

PROTECTIVE ART OF INDONESIA
BALINESE *KRIS* HOLDERS FROM THE
COLLECTION OF THE BERMAN MUSEUM OF
WORLD HISTORY

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the artistic and cultural significance of a specific Indonesian art form, the freestanding *kris* holder. Scholarly research on these objects is virtually non-existent therefore making this work a unique contribution to the study of Indonesian art and culture.

To successfully establish these objects as significant pieces of Indonesian culture, research was conducted through two approaches. The first approach focuses on the investigation of key cultural, religious, and artistic traditions in Indonesian history that led to the development of protective art forms like *kris* holders. Several academic studies were referenced to develop a well-rounded understanding of Indonesian culture and the effect both internal and external influences had on the maturity of ritual Indonesian art.

The second approach focuses on an examination of three freestanding *kris* holders from the collection of the Berman Museum of World History in Anniston, Alabama. These three figures serve as examples of the development of Indonesian woodcarving and the importance indigenous and Indic religious influences had on Indonesian art. Analysis of these specific figures will bolster the understanding of the artistic significance of *kris* holders and will assist in effectively finding a place for them within the cultural traditions of Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

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INTRODUCTION

The *kris*, a small, straight, or wavy-bladed dagger, is one of the oldest forms of weaponry in the Indonesian archipelago, Malaysia, and as far as the shores of the Philippines (Figure 1). Appearing throughout Indonesia in the early thirteenth century CE, *kris* were initially used as stabbing weapons and are found in a wide variety of sizes and styles depending on provenance. Because ancient *kris* blades were once forged of meteoric iron, *krisses* are believed to be mystical weapons charged with the energy of the cosmos and serve as magical protectors of their owner. They are also believed to possess internal spirits and have the ability to bring good or bad luck to people associated with them. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries CE, the *kris* attained iconic status within Indonesian royal courts. Throughout this period, the *kris* was one of a class of objects known as *pusaka* that were considered sacred. *Pusaka* are inherited objects, ancestral heirlooms endowed with supernatural powers used to heal, seek revenge, and protect.¹ They are said to hold mystic powers so great as to legitimize a ruler's supremacy over his people. Such powerful objects required protection from human or cosmic forces that willed them harm and in turn, those connected with the weapon required protection from its influence.

In order to furnish this protection, metalworkers and woodcarvers created special hilts and *kris* holders. These *kris* accessories often take the form of or are decorated with images of prominent Indonesian deities or folklore heroes. They serve not only a protective function, but also as visual examples of traditional art styles and

techniques and the leading religious and cultural views of Indonesian peoples. Wooden *kris* holders in particular serve as important examples of the tradition of Indonesian woodcarving. Wooden *kris* holders range from intricately carved and painted wall plaques to freestanding statues that possess slots in their backs or hands into which a *kris* is fitted (see Figure 2). Carved in elaborate and stylized forms, these items are decorated with vibrant colored paints, semiprecious gems or gold, and, like the *kris*, range in style and form depending on their place of origin within Indonesia.

Freestanding *kris* holders are made and used more frequently in Bali than any other Indonesian island. The Balinese style of *kris* holder usually ranges in height from 15 to 35 inches. Many of these holders depict the same bug-eyed, wide-mouthed, and large-toothed zoomorphic protective spirits or anthropomorphic guardian figures used in and around Indonesia's Hindu Temples and sacred precincts. An example of this can be seen in a comparison of Figures 3 and 4, which present a Balinese stone carved temple guardian and a demon *kris* holder carved in a similar fashion. Other *kris* holders take the form of popular characters from traditional Indonesian culture, literature, and folklore (Figures 5 and 6).

A small collection of Balinese *kris* holders can be found in the Berman Museum of World History in Anniston, Alabama (Figure 7), where they are displayed in the Museum's arms and weapons gallery. The collection was acquired through a 1994 bequest from Mr. Farley Berman of Anniston, Alabama. Mr. Berman and his wife Germaine Berman were avid weapons and art collectors. Their collection includes hundreds of bronze sculptures, European and American paintings, ethnographic material, and Asian artifacts, weaponry, and historical documents.² Among the

Southeast Asian artifacts are ceramics, weaponry, clothing, jades, and paintings from China, Japan, India, and countries in Southeast Asia. Included among these are a number of Indonesian artworks, including Balinese and Javanese woodcarvings, masks, *kris*, and *kris* holders in the form of anthropomorphic beings.

The location of the Berman's *kris* holders in its weapons section rather than among works of sculpture highlights the lack of art historical scholarship concerning such works, even among collectors themselves. Thus, the identity of the figures represented in the Berman's *kris* holders remained unknown, as did their cultural function and their place within the traditions of Indonesian art. My thesis redresses this. In particular, I have focused on three *kris* holders in the Berman Museum, ones that seem to form a cohesive group and best express the qualities of Balinese sculpture (Figure 8). The three freestanding statues are all examples of twentieth century Balinese woodcarving and reflect a mixture of indigenous beliefs with those of Hinduism and Buddhism. Like so many other holders of their kind, each figure represents a Hindu deity, a figure from the Hindu epics the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata*, or an important figure in traditional Indonesian society or mythology. This examination will allow for the interpretation of these protective objects and further our understanding of these works within the culture and artistic traditions of Indonesia and Southeast Asia.

Scholarly research on the *kris* holder in general is virtually non-existent, with only a few works vaguely covering the topic in one to two paragraphs. Therefore, my research will not only identify the Berman holders iconographically, but will also be the first of its kind, specifically focusing on the *kris* holder as an object of art historical

significance. My thesis will contribute to the study of Indonesian art and culture by providing research that demonstrates the progression of ancient Indonesian traditions and external Southeast Asian influences as they relate to a uniquely Indonesian art form while analyzing the development and function of these figures in Indonesian culture both past and present.

To understand the significance of the Berman *kris* holders within Indonesian culture I will analyze indigenous traditions and external influences of Indonesian history to determine which factors had the most profound effect on the development of the *kris* holder. This analysis will be the focus of Chapter 1. To assist in this investigation, I will draw from in-depth research that examines the culture and history of Bali and other Indonesian islands, such as works published by Urs Ramseyer (*The Art and Culture of Bali*, 1986)³, I. Gusti Phalgunadi (*Evolution of Hindu Culture in Bali*, 1991)⁴, Jane Belo (*Traditional Balinese Culture*, 1970)⁵, Dr. R Goris (*Bali: Cults and Customs*, 1950)⁶, and Gabriele Fahr-Becker (*The Art of East Asia*, 2006).⁷ Using these works, I will explore how internal and external political and religious influences helped produce a tradition of art images that centered on ideas of power and protection. These topics will aid in determining how and why specific styles, motifs, and materials were used in the process of woodcarving and what degree of importance wood carved objects play in Indonesian culture.

In Chapter 2, an examination of the Berman holders will identify them through comparative analysis with various types of Indonesian woodcarving and other *kris* holders, particularly Balinese. A comparison of each holder's stylistic features against past and contemporary *kris* holders will determine if any display atypical forms or

features. In addition, an assessment of each figures iconographic importance will determine if and why reproduction of any specific figure is vital to the shielding powers and overall function of the *kris* holder. I will also identify similarities between the three Berman holders and identify which are specific to the island of Bali.

Due to a majority of the research related to *kris* holders focusing mainly on the *kris* itself, *kris* holders are often grouped into the category of weaponry and have been somewhat disregarded as objects of artistic importance. My thesis will strengthen our understanding of these protective objects within their specific culture and effectively find a place for them within the art historical traditions of Southeast Asia.

FIGURES



Figure 1. *Kris* blade from the collection of the Berman Museum, date unknown. Photo credit: Berman Museum of World History.



Figure 2. (*right*) Balinese *kris* holder in form of a clown from the *Panji Tale*, ca. twentieth century. Photo Credit: Private collector, Australia.



Figure 3. (*left*) Balinese temple sculpture in form of demon, ca. seventeenth century. Photo credit: Kat Hara.

Figure 4. (*right*) Balinese *kris* holder in form of demon, ca. late nineteenth-early twentieth century. Photo credit: Erik Farrow.



Figure 5. (left) Traditional Balinese holder of plump Chinese monk, ca. nineteenth century. As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 84. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 6. (right) Traditional Balinese *kris* holder in form of literary character Twalen, the clown, nineteenth century. Photo credit: Erik Farrow.



Figure 7. Balinese *kris* holders on display in the Berman Museum of World History, ca. nineteenth-twentieth century. Photo credit: Berman Museum.



Figure 8. Three Balinese *kris* holders selected for examination from the Berman Museum collection, ca. nineteenth-twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.

CHAPTER 1

A BRIEF HISTORY OF INDONESIA AND ITS MAJOR ARTISTIC TRADITIONS

In this chapter, I will provide a brief history of Indonesia's major artistic traditions and will consider how they, in concert with a number of external influences, led to the development of the *kris* and *kris* holders such as those which are the focus of this study.

The periods of Indonesian history most significant to this research are the Pre-Hindu and Indo-Javanese periods. The Pre-Hindu period (also known as the pre-historic and old Indigenous) stretches from the Neolithic period to the beginning of the Common Era. It was during this period that the first artistic traditions related to the *kris* holders were developed. The Indo-Javanese period, (1-1498 CE), is named after the main island where Indian influence and Hindu and Buddhist kingdoms would dominate for over 1000 years.⁸ It is the period where external influences made their biggest mark on early Indonesian culture. It is also during this period that a series of cultural changes related to religion and royal art patronage heightened the importance of *kris pusaka* and other lavish, ritual objects used in the royal courts.

The Pre-Hindu Period

The Pre-Hindu civilizations of Indonesia were composed of nomadic groups who arrived in the Indonesian archipelago from areas in the South-East Asian mainland,

Yunnan, and Dong-Son (present day Vietnam) between 2500 and 1500 BCE.⁹ These nomadic groups settled on the various islands and created small agricultural-based communities. As their societies evolved elaborate divisions of labor were created, to include specialized roles for healers and ritual leaders who mediated between humans and the supernatural realm.¹⁰ These beliefs in the supernatural were a first steps toward a fervently spiritual culture, which would set the tone for community strati centered on shamans, magicians, and village elders that could practice magic rites.¹¹

Beginning around 1500 BCE, traditional religions of early Indonesian peoples focused on ancient mysticism, animism, and ancestor worship. Pantheistic mythologies and polytheism were the oldest forms of religion in the area. Indonesia's peoples relied much on their religious beliefs to help mould their social and cultural activities.¹² From birth to death, the life of Indonesian peoples is filled with religious ceremonies and activities. Though life cycle rituals are common to numerous societies throughout the world, those within Indonesia became strictly regulated by *adat*, a belief in spirits, supernatural powers, and magic. Thus, communal life became intimately bound to religion and ritual. As a result, a variety of objects were created to aid in the performance of magic and ritual.

These objects were finely made and highly prized. Smaller objects, such as organs, textiles, and amulets, served as potent tools in rituals performed to ward off evil spirits and help produce good fortune; larger objects, such as sacred statuary carved in wood or stone, were used to guard villages and their inhabitants.¹³ Examples of this type of statuary are ancestor sculptures carved in rigid poses designed to be viewed frontally (Figures 9 and 10).¹⁴ The figures could range from eight to ten-foot high stone

menhirs, to six-foot tall wooden figures. Functioning as protective figures, they were placed around the outskirts of a village to ward off evil. In addition, in some instances the figures were set within ancient ceremonial and temple grounds to house the spirits of the dead during commemorative and religious rites. Typical stylistic features of carvings in both wood and stone include large detailed heads, prominent genitalia (reflecting the belief that fertility is bestowed upon descendants by ancestors), and figures in crouching and fetal positions (Figure 11).¹⁵

Statues were often depicted with bulging eyes, strong jaws, and in some instances with status symbols such as headdresses, jewelry, and weaponry. Ancestor figures can be viewed as precursors to traditional freestanding *kris* holders in that *kris* holders produced especially before the 1930s are often carved with the same stiff and crouching forms, exaggerated facial features, and status symbols (Figure 12).

In the second half of the Pre-Hindu period (circa first millennium BCE) art became highly decorative. Typical features include geometric ornamentation representing flora and fauna, such as stylized geometric and spiral designs, ornamented triangles called *tumpals*, greek key- shaped patterns, swastikas, and symmetrical compositions (Figures 13 and 14).¹⁶ These decorative motifs were the product of the Dong-son culture which began to exert a strong influence on Indonesian art and as early as 500 BCE. During this time, animals like the buffalo and frog, human heads and mask-like faces and images of the “tree of life” became used as protective symbols (Figures 15 - 17).¹⁷ Heavy, curvilinear lines that further abstracted animal and human forms also became an important part of an Indonesian interest in creating art with a mystic nature. The Dong-son influence remained an important feature in Indonesian art

for centuries to come. Its motifs can be found carved into a variety of *kris* holders' bases and in some instances Dong-son figures are used as *kris* holders themselves. For example, numerous Balinese *kris* holders take the form of a sacred frog (Figures 18 and 19). Holders of this particular character are believed to be symbolic of the lotus flower, with the frog's body symbolizing the tuber of the lotus and the *kris* placed into its mouth representing the lotus stalk.¹⁸

Chinese influence also became important near the end of the Pre-Hindu period (circa 250 BCE – 200 BCE) and, like Dong-son culture, brought new decorative motifs to Indonesia. These were highly ornamental motifs and were combined with the use of vibrant colors. Imported lacquer-ware were some of the first Chinese examples of decorative woodcarving introduced to Indonesia. The brilliant colors and use of curvilinear meanders and rock and cloud motifs, as well as ornamental floral and animal motifs, became common features in Indonesian woodcarving, particularly in Bali. The use of vibrant colors alongside ornamental motifs is found in abundance in ancient and contemporary Balinese woodcarving. Architecture, furniture, instruments, and sculpture such as the *kris* holder, all feature these decorative motifs (Figures 20 and 21).¹⁹

During this latter period, figural art was created alongside massive amounts of decorative, bronze implements such as kettledrums and axes imported from China, as well as produced locally for use in ancestor worship ceremonies.²⁰ Many ceremonial objects began to serve as status symbols for village elders and shaman. As a result these objects soon emerged into a class that received a higher spiritual and ritual status. Thought to have sacred powers of their own, these objects were worshipped and are the

ancient ancestors of present day *pusaka*, or ancestral heirlooms. The concept of *pusaka* became even more evolved during the Indo-Javanese period when the great royal courts of Indonesia reached their peak of influence.

Indo-Javanese Period

During the Indo-Javanese period (1-1498 CE), Indonesia's trade relations with India and China increased rapidly into areas of Java and Sumatra. Trade goods were imported into Indonesia along with new religious thought, art styles, and political practices, all of which had profound influence on the development of sacred objects and the stylistic features present in Indonesian art.

Beginning in the third and fourth centuries CE, Indonesia witnessed the arrival of Indic influences in the form of Buddhism and Hinduism. Indian traders and traveling monks were bearers of Indic cultural exports. At the same time, because of the well renowned Indian universities, Indonesians travelled to India, selectively borrowed Indic traditions, and successfully imported these religious and political practices back home.²¹ With the prime agents of Indianization being men of religious influence, indigenous rulers who sought after enhancement of their power and prestige began to retain the priests of these new religions.²² The first of the religions to appear was Buddhism.

Buddhist thought reached small areas of Sumatra and Java as early as the fourth century CE. Buddhism, Mahayana Buddhism, in particular, became of great interest to Indonesian peoples because of its evolution into a religion with a complex hierarchy of enlightened and protective beings, such as bodhisattvas. This allowed preexisting

Indonesian beliefs in magic, nature, and ancestral spirits to interconnect easily with the imported beliefs.²³ Indonesian rulers immediately took notice and were greatly interested in bodhisattvas. In the Buddhist religion, bodhisattvas are powerful beings that refrain from becoming enlightened in order to save others. In Mahayana Buddhism they are worshipped as deities and in some instances have supernatural powers. As a result, Indonesian kings viewed the bodhisattvas as magicians who could impose their will upon man and gods alike. This was of great significance to rulers, who put great focus on gaining control over their environment and presenting themselves as powerful *devarajas*, or god kings, to their people. Early Indonesian rulers began to present themselves as incarnations of gods or bodhisattvas, which was a “marked contrast to the indigenous view of pre-Hindu village rulers who were viewed as merely ‘first among equals’.”²⁴ Widespread acceptance of Buddhism by the courts ultimately led to Buddhism becoming the first great Indian religion to spread throughout Indonesia. Written records from the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, I Ching, confirm that “in the islands of the Southern sea – (including Malaysia, Sumatra, Java, and Bali)-Buddhism is embraced in all these countries.”²⁵ I Ching also wrote of the adoption of the Sanskrit and Pallava languages of Southern India by the royal courts.²⁶ Though influential after its initial introduction, Indic literature did not make its biggest impact on Indonesian art until after the arrival of Hinduism.

Hinduism arrived in Indonesia during the sixth and mid-seventh centuries. The religion was rapidly modified by contact with local culture and integrated into Indonesian society. A mesh with Buddhism and traditional beliefs in magic and sorcery led to an altered form of Hinduism known as Agama Hindu Dharma. This new form of

Hinduism suited a variety of local beliefs. Two of the earliest adaptations of Hinduism in Indonesian culture were the reorganization of the Hindu pantheon and the mesh of Hindu mythology with ancient ancestral cults, mythology, and animism within villages and the courts. The Indian mythology associated with Hinduism also became the inspiration for the magnificent literature of the royal courts and Hindu deities became the subjects of numerous Javanese and Balinese sculptures, paintings, masks, and shadow puppets. The religion reached its peak of influence during the rising court cultures of the Majapahit Kingdom (1293-152 CE) of Central Java. The magnificent tales of Hindu gods and heroes inspired Javanese rulers to synthesize their ancestral cults with Hinduism. As a result, Javanese kings likened themselves to the Hindu gods such as Shiva and Vishnu and it is believed that the numerous surviving statues of these gods found in Java were meant to serve as portraits of certain kings.²⁷

Buddhism and Hinduism both played a significant role in Indonesian art and spiritual life. Hindu texts such as the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana* were adapted for an Indonesian audience and ultimately became as influential in Indonesia as they were in India. As a result, Javanese adaptations of each of the classics were produced on a massive scale.²⁸ However, courtly literature was not the only art form to flourish during the Majapahit kingdom. The overwhelming patronage of village arts by the Indonesian kings inspired the abundant production and evolution of Indonesian art.

Village artists and members of art guilds were commissioned to create images taken from the great Indian epics, particularly the *Ramayana*, for the use in theatre, religious ritual, text illumination, and sculpture (Figures 22 and 23). It was also during this period that *wayang*, or shadow plays, became popular. *Wayang* was originally

performed by holy men to spread new religious ideas. The immense power of the *wayang* even inspired artists to develop a specific style of representation for the human form and to depict good and evil spirits, which became known as the *wayang* style. The style consists of characters represented in strict profile with exaggerated human and sometimes animalistic features (Figures 24 and 25). The figures are adorned with ornamental patterns and bright colors that have symbolic significance.

The contact with India and the booming court culture of the Majapahit Kingdom drastically motivated a rapid improvement in Indonesian three-dimensional arts as well, leading to the “classical” age of art in Indonesia.²⁹ Of the three-dimensional arts, the developments in stone statuary were the most significant, and had a great influence on Indonesian woodcarving traditions, including that of the *kris* holder.

Stiff poses, angular lines, and simplicity in design dominated the sculptures of Megalithic Pre-Hindu cultures. These characteristics have also been termed “Polynesian” in style due to their resemblance to statuary found in areas of the Easter Islands.³⁰ However, after the emergence of Hindu-Buddhist art styles, the sculptures began to incorporate undulating lines and convex planes.³¹ The new statuary also incorporated representations of both new and old legends and religious epics.

Village artists created dolls, puppets, and wooden statuary that were representations of nature spirits such as the ancient Rice Mother, later known as *Dewi Sri* (after the interconnection of indigenous mythology with Hinduism), who became the deified goddess of rice and fertility.³² It was also common for artists to develop representations of other deities like the evil witch *Rangda* (one of the many spirits linked to the Goddess Durga) and *Barong*, the protective nature spirits (Figures 26 and

27). Other common figures were the mystic serpents, *nagas*; the sacred winged lion, the *singa*; and demons like the *rakasa*. Patronage by the majestic courts of the grand Majapahit Kingdom and the royal courts in Sumatra and Bali transformed these village folk arts into grand spectacles.

In style and form, the art of the Indo-Javanese period was strongly influenced by the art of India. Painting and particularly sculpture were heavily altered because of these new external styles. That is not to say that Indonesian artists did not retain their traditional standards while advancing their artwork to a new level of brilliance required by the rulers of the period. Instead, Indonesian artists meshed pre-existing styles and motifs with the new. Some of the new motifs used to supplement those Pre-Hindu elements were the *makara* (fish with elephant body), the *Garuda* bird (Vishnu's vehicle), the crowned *naga*, and the lotus.³³

It was also during the Majapahit Period that each royal court set out to present its power through displays of artistic grandeur and possession of significant ancestral heirlooms known as *pusaka*. In Indonesian culture, *pusaka* are the most potent symbols of royal legitimacy and to this day serve as proof of spiritual and genealogical ties to great deities and rulers of the past.³⁴

In *Art of Indonesia: Pusaka*, Haryati Soebadio explains that the idea of *pusaka* carries several related meanings in Indonesia, the first being “something inherited from a deceased person,” the second being “something that ‘comes down’ from one’s ancestors,” and the third being “an inheritance of special value to a community that cannot be disposed of without specific common consent.”³⁵ The latter meaning was in existence long before the arrival of Buddhism and Hinduism when ancient tribes and

villages developed the concept of land as a sacred communal possession.³⁶ As time went on, larger varieties of items were considered sacred to tribes and communities. Items such as ancestor statues, jewelry, clothes, lances, and weapons such as the *kris* were regarded as venerated objects considered *pusaka*. Because of this variety, *pusaka* are broken into two groups, *pusaka tinggi* and *pusaka rendah*. *Pusaka tinggi* is a group comprised of sacred land, forests, rice fields, and regalia; *pusaka rendah* is comprised of jewelry, clothes, lances, and the *kris*.³⁷ *Pusaka rendah* were produced following ancient standards in which the importance of the object was not understood in terms of intrinsic or aesthetic value but in terms of *kesaktian*, or its magical and spiritual force.³⁸ Creation of *pusaka* was considered a unique art form and “the art of *pusaka*” led to a new standard of excellence. The items were created using traditional media, such as stone, wood, and metal. These materials are all elements of nature and therefore are believed to possess powers bestowed upon them by the gods and goddesses present in all things. For that reason, only consecrated individuals can make certain items. For example, only special metal smiths known as *empu* can forge a magical *kris*. For any sacred item, production can only begin after ceremonies are held in which the artist makes offerings of food and gifts to the gods. Rituals such as this add to the mystic and powerful nature of *pusaka*.

In addition, *pusaka* are more than just inanimate objects; they are believed to have their own desires, and to be able to communicate with humans through signs; thus they are given individual names.³⁹ Indeed, *pusaka* were considered so powerful that mere possession of such items could establish or legitimize a ruler. If an invading ruler or his army gained possession of a sacred *pusaka*, he gained control over the entire

court.⁴⁰ *Pusaka* also served as protective items like those ritual creations of the ancient Indonesian villages. One of the most well known examples of these guardian objects is the *kris*. Items like the *kris* blade were forged of meteoric iron, which was considered to possess magical properties. Its hilt and sheath were smelted of gold and silver and encrusted with diamonds and jewels; these materials, too, were thought to have a mystic nature and although not all *krisses* are considered *pusaka*, all are considered potent objects that retain their own essence and magical power and all *krisses* are treated with great respect.

According to Justus van der Kroef, Indonesian families believe they receive divine guidance from the cosmos through their sacred *kris*.⁴¹ As a result, *krisses* require protection and safe keeping. To protect these objects, special cabinets, cases, and holders were made to house them. Such is the case with Balinese and other Indonesian *krisses*. To protect such a powerful talisman, Indonesian artists employed traditional art techniques to produce special *kris* holders that were to protect the *kris*.

These *kris* holders come in a variety of forms and are produced on a number of Indonesian islands. Therefore, provenance is an important determinant of style and form. For example, in areas like Java, there are two common styles of *kris* holder. The first is known as *blawong* or *blawongan*, which are wood carved wall plaques. The *blawong* are adorned with traditional decorative motifs or Hindu deities, and brightly painted in the *wayang* style (Figures 28 and 29). These plaques are then hung high on the wall at the head of the bed in order to keep the *kris* safe.⁴² The *kris* typically kept in a *blawongan* is one with some talismanic attribute and the use of *blawong* is found mostly in a traditional village setting. The second common style of Javanese *kris*

holders is used in Java and Malaysia, and known as *ploncon*. *Ploncon* are *kris* stands carved to hold one or numerous *krisses*. They stand on a horizontal base and have mythical dragons carved on either side of a supporting cross bar that accepts the *krisses* (Figure 30).

On Bali, and islands once under Balinese rule, such as Lombok, *kris* holders generally take the form of freestanding sculptures. Most of these freestanding *kris* holders depict Hindu deities, *legong* dancers (dancers in *Ramayana* dramas performed in Bali), or demons (Figure 31).⁴³

In all their varying forms, traditional *kris* holders exhibit a variety of influences from the Pre-Hindu and Indo-Javanese periods. Balinese *kris* holders, in particular offer the greatest examples of Indonesian cultural development while incorporating a uniquely Balinese style. One reason for this includes the lack of an Islamic presence on the island of Bali. After the influx of Islam into Indonesia after the eleventh century, Indonesian art absorbed Islamic ideas in addition to those of Buddhism and Hinduism. The art styles with strong Hindu influences that arose during the Majapahit gradually disappeared as Indonesian rulers began to request art with more Islamic influence. In areas like Java and Sumatra, in keeping with Islamic ideals, sculptures and other kinds of art were heavily abstracted in attempts to avoid any direct representations of human form. For example, Javanese *kris* hilts and holders that once represented Hindu deities became highly stylized geometric shapes or only featured *wayang* characters that were still permitted by Islamic rulers. However, these changes did not take place in Bali. Because of its size, in the eyes of many traders and foreign travelers, Bali was viewed as relatively unimportant in contrast to Java and other areas in the archipelago. As a

result, the Balinese were left to their own devices and remained faithful to the Hindu religion following their own path of development both religiously and artistically.⁴⁴

Javanese royalty seeking refuge from the advancing Islamic takeover relocated to Bali and the literature and art of the Javanese courts was transferred to Bali. It is on Bali that the once powerful court arts thrived as village folk arts under the influence of ancient Indonesia and Indo-Javanese culture and it is on Bali that many scholars agree the magnificence of the fallen Javanese Majapahit and ancient Indonesia live on in traditional arts forms such as *wayang* puppets, the *kris* and its holders.

The following chapter provides a closer look at the stylistic and aesthetic traditions of the freestanding Balinese *kris* holder. An investigation of the indigenous and imported influences on their development and their importance within Indonesian culture will be accomplished by analyzing three examples found in Berman Museum of World History in Anniston, Alabama.

FIGURES



Figure 9. (*left*) Wooden ancestor figure, collected in 1887, date of creation unknown. Photo credit: www.myitchyfingers.wordpress.com, accessed 11/10/2009.



Figure 10. (*right*) Sketch of ancestor figure in fetal position. Sketch by Author.



Figure 11. (*left*) Bent knee, wooden ancestor figure, date unknown.
Photo credit: www.myitchyfingers.wordpress.com, accessed 11/10/2009.

Figure 12. (*right*) Balinese *kris* holder in the form of Balinese king, early twentieth century.
Photo credit: Bill Sutterfield, Sutterfield Tribal Art.



Figure 13. (*left*) Sketch of *tumpal* motif. Sketch by Author.

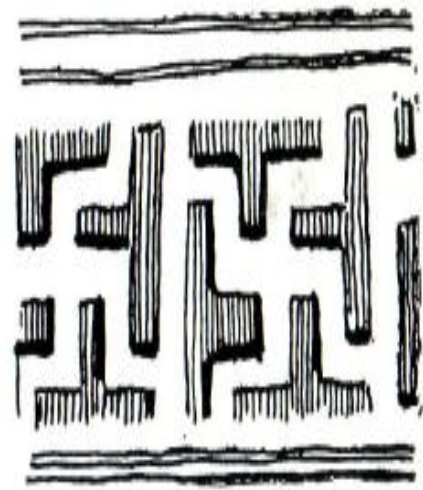


Figure 14. (*right*) Sketch of swastika designs. Sketch by Author.



Figure 15. Sketch of demon/ mask-like faces found on Indonesian sculpture, architecture, and textiles. The face is considered magical and masks serves as protection against evil. They are often considered representations of demon figures known as *kala*. Sketch by Author.

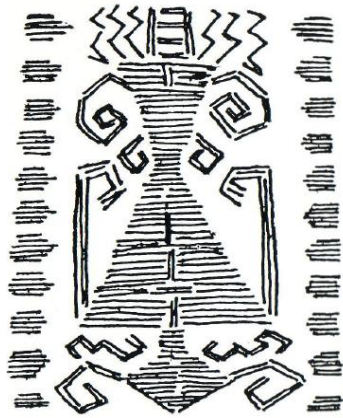


Figure 16. (*left*) Sketch of stylized human form. The human body represents two ideas, protection against evil and the depiction of ancestors (which also serves as protection). Sketch by Author.

Figure 17. (*right*) Sketch of buffalo motif. The buffalo was a scared animal in ancient times and the buffalos head is considered a symbol of fertile earth and protection against evil. Sketch by Author.



Figure 18. (*left*) Traditional Balinese *kris* holder in form of demon frog, ca. early nineteenth century. Photo credit: Private collector.

Figure 19. (*right*) Balinese *kris* holder in form of demon frog, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo credit: Bill Sutterfield, Sutterfield Tribal Art.



Figure 20. Polychrome Balinese *kris* holder in form of Twalen with decorative base, twentieth century. Photo credit: A.G. Maisey.



Figure 21. Polychrome traditional Balinese *kris* holder in form of Twalen the clown, late nineteenth century. This particular holder has a base carved with a floral meander.
Photo credit: Erik Farrow.



Figure 22. (*left*) Actor as Hanuman in Balinese reenactment of *Ramayana*, 2008.
Photo credit: Richard Seah.

Figure 23. (*right*) Balinese stone sculpture depicting Kumbakarna (character from *Ramayana*) trying to escape from an attack by monkeys, at Eka Karya Bali mountain gardens, ca. eleventh – thirteenth century.

Photo credit: http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bali_epics_cosmology.jpg.



Figure 24. (*left*) Example of *wayang* puppet in form of Rama, ca. twentieth century. Photo credit: Immanuel Giel.

Figure 25. (*right*) Example of *wayang* painting from Palace of Justice, Klungkung, Bali, ca. fifteenth century. Photo credit: Ganesh Iyer.



Figure 26. (*left*) Balinese wood carved mask of *barong*, date unknown. Photo credit: Berman Museum of World History.

Figure 27. (*right*) Balinese wood sculpture of *Rangda* the witch on display at the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, 1800-1900. Photo credit: Marshall Astor.



Figure 28. (left) Javanese *blawong*, with wayang Hanuman figure, ca. twentieth century.
Photo credit: <http://tuluspot.blogspot.com/2007/10/blawong.html>.



Figure 29. (right) Javanese *blawong*, with *kris* in place, ca. twentieth century.
Photo credit: <http://tuluspot.blogspot.com/2007/10/blawong.html>.



Figure 30. Javanese *ploncon* with five krisses, late twentieth century.
Photo credit: A.G Maisey, Tosanji Keris, Australia.
<http://www.kerisattosanaji.com/kerisdisplay.html>.



Figure 31. Traditional Balinese Kris holder in the form of Garuda, ca. early twentieth century. Photo credit: Patrick de Vries, de Vries Antieks, <http://www.kris-keris.com/keris.html>.

CHAPTER 2

BALINESE *KRIS* HOLDERS FROM THE BERMAN MUSEUM

Balinese *kris* holders, like those found at the Berman Museum, are representative not only of indigenous woodcarving traditions and iconic Indonesian deities, but also of beliefs in the ability of the *kris* to ensure protection and preservation. Customarily, freestanding holders sat at the foot of a king's throne or at the entrance of a home or palace. Out of respect, visitors were to place their own *kris* in the holders' powerful hands or else be refused entry. In addition, *krisses* at rest were set in holders for safekeeping. These holders were also figural sculptures, usually in some form of divinity or illustrious personage, and exuded a feeling of mystery and power.

Balinese sculptors follow traditional Balinese iconography that is a mixture of imported Indian traditions and uniquely transformed Indonesian versions, which often infuse local symbolism and mythology. The importance of sculptors keeping within these iconographic traditions is directly related to the primary function of the *kris* holder and the identity of the figure being represented; violation of fundamental elements can negate the social function of the holders and would therefore leave a housed *kris* and bystanders unprotected.

In style, these small sculptures are thick and sturdy forms, frontal in stance, and are set upon decorative bases. *Kris* holders are a form of Balinese sculpture known as *togog*, or sculptures in the round, and are typically made of local woods chosen for their rot and insect resistance.⁴⁵ They are typically painted in bright polychrome and

decorated with traditional motifs, like floral meanders and lotus flowers. *Kris* stands representing animals are often crouching with their mouths open to house a sheathed *kris* blade.

Kris holders created in nineteenth and twentieth century Bali also follow the aesthetics of Indonesian woodcarving and stone statuary. The figures are carved in rigid frontal form, squat with bent knees, with detailed facial features and symbols of rank or status. The most traditional *kris* stands, those produced before the 1930s, are also considered “highly stylized and baroque.”⁴⁶ They are heavily decorative, covered in polychrome or gold leafing, are set on square bases, and are usually representations of Balinese-Hindu iconography.⁴⁷ *Kris* holders produced in the late 1930s and onward are often smaller, looser in form, and may lack paint and decoratively carved bases. In place of decorative detailing and paint, artists chose to highly polish or burnish the wood in what is referred to as the “late style” (Figures 32 and 33).⁴⁸

The three Berman holders are examples of the Balinese woodcarving traditions that took place after the 1930s. They also serve as models of the strong connection between religion and art in everyday Indonesian culture.

Identifying the Berman *Kris* Holders

The first holder under consideration stands 23 ½ inches tall, is 7 inches in diameter at its widest point and stands upon a 9 inch wide square base. It is a representation of a character from the *Ramayana* epic, and depicts Hanuman, the monkey hero (Figure 34). In the *Ramayana*, Hanuman is a courageous white monkey,

and leader of the monkey tribe who aids the protagonist of the epic, Rama, in successfully rescuing his kidnapped wife Sita from the demon Ravana. In Indonesia, Hanuman is known as the son of Batahara Bayu (the Wind God) and his divine birth is symbolized by his supernatural weapon, the *kuku pancanaka*, a long fingernail on each hand that aids him in killing his enemies in battle. In the eyes of Indonesians, Hanuman is the epitome of honor, nobility, and courage.⁴⁹ As a result, images of the great monkey king are found in abundance in a variety of formats from paintings to *wayang* puppetry, masks, sculpture, architectural ornamentation, and *kris* holders (Figure 35). The use of Hanuman as a protector of a scared *kris* can be interpreted as a direct response to the immense respect felt for Hanuman's character in Indonesian culture. Who better to protect a treasured *kris* from destructive human or spiritual forces than the fearless monkey hero?

Stylistically, the holder is typical of Balinese figural woodcarving: the figure is squat and bent at the knee and his stance resembles the forms used on numerous ancestor figures and large architectural carvings (Reference Figures 9 and 11 in Chapter 1). Following the copious ornamentation and stylized forms of Dong-son culture, *wayang* style, and Balinese tradition, Hanuman is presented in his royal garb, a gold-edged loincloth, shoulder ornaments, a golden crown, and adorned with lavish, gold jewelry to distinguish his exalted status. His eyes remain ever watchful as they bulge from their sockets. Below his regal moustache, his lips curls behind his large, daunting teeth, and his tail is erect and dances behind him (Figures 36 and 37). His features border on grotesque, much like those facial features seen in Javanese and Balinese *wayang* puppets of Hanuman (Figures 38 and 39). The purpose of these brash features

is much the same as the vicious stone monsters found outside and chiseled above temple doors and of those ancestor figures set out on village outskirts to ward off evil (Figure 40). Hanuman's presence is of great power and prestige, and he is to protect the spirit and well-being of any *kris* placed within his hands.

Two important attributes help in the positive identification of the Berman holder as Hanuman. The first is the presence of a bright white coat of paint symbolizing Hanuman's knowledge, spirit, and purity of heart and the second is the inclusion of his *kuku pancanaka*. These are the two most well known physical attributes used to identify Hanuman. Even *wayang* puppets present the *kuku pancanaka* prominently (Figure 41). A detailed view of the Hanuman holder in Figure 42 allows one to view the *kuku pancanaka* in Hanuman's clenched fists.

Other Balinese *kris* holders depicting Hanuman offer a similar representation of the character but vary in style according to the period in which they were created. For example, when compared to another Balinese *kris* holder found in the private collection of Australian scholar, writer, and Indonesian art and weapons collector, Mr. A.G. Maisey, one can determine the difference in the quality of more traditional *kris* holders and those produced for the tourist trade (Figures 43 - 45).

The holder from the Maisey collection is skillfully carved, its undersized base, small opening for the *kris* holder, and lack of carved ornamentation, suggests it may be a more contemporary piece produced for tourist sales. Functional *kris* holders are usually weightier, having large, wide bases that would physically be able to withstand the burden of an authentic metal *kris*. Holders with small stands, such as the Maisey holder, may potentially topple over under the weight of a large sheathed *kris*. A

comparison of the two holders allows one to recognize the noticeably small frame of the Maisey holder against the stout, squatty frame of the Berman holder. Further, much of the detailing of the Maisey holder is painted on rather than carved into the figure. The presence of a weighty figure, large base, and intricate carved detailing makes the Berman holder typical of the more traditional holders produced before the 1930s. It was during the 1930s when European artists such as German painter Walter Spies and Netherlandish artist Rudolph Bonnet arrived to Indonesia and influenced artists to create artworks geared toward individualism and the tourist trade. The result was mass-produced items that steered away from the strict traditions and subjects of old.

By comparing the Berman Hanuman holder to a Hanuman *kris* holder created on the island of Lombok, a small island to the east of Bali, we can better appreciate the stylistic features that are particular to Bali in the collection of the Museum Nasional in Jakarta, Indonesia (Figure 46 and 47). Culturally, Lombok has much in common with nearby Bali, which is a direct result of the western half of the island being under Balinese Hindu dynastic rule until the 1890s when a revolt led to the annexation of the island to Netherlandish rule. However, Lombok's artwork tends to follow a more delicate, traditionally Javanese style than a Balinese style. These characteristics allow for the distinct quality of woodcarving of Lombok in comparison to Balinese woodcarving. Both Hanuman holders follow the same rigid frontal stance, but the Lombok holder is more delicate, beautifully sleek and slender, very different from the squat and massive forms of the Balinese carving. Both figures present Hanuman as a powerful, bug-eyed warrior, but the Balinese representation of Hanuman offers a feel of great comic animation among a rigid sculptural form. Using vibrant polychrome,

extravagant ornamentation, and over-exaggerated, coarse features, the Balinese artist animates the inanimate object to a greater degree than the Lombok holder does. By infusing a unique persona into the creation of this piece, the Berman holder successfully provides a typical representation of Balinese woodcarving. The Hanuman holder exudes the power and energy of traditional protective Indonesian art: grounded firmly to his square base, the Berman holder is no longer just a statue, but an accurate representation of the great monkey king.

Another *kris* holder that emanates the same form of authority and liveliness stands 24 inches tall and 6 ½ inches in diameter at its widest point. This is representation of another well-known figure from the *Ramayana* epic—Ravana (Figure 48). Ravana is the great demon, ogre king, ruler of the kingdom of Lanka, and the main antagonist in the *Ramayana* who kidnaps Rama's wife, Sita, and is later defeated by Hanuman and Rama. This image of Ravana does not conform to the physical appearance described in the original *Ramayana*. In the *Ramayana*, Ravana is described as a ten-headed, twenty-armed demon but the Berman holder presents Ravana with one head and two arms. After reading several translations of Javanese and Balinese stories from the *Ramayana* involving Ravana's character, it is clear that Indonesian textual descriptions of Ravana conform to the original Indian descriptions of him in the original Sanskrit; it is only in his rendering in art that Ravana appears in a more human guise. It is not known why images of Ravana in the ten-headed form are rare in Indonesia and virtually non-existent in Bali. My research has uncovered only a few examples of the ten-headed form and all examples are Javanese. One specific example is a Javanese *wayang kulit* puppet created in the early 1900s for Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII (1921-39).

Hamengkubuwono was an advocate of the arts and extremely devoted to the classic Indian version of the *Ramayana* and *wayang* (Figure 49).⁵⁰ One reason for this Balinese deviation may stem from the transformation of all that is Hindu-Javanese into something uniquely Balinese. As with the modification of Hinduism into Bali-Hindu, the Balinese culture accepted many external influences but only as inspiration for expanding on an already Balinese manner. Balinese artists may have reinvented Ravana in a form more suited to Balinese culture. Another reason for this deviation may be as simple as technical difficulty. The Balinese sculptor typically produces a *togog* sculpture from a single piece of treated wood, chipping away with a simple mallet and chisel. Producing a ten headed, twenty armed figure to serve as a *kris* holder or other small statuary may have proved to be an impossible task. For whatever reason this deviation occurs, it proved to be a hindrance in the initial identification of this particular holder. However, comparisons of the *kris* holder to Indonesian sculpture, *wayang* puppets, and wood-carved masks aided in a positive identification (Figures 50-53).

Other traits aid in the identification of this figure, including his golden crown, loincloth, and jewelry that suggests royal status. The dark reddish skin of the demon is an important feature. In Indonesian culture, red is known to symbolize anger but also represents physical strength and fury. Ravana is a well-known demon that is often characterized by red flesh in Indonesian art. In the *Ramayana*, Ravana is said to be a grand spectacle to behold. He is the great ogre-king who sits upon a crystal throne and when first witnessed by Hanuman was described as wearing brightly colored silks with his body smeared with a fine red sandal-paste and brightly painted designs. He was

adorned with gold and diamonds, and an enormous gilded crown. He also possessed large red eyes, enormous teeth, and protruding red lips. Detailed images of the holder in Figures 54-57 are a fitting likeness to the written description.

This particular holder serves as an example of statuary created in the mid-1930s when Balinese woodcarving slowly changed from refined and strict in style to loose and extravagant after European influences reached Bali. A comparison between the Berman holder and two other Ravana holders convey the subtle changes in woodcarving traditions (Figures 58 and 59). To begin, the Berman holder will be compared to a traditional *kris* holder found in Urs Ramseyer's, *The Art and Culture of Bali* (this particular holder will be referred to as the Ramseyer Ravana, because information was not provided as to which collection, or museum, it currently belongs).⁵¹

The Ramseyer Ravana is an early nineteenth century *kris* holder and like the Berman holder possesses all the typical features found in Balinese demon representations. Both figures have a bulbous nose, tusk-like teeth, facial hair, and protruding eyes. Another commonality found between the figures is the mischievous animation, conveyed through the statues' playful eyes, body gestures, and impish smiles. Royal status symbols are also found on both figures, to include body jewelry and crowns. Each figure is also, or in the case of Ramseyer Ravana, was at one time, painted reddish brown--the signature color of Ravana's flesh. Despite all these similarities, closer examination of the two figures side by side presents the slight changes in style. The Ramseyer Ravana is extremely stiff in form, with detailed carving, and an elaborately decorative base. The Berman Ravana is in a bent knee stance but overall lacks the rigidity in form as the figure is depicted in a more playful manner. The Berman Ravana

is presented with a very small curve to his body and with a loose hand trickling down his belly. This further suggests that the Berman holder was created in the mid-1930s when the influences of European artists Walter Spies and Rudolf Bonnet slowly began to change Balinese sculpture and prompt the great swells and curves of contemporary sculptural form.⁵² Additionally, the Berman holder presents a livelier, more amusing Ravana, a feature more noticeable when the Berman holder and the Ramseyer Ravana are placed alongside an early twentieth century *kris* holder in the collection of the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco (Figures 58-60).

The Ravana holder from the Asian Art Museum possesses the same physical attributes and material accessories as the previous Ravana holders. He is presented in the customary bent-knee stance with clenched fists and a wicked smile. In addition, the intricately carved jewelry and facial features on this holder are more comparable in style to those of the Ramseyer Ravana. Both have sleek detailing in the eyes and facial expressions that generates a cautionary tone and a technical sophistication found more frequently in traditional woodcarving. In contrast, the Berman holder possesses brash, over-exaggerated features, his lips and eyes protrude gawkily, his bulbous nose turns up awkwardly, simultaneously making his expression fearful and instantly comical, a feature not overly present in the other holders. This comical feel was not atypical of woodcarving produced in the mid-1930s when Balinese artists were first inspired to produce artwork with more individuality and personality. These embellished features accompanied by the subtle shift in stance of the Berman Ravana are evidence of the initial stages of change in traditional woodcarving techniques beginning in the 1930s.

These changes are further exemplified in an examination of the third Berman holder selected for research.

The third Berman holder is smaller in stature than the other two, measuring just 19 ½ inches in height. Its base is also smaller and is circular in shape instead of a customary square base. It is a late twentieth century creation and an exceptional example of new woodcarving trends integrated with traditional religious and ritual thought. Incidentally, these changes aided in the production of what is perhaps the most unique and visually stimulating *kris* holder of the Berman collection.

This third *kris* holder represents the Hindu-Javanese goddess Durga in one of her Indonesian forms, Sang Hyang Bathari Durga, also known as *rakasi durga* (Figure 61).⁵³ She is known as the female ruler of the spirit world and is often associated with the East Javanese kingdom of Majapahit. She is also believed to dwell in the woods or in cremation grounds.⁵⁴

In Java and Bali, Durga is the consort of Bathara Guru (teacher), the supreme deity, also known as Shiva in Bali. Bathara Guru is a deity said to have the full authority from Sang Hyang Wenang (power holder of all gods) to direct other gods to perform their duties, as well as to govern all kinds of life in the universe including the life and fate of human beings. Due to her consort's divine status, Durga is given the title of "Sang Hyang" Bathari (Sang Hyang translates to Divine Spirit or Holiness). She is associated with death and destruction, and her followers or "spirit army" are made up of *buta* demon spirits and the horrific man-eating demon Kala. In Bali, Sang Hyang Bathari is also believed to control the *leyak*, or disease-producing witchlike spirits. This

aspect is similar to an Indian form of Durga that is known as ruler of infectious diseases such as small pox.⁵⁵

Some scholars have concluded that the transformation of the traditional Durga found in India's Hindu legends into Indonesia's Bathari Durga was a result of Indonesian beliefs in the spirit world, inadequately understood tantric practices that depreciated into black magic, and the mesh of Pre-Hindu Indonesian mythology with that of Hinduism.⁵⁶ The emergence of this particular Indonesian form of Durga began in thirteenth century Java after various tantric cults became popular. In some royal courts, kings believed tantric rituals performed in graveyards would "preserve their powers over their subjects and enhance their charisma."⁵⁷ These magic rituals often included the use of narcotic drinks and ritual slaughter. The God who presides over these performances was Bhairava (Shiva in his dreadful form) and his female companion is Durga. Durga's initial presence at these rituals may suggest the reason she would later be connected to graveyards and dark forces. Her complete transformation into the demoness who lurks in graveyards was not complete until the fifteenth century.

Various local stories explaining Durga's transformation are discussed in Hariani Santiko's 1997 article "The Goddess Durgā in the East-Javanese Period" published in *Asian Folklore Studies*.⁵⁸ Santiko references a number of fifteenth and sixteenth century Javanese texts such as the "*Tantu Panggelaran*, the *Sudamala*, the *kidung Sri Tanjung*, and the *Korawasrama*" that identify the wrathful form of Durga as none other than Uma after being condemned by Bathara Guru because of a number of transgressions. Within these texts such punishable acts are described as infidelity (Uma

is said to take Brahma, Surya, and a cowherd as lovers) and cannibalism (angered by her son, it is written that Uma rips apart his body, eats his flesh and drinks his blood).⁵⁹ These transgressions, particularly a reference to infidelity within these texts, suggest a uniquely Indonesian idea concerning Uma.⁶⁰ This is a contrast to the Indian idea of Uma as a faithful wife and a model for Indian women. While Uma is the wife of Shiva, Durga is not, she is an independent deity.

A Balinese shadow play entitled the *Murwakala* tells one story that explains the connection between Uma and Durga in Indonesian mythology.

The *Murwakala* is an emotionally charged *wayang* play intended to explain the origins of the man-eating Kala and release potential victims from the clutches of Kala. In Clara Brakel's 1997 article, "the creation of Kala and Durga is explained in the form of a mantra recited at the beginning of the play. The mantra explains the origin of Durga as follows:

"Then after Sang Hyang Wisesa [the Supreme Being] has vanished, Bathara Guru [the divine Teacher] makes a counterpart, a consort named Dewi Uma (a form of Durga). Then he creates all the thirty gods with their spouses. Then the earth is separated from the sky. Hyang Pramesthi [i.e., Bathara Guru] then appoints the nine deities in order to fix the world, and like- wise the mountain Jamurdipa. Then Bathara Guru makes the heaven and all that it contains. Now [when] Sang Hyang Pramesthi wishes to have sexual intercourse [literally, "investigates his own creation of male and female"] with his spouse Dewi Uma, his sperm drops down with- out being received. This is why Bathara Kala exists. Hyang Pramesthi is angry with his wife Dewi Uma, and this is why Bathari Durga is associated with Kala."⁶¹

The connection of Uma and Durga is described in a passage from an undated Indonesian litany on *lontar* known as the *Purwa Bhumi Kamulan*. In the *Purwa Bhumi Kamulan* it is told how Durga developed out of the goddess Dewi Uma (the wife of Bathara Guru). In the 1974 book *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* Author Dr. C Hooykaas translates the passage as follows:

“The Goddess then looked on Her Self
 And full of wrath she then became.
 Her urge was then to eat mankind;
 She screamed, and like a lion roared.
 Her teeth were long and sharp, like tusks,
 Her mouth an abyss in between,
 Her eyes shone, they were like twin suns.
 Her nostrils, deep and cavernous.
 Her ears stood like two thighs, straight up,
 Matted and twisted was her hair;
 Her body was misshapen, huge,
 There was nothing that broke its height.
 It pierced The Egg of Universe,
 Reached to the center of the Sky.
 Such then, was the Goddess Durga.
 That was the name that she then bore...
 With blood, as ashes, She was smeared,
 And garlanded with human skulls,
 Intestines were draped over Her,
 She wore a scarf of red and black...
 Then in the graveyard she did dwell.”⁶²

This particular description of Durga is one derived from an overwhelming influence of tantric rituals in fifteenth century Indonesian. During this period, Durga is given an almost Kali-like personality. In India, Kali is the goddess Durga in her dreadful form. She symbolizes dissolution and destruction but also universal power. She serves as a mother goddess, a goddess of wrath and fear, and within the Tantras, she has over thirty different forms. She is depicted with four to ten arms, fierce red eyes, dark skin, a necklace made of skulls, a skirt of human hands, wild hair, and canine

teeth (Figure 41). She is often associated with cremation grounds and she is an extremely important force in Indian tantric practices. Though tantric practices were heavily influential in thirteenth to fifteenth century Java, there was not a large following of an independent goddess known as Kali in Indonesia. Rather it seems Indonesians grasped onto the tales of Uma, Durga, and Kali and combined them into one main goddess, forming Bathari Durga, particularly in villages outside court walls.⁶³ It was here that a greater liberty was allowed to interpret various ideas of Indian gods and goddesses, in a uniquely Indonesian way.⁶⁴ Within court walls, literature and religion was geared more towards the traditional and Durga was worshipped as her more traditional Indian form.

Although Bathari Durga shares some physical traits with the goddess Kali, certain features have been changed in order to make this goddess a unique Balinese form, a process paralleled in the Berman holder of Ravana. For example, the *kris* holder of Bathari Durga lacks four arms, the skull necklace, and human hand skirt found on representations of Kali. Also differing is the color of her skin. In both Java and Bali, Bathari Durga is closely related to her kind and beautiful form- the mother goddess of birth, life, and fertility. Because of this, green, the symbolic Indonesian color for all these traits, is used. The concept of Bathari Durga as a mother goddess further links her Indonesian form to Kali.

The Berman holder of Bathari Durga presents the demoness in her final transformed state developed from the fifteenth century onward (Figures 62 and 63). She is presented with bulging red eyes, huge teeth, and a bulbous nose, all of which are traditional characteristics associated with demons and evil in Indonesian art. In addition

to these features, a typical trait denoting demons is a figure's mass. Artworks depicting malevolent characters, particularly those influenced by the *wayang* style, often appear weighty, with thick legs and corpulent bellies. Durga's stout figure and solidity are also suggestive of the squat style of woodcarving popular in the 1930s in Bali. This particular style is characterized by simple figures that are massive and closed.⁶⁵ Her breasts are by no means sexual symbols in her infertile form and they jut from her chest in awkward cone shapes. Her black, stringy hair twists behind her back and she tugs at it with her left hand as her large forehead furrows. Images similar to this depiction of Bathari Durga can be found in Balinese and Javanese paintings and *wayang* puppets, stone sculpture, and ceremonial statues (Figures 64 and 65).

A comparison with an early twentieth century Bathari Durga *arca lingga*, or ritual statue that serve as temporary seats for the gods, allows one to see the marked contrasts in Balinese woodcarving before and after the 1930s (Figures 66 and 67). This particular *arca lingga* was selected for comparison with the Berman holder. No other freestanding *kris* holders in the form of Bathari Durga were discovered during the period of this research, and because it exhibits a number of the indigenous carving traditions from both the Pre-Hindu and Indo-Javanese periods. This is not to imply that no *kris* holders of Bathari Durga exist other than Berman, but only that holders in this form may be of a more traditional nature found in private collections unavailable for public viewing.

The most noticeable similarities in this comparison are the typical physical features of all demon figures in Balinese art. Like the Ravana holders, both forms of Bathari Durga display a bug-eyed, bulbous nosed, demon with tusked teeth and a

beastly grin. Both figures also possess polychrome, cone-shaped breasts, royal status symbols, and a traditional bent knee stance. However, this is where the similarities end and the shift from the traditional old style to the new late style begin. The first feature to demonstrate the new woodcarving style is the treatment of the face (a feature that also differentiated the Berman Ravana from the Ramseyer Ravana). Closer examination of both forms of Bathari Durga show refined, delicately carved facial features in the *arca lingga*, much like those of the Ramseyer Ravana, and loose, over-exaggerated features in the Berman holder (Figures 68 and 69). Like, the Berman Ravana, the Berman Bathari Durga has exceedingly grotesque features, and her twisted legs and arm that curls behind her head are a far cry from her rigidly stiff counterpart (Figures 70 and 71). The Berman holder also has a lack of detailed carving throughout her body whereas the *arca lingga* has clothing, weaponry, and even jewelry exquisitely detailed. Furthermore, the Berman holder has only a small circular base and like older more traditional *kris* holders, the *arca lingga* possess a thick, decoratively carved base (Figures 72 and 73). The Berman Bathari Durga's loose form, small base, over-exaggerated features, and lack of carved ornamentation suggest that this figure is a twentieth century Balinese creation and perhaps even one created with tourism in mind.

Although evidence suggests the Berman Bathari Durga was produced specifically for tourism, one cannot overlook the traditional aesthetics and religious influences related to this piece of statuary. Bathari Durga is a highly revered deity among the Balinese people and the essence of her spirit would still be one of power and protective force, therefore still allowing this holder to serve as an effective and

powerful symbol that inculcates fear in those spirits that wish the *kris* and its owners harm.

Each holder of the Berman collection conveys some aspect of traditional aesthetics found in all areas of Indonesian history from antiquity to the present day. Each holder has also displays the individuality of the Balinese art form: highly stylized, colorful, highly decorative, and full of a unique sense of drama and dynamism. The particular talent of Balinese artists to create works with such distinctive personalities has been a trait well recognized by artists and collectors alike. Upon visiting the island of Bali in the 1930s, Mexican painter and writer Miguel Covarrubias, described Balinese art as, “a highly developed, although informal Baroque folk-art that combines the peasant liveliness with the refinement of the classicism of Hinduistic Java, ...with a new vitality fired by the exuberance of the demoniac spirit of the tropical primitive”.⁶⁶

The holders serve as illustrations of the lengthy tradition of protective art and cultural figures called upon to shield villages and important cultural items, such as the *kris*, from harm. These statues reference the historic pattern of external influences transformed into uniquely Indonesian ideas and further assert the strong connection Indonesian culture has with mythology, ritual, and art.

FIGURES



Figures 32 and 33. (left to right) Contemporary Balinese *kris* holder in burnished “late style”, ca. 1935. This particular holder is only 1 foot in height. Photo credit: Tatyana Dianova.



Figure 34. Hanuman *kris* holder, ca. early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 35. Balinese *wayang kulit* puppet representing Hanuman (*wayang kulit* puppets are made of leather), ca. twentieth century. Photo credit: Murni's in Bali. <http://www.murnis.com/onlineshop/shadowpuppets/index.htm>.



Figure 36. Detail of Hanuman *kris* holder, early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 37. Facial detail of Hanuman *kris* holder, early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 38. (left) Balinese *wayang kulit* puppet representing Hanuman, ca. twentieth century. Photo credit: Murni's in Bali.
<http://www.murnis.com/onlineshop/shadowpuppets/index.htm>.

Figure 39. (right) Detailed view of Berman Hanuman holder, ca. early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 40. Stone carved guardian figures at the Elephant Cave in Ubud, Bali, ca. seventh century. Photo credit: Kat Hara.



Figure 41. (top left) Hanuman wayang puppet (*kuku pancanaka* seen in red), early twentieth century. Photo credit: Murni's in Bali.
<http://www.murnis.com/onlineshop/shadowpuppets/index.htm>.

Figure 42. (bottom right) Detail of *kuku pancanaka* on Hanuman holder (red arrows show *kuku pancanaka*), early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 43. (left) Hanuman *kris* holder from the Maisey private collection, ca. 1980. Photo credit: A.G. Maisey.

Figure 44. (center) Side view Maisey Hanuman holder, ca. 1980. Photo credit: A.G. Maisey.

Figure 45. (right) Berman Hanuman holder, early twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 46. (*left*) Hanuman *kris* holder from Lombok, nineteenth century.
Photo Credit: John Gollings.

Figure 47. (*right*) Berman Hanuman holder, ca. early twentieth century.
Photo credit: Author.



Figure 48. *Kris* holder in form of Ravana, ca. mid-twentieth century.
Photo credit: Berman Museum of World History.



Figure 49. Javanese *wayang kulit* puppet in traditional ten-headed form of Ravana, ca. 1900. Photo Credit: John Gollings.



Figure 50. (upper left) Frontal view of Berman Ravana holder, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo Credit: Author.

Figure 51. (upper right) Balinese wood carved mask of Ravana, ca. twentieth century. As reprinted in *Balinese Masks: Spirits of An Ancient Drama*, by Judy Slattum and Paul Schraub, 2003, p. 78. Copyright 2003 by Periplus Editions. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 52. (lower left) Ravana wayang kulit puppet, ca. twentieth century. Photo credit: Artist Pak Wagimin of Wonogiri.

Figure 53. (lower right) Balinese Ravana temple statue, date unknown. Photo Credit: Erik Veland.

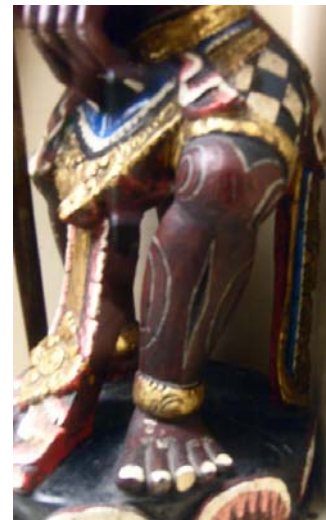


Figure 54. (*upper left*) Detailing of Ravana's clothing and jewelry, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo Credit: Author.

Figure 55. (*upper right*) Detail of Ravana's face, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo Credit: Author.

Figure 56. (*lower left*) Detail of Ravana's crown, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo Credit: Author.

Figure 57. (*lower right*) Detailing of decorative skin designs, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo Credit: Author.



Figure 58. *(left)* The Ramseyer Ravana holder, ca. early nineteenth century. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 88. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 59. *(center)* Ravana holder from Berman Museum, ca. mid twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 60. *(right)* Ravana holder from the Asian Art Museum in San Francisco, California, ca late 1800s. Photo credit: Asian Art Museum, emuseum. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 61. Balinese *kris* holder of Sang Hyang Bathari Durga, ca. twentieth century.
Photo credit: Author.



Figure 62. Traditional representation of Indian form of the goddess Kali, date unknown. Photo Credit: Emily Maloy.



Figure 63. (left) Detail of Durga kris holder, ca. late twentieth century.
Photo credit: Author.



Figure 64. (right) Detail of Durga kris holder, ca. late twentieth century.
Photo Credit: Author.



Figure 65. (left) Balinese painting of Bathari Durga bestowing powers upon the white witch Rangda, ca. 1900s. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 119. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 66. (right) *Wayang kulit* puppet of Bathari Durga. Sketch by Author.



Figure 67. (left) *Arca Lingga* in the form of Bathari Durga, ca. late nineteenth-early twentieth century. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 222. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 68. (right) Berman *kris* holder in the form of Bathari Durga, ca. late twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 69. (*upper left*) Detail of face from Ramseyer Ravana, ca. early nineteenth century. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 88. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 70. (*upper right*) Detail of face from *arca lingga* in form of Bathari Durga, ca. late nineteenth-early twentieth century. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 222. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.

Figure 71. (*lower left*) Detail of face from Berman Ravana holder, ca. mid-twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.

Figure 72. (*lower right*) Detail of face from Berman Bathari Durga, ca. late twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.



Figure 73. (*left*) Detail of base from arca lingga in form of Bathari Durga, ca. early twentieth century. Photo credit: As reproduced in *The Art and Culture of Bali* by Urs Ramseyer, 1977, plate 222. Copyright 1977 by Oxford University Press. Reprinted with permission.



Figure 74. (*right*) Detail of base from Berman Bathari Durga holder, ca. twentieth century. Photo credit: Author.

CONCLUSION

This study explores a specific Indonesian art form, the *kris* holder, and is one of the first works to focus on the many-faceted historical, social, and cultural influences of Indonesia that aided in the development of the *kris* holder. This research was accomplished by first building a framework linking artistic activities directly to Indonesian ritual and social behaviors and secondly, through examinations of three Balinese *kris* holders from the Berman Museum of World History. These specific holders were examined iconographically, technically, and stylistically in relation to the artistic traditions of Indonesia and Bali in order to determine the function and significance of these objects within Indonesian culture.

The *kris* holders from the collection of the Berman Museum represent one example of the many types of protective Indonesian objects. Their purpose stems from a long tradition of religions influenced by mysticism and magic and their form derives from traditional Indonesian design and wood carving techniques, Indic and Chinese aesthetics, and Balinese individuality. They not only serve as examples of the profound importance religion and tradition have in everyday culture and art of Indonesia, but also as examples of the uniform yet diverse artistic subjects and styles of the archipelago. Each holder serves as an example of the movement made by Balinese artists from the norms of Indianized Indonesian art and to what is considered a distinctive Balinese style. Furthermore, these holders provide insight into the world of the *kris*, Indonesia's cultural talisman, and provide insight into the internal and external political and

religious influences that aided in the development of a tradition of art images centered on ideas of power and protection.

In present day Indonesia, traditional freestanding *kris* holders are found in museum collections or are sacred family heirlooms unavailable for sale. Those *kris* holders used for tourist sales are mass-produced and though they function much like traditional *kris* holders, many lack the care and refined carving of those holders produced before the late twentieth century (Figures 75 and 76). This allows traditional *kris* holders to be exemplars of the most customary art subjects and styles of Indonesia's Pre-Hindu and Indo-Javanese period.

In the United States traditional *kris* holders are a rare find. The majority of *kris* holders, traditional or contemporary, are in private collections and are acquired either through a collector's travels to Bali or through Dutch antique dealers. A majority of Indonesian artifacts are in the hands of Dutch art dealers due to the numerous years Indonesia traded with and was under Netherlandish rule during 1846 to 1942.

To date, only a handful of museums in the states have *kris* holders in their permanent collections, almost all of which entered the collections through private collectors. A preliminary list of US private collection locations (only a small number of collectors wished to release their full names and locations) and museums with *kris* holders is provided in an appendix following this chapter. This list serves as a reference point for those interested in locating other *kris* holders for further investigation and as groundwork for a comprehensive catalogue of extant *kris* holders organized by place and date of origin in the effort to determine other commonalities or differences in style and function among different Indonesian centers.

The importance of the *kris* holder cannot be understood without an investigation of Indonesian history. Moreover, their significance within Indonesian culture is immense in that they are a piece of a larger puzzle. To understand the *kris* holder, one must understand the *kris*, and to understand the *kris*, one must grasp a larger understanding of Indonesia's relationship between the indigenous concepts of protection, power, religion, and functional ritual art. Following this cycle it is impossible to consider the *kris* holder as nothing more than just a village folk art or tourist purchase, but rather as a vital component needed to unlock the intricate history of Indonesia and its connections to all of Southeast Asia. Coincidentally, though this work has established the *kris* holder as a significant object in Indonesian culture, it has also raised a number of unanswered questions. For example, what are the genuine reasons deities like Ravana and Bathari Durga were transformed from their traditional Indian forms into those found in Balinese statuary such as the *kris* holder? When and how did the tradition of the *kris* holder truly begin? If the *kris* holder was an art tradition of the great Majapahit kingdom, are there any *kris* holders from this period still in existence or were they lost to the Islamic takeover? Moreover, are these facts awaiting discovery or is the history of the *kris* holder to remain a mystery to the Western world much as it has for the last few centuries? Perhaps this work will prompt others to delve deeper into the study of the *kris* holder and uncover even more about their historic significance within Indonesian culture.



Figure 75. (left) Traditional Balinese *kris* holder in form of Rama, early twentieth century. Photo credit: Bill Sutterfield, Sutterfield Tribal Art.

Figure 76. (right) Balinese *kris* holder in form of Hanuman, ca. late twentieth century. Photo credit: Patrick de Vries, de Vries Antieks, <http://www.kris-keris.com/keris.html>.

APPENDIX

BALINESE *KRIS* HOLDERS IN PRIVATE AND MUSEUM COLLECTIONS

The following lists provide names and locations of private, museum, or gallery collections that contain Balinese freestanding *kris* holders. Please be advised that some information is incomplete due to privacy requests of collectors.

Private Collections in the United States

<u>Last Name</u>	<u>First Name</u>	<u>Location</u>
Barring	N/A	Atlanta , Georgia
Battara	N/A	Louisville, Kentucky
Blades	Louis	East Coast
Congre	N/A	Clearwater, Florida
Hyle	Tom	Houston, Texas
Marsh	Bill	Atlanta, Georgia
N/A	Fredrico	Minnesota
Private Collection		Greenville, North Carolina
Private Collection		Orlando, Florida
Private Collection		Oahu, Hawaii
Private Collector		Ann Arbor, Michigan
Spunjer	N/A	Chillicothe, Ohio
Star	N/A	Kansas City, Missouri

APPENDIX

United States Museum/Gallery with *kris* holders in permanent collections

<u>Museum/Gallery</u>	<u>Location</u>
Asian Art Museum	San Francisco, California
Berman Museum of World History	Anniston, Alabama
Farrow Fine Art Gallery	San Rafeal, California
Field Museum	Chicago, Illinois
Museum of Fine Arts	Boston, Massachusetts
Sutterfield Tribal Art Gallery	Oakland, California
The Metropolitan Museum of Art	New York, New York

Notes

- ¹ Haryati Soebadio, *Art of Indonesia: Pusaka* (Singapore: Periplus Publishers, 1992), 15.
- ² The Berman Museum of World History, “*The Berman Legacy*”, <http://www.bermanmuseum.org/aboutUs/>, (November 26, 2008).
- ³ Urs Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977).
- ⁴ I. Gusti Putu Phalgunadi, *Evolution of Hindu Culture in Bali* (New Delhi: Ashish Singhal for Sundeeep Prakashan, 1991).
- ⁵ Jane Belo, *Traditional Balinese Culture*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).
- ⁶ Dr. R Goris, *Atlas Kebudajaan, Bali: Cults and Customs*, (Government of the Republic of Indonesia, 1950).
- ⁷ Gabriele Fahr-Becker, *The Art of East Asia*, (China: Konemann, 2006).

Chapter 1

- ⁸ A.E. Sokol, “Communication and Production in Indonesian History.” *Far Eastern Quarterly* 7, no.4 (August 1948), 341.
- ⁹ Urs Ramseyer, *The Art and Culture of Bali* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1977), 25.
- ¹⁰ Frits Wagner, *Indonesia, The Art of an Island Group* (Methuen London: Holle and Co. Verlag, 1959), 20.
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Ibid, 16.
- ¹⁵ Hilda Soemantri, ed., *Indonesian Heritage: Visual Arts* (Indonesia: Archipelago Press, 1999), 26.
- ¹⁶ Wagner, op. cit., 40-42.
- ¹⁷ Hilda Soemantri, *Indonesian Heritage: Visual Art* (Singapore: Archipelago Press, 1998), 14.
- ¹⁸ Koos van Brakel, David van Duuren, and Itie van Hout, *A Passion for Indonesian Art, The George Tillman Collection at the Tropenmuseum* (Amsterdam: Tropenmuseum, 1996), 40-43.
- ¹⁹ Soemantri, op. cit., 14.
- ²⁰ Bodrogi, op. cit., 19.
- ²¹ Sudha Rajagopalan, “Navigating Culture: Trade and Transformation in the Island State” *Digital publications of the National Museum of Ethnology*, (Osaka: Japan, 2002) 4, <http://www.rmv.nl/publicaties/6navigating/e/navigating/pdf>. (accessed June 4, 2009).
- ²² Ibid.
- ²³ William H. Frederick and Robert Worden, editors. “Indonesia: A Country Study”. (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1993) <http://countrystudies.us/indonesia>. (accessed August 2 2008).
- ²⁴ Ibid.
- ²⁵ Tsing, I, *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practised in India and the Malay Archipelago*,” (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896), 10.
- ²⁶ Frederick and Worden, “Indonesia: A Country Study,” August 8, 2008.

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- ²⁷ Wagner, op. cit., 111.
- ²⁸ Fontein, op. cit., 45.
- ²⁹ Edi Sedyawati, "Three Dimensional Art in Classical Indonesia," *Art of Indonesia: Pusaka*, (Singapore: Periplus Editions, 1992), 59.
- ³⁰ Ibid.
- ³¹ Jan Fontein, *Sculpture of Indonesia*, 105.
- ³² Ramseyer, op. cit., 35.
- ³³ Bodrogi, op. cit., 78.
- ³⁴ Soebadio, *Art of Indonesia: Pusaka*, 131-132.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Soebadio, op. cit., 205.
- ³⁸ Ibid, 206.
- ³⁹ Ibid, 159.
- ⁴⁰ Stanley O'Connor, "Metallurgy and Immortality at Candi Sukuh, Central Java," *Indonesia* , 39 (April 1985), 55.
- ⁴¹ Justus M. van der Kroef, "Folklore and Tradition in Javanese Society," *The Journal of American Folklore*, 68, no. 267 (Jan. - Mar., 1955), 29.
- ⁴² Fahr-Becker, op. cit., 343.
- ⁴³ Edward Frey, *The Kris, Mystic Weapon of the Malay World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 54.
- ⁴⁴ Fred and Margaret Eiseman, *Woodcarvings of Bali* (Singapore: Periplus Editions 1988), 5.

Chapter 2

- ⁴⁵ Eiseman, op. cit., 28.
- ⁴⁶ Eiseman, op. cit., 5.
- ⁴⁷ Ibid, 7.
- ⁴⁸ Edward Frey, "Kris of the Malay Archipelago," *Arts of Asia* 5, no.3 (May-June 1975), 25.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Helen Jessup, *Court Arts of Indonesia* (New York: Henry Abrams, Inc. 1990), 257.
- ⁵¹ Ramseyer, op. cit., 70.
- ⁵² Eiseman, op. cit., 40.
- ⁵³ Hariani Santiko, "The Goddess Durgā in the East-Javanese Period," *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 56, No.2 (1997), 222.
- ⁵⁴ Clara Brakel, "Sandhang-pangan" for the Goddess: Offerings to Sang Hyang Bathari Durga and Nyai Lara Kidul," *Asian Folklore Studies*, 56, no. 2 (1997), 254.
- ⁵⁵ Santiko, op. cit., 214.
- ⁵⁶ Brakel, op. cit., 209-226.

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- ⁵⁷ Asianart.com “Victorious Durga: Javanese Images of the Hindu Goddess who Conquered the Buffalo Demon” <http://www.asianart.com/articles/durga/index.html#147>, Accessed 6/10/2009.
- ⁵⁸ Hariani Santiko, “The Goddess Durgā in the East-Javanese Period,” *Asian Folklore Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (1997), 221.
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid.
- ⁶¹ R. Tanoyo, (ed.) *Pakem pangruwatan Murwa Kala [Handbook for exorcistic performances of the Murwakala]* (Surakarta: Fa Pen Tri-Jasa, no date), 36.
- ⁶² C. Hooykaas, *Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition* (The Hague: Martinus-Nijhoff, 1974), 64-67.
- ⁶³ Jenni Quilter and Andrew McGraw, “The University of North Carolina Department of Music presents. Wayang Kali Experimental Balinese Shadow Theater”. In association with Carolina Seminars, the Diversity Incentive Fund, the Carolina AsiCenter, and the Office of Associate Provost for International Affairs, Monday, April 6, 2009.
- ⁶⁴ Santiko, op. cit., 222.
- ⁶⁵ Ni Wayan Murni , Murni’s Ubud Bali, “Wood, Stone Carving and Balinese Masks” <http://www.murnis.com/culture/articlewoodstonecarvingandbalinesemasks.htm>., Accessed February12, 2009.
- ⁶⁶ Eiseman, op. cit., 1.

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