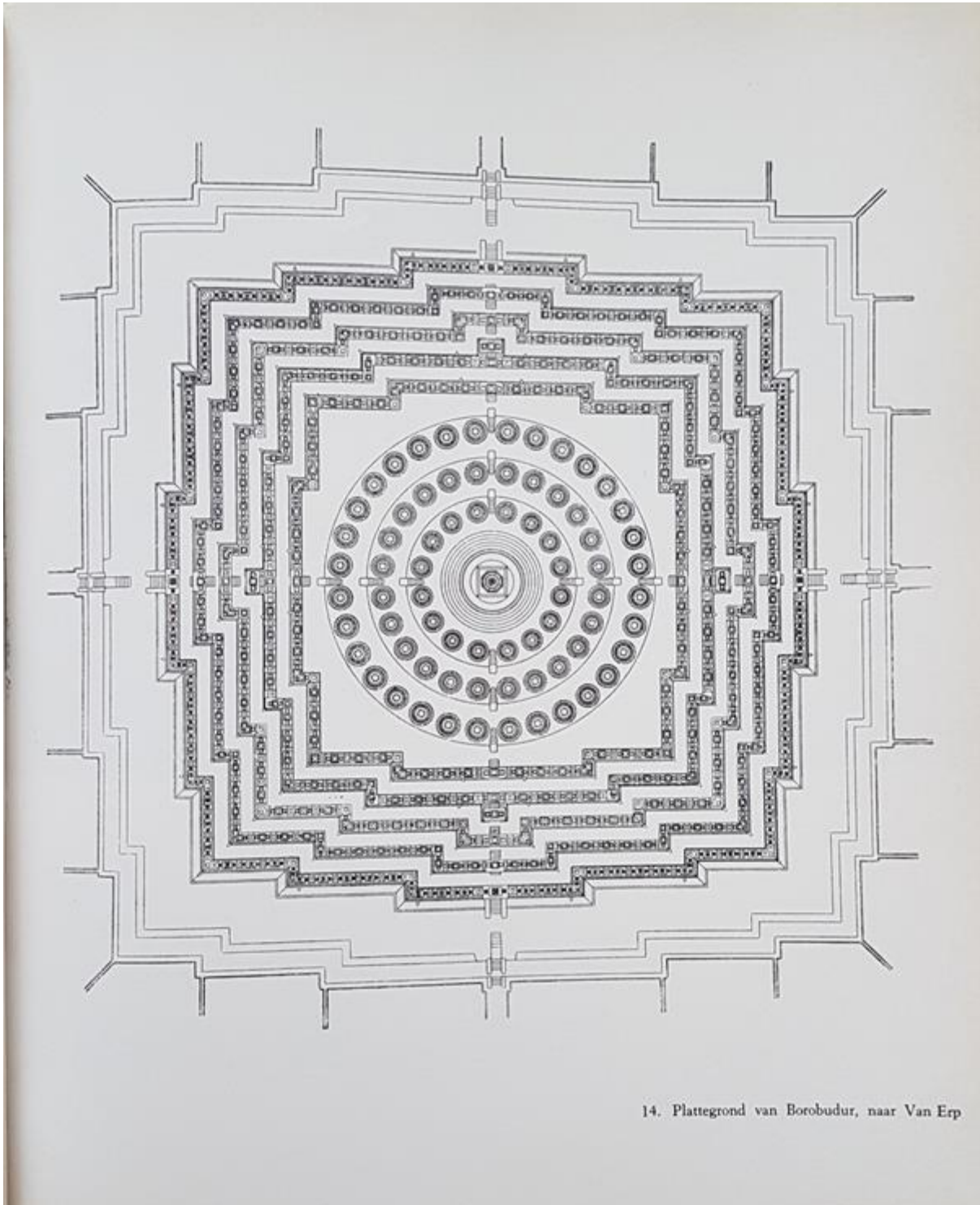Source: Rahmi 2015, p. 44. Chapter 3 in: Kanki et al. (eds.).
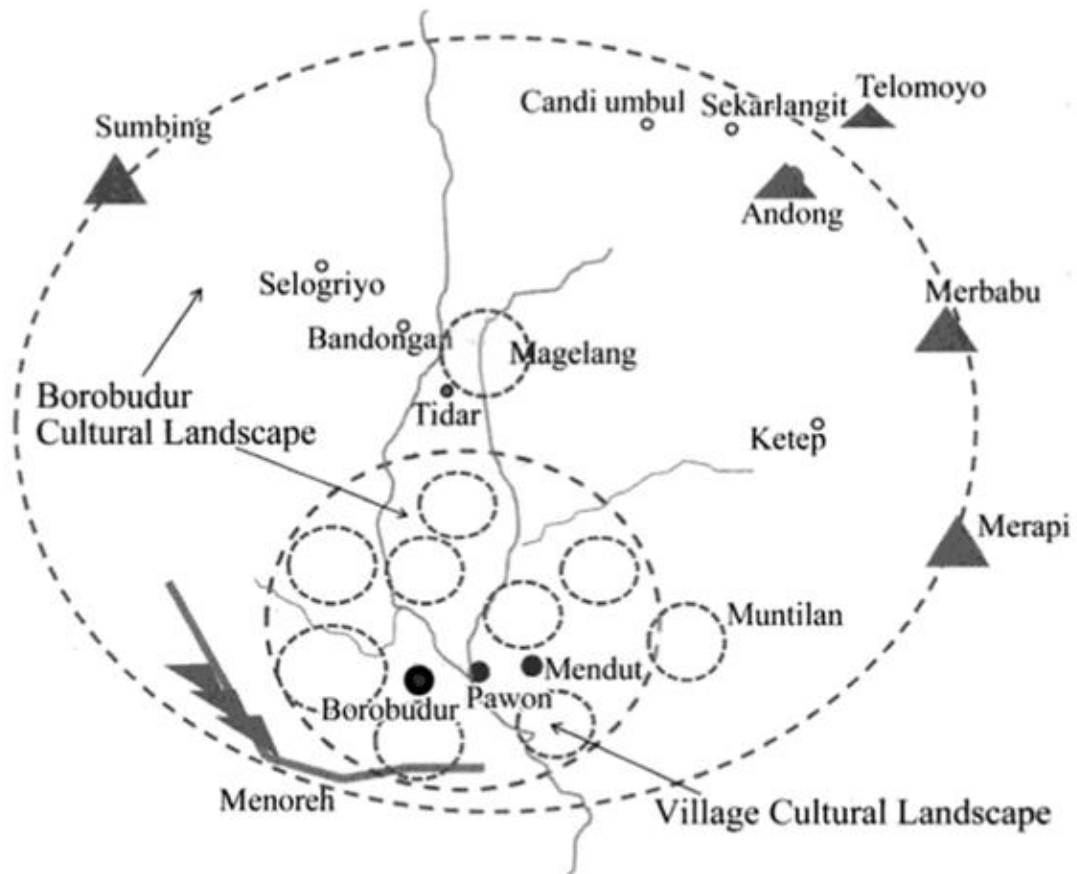
Figure 5: A bird's eye view of the layout of the Borobudur Temple.

Source: Bernet Kempers 1981, p. 19.

14. Plattegrond van Borobudur, naar Van Erp

Figure 6: Cross section of Borobudur Temple, showing the vertical layers representing the "ten stages of existence".

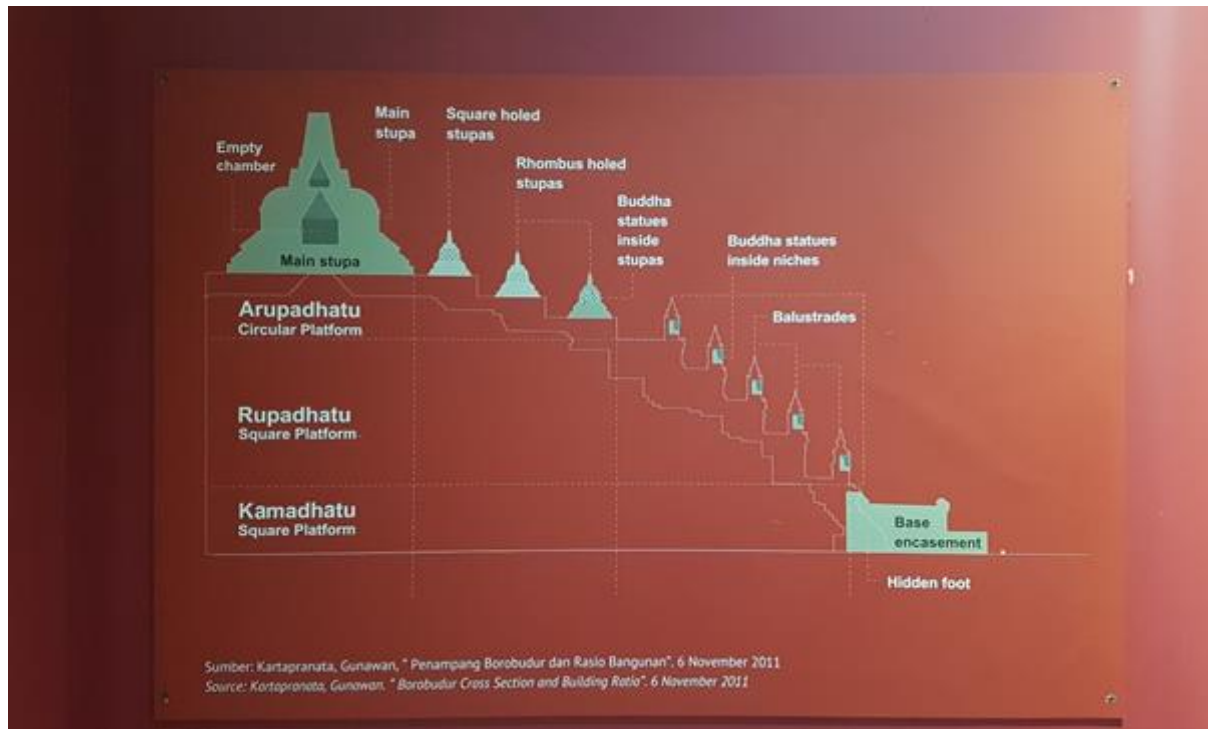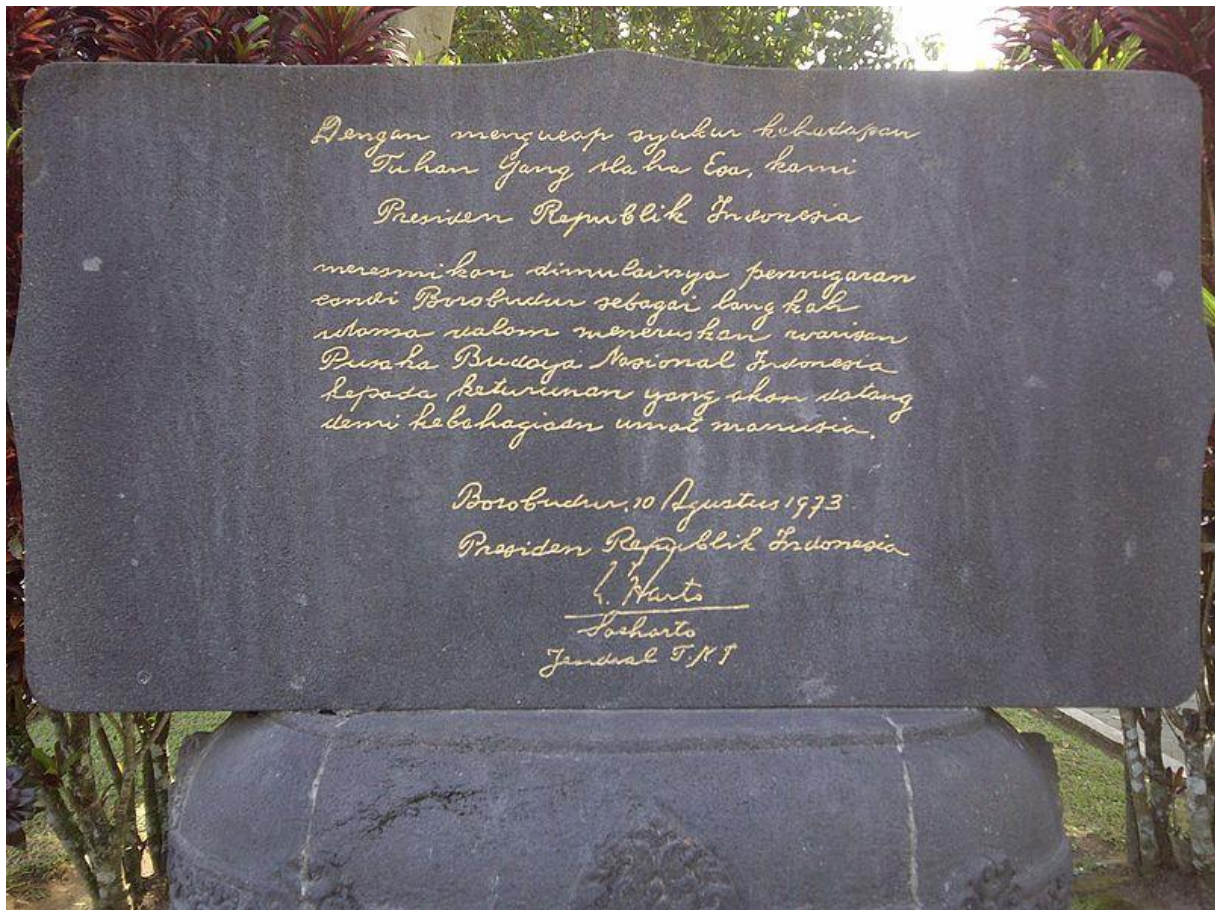Source: Author's photograph in the Borobudur Museum, 11-09-2018.

Figure 7: Suharto's handwritten official inauguration of the second restoration.

Source: Wikimedia Commons, 18-06-2014. https://bit.ly/2ZSuaJx (01-04-2019)

Translation:

With praise to the power of the Almighty God, we, the President of the Republic of Indonesia, officially announce the restoration of *Candi* Borobudur as the first step towards passing on this Indonesian Cultural Heritage to future generations, for the sake of happiness of humankind.

Borobudur, 10 August 1973

President of the Republic of Indonesia,

Soeharto, General of the Indonesian Armed Forces

Figure 8: *Pancasila*.

Translation: Nishimura 1995, p. 21.

1. *Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa* (Belief in the One and Only God)

2. *Kemanusiaan yang adil dan beradab* (Just and civilized humanity)

3. *Persatuan Indonesia* (The unity of Indonesia)

4. *Kerakyatan yang dipimpin oleh hikmat kebijaksanaan, dalam permusyawaratan perwakilan* (Democracy guided by the inner wisdom in the unanimity arising out of deliberations amongst representatives)

5. *Keadilan social bagi seluruh rakyat Indonesia* (Social justice for all the Indonesian people)

Figure 9: The Borobudur Tourist Area and its five zones.

Source: Ekarini 2017, p. 26.

| No	Zone	Remark
1.	Zone-1: sanctuary areas (Archaeological Environment Preservation)	Zone for protection and prevention of destruction of the physical environment of the archaeological monuments.
2.	Zone-2 (Archaeological Park Zone)	Zone for provision of park facilities for the convenience of visitors and preservation of the historical environment.
3.	Zone-3 (Land Use Regulation)	Zone for regulation of land use around the parks and preservation of the environment while controlling development in areas surrounding the parks.
4.	Zone-4 (Historical Scenery Preservation Zone)	Zone for maintenance of the historical scenery and prevention of destruction of the scenery.
5.	Zone-5 (National Archaeological Park Zone)	Zone for undertaking archaeological surveys over a wide area and prevention of destruction of undiscovered archaeological monuments.

Source: JICA, 1979
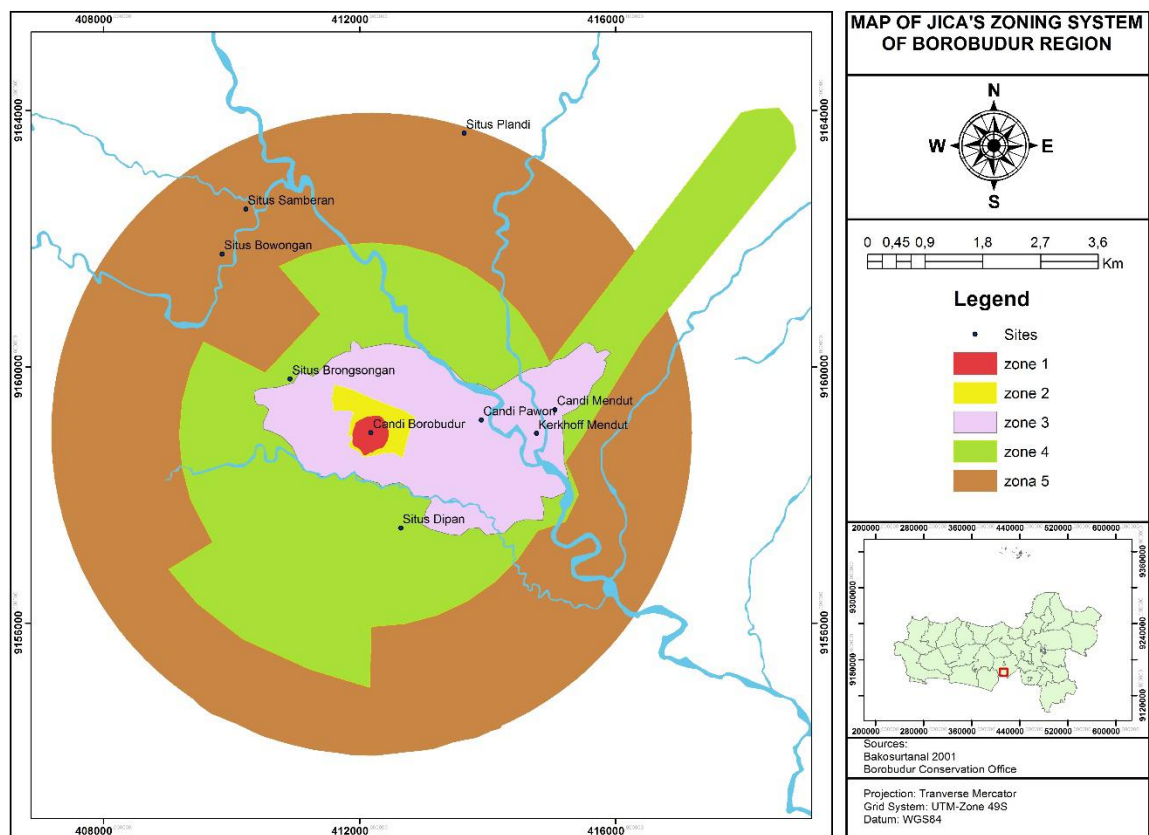
Figure 10: The *Pursha Mandala*.

Source: 1979 JICA Report, p. 9.

Mandala, or Layout Theory

According to Mayamata's Silpa Sastra, there was a very large primitive man called Pursha who was causing a commotion on the earth, and the celestial god Indra crushed him onto the earth and designated different gods to occupy different parts of his crushed body. The schema that this resulted in is the Pursha Mandala, which is a square grid pattern. The people of ancient times felt that they had to follow this divinely conceived schema in building their towns and temples, and being no exception, it is thought that the Sailendra and Mataram dynasties, too, built their capitals on the basis of this ancient urban planning theory.
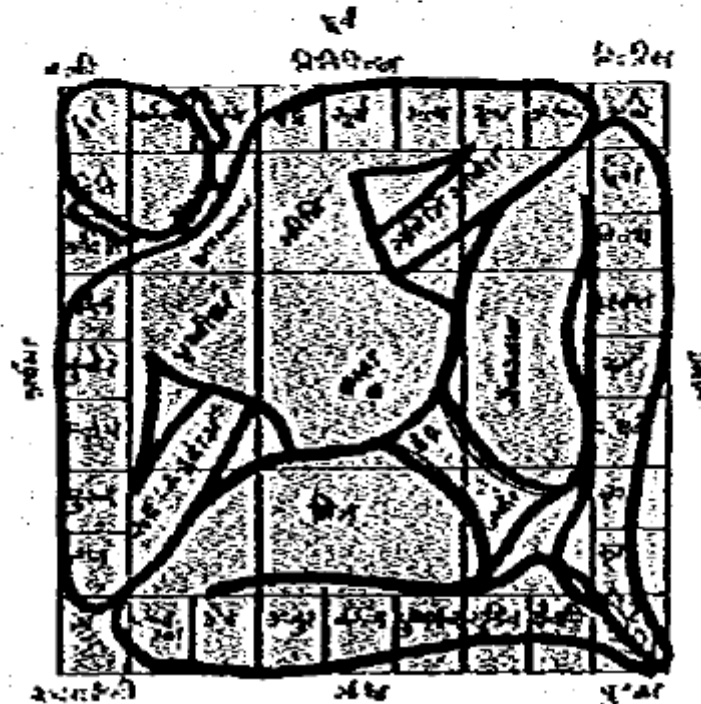
Figure 11: "Chart showing the presence, dominance and residual survival of Buddhism in different lands". Source: Harvey (2013), p. 236.
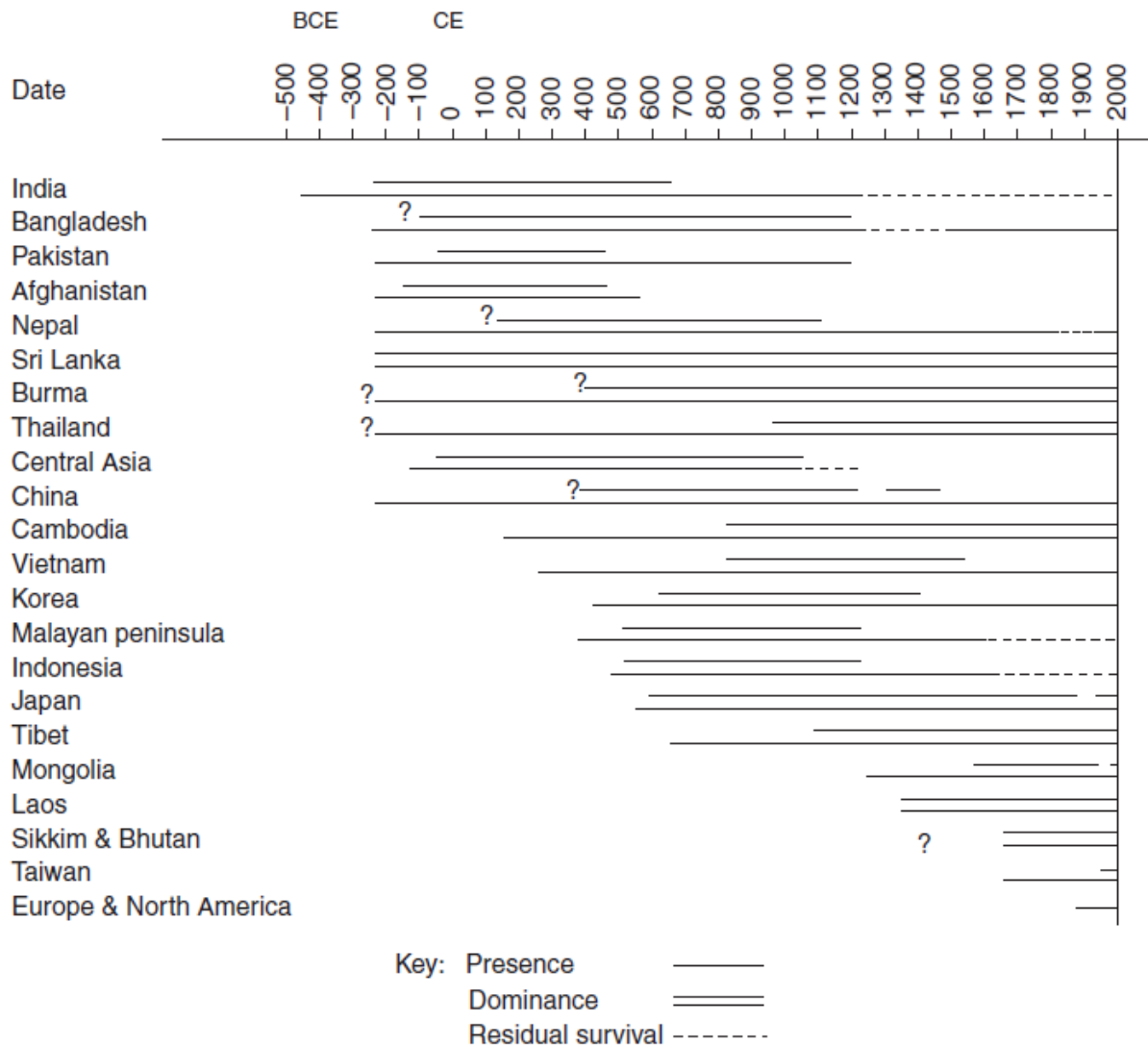
Figure 12: "Heritage protection and management since [the] Dutch era". Source: Fitri 2016, p. 133.
See also: Articles 6, 7 and 8 of law No. 11/2010 for the emphasis on tangible heritage.

	1931-1992	1992-2010	2010 - Present
Heritage Law	Monument-ten Ordonantie (238 Stb. MO in 1931)	Law No. 5 of 1992 on the Conservation of Cultural Property	Law No. 11 of 2010 on the Conservation of Cultural Property
Heritage Scope Protection	Tangible Heritage includes Movable Heritage, Immovable Heritage, Sites	Tangible Heritage includes Movable Heritage, Immovable Heritage, Sites	Tangible Heritage includes Movable Heritage, Immovable Heritage, Groups of building, District, Sites

II.   Indonesian-English glossary

The following glossary is heavily derived from my personal knowledge of the Indonesian and English languages and the following two sources: KBBI, *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia* (Great Dictionary of the Indonesian Language) and the MoEC *vademecum*, Indonesian Ministry of Education handbook.

Indonesian	English
Adat istiadat	(Set or system of) customary law.
Bangunan	Building; architectural edifice.
Benda	Physical object.
Budaya, kebudayaan	Cultural, culture.
Budaya fisik	Tangible heritage, lit. 'physical culture' (Karmadi 2017).
Cagar	Based on the KBBI: 1. Deposit. 2. Advance payment. 3. Protected area for the conservation of vegetation, animals etc.
Cagar budaya	'Cultural properties', or, by extension, 'cultural heritage', referring specifically to material heritage (MoEC). Definition according to Law No. 11/2010, point A, p. 1: "*Cagar budaya* is the cultural richness of the people, a manifestation of human thought and behaviour that is significant for the comprehension and historical development, science and culture in the life of the community, nation and state, which is to be preserved and managed appropriately through protection, development and utilisation for the maximum prosperity for the people".
Candi (ˈtʃɑndi)	The simplest English translation would be 'ancient stone temple', but in Indonesian, *candi* has a deeper significance. According to the KBBI, *candi* may also serve as a tomb for the ashes of kings and Hindu-Buddhist priests of old. As such, *candi* specifically refer to the (pre-Islamic) Hindu-Buddhist temples located in Indonesia only. Generally, the Hindu-Buddhist era in Indonesia is dated between the fourth and sixteenth centuries AD. For more information, see Soekmono (1995). The general Indonesian word for 'temple' as in 'place of worship' is *kuil* (IPA: kuːil), from the Tamil *koil*. Ex.: 'Roman temple' is *kuil Roma*. However, the word for temples associated with Chinese traditional religions is *klenteng* (kləntɛŋ), specifically referring to the Chinese character 廟 (Hanyu Pinyin: miào; Min Nan Chinese: bio).

Kawasan	Area; region(al); vicinity.
Keaslian	Authenticity, from *asli*, 'original', 'native', 'genuine'.
Peraturan	Rule; regulation; law. In legal contexts: decree. Often interchangeably used with *hukum* (KBBI): - Binding rules enforced by rulers or governments, i.e. 'law', including *adat*. (Set of) rules that regulate community life. - Convention; principle as in 'scientific law'. - Judgement made in a court of law.
Pusaka	Heirloom; inheritance, by extension also (a form of) 'heritage'. *Pusaka* are physical objects that are believed to possess sacred or even magical qualities and are more than often referred to as objects that have been handed down from generation to generation.
Pusaka alam	'Natural heritage' according to the ICOMOS 2003 Charter.
Pusaka budaya	'Cultural heritage' (ICOMOS 2003 Charter).
Pusaka saujana	The combination of *pusaka alam* and *pusaka budaya* (2003 Charter).
Saujana budaya	Cultural landscape. *Saujana*: 'that what the eyes (can) see', i.e. vision. *Saujana mata*: 'as far as the eye can see'. *Mata*: eye. (KBBI). Synonym: *pusaka saujana*. The general words for 'landscape' in Indonesian are *pemandangan*, 'that what is seen' and the loanword *landskap*, from the Dutch *landschap*.
Situs	Site, as in 'World Heritage Site' and 'archaeological site'.
Warisan	'That what is inherited'; heirloom; inheritance; by extension also 'heritage'. Referring to materiality. ~*budaya*: cultural heritage, i.e. tangible cultural heritage.
Warisan benda	Tangible or material heritage. Lit.: 'heritage-object'.
Warisan takbenda	Intangible or immaterial heritage. Lit.: 'heritage-not-object'.
Undang-undang	Law; legislation. *Undang-undang* is a form of *peraturan*. Legal framework: *kerangka hukum*, lit. 'legal skeleton' or *sistem hukum*, 'legal system'.

III.   Primary legal sources

Original title	English translation	URL and access date
Monumenten Ordonnantie, Staatsblad 1931, No. 238, Besluit van de Gouverneur-Generaal van 13 juni **1931**, No. 19	Monument Statute 1931, No. 238, Decree of the Governor-General of 13 June 1931, No. 19	https://bit.ly/2SBdkOP (06-01-2019)
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Peraturan Pemerintah RI **No. 7/1980** tentang Penyertaan modal negara Republik Indonesia untuk pendirian perusahaan perseroan (PERSERO) Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur dan Prambanan	Governmental decree No. 7/1980 on the allocation of capital of the Republic of Indonesia for the establishment of Taman Wisata Candi Borobudur and Prambanan LLC (Law No. 7/1980).	https://bit.ly/2RUT99W 09-10-2018
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