

Javanese and Sundanese Earthenwares: Their Domestic, Ritual, and Other Uses

GUNILLA FRIIS



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and Other Uses

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ABSTRACT

Earthenwares are a window into Java's rich cultural heritage, and this working paper documents, classifies, and names the earthenwares that the author saw in Java in the 1990s. It also records the pottery workshops, markets, and streets where the wares were found.

It attempts to trace influences to their shapes and decorations as well as their uses. There are sections about domestic wares as well as ritual wares, garden vessels, toys, bricks, roofing tiles and roof ornaments.

The appendices have information on administration, timekeeping, life cycle ceremonies, numerology, ceremonial flowers, incense and the meaning of colours for the people living in Java.

More than 200 photos show traders, markets, and sidewalks with earthenwares.

Keywords: Java, domestic and ritual earthenwares, garden vessels, toys, bricks, roof tiles, ritual foods and flowers, life cycle ceremonies.

1: INTRODUCTION

This work is based on observations made between 1991 and the beginning of the 21st century and is a preliminary classification of Java's earthenwares.¹ A lot has been written about the glazed ceramics one finds in South East Asia. Low fired unglazed wares are not featured in many publications apart from archaeological reports. Food photographers have, however, discovered the beauty of earthenware. Cookbooks for ethnic food are being published and they often include a section with traditional cooking equipment. The mouth-watering dishes are then photographed in a glorious earthenware pot. It could tempt anyone to try the recipe.

During my first visit to Jakarta in 1991 I was enchanted with the beauty of the earthenware that was sold at the roadside, where the local merchants sold their wares without the benefit of a roof, and in the market stalls. I thought it interesting that pottery was still sold in this bustling mega-city of over ten million people (Linden 1993: 38).

On subsequent trips to Java, I explored the streets Jalan Arteri, Jalan Letjen T.B. Simatupang, Jalan Gerbang Pemuda, Jalan Subrato, and Jalan Prapanca Raya in Jakarta, where I saw beautiful dark and light brown terracotta pots of all shapes and sizes. Shops in the markets of Pasar Ciputat, Pasar Cikini, and Pasar Santa—my favourite market, which is filled with traditional things—introduced me to yet other wares. Eventually, I visited potteries in the villages of Bumi Jaya (Pontang) and Plered and saw how bricks and tiles were produced in the area around Bekasi and Cikarang, east of Jakarta. I travelled by local bus in the countryside of Jepara and Demak, toured Kasongan, and explored Surakarta (Solo), one of the two major cultural centres in Central Java, where I talked to vendors, food hawkers and their customers about their earthenwares. Museums in Jakarta and Bandung in West Java provided examples for comparison with those in the streets and prototypes from history. With interest aroused, I decided that the earthenwares of Java would be worthy of study because they reflect the culture and lifestyle of the local people. It is a topic that has been overlooked.

Originally, my investigation aimed to find out what earthenwares were available and how they were used. There are many books published that describe the history and manufacture of earthenwares, but not on uses. Prices quoted in Rupiah and US\$ were current at the time of purchase. I also wanted to know how pottery was packed for transport and how it was displayed when offered for sale, as soon everything in Java will be pre-packed in plastic and bubble-wrap as it is elsewhere.

I aim to show Java's earthenwares in their cultural setting. Therefore itinerant food vendors carrying earthenwares on their pushcarts and pots piled among other merchandise in market stalls, as well as flowerpots stacked next to busy roads were photographed. I feel very strongly that anyone who has not been to Java would gain a better appreciation of

1 This work is dedicated to Semar for protection, to the People of Java for friendliness, to the memory of Hilmiyah Darmawan Pontjowolo for sharing her culture, to the memory of Natalie V. Robinson for her encouragement and guidance, to the memory of Roxanna M. Brown for help and support. This is my way of saying 'thank you'.

earthenwares' purpose and beauty from photographs of objects in everyday use. There are plenty of books filled with photos of ceramics in splendid isolation, e.g. objects removed from their cultural setting. I want to show a more complete picture!

I soon realised that classifying and naming this pottery was going to be difficult, as was determining the spelling of the words in *Bahasa Indonesia* in all its versions (Malay, old Dutch), as well as Javanese and Sundanese. Also because of their limited education many of the people, who have helped, have their own way of spelling. To compare these words with words taken from dictionaries, new and old, and to place them in their right domestic or ritual context has been quite a challenge. Other people have their crossword puzzles: these have been mine.

To distinguish earthenwares (*gerabah* in Central Java, *tembikar* in West and East Java, *getak* in Cirebon) from other ceramics for sale in local booths, the term 'earthenwares' must be defined. An earthenware is a non-vitreous ceramic, which has a porosity of more than 5% (Hamer 1975: 111; J. Burns, personal communication, 17 March, 2000). Earthenwares are clay ceramics that have been fired at relatively low temperatures, not exceeding 1,100°C (Hamer 1975: 111), but many of the pieces I shall discuss have been fired at much lower temperatures (the Javanese teapot (*poci*) and the roof decorations are fired in the higher ranges). Firing is often done in a primitive way, that is to say, not in a proper kiln but by piling the pieces in a heap, which is then covered with combustibles such as straw, dry palm fronds and wastes, and set on fire, a process called open firing. A display in Jakarta's Museum Nasional says, 'The fire is timed to burn for approximately thirty minutes to one hour and produces a temperature of about 500°C to 600°C. Objects fired in this way become hard and may have a straw colour. If a temperature of 800°C or 900°C is reached, objects [of iron compounds] become red as oxidation occurs.' A pamphlet published in 2001, classifying the ceramic collections in Museum Nasional (*Koleksi Keramik Museum Nasional 2001*), gives the firing temperature for Indonesian earthenwares as somewhere between 350°C to 1,000°C. Open-fired pottery may have accidental black patches as a result of having come into direct contact with the flames or from their placement in the fire. Black wares are produced intentionally when the fire is smothered to induce what is called a reducing atmosphere, i.e. one that lacks oxygen and yields smoke (carbon). Pottery reaching Jakarta from Central Java is generally fired at higher temperatures than that from the surrounding Sundanese area. Usually unglazed, the earthenwares are most often grey, tan, red, and black in colour.

Firing at low temperatures favours resistance to 'thermal shock' due to the earthenwares high porosity and non-vitreous content. Cooking pots, stoves and censers (incense burners), which are in contact with fire profit from being fired at earthenware temperatures (Posey 1994: 29).

It is worth noting, however, that some sort of surface treatment usually is given to make the pots look more attractive. This can be in the form of an iron oxide wash or by burnishing, and some vessels are 'aged' (exposed to rain and dust) or painted with commercial paints.

Contemporary indigenous pottery, including the Indonesian ceramics discussed here, is fired in a manner dictated by tradition. Each locality uses a unique, inherited—

'this is the way we have always done it'—firing method (cf. Saraswati & Behura, 1966: 103–129; Reith 2003: 311–335). For example, the firing method I observed in November 1996 at Désa Jambu Alas, a village close to Banten, in the province with the same name, differs from all other descriptions of firings I have seen, read about, or heard discussed.

The firing was performed in the late morning of a sunny day in an open area behind the *kampung* houses in a place where previous firings had been done. The kiln (*pembakaran*) consisted of a wide trench, located to take advantage of the prevailing wind. The bottom of the trench was covered with a layer of ashes from previous firings. The pots to be fired were stacked on evenly spaced supports—large round cylinders, heavy bricks, and large pieces of broken earthenwares. The stacking was done with extreme care. One man was in charge of placing the pots, while two women assisted by handing them to him. The first layer consisted of transportable stoves fired with wood (*keren*). Smaller wares such as mortars for grinding condiments (*cobék*) were put inside the stoves (Figure 1). The next layer of utensils, *keren* and *prieuk* (wide-mouthed vessels for cooking vegetables), was arranged upside down. *Tutup nasi*, the special lids, which are used on top of the conical rice steaming basket, followed (Figure 2). Ring stands (*lawèh*), which are used when a small cooking pot has to be placed on the stove's wider opening or for steadying cooking pots, went on top, covering the heap (Figure 3). When finished the neat stack had a hipped-shape, i.e. resembling a 'hipped-shaped roof'.

The fire was started so it progressed slowly against the wind, and care was taken not to let it spread into the pile right away, as probably slow heating reduces the breakage (Figure 3). Then, small amounts of combustibles—dry twigs, palm fronds, discarded paper, grass, and garbage² were pushed in with bamboo pokers. After about twenty minutes, a second fire was started at the opposite end of the trench, downwind. This fire was allowed to advance into the mound of pottery fairly quickly. After a while, bamboo poles were stuck into the mass where they protruded like hedgehog bristles. Next, rice straw, which had been stored close at hand, was laid on, the straw kept in place by the inserted poles. The firing was fast. About an hour later, the firing pit was dismantled with the help of workers and bystanders, and the now terracotta-red pots were carried home by their owners.

Later in the day I saw potters stacking small bowls (*kowi*) of uniform size upside down on supports in a trench where the ceramics eventually rose to another hipped-shape, a variation on the method used in the morning.

It is likely that every earthenware kiln in Indonesia has preserved a way of stacking and firing that has proved to produce successful ceramics. In the firing methods in this Bantenese village, the trench is conducive to containing the heat and the ash layer probably helps prevent the heat from dissipating. The empty spaces between the supports allow access of air and fire, and the ingenious orientation of the trench to the prevailing winds helps control the fire.

2 Potters in Kasongan have started to use garbage when firing their wares as oil-based fuels have become too costly ('Garbage for fuel' 2005: 5).

I.1: BRIEF OUTLINE OF JAVA'S HISTORY

This section will outline a brief history of Java as there is archaeological evidence that earthenwares were made in Java in the neolithic period (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 6).

During the last ice age, most of the islands in the western part of the Indonesian archipelago were connected to the rest of Southeast Asia forming a single huge continent ('Sunda Shelf' 2002). When water levels rose islands and peninsulas formed.

Java is just one of the over 17,000 islands that comprise Indonesia (Rosi 1998: 14). Very early in Java's history trade developed with ports beyond the island. By the last few centuries BC Indian sailors came in contact with Java. Mariners as far away as the Ganges delta reached Java (Walker 1968a: 449). In the early Indian texts Java is called *Yava-dvipa*,³ a name which indicates an island rich in grain, millet or Job's Tears⁴ which both are early human food grains (Gonda 1973: 348–350; Hatley 1984: 1; Miksic 1991a: 34; 'Millet' 2002).

With trade came ideas about religion, kinship, and language. Traders brought Buddhism as well as Hinduism (Ray 1996: 47). A court culture based on Brahmanical models developed, whereby new iconography and religious concepts were absorbed into animistic beliefs and established practices. In short, there was adoption and adaptation.

Borobudur in Central Java, the largest Buddhist sanctuary ever built, was constructed between 760–830 (Miksic 1990b: 25). Reliefs on the monument depict contemporary life in Java. One scene shows that pottery was made by women potters using paddle and anvil to shape the pots (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 104, Photo 139).

In the second millennium AD, China became an important trading partner with Java. Chinese silks and ceramics were bartered for spices, fragrant woods, rhinoceros horn and other exotic wares. Local earthenware production continued, but it seems probable that a plentiful supply of imported glazed ceramics inhibited the development of ceramic technology in Java. Local earthenwares, however, in their forms and decoration, often reflected an awareness of the imports (Guy 1996: 232).

Islam reached Java with Muslim traders that had established settlements on the northern coast of the island. With the fall of the kingdom of Majapahit in 1528, the kingdom of Mataram was established (Shaffer 1996: 103). Mataram was Muslim and had its centre in Yogyakarta (Shaffer 1996: 99). Later, due to dynastic struggles, Mataram was divided into the Sultanates of Yogyakarta and Surakarta. The Dutch meddled in the dispute and gained from it. The Dutch East India Company (VOC) founded in 1602, then dominated the trade with Java. When the VOC was dissolved in 1799 the Dutch government took over governance of the East Indies. After the Japanese occupation in World War II, Indonesia gained its independence.

In 2003, Java had an estimated population of 128 million in 127,000 square km (Kurniawan & Suherdjoko 2003: 1). It is one of the most densely populated islands in the world. For

3 Some authors believe *Java-dvipa* to be Sumatra or the Malay world in general (Brown & Sjostrand 2003: 13).

4 Zoetmulder (1982a: 734) translates the word *jawawut* with millet. J. Miksic (1991a: 34), however, points out that *jawawut* is also the name for Job's Tears (*Coix lacrima-jobi*) a tropical Asian grass. Its seeds can be ground into flour for bread or used like rice.

administrative purposes, Java (*Jawa*) is divided into four provinces; Banten, West (*Jawa Barat*), Central (*Jawa Tengah*), and East (*Jawa Timur*), plus two 'special districts', Special Capital District of Jakarta (DKI), and Special District of Yogyakarta (DIY).

Two ethnic groups are indigenous to Java, the Javanese living in Central and East Java and on Java's north coast, and the Sundanese, who live in the western part of Java. The Madurese from the island of Madura have also settled on Java in great numbers. These groups are culturally distinct with different customs and languages. The inhabitants of Java's north coast have been exposed to foreign influence from ancient times due to overseas trade. They and the people in the eastern part of Java form other cultural groups.

Jakarta, the present capital of Indonesia, developed around the port of Sunda Kelapa, perhaps already in the 5th century AD. In 1527, Sunda Kelapa was renamed Jayakarta, which is Sundanese for 'Glorious Fortress', after Islamic forces expelled the Portuguese, who had established themselves at the port. In 1619 the Dutch took the city and named the fort they built Batavia after the legendary strong and courageous Batavians, a Germanic tribe on the North Sea coast. Batavia was renamed Jakarta by the Japanese when they occupied Indonesia, and it kept its name when nationalists declared Indonesia's independence in 1945. In an effort to unify the diverse peoples of Indonesia, *Bahasa Indonesia* is the 'lingua franca'.

In August 1995, during the festivities celebrating Indonesia's fifty years of independence, Jakarta celebrated its 468 years as a city (Figure 4).

Foreigners coming to Jakarta with preconceived ideas about pottery might believe that it is only produced by poor people for other poor people who cannot afford modern wares and that some pieces might be considered purely decorative. These assumptions are not correct. Many earthenwares are utilitarian, but others are ritual vessels, and some have both utilitarian and ritual uses. Few are purely decorative.

Earthenwares for domestic purposes face an uncertain future as metal and plastic utensils are mass-produced for a ready market. But a clay pot is cheaper than an aluminium pot, and cooking vessels of terracotta in many cases enhance the flavour of local foods. Rice and traditional dishes taste so much better when cooked in terracotta and the longer the pot has been used, the better the flavours.

A requisite of many ritual vessels is that they are made of earth (clay), one of the four elements. The people in Java believe that the world is made of four elements; earth (*tanah*), fire (*api*), wind (*angin*) and water (*air*) (Kartiwa 1977: 1; Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 62, note 9; H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999). The early Buddhist scriptures mention four elements as well (Nyanatiloka 1968: 5). So did the ancient Greeks, who also thought that the world was made up of fire, air, earth and water (Helfman 1967: 80). Because of this requisite for being made of clay, the continuation of earthenware ritual ceramics is perhaps assured.⁵ The earthenwares of Java have strength of form and spare decoration. They are hand-potted by artisans, who repeated the same shapes over and over again, day in and day out until they mastered the clay and produced functional yet beautiful vessels.

5 The Hindu elements are five; earth, fire, ether, air and water (Bhattacharyya 1990: 116). The Chinese also have five elements; earth, fire, water, wood and metal (Cheu 1988: 74, note 9; Helfman 1967: 80).

2: PART ONE: DOMESTIC WARES AND THEIR USES

2.1: WATER VESSELS

Java is dotted with volcanoes and mountains from which rivers and streams flow to the fertile areas below. For Java's early inhabitants, there was always an abundant supply of water handy. There was no great need to store rainwater, as there was always water in a nearby spring or stream. Thus huge water storage jars were not needed. Small vessels in which freshwater could be transported home from a water source were sufficient.

Today storage facilities for water are necessary as there are often water shortages and inadequate supplies of water for the huge city populations. Each household must now stock up on water.

The different types of earthenware water vessels used domestically in Java today consist of water carrying pots, storage jars and basins, and water pouring vessels, *kendi*.

2.1.1: Vessels for carrying and storing of water

2.1.1.1: *Buyung*: Water carrying pot of western Java

A *buyung* is a round earthenware pot with a neck and wide funnel-shaped mouth. In the past, it was used for fetching water. Today, because of modern technology not many women in Java walk to a river to fetch water for their families, so vessels of clay and copper for the transport of water have become a thing of the past.

In Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung (West Java), a copper and an earthenware *buyung* are displayed side by side (for the earthenware *buyung* see Figure 5). Both these vessels have extremely wide mouths, long, narrow necks, and wide bodies. This is an ideal shape for water transport; the woman puts her arm around the pot's neck and the funnel-shaped mouth provides support for her arm whilst the vessel rests on her hip as she carries the water home. As the water surface in the narrow neck is small, the liquid does not splash and spill easily. This mode of carrying a waterpot is also used in the northwestern and coastal parts of the Indian state Orissa. Women living further south carry waterpots on their heads (Behura 1978: 205).

The potters living outside Purwakarta in Sadang, Jalan Keramik, in West Java do not make water-carrying pots any longer, but one of the potters could show a *buyung*, which was made in the mid-seventies. It had been repaired with cement (Figure 6).

One can speculate that this type of water vessel travelled south from Orissa to Java. Legend has it that the people of the Bay of Bengal once had extensive maritime contact with the people of Java and Sumatra. According to the potters living in the coastal areas of Orissa, their ancestors used to send pottery, as well as suitable clay for pot making, to Southeast Asia (Behura 1978: 246), but it is not clear whether it was due to a lack of suitable clay or for other reasons. In Orissa, a festival *Bali Yatri*, is still held to commemorate the departure of those sailors who once set out on the long voyage to Java (E. V. Gangadharam, personal communication, 8 September 1997).

There is evidence to suggest that the Bay of Bengal was linked to Southeast Asia by a network of maritime trade routes as early as the 3rd century BC (Ray 1996: 43–48).

These early traders sailed along the coast of Burma and the Malaysian Peninsula and reached Sumatra and Java (Pal 1999: 86). Traders from the Indonesian islands sailed the reverse route. Colonizing voyages certainly began as early as the 1st century BC ('Study and exploration' 2002).

Very similar round water carrying pots (*kalagediya*) as in Java are used in Sri Lanka. There these pots are carried by the women on the hip, with one arm around the pot's neck (Coomaraswamy 1956: 220).

Wilkinson who recorded the Malay language as spoken in the whole Malay speaking area at the beginning of the past century, describes a *buyung* thus: 'A round-bottomed, squat and rather narrow-necked and wide-mouthed vessel of unglazed earthenware. Used for carrying water and as a table-jug; formerly for the ashes of the dead' (Wilkinson 1932a: 172).

Sundanese women no longer fetch water in pots. So today a *buyung* is simply a small round earthenware water storage vessel or water urn, that is considerably smaller than the water storage jar, *gentong* (see the smallest waterpot in Figure 7, which today goes by the name *buyung*).

2.1.1.2: *Jun*: Round Javanese water carrying pot

The Javanese *jun*, is an almost spherical water vessel with a narrow neck (Figure 11) which is used by women to carry water. Javanese women carry the *jun*, water carrying pot, with the help of a shoulder cloth on their back (Figures 8, 9, 10).⁶

Women in Central Java carry loads on their back *géndhongan* in a batik cloth *kain géndhong*, which is wrapped over the shoulder. East of *Pinggir Reksa*, (Hatley 1984: 23. Map 8B) an old cultural divide, women do not carry loads this way, but on their heads like the women in Bali and the other islands east of Java (Hatley 1984: 6).

Men carry waterpots on their shoulders or use sections of a large bamboo when they carry water. In Javanese, this bamboo water carrier is called *bumbung air*. It is approximately 1.5m long and with a sling, it can be carried over the shoulder. When carrying two *bumbung air*, they are suspended from each end of a *pikulan* (carrying pole).

A person who makes pots is called *penjunan* in Javanese (Echols & Shadily 1994: 419). Further, Panjunan (place of potters) is a common placename in Java. There is a district in Banten Lama with this name.⁷ Does the component *jun* in these words indicate that making water carrying pots once was a Javanese potter's main occupation?

Note that the terms *jun* and *klenthing* are interchangeable (Ridho & Edwards McKinnon, 1998: 70). The Javanese I interviewed said that the term depended upon

6 At the Earthenware Symposium in Singapore in July 1998, one of the Indonesian delegates informed his audience that if a *jun* has black firing marks it is carried inside the shoulder cloth, otherwise the cloth is only slung around the neck of the vessel (Figure 10). Possibly because pots with black markings indicate that they are structurally weaker and might break if carried by the neck. I did not ask any of the water carrying women about this, as I was not aware of these practices when I took the photographs. However, I did note that some of the women used *jun* that had the body 'strengthened' plastered by cement.

7 J. Miksic, personal communication, 2007.

the area. People in different areas use either term for a water vessel, which has a short narrow neck, sloping shoulders and a round bottom. One person I interviewed said that the *jun* is bigger than the *klenthing*. A lecturer from Gadjah Mada University said that the term *jun* is used in East Indonesia and *klenthing* in Central Indonesia. *Jun* and *klenthing* are recorded as different vessels because *Ibu Sarno* at Pasar Legi in Surakarta, from whom I acquired both vessels, called the round-bodied vessel *jun* (Figure 12) and the ovoid vessel *klenthing* (Figure 13).

2.1.1.3: *Klenthing*: Ovoid Javanese water carrying pot

This pot has a small mouth and a short narrow neck, sloping shoulders, and an ovoid body. It is a pot used by women for fetching water (Figure 13). [In Sundanese Java the *kéléting* was a vessel that could be plugged with a stopper (Coolsma 1912: 275).]

It is surprising to find this amphora-shaped vessel in the middle of Java. Amphorae were made a hundred years ago in Ceylon, according to the Sinhalese art historian Coomaraswamy (Coomaraswamy 1956: 228). Shards from amphorae, perhaps made at coastal settlements northeast of Calcutta in India, are dated to the 1st–2nd centuries BC (Ray 1996: 45). At the excavation at Basarh in Bengal, similar jars have been discovered (Bloch 1906: 91, Figure 3). An old Indian water pot, *kumbh*, from Maharashtra, is of similar shape to the Javanese water carrying pot (Singh 1979: 6).

An ovoid, paddle-stamped jar, as well as shards of jars, have also been found in Central Vietnam at an old Cham site. These jars date to the early centuries AD (Glover, Yamagata & Southworth 1996: 170, 172, Figure 11; Prior & Glover 2003: 280, Figures 18, 18B, 281). Amphorae like vessels have also been found in China (Prior & Glover 2003: 281).

Sherds of Roman amphorae have been found at recent excavations in Kerala in India. Once filled with wine and olive oil they were already being imported to south India from the Mediterranean by the 1st century BC (Assisi n.d.). So it is possible that the shape could have travelled to Java and survived there until present times. The egg-shaped *klenthing* is mentioned by Adhyatman (1987: 7).

2.1.2: Water storage jars

A long time ago, when Java was less densely populated, people bathed in rivers and ponds. Royal palaces had artificial bathing pools. When cities were built these water sources were not enough so people needed to stock up on water. Many shards of large basins and jars⁸ have been found in excavations in the Majapahit capital in East Java. This indicates that there were water shortages in some areas, and that water had to be stored for the dry season (Intan Mardiana, personal communication, 7 August 1999).

As mentioned before, unreliable water supplies today make it necessary for each household to store water. In the cities, water is often stored in an open tank called *bak kamar mandi* or a *kulah* (also called *jedhing*). This is a small cistern made of cement and bricks/tiles that is built into the bathroom and filled with water coming from the main

⁸ The people in Majapahit also used rectangular water boxes. These can be seen in the museum in Trowulan (J. Miksic, personal communication, 2007).

water supply. Water is scooped up and poured over the body. Large water storage jars, *gentong*, are used in some houses.

Please note that the newly made glazed and decorative jars, which often copy older imported jars are called ‘*martavan*’ by collectors and decorators (Figure 17).

2.1.2.1: *Gentong*: Large water storage jar

The *gentong* is a large round water jar with a neck and a flat base. Most people living in the countryside use this jar as a water reservoir in the kitchen and the bathroom *kamar mandi*. To wash the bather douses his body with water from the *gentong*. In the lavatory, *kamar kecil*, the water filled jar is used with a water scoop instead of toilet paper. One often comes across a stack of water storage jars on the sidewalk of a busy Jakarta street (Figure 14 and the large jars in Figure 7). The jars are stored upside down because during the monsoon it rains heavily every day. Water filled jars would breed mosquitoes and be awkward to handle.

2.1.2.2: *Tempayan (gentong)*: Drinking water storage jar

In a Malay–English Dictionary (Wilkinson 1932b: 536), we learn that the *tempayan*—originally *tapaian*—was a fermenting jar. It subsequently came to mean any large jar such as a ‘Rangoon jar’, ‘Shanghai jar’, ‘Martaban’ or Dayak burial jar. Today the term *tempayan* is applied to storage jars, particularly for water but also for rice (Figures 16A, 16B, 59A). A shopkeeper at Jalan Raya Gunung Cupu in Plered specialized in utilitarian wares. He sold beautifully decorated water jars (Figure 59A). A *tempayan* of the same shape is featured by Adhyatman (Adhyatman & Ridho 1984: Plate 204). The rounded shape was the traditional shape of a water jar in Java (Adhyatman & Ridho 1984: 192). Adhyatman naturally calls this pot *tempayan* as she is using *Bahasa Indonesia*, whilst a Sundanese person calls this jar *gentong*.

Sherds from a broken jar show that grog (crushed fired-clay) has been added to temper the potting clay. By tempering the clay, its quality is improved. Tempering counteracts excessive shrinkage, warping and cracking, which may occur during drying and firing (Behura 1978: 143). Grog and sand in the clay also give porosity, which is an important factor in a water jar. A jar with a porous body will evaporate water well and produce cool and refreshing drinking water. The shards also show that the middle part of the rim is not evenly fired as it is still grey.

Before leaving the pottery the jars are packed in rice straw in bundles of five (Figure 15A). Rice straw is used as padding when earthenwares are transported from Plered as well (Figure 15B).

2.1.3: Basins for cleanliness and food preparations

2.1.3.1: *Jambangan*: Large earthenware water storage basin, vat

In western Java basins for washing oneself are called *jambangan*. An example of this type of water basin is a vat from Bumi Jaya. It is a large, fairly flat basin more rounded at the shoulder (hyperbolic), with appliqué decoration and turned-down piecrust rim and a flat base. The vessel is pit-fired with uneven oxidation and reduction (Figure 18).

2.1.3.2: *Pasu* (*baskom*): Washbasin for bath and kitchen

The large earthenware basin, *pasu* has become a thing of the past. Before the advent of plastic basins, mothers used them for bathing their infants (Rigg 1862: 363) and washing clothes. It was also used in the kitchen for washing dishes, as well as rice and vegetables before cooking. The *pasu* also came in handy when mixing batter and dough for soft sweetmeats and cakes (which in Java are usually steamed, boiled or deep-fried). *Pasu* is the Indonesian spelling. In Sundanese it is *pasu*.

The heavy earthenware basin was replaced with lighter, handier versions in metal by the Dutch, who introduced *waskom*, a cuvette or washbasin. In *Bahasa Indonesia* it became *baskom*. Today enamel basins, *baskom*, are used in restaurants and by food vendors.

Baskom are used as stands for the round pots containing palm sugar syrup, one of the ingredients for *céndol* and *dhawet* (Figures 79, 80, 81).

2.1.3.3: *Pangaron*: Javanese basin

Pangaron is used for washing dishes and bathing a baby (Figure 19).

2.1.4: *Kendi* : Drinking water storage and pouring vessels, two kinds: spouted *cucuk* and bottle *kendi* (Sundanese *kendi goglok*, Javanese *kendhi gogok*)

The *kendi*,⁹ a pouring vessel with a spout but without a handle, made its appearance at an early date.¹⁰ In Indonesia, a spouted earthenware *kendi* (vessel) was found in an excavation site in Bali dating back to 200–350 (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 9, Photo 2).

In its different forms, the word *kendi* is Dravidian in origin (Gonda 1973: 382, 165 and 93). Its original meaning is a hollow gourd serving as a water-jar (Gonda 1973: 146). The Indonesian word *kendi* is borrowed from Malay where it means ‘a bulging earthenware goglet with a narrow neck and a spout in its belly’ (Gonda 1973: 163). (A goglet is Anglo-Indian for a water-cooler). The Sanskrit word *kundi* (bowl, pitcher, waterpot), which is an Indo-Aryan loan, also made its way to Java. It was borrowed from the various old Javanese texts (Gonda 1973: 163).

Many different shapes occur in *kendi* and it is almost impossible to attribute a shape to a specific function. Pasar Santa in Jakarta is a traditional market, which is well stocked with *kendi*. People who are buying a *kendi* choose either a large, medium or small *kendi* depending on the intended usage. I have chosen to classify this pouring vessel the same way.

Although the definition of a *kendi* is a pouring vessel without a handle, a *kendi* with a handle is produced in Purwakarta, West Java. See section 2.1.4.1.5.

9 *Bahasa Indonesia* and English use the spelling *kendi*. Robson & Wibisono’s (2002) Javanese dictionary uses *kendhi*. I am using the Indonesian/English spelling.

10 When potters’ wheels were invented it was possible to mass-produce complex shapes. An earthenware *kendi* dating between 3700–2850 BC was found in Mesopotamia (Middleton & Boyle 1991: 109). Metal *kendi* were also used in the past. An exhibition catalogue produced by the Museum of Victoria, Melbourne shows that the *kendi* was used in ancient Egypt (Hope 1988: 76–77, Figure 24). Pictured is a small, spouted metal pouring vessel called *nemset*. It was excavated from the burial of Psusennes I, who reigned between 1039–991 BC. Another pouring vessel named *heset* has survived from the excavated burials of Amenemope (993–984 BC) (Hope 1988: 113, Figure 64).

2.1.4.1: *Kendi besar*: Large *kendi*

Large *kendi* are used as vessels for drinking water. Several types are found in Jakarta. They are all made on the wheel in three parts.

2.1.4.1.1: Plain *kendi* with straight neck

Plain dark brown burnished *kendi* with a wide neck and a slightly flared mouth rim. The neck has incised lines. The spout is straight with a flange at the base (Figure 20).

Sometimes only the upper part of the body is burnished. A turning tool has been used on the bottom half which has a matte surface. The two contrasting parts, one slightly glossy (burnished), the other matte make the vessel attractive. The rough bottom surface is more porous and helps speed up evaporation, keeping the water cool. The brown earthenware *kendi* is the preferred vessel for keeping drinking water. The vessel is filled with water that first has been boiled. The evaporation through the clay body will keep the water in the vessel cool, so there is no need to put a *kendi* in the refrigerator. Furthermore, people insist that water served from an earthenware vessel tastes better than water from the tap or any other container. The *kendi* with its long neck prevents spillage when moved and is easy to transport to the rice fields when people work there. To ensure that water from a new *kendi* does not have a muddy taste, it is filled with water, which is changed frequently. After a few days, the earthy smell and taste disappears. As well as holding water, the *kendi* was used as a drinking vessel for *tuak* (toddy) a fermented palm wine. Water for washing one's right hand before a meal can also be kept in a *kendi*. A lidded *kendi* of this type is illustrated in Adhyatman's book *Kendi* (1987: 116, Plate 201).

2.1.4.1.2: Rosette-decorated *kendi*

The rosette is a floral motif with a varying number of petals.¹¹ Rosettes have been used as a decoration in many cultures over a long period of time.¹² It is a good example of intercultural borrowing, where each culture has reinterpreted its meaning.

Dark brown *kendi* of the same shape as the plain *kendi* sometimes have a shoulder decoration

11 Floral motifs can be found on different mediums. An eight-petalled (lotus) flower was used as an end marker on an inscribed sandstone block found in Sumatra and is dated AD 684 (Gallop 1995: 88).

12 Examples of the rosette motif in use elsewhere: (1) People living in Mesopotamia used the rosette thousands of years ago and it was a symbol of protection and good luck (Reade 1991: 27, Figure 29). (2) A four thousand-year-old ceramic pot excavated in the Indus Valley was painted with a six-petalled floral design (Jarrige 1988: 110, Figure 123). (3) The Egyptians were fond of decorating artefacts with flowers. Tutankhamen, who lived in the 14th century BC, wore sandals decorated with water lilies and little white camomile flowers, Mayweed, *Anthemis pseudocotula*. His tunic was decorated with rosettes in rows (Fowler 1995: 10; Hepper 1990: 13; Vogelsang-Eastwood 1993: 138, quoting Riefstahl 1944: 25). (4) The Phoenicians, traders from the eastern part of the Mediterranean also used the rosette (Liungman 1991: 272). (5) Rosettes were painted on a Greek amphora from the seventh century BC (Willetts 1987: 9). The motif travelled east on ceramics and textiles and spread to India and China via the trade roads (Willetts 1987: 9). (6) A five-petalled rosette was the dynastic emblem of the Rasulids, a Muslim dynasty that ruled Yemen from 1229 to 1454 ('Mamelukes' cool, conciliatory message' 1995: 8). (7) The Imperial Crest of Japan, the Emperor's badge, is a sixteen-petal chrysanthemum flower.

of impressed flowers/rosettes (Figures 21A, 21B, 71, 132). The use of motifs derived from plants was introduced from India (perhaps on cloth). In prehistoric times geometric designs were used,¹³ but no rosette ornamentation occur on these early Indonesian earthenwares.

Impressed decorations also occur in Malaysia on pottery from Perak. Bands of little petalled-flowers (rosettes) are imprinted with printing sticks (Wray 1903: 33, Fig. 2).

Both Buddhist and Hindu deities in Museum Nasional's stone collection can be seen with textiles patterned with rosettes (Figures 226A, 226B, 230). Ganésa's flower-patterned loin-cloth is especially interesting as there we can see how the stonemason prudently incorporated an old circular Southeast Asian motif into the flowers.¹⁴ The circle surrounded by petals became the *capitulum* (flowerhead of the sessile flowers). A lip fragment from Banten dating to the 16th–17th century carries a decoration of flowers with petals (Figure 231). Again we have circles and petalled circles.¹⁵

In Java, rosettes are often used on batik cloth and as filling designs in the batik pattern.¹⁶ For instance, a rosette design called *jlampurang* is based on the wild *cempaka* flower. It has been interpreted as representing the nine Wali, the legendary holy men of Java, as well as to Mataram with the king surrounded by his eight *mantri*, ministers. It is a sacred pattern, which is reserved for the rulers of Surakarta. It derives from Indian Patola design (Boow 1988: 150). Present-day Javanese perhaps see the jasmine flower, *menur*, in the rosette (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 480).

The local *truntum* motif, is of cosmological origin:

The *teruntum* motif is that of a small flower with eight petals. This configuration—eight petals radiating from a central dot—expresses an ancient Javanese, and even Indonesian, concept of the cosmos, wherein power is understood as radiating from a central force in the compass directions [...] Originally, each petal was a small *stupa*, or Buddhist shrine mound, whose shape has become distorted with time' (Achjadi 1989: 155, quoting Ossenbruggen 1983: 32–81, and *Ibu Maktal*, personal communication, 1984).

Nowadays it has become the custom for the parents of both the bride and the groom to wear the *truntum* batik design at their children's Javanese wedding ('Tiwi and Erry' 2000: 8). Wearing this batik design which symbolizes eternal love (Widiadana 1996: 7) is a way to ensure that everything will go well in the marriage (R. Rudiwan, personal communication, 30 June 1996). The use of the *truntum* motif on wedding batiks is a wish for fertility as well (Boow 1988: 152).

The creation of the *truntum* motif is attributed to the wife of the Surakarta ruler Sunan Pakubuwono VII (1830–1858). While exiled from the court the ruler visited

13 In Prehistoric times we find no vegetal ornamentation in Indonesia. Only later in the Hindu period did this come into vogue, and since then it has become almost the principal part of Indonesian ornamentation. (Hoop 1949: 232).

14 Many shards with circular motifs have been excavated in Southeast Asia. For examples see Miksic (2003).

15 Java money, silver coins from the 13th century, of the Sandalwood type, bears a stamp of a four-petalled flower (Miksic 1990a: 38).

16 For an example see Hamzuri (1981: 48, Plate 45), where six-petalled rosettes have been incorporated in the rice stalk pattern.

her and saw her applying wax to a batik cloth. He was charmed by her grace and by the beautiful pattern and allowed her to return to the palace. Wilkinson (1932b: 580) proposed that the *truntum* was a *Lumnitzera*, a small flowering tree with pretty flowers. The *Lumnitzera racemosa* grows in muddy mangrove waters and is still able to produce lovely white, slightly scented flowers.

As eight-petalled rosettes occur on cloths in connection with Hindu and Buddhist deities it seems that one can interpret the eight-petalled rosettes with an 'Indian' meaning. In Hindu-Buddhist cosmology each of the four cardinal and four intermediate points of the compass are presided over by a *Lokapala*, guardian deity (Stutley & Stutley 1977: 165–167). An eight-petalled flower might symbolize these guardian deities. The underlying meaning would be that a person dressed in such a cloth is assured protection by each one of them. It is possible that this ninefold Hindu cosmology system was grafted onto an earlier belief system in which power radiates from the centre (Waterson 1990: 98, 112).

There is another possibility: A rosette composed of nine dots or a flower with eight petals radiating out from a centre might represent the nine *Navagraha*, the nine planets. These planets are believed to influence the life of each person and their protection is sought. In India¹⁷ jewellery with the nine auspicious gems connected to these deities is worn as an amulet and intended to protect the wearer from negative planetary influences (Stutley & Stutley 1977: 207–208). This way cosmic protection is procured.

In old Sinhalese art, the rosette is a symbol of the lotus. It occurs in four, eight, sixteen or more petalled forms. The petals are always in even numbers. Other small four and eight-petalled flowers are probably arrived at by a reduction of the lotus rosette (Coomaraswamy 1956: 95, 97). Since the lotus flower has eight petals just like the eight major points of the compass, the lotus is also the symbol of cosmic harmony (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996: 617). The original meaning of the rosette design, so common on Indonesian textiles and also on ceramics used in Southeast Asia? It may have originally referred to a cluster of seven stars, representing the Pleiades.¹⁸

The conclusion must be that the rosette motif has a meaning within the culture that uses it and that varies with time.

2.1.4.1.3: *Kendi* with *kalasa*-shaped mouth

A *kendi* with a round body and a ribbed neck ending with a *kalasa*-shaped mouth is found in many markets in Jakarta. Sometimes it has a straight spout and sometimes the spout has a flange at the base. The *kendi* with the jar-shaped mouth in Figure 20 is

17 Further, on Indian saris rosettes and flowers symbolize good luck, health, prosperity and fertility (Lynton & Singh 1995: 169).

18 What later became a floral motif is depicted on a bronze disc called the Nebra sky disc. The bronze disk from the European Bronze Age is kept in Halle Museum in Germany. Inlaid in gold on the disc are the moon, the sun, the sun boat as well as dots representing stars. Among the dots is a cluster of seven stars forming a six-petal rosette. This is how the stars representing the Pleiades were formerly drawn. The Pleiades was important in ancient agricultural civilizations. The Pleiades appear in the sky in March and disappear in October and were a vital agricultural marker, signalling the beginning as well as the end of the farming season (*Secrets of the Star Disc* 2005). We now know that the Pleiades consist of eleven stars but in ancient times man was only aware of seven. The Pleiades are depicted as a rosette in modern astronomical charts as well (P. Moore 1985: 53).

burnished before firing and the lower half has been cut back to give a matte surface which has a functional as well as decorative effect. This vessel is fired at a higher temperature than other *kendi* (See Figures 20, 22, 24, 125, 156 for *kendi* with jar-shaped mouths). The *kendi* can be fitted with a press-mould made stopper in the shape of a long-stemmed small flower. (See the gold-painted *kendi* in Figure 125). The flower stopper, which is unglazed, has a high conical middle and seven petals.

High-fired and glazed Chinese export-wares, which have a *kalasa*-mouth, can also be seen in the ceramic collection at Museum Nasional in Jakarta. This type of mouth is also referred to as bulbous, or onion-shaped (Adhyatman 1987: Figures 196, 199, 202).

Kendi like this one are produced in Central Java. In people's minds things originating there have status, are prestigious and are refined. They view the sultanates as being the centre of Javanese culture. This type of *kendi* is seen as a fitting water vessel for people connected with the Javanese palaces, *karaton*.

It seems likely that this type of mouth on the *kendi* was borrowed from a ritual pouring-vessel. Perhaps this jar-shaped mouth on the *kendi* represents a *Purnakalasa*, overflowing Vase/Jar of Plenty (Figure 160). In Museum Nasional's collection, there is a holy water vessel of bronze, dating back to the 14th–15th century AD, crowned by a round jar (Fontein 1990: 277–278, No. 103; Inv. No 6436). This ritual water vessel, which is filled through the spout, is however called a *kundika*. This type of mouth occurs on metal vessels from Indonesia (Robinson & Kidney 1984, Figure 48) and Nepal.¹⁹

At the annual *Sekatèn* Fair held in Surakarta to commemorate the Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, huge quantities of this type of *kendi* are sold (Figure 22). Merchandise bought at the *Sekatèn* Fair is considered more valuable than if it had been bought at an ordinary outlet, because it is believed to be specially blessed (a letter in 'Your letters' 1997: n.p.). The *kendi* are stacked in large piles, tied by the neck in fives with bamboo twine.²⁰

Putut Raharjo, who was born in Central Java, told me that when he was a child, all houses in his village outside Surakarta used to have a *kendi* with drinking water placed in a *sosog*, a long bamboo with the top plaited into a basket. The *sosog* was tied to the left pillar opposite the entrance. As people walked to get around and were thirsty when they arrived, a cool drink was most welcome (P. Raharjo, personal communication, 1994–1999).

During a visit to Putut Raharjo's uncle in Boyolali, *Bapak Paijo* made a *sosog* from a bamboo culm that grew outside his home and tied it to the house pillar opposite the entrance inside his house to show me how and where the *kendi* was placed (Figures 23, 24).

The Royal Palace Pura Mankunegaran, in Surakarta, has a cabinet where glass *kendi* are stored (Figure 25). The *kendi* were probably ordered from Europe by Mankunegoro

19 A Nepalese bronze *kundika* can be found in the collection of University of Malaya (Khoo 1991: 118, Figure 160).

20 The string bamboo, *bambu tali*, (*Gigantochloa apus*) is the most useful bamboo in Java because of its strength (Farrelly 1996: 192).

IV, sometime between 1853–1881.²¹ These glass *kendi* also have a mouth ending like a *kalasa*. Filled with cold water they were used by the royal family as carafes. Earthenware vessels were considered inappropriate for a royal person to use. The *kendi* were placed in silver bowls. In Indonesia, it is not polite to present a drink placed on a plain surface. Whether the glass *kendi* were specifically ordered in this design, from a Javanese model, or if this type of *kendi* was produced and used by Europeans for other purposes is not known (K.R.Ay. H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999).

2.1.4.1.4: *Kendi* with flared mouth

A *kendi* with a flared mouth that has a lid with a steam hole, can be found in one of the markets in Surakarta. The straight spout has a flange at the base. The shoulders have incised lines. This *kendi* comes with a lid. There is a small steam hole, through the centre of the lid knob. This wheel thrown vessel is fired in a smoky reduction fire. It has a few light brown patches due to uneven reduction (Figure 26).

Whilst the *kendi* with the ‘*kalasa*’-shaped mouth is suitable as a water vessel for the people living in or connected with the *karaton*, palace, this *kendi* was considered to be more appropriate for use by ordinary people. The *kendi* is made in Klaten or in the regency with the same name.

2.1.4.1.5: *Kendi* with handle

The *kendi* from Purwakarta, West Java is a sturdy water vessel with a broad handle looped over a wide mouth. This large and heavy vessel has plant motifs decorating its body and shoulder. Liquid clay (slip) was used to make the designs, which become brown and black after firing.

The lid with the concave side up is crudely made. It has a flat button-shaped knob handle. When in place the lid is set deep inside the vessel’s mouth and looks mismatched (Figure 27A). Figure 27B shows how the *kendi* is packed.

2.1.4.1.6: *Kendi goglok*, bottle *kendi*, from Plered

This round-bodied *kendi* without a spout has a cup-shaped mouth and is slip-decorated with brush-painted bands in two different browns over a light creamy brown. The shoulder has a brush stroke decoration. The interior of the cup-shaped mouth has dribble marks. The neck is shaped to give the hand a good grip (Figures 29, 30). Dried hollow gourds *Lagenaria vulgaris* were once widely used as water pitchers and the shape of this *kendi* is probably copied from these (Wray 1903: 31; Gonda 1973: 322), (Figure 28). In China, *Lagenaria siceraria* was used as a water vessel (Valder 1999: 195–196).

The inner core of the Badui²² (the Badui Dalam), an ethnic group in the province of Banten, still use the bottle gourd as a water pitcher (T. Purbaya, personal communication,

21 He also acquired the glass chandeliers in the *pendopo* (open pavilion) for his palace from Europe.

22 The Badui people can be divided into two groups. The original or ‘Inner Badui’, Badui Dalam, who live in the centre (inside) and the ‘Outer Badui’, Badui Luar, who live in the modern world and adhere to Islam. The Badui Dalam refuse to have any contact with the outside world and have kept

28 June 1996). In the Sundanese countryside, *kendi goglok* are often placed outside the entrance door, welcoming a thirsty walker (Figure 29).

The Dutch found the *kendi* useful. In the 17th century they were shipped to Holland in great quantities, recorded as *gorgolets* (Robinson & Kidney 1984: 45). The word comes from *gorgoleta*, which is Portuguese for water-cooler.

2.1.4.1.7: *Kendi goglok*, bottle *kendi*, from Banten

This bottle *kendi* has a straight neck decorated with horizontal bands (Figure 30). Another example of the Bantenese bottle *kendi* can be seen in *Kendi* (Adhyatman 1987: 119, Figure 216).

2.2: RICE JARS

In Java, rice for cooking is stored in bins, baskets and jars.

2.2.1: *Padaringan*: Storage container for hulled rice

This Sundanese storage container is large and round with a thick rim and a small foot ring. The body of the photographed jar has horizontal burnishing marks. The jar has a pie crust textured decoration. The rim and the body are slip decorated (Figures 31, 32, 33).

Hulled rice is stored in jars. The Sundanese keep the *padaringan* in the *goah*, which is the special place combining cooking, and food and heirloom storage (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 86, note 4). Traditionally, offerings to the ancestors and the Goddess of Rice take place there twice a week (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 100, note 6).

There are many rules concerning the rice jar. For instance, it is forbidden for men to see the rice inside the *padaringan*. When moving house one must first move the rice jar to the new domicile, where it is placed in the *goah*, together with a *kendi* filled with water, a plate with betel, seven small bowls with fruit salad, *rujak*, and a censer. The rice jar must never be completely empty; for it is better to have enough rice to nourish an aching stomach than nothing at all (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 100, note 6).

A small *padaringan* is displayed in the Museum Sri Baduga in Bandung (Figure 34) and is illustrated in the Museum's earthenware exhibition catalogue (*Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* 1983: 17). *Pendaringan*, *pambeasan* (place for rice) are alternative names.

2.2.2: *Genuk*: Small clay container for rice

The Javanese *genuk* is a straight-sided undecorated vessel with a flat base covered by a lid. In earlier times wealthy Javanese families always had an alcove for the Goddess of Rice. *Pasren*, 'the place where Dèwi Sri, the Rice Goddess, came to earth' (also called *petanen*, place of agricultural activity) was situated in the innermost sacred room. Placed in front of the ceremonial bed and flanking the statues of Dèwi Sri and her consort Sadono, (the *Loro Blonyo* couple) were the vessels, which contained their food and drink; the *genuk*, rice jars, filled with rice and the *kendi* with water.

their pre-Islamic customs and beliefs. They wear white clothes and produce everything they need by themselves from organic materials found in their environment.

The photograph (Figure 35) of the *genuk* was taken at the beginning of my study and I never saw another one for sale. Rice today is probably kept in baskets, plastic buckets and bags and the *pasren* with the *Loro Blonyo*, and all its furnishings, are a thing of the past, only found in museums and Javanese palaces.

2.3: VESSELS FOR FOOD PREPARATION AND SERVING

Rice, both glutinous and non-glutinous, is the staple food for most people living in western and Central Java (Hatley 1984: 2–3) and is prepared in many different ways. It is cooked and steamed, made into flour to be used for noodles, porridges, cakes and sweets, and is even used in beverages. To give taste to the bland rice, spicy condiments are prepared and eaten with it. Cakes (*kué*) and desserts are typically extremely sweet.

The abundance of marine food found in Java's seas, lakes, rivers, ditches and flooded rice fields add protein to the diet and are prepared in different ways.

2.3.1: Container for fermenting rice

2.3.1.1: *Tempayan*: Fermenting jar

Besides being used for storage of water the *tempayan* is used for fermenting and storing *tapai* an alcoholic brew (R. Brown 1992: 78). It is made from boiled *ketan*, glutinous rice, which has been fermented (Rigg 1862: 483). In earlier times, *ragi* (*Eleusine* sp.) a reddish coloured grain, was mixed in and used to promote fermentation (Wilkinson 1932b: 298).

Ragi, finger millet or *koracan* millet (*Eleusine coracana*) was an important food grain before rice cultivation started in Java. In ancient Indian texts—the *Ramayana* and the Puranas—Java was called *Yava-bhumi* or *Yava-dvipa*, which some scholars translate as barley land or barley island (Walker 1968a: 449). Others believe the grain to be millet (Hatley 1984: 3), as it once was an important food grain in southern Asia. As mentioned earlier, Job's Tears (*Cox lacrima-jobi*)—another food crop—is called *jawawut* as well. Today, round yeast tablets are replacing millet when making *tapai*.

There are two different kinds of *tapai*. One is made from white or black glutinous rice, *ketan hitam*, the other from tapioca (cassava). Cassava (*Manihot esculenta*) was introduced to Indonesia from South America by the Portuguese (Hutton 1996: 16; Peterson & Peterson 1997: 7). *Tapai* is also the name for the mildly alcoholic cake made from the rice or tapioca left after the brewing process (Peterson & Peterson 1997: 17, 96, 131).

The drink *tapai* is mostly brewed by women in the home. According to an interview with a *Betawi* (indigenous Jakarta) woman, the lady must not be menstruating when preparing the brew (Frederik 1991: 6). If the woman is unhappy the fermentation process does not work either. See Figures 16A, 16B, 59A for some beautifully decorated *tempayan*.

2.3.2: Stoves and ovens

2.3.2.1: *Tungku*: Cooking stoves used in the past

In Jakarta's National Museum we can see different types of *tungku* made of clay with solid bases. They are portable and suitable for boats and houses with wooden floors. Cooking often takes place outside the house in the yard or on a sidewalk. These stoves can accommodate one or two cooking vessels and use firewood or charcoal as fuel. The

closed construction has an opening for fuel, thus heat can be concentrated under the cooking vessel and fuel conserved. What appears to be a cooking stove, with a rabbit on top, can be seen on a panel on Borobudur built between 760–830 (Miksic 1990b: 73, panels I B. b 24–25).

Tungku is also defined as a hearth or fireplace of which there are many different arrangements on Java. In its simplest form, a *tungku* is an arrangement of three suitable stones on which a pot can be balanced. For two cooking vessels, five stones are used. Wood, branches and agricultural waste like corn stalks and rice husks are pushed in from the sides and used as combustibles. This type of cooking place is still used by farmers in the villages on Java (Wilkinson 1932b: 617). A plantain stem cut in short lengths for a pot in the open air is also called a *tungku* (Rigg 1862: 512). Horne defines *tungku* as a ‘brick fireplace with a grill for cooking over a woodfire’ (Horne 1974: 673). Firewood stoves (*parwon* in Javanese; *hawu* in Sundanese) are made of bricks. Stoves cut from blocks of stone are also used in Java (Maryono 2006: 19). See Figure 36 for a Javanese brick stove *parwon*, and Figure 37 for a Sundanese brick stove and a stone *hawu*.

2.3.2.2: *Keren*: Wood-fired stove

Many versions of the wood-fired *keren* occur in Java. This transportable stove looks like a pot. It has no grate. The cooking pot is placed on the open-top resting on three inwards protruding knobs. Firewood is pushed in through an opening cut out on the side. The long pieces of firewood rest at an angle in the opening with the high end burning in the stove. When the wood burns it is pushed further into the stove.

2.3.2.2.1: *Keren* made in Bantul, Central Java

This *keren* was acquired in Bantul (Kasongan) south of Yogyakarta (Figure 38). The stove has a slightly trapezoidal opening for firewood. Opposite this opening on the back wall, there are two rows of round air-vents, four in the bottom row and three in the top row. The three knobs on which the cooking pot rests are located inside the stove, level with the rim.

2.3.2.2.2: *Keren* made in Désa Jambu Alas, close to Banten

In Bumi Jaya, close to Banten on the north coast of Java stoves being fired had air-vents in the form of peaking triangles²³ (Figures 1, 2). Banten was once an important trading port and exposed to influences from abroad. In India, a peaking triangle is a fire symbol (Helfman 1967: 79–80; Cooper 1978: 179–180).

2.3.2.3: *Anglo besar*: Large charcoal stove, brazier

Anglo is a Chinese word. Versions of his type of stove can be seen in many Southeast Asian countries, perhaps being of Chinese origin or spread by Chinese sailors or merchants.

23 The origin of the triangle as a talisman cum decorative motif can be found in Central Asia, where nomadic tribes used them to ward off spirits (S. Pain, personal communication, 4 August 1999).

The *anglo* in Java is a cylindrical, waisted, portable charcoal stove with a closed bottom. It is a bowl on top of a bowl (Figure 39). The ridged side is essential for its construction but also becomes a decorative feature. The bowl-shaped grate on which the coals are placed is perforated with twelve fairly large holes. The holes allow air ventilation and the ashes to fall through. Three knobs protrude from the grooved rim dividing it in three equal parts and will balance the pot evenly so it will not tip over. The side has a trapezoidal draught door/stokehole. Above it, there are three round holes. The fire is fanned with a *kipas/tépas*, hand fan of woven bamboo. The ashes are collected on the bottom of the pot and can be raked out through the draught door.

Most of the food hawkers in Surakarta in Central Java use the *anglo* in their stalls, but here this charcoal stove is called *tungku arang* (Figure 40). In Indonesian, a charcoal stove is called *anglo dapur*. Modern stoves fuelled with gas, kerosene or gasoline, are called *kompur*.

Klaten, located in the regency of the same name, is a pottery centre between Yogyakarta and Surakarta where the charcoal stove is produced (Ave 1988: 32–33). There is also a potter living at Makam Haji, Pajang, in Kartasura just outside Surakarta, who makes stoves. The stoves shown in Figure 40 were probably made by this lady potter.

Visiting the annual Jakarta Fair, *Pekan Raya Jakarta*, there were many food vendors. Many had set up stalls at the entrance. Of special interest to me were the sellers of *Kerak Telur Betawi* using an *anglo*. *Kerak Telur* is a traditional and typical Batavia fare and is eaten as a snack at outings. All the hawkers engaged in this occupation are men. On this occasion there were close to fifty *Kerak Telur Betawi* cooks competing for customers.

The hawker transports his kitchen in two wooden boxes carried on a pole over his shoulder. His kitchen consists of two earthenware stoves, *anglo besar*, and a cardboard box filled with charcoal. Sometimes he uses *arang kelapa tempurung*, which is charcoal processed from coconut shell (*Cocus nucifera*). The shell of the coconut is one of the densest plant materials and this type of charcoal is doubtless superior in producing heat (Whitmore 1985: 49). The hawker has added a handle, which points upwards, to the frying pan, *wajan*, where he bakes his merchandise. The handle is wrapped in cloth so that it won't burn when the hot *wajan* is handled. Preparations start early in the morning, when *beras ketan*, glutinous rice, is left to soak (in plenty of water) for twelve hours.

Charcoal is placed on the grate in the *anglo* and the coals fanned glowing red, with a *kipas*, fan. The fan moves sideways, one end of its handle (short or long) resting on the ground. Air is fanned into the low placed air vent and passes through the perforated bottom of the grate. Sometimes the cook has as a young boy, whose job it is to fan the fire. When the fire is going, a ladle full of pre-soaked rice in its water is poured into a small aluminium frying pan, *wajan*. The pan's rounded bottom is coated with the rice and water mixture, which soon dries up and forms a crust, which sticks to the bottom. The egg is broken, whisked and then spread over the dry crusty rice cake. Sometimes a hawker uses beautiful blue-green duck eggs. A small J-shaped bamboo whisk, *serek goréng*, with a shape adapted to the round-bottomed pan is used. Small dried shrimps, *ébi*, grated and roasted coconut, *sérundeng*, salt, *garam*, pepper, *merica* are then added.

The *wajan* is then turned over and the whole concave cake is baked upside down with the lid removed. The cake sticks to the pan and does not fall out allowing the cook to attend to two pans at the same time. The cakes are served with a sprinkle of crispy fried onions, *bawang goréng*, and dried, red chilli flakes, *cabé*, according to each customer's taste (Figures 41A, 41B, 41C, 41D).

2.3.2.4: *Anglo sate*: Stove for grilling meat

The grill, an elongated oval, with two small protruding handles on the side, has a long square draught door and a grate for charcoal. The grate sags in the middle and is equipped with 23 finger-sized holes. Additionally, there are three round holes on the side of the grill above the square opening. The rim slopes inwards and the grill has a flat base. This is a crudely made piece (Figure 42). In Surakarta, women hawkers use such grills. Usually, it is men that sell *saté*, but they use long metal racks, not earthenware grills.

The skewers are made from palm leaf midribs. Surakarta's *saté kéré*, ox-intestine *saté*, is charcoal grilled and served with *lontong*, rice cooked in a long banana-leaf wrapper. The wrapper is cut open and the compressed sausage-shaped rice cake cut into neat slices.

When the woman with the *saté* grill in a basket on her back comes walking down the lane the people, who have been waiting for her arrival, call out '*bakul, bakul*'. 'Basket', is the nickname given to the itinerant *saté* lady, who is selling, *saté kéré*, beggar-*saté*. This very cheap *saté* of ox-intestines is always made on a small terracotta grill, which is easy to carry (Figures 43 and 44).

It was from Java that *saté* in its different versions spread to the rest of Southeast Asia. The *kebab* was brought there from the Middle East via India by Muslim traders (Davidson 1999: 695).

2.3.2.5: *Pembakaran kué*: Oven for baking cakes

Pembakaran kué, a cake-oven, consists of three parts — a baking oven, a pan for charcoal, and a lid. The baking oven is a large pan with looped handles. A 'wok-shaped' pan filled with glowing coals is placed on the baking oven. The pan is then covered by a lid. This simple arrangement is then placed on top of a stove also fired with charcoal. The cake to be baked is then placed on a stand inside the baking oven. As terracotta vessels retain heat well once they are heated up, the oven works well. This cake-oven is a variation of a metal oven where trays containing glowing charcoal are slotted in, above and below the food (Davidson 1999: 400), and referred to as a Dutch oven (Mowe 1999: 335).

Western types of cakes were made popular by the Dutch. Cakes like mandarin-orange cake, *kué keprok*, and sponge cake, *kué bolu*, as well as cupcakes can be baked in a 'cake oven' (Figure 45).

2.3.2.6: *Gentong*: Large jar used as an oven when ripening bananas

Fruit-eating bats like to feast on bananas and in order to prevent this, the stems are cut when the bananas are still green and packed into a jar with a capacity of 500–900 litres.

The bananas are then covered by a layer of rice husks, straws and stems, and the chaff on top set alight. The jar is then covered with a terracotta lid (*kekep*). The chaff burns slowly with the temperature inside the jar reaching between 60° and 80°C. The ripening process takes five to six days (Soenardji, personal communication, 17 July 1999).

2.3.3: Rice and vegetable cookers

Traditionally most food in Java was cooked in clay vessels, designed for a specific purpose and it retained this function until it broke. The pots were designed for cooking special dishes. Each type of vessel had a name, which indicated its use. In modern Indonesian a cooking pot is not specified by use, but simply called a *periuk*.

2.3.3.1: *Periuk* (*kendil*, *pendil*): Cooking pot

Local variations of cooking pots in clay are produced all over Java. A pot for cooking rice and vegetables is called *kendil* (spelt *kendhil* in Javanese), or *pendil* in Sundanese. In Jakarta, this clay vessel is *kendil* or *periuk*.

With use, the porous clay pots are impregnated by the food cooked in them and become watertight. Many people favour the taste that a clay pot imparts to a dish. A clay pot is better than a metal pot for cooking a dish with an acidic ingredient such as lime fruit or tamarind.

Cooking pots are made with round bottoms. This allows stress to be distributed when the pot comes in contact with the hot flames in the stove (J. Burns, personal communication, 2006). Exceptions exist, for instance, the *kuali*, shallow pan, in Figure 50 has a flat bottom.

2.3.3.1.1: *Kendil*: Rice cooking pot

A type of *kendil* often seen in Jakarta's markets comes in various sizes. It has a truncated conical shape with a rounded base and flared rim (the vessel to the right in Figure 46). It is used for cooking rice, vegetables, and soups. This type of cooking pot sells with minimal profit margins and is therefore made close to Jakarta.

2.3.3.1.2: *Kendil besar*: large rice cooking pot

This vessel is straight sided with a rounded base. It is covered by a red wash, except for a circular patch 15 cm in diameter on the rounded bottom. The area under the everted rim is also bare (Figures 47, 48). The pot is used to cook large quantities of rice as well as vegetables and *gudheg* a traditional dish from Yogyakarta. One of the essential ingredients of *gudheg* is unripe jackfruit (*gori*). The large *kendil* is also used for preparing *jamu*, a traditional medicine. A plate, bowl or light bamboo sieve, *kalo*, can be used as a lid if needed.

2.3.3.1.3: *Pendil*: Sundanese multi-use cooking pot

This example of a Sundanese *pendil*, multi-purpose cooking pot, has a rounded body with a domed lid (Figure 46). A publication from Museum Pusat written by Dra. Suwati Kartiwa has an identical looking *pendil* on its cover.

A *pendil* can be seen in a watercolour painting from 1813. Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, who was Lieutenant-Governor of Java between 1811–1816, commissioned John Newman to record life in Java. Among these paintings is a coffee stall in Gunung Sari with a *pendil* (Gallop 1995: 78, Plate 23).

Among the different Sundanese dishes cooked in a *pendil* is a sour vegetable soup, *sayur asam*, as well as *pisang ubi kolak*, made from bananas and edible tubers cooked in coconut milk.

2.3.3.2: *Kuali* (*kwali*): Shallow pan from western Java

The *kuali* in Figure 50 is a wheel-turned, wide, low-curved shallow pan, which comes in three sizes: small, medium and large. It is a thick-bodied, heavy and not very elegant vessel with black patches, due to uneven reduction. The vessel's side and its inner rim have been treated with a red colouring agent whereas the inside of the pan is untreated. The base is flat which is surprising given that this vessel is placed on an open fire. Very few earthenware cooking vessels in South East Asia have flat bottoms apart from the Chinese sand-pots which are made from a different type of white-beige, light sandy clay, and fired at higher temperatures (Passmore 1991: 301). The *kuali* is used to cook rice and as a frying pan for fish, which may explain its flat base (see Figure 50 for the medium-sized *kuali* and Figure 51 for a small *kuali*).

2.3.3.3: *Kuwali*: Rice and porridge pot from Central Java

The type of *kuwali*, used in Surakarta, Central Java, is also sold at Pasar Santa in Jakarta. To differentiate between the flat-bottomed *kwali* from western Java and the round bottomed, I use Horne's and Robson & Wibisono's Javanese spelling of *kuwali* for the round-bottomed (Horne 1974: 319; Robson & Wibisono 2002: 414). This pot has straight sides and an everted lip with a round bottom. It is decorated with a red shiny wash except for the area under the rim.

A *lèmpèr* (Javanese; large flat bowl turned upside down) is used as a lid. This type of bowl-dish (Figure 49) often doubles up as a pot stand as well. Surprisingly the 'bowl-lid' used on the pot in the picture has a precise fit. The foot-ring of the lid functions as a handle and enables the fingers to get a good grip (Figure 51).

Seasoning a new *kuwali* is done in the following way: First, it should be scrubbed with a brush and clean water. An example of a suitable brush can be seen in Figure 52. Then it is left overnight filled with water. The following day the pot is ready to be used.

Rice cooked through the absorption method is first washed thoroughly in clean cold water in order to remove grit and dust. It is then put in the pot and water added so that the water level is approximately two finger segments of the index finger above the rice. The water is then brought to the boil and cooked until the rice has absorbed all the water. Plain rice cooked like this is called *nasi liwet*.

The *kuwali* is also the vessel one uses for cooking porridge dishes.²⁴ One porridge dish, for instance, is a citrus-flavoured rice pudding called *jenang limun*, which is eaten at *Lebaran*, celebrating the end of the fasting month. *Jenang sumsum* (*bubur sumsum*)

24 The woman in Figure 129 was going to cook porridge in her pot.

is a porridge made with rice flour, always served as the last dish in a ceremonial meal. It is said that a person's *sumsum*, bone marrow, which is associated with strength, will be restored after eating this porridge (Yasa Boga 1998: 91, note).

In times of famine, the farmers in Java eat dishes prepared from cassava as a substitute for rice. *Thiwul*, cassava porridge is also prepared using a rice pot.

2.3.3.4: *Pangaron*: Basin for cooking rice.

The *pangaron* is an earthenware basin also used for cooking rice. Its name comes from *karu* that is a cooking method for rice. The rice is steamed until it is partly cooked and then it is removed from the steamer and put in a *pangaron*, basin. There boiling water is poured over it. When the rice has absorbed the water it is returned to the steamer and the cooking is completed (Horne 1974: 440, 260). In Sitiwinangung, a pottery village in West Java, the name for this vessel is *paso karon* (Sidhi 2001: 8).

Another way of cooking rice and an explanation of the word *pangaron* comes from K.R.Ay. Hilmiyah Darmawan Pontjowolo in Surakarta. To *ngaru* is to half-cook rice. Rice is half-cooked in the morning. In the evening it is steamed in the rice steamer, *dandang*. That way a woman, who has to work in the rice field the whole day, can provide her family with steaming hot rice for the evening meal. Rice used for the *tumpeng*, the ceremonial rice cone, is traditionally cooked this way (see Figure 19 for a *pangaron*).

2.3.3.5: *Dandang*: Original Javanese rice steamer

Today most people are familiar with a long-necked, hourglass-shaped rice steamer, *dandang*, made of aluminium or copper.²⁵ However, in earlier days steamers were commonly made of clay. This *dandang*, rice steamer, has a rounded body with an everted mouth rim (Figures 53, 88, 89B). It is shaped to contain a generous amount of water and for the large water surface to produce plenty of rising steam for the wide and conical steaming basket.

The rice is first parboiled and then transferred to a conical bamboo basket, *kukusan*. The steaming basket rests on the wide, flared mouth of the vessel. A lid is placed on a banana leaf lining, *lèmèk daun pisang*, which covers the rice in the steaming basket (*kukusan*). The water boiling inside the steamer, *dandang*, should reach the tip of the steaming basket.

Two types of steaming baskets are available. One type is short and wide. The female steaming basket *kukusan wadon* is used on top of the earthenware steamer. The long steaming basket *kukusan lanang*, the male steamer, is used on the tall metal steamers. A pandanus leaf (*Pandanus amaryllifolius*) is often put inside the rice in the steaming basket in order to make the rice tastier.

Kanjeng Kiai Dhudha is a rice steamer in the court of Surakarta Hadiningrat. This steamer is considered a *pusaka*, sacred heirloom. Every year at *Mauludan*, (*Grebeg*

25 Rigg (1862: 436) describes the Sundanese rice steamer of copper, *sé-éng*: 'These copper pots are tall and cylindrical, a little narrower, however, at the mouth, than below. Into this mouth a bambu basket called *Hasëupan*, is thrust, holding the rice, which is thus cooked by the steam rising from the water boiling in the *Sé-éng*.'

Mulud) Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, and at *Grebeg Besar* and *Grebeg Puasa*, this steamer plays an important role in cooking the rice for the ceremonial rice mountains used in the processions. The fire for steaming the rice is started by the *Sunan*, ruler of Surakarta, himself. He uses *kemenyan*, gum benjamin, to light the fire. Fallen branches collected at the royal cemeteries are used as firewood.

The rice offerings carried through the streets of Surakarta consist of twelve male and twelve female mounds as well as child mounds. After the processions, the offerings are presented to the people. Everybody tries to get a portion. Good fortune and fertility are associated with this rice (Soebadio 1998: 162–163).

2.3.3.6: *Belentong*, (*pendil*): Rice steamer and cooking pot

The rice steamer *belentong* (*blentong*) from West Java has a high wide neck and rounded bottom. The pot has a decoration of red bands, painted with iron oxide.²⁶ The inside is untreated. This type of decoration is common on pottery coming to Jakarta from a pottery centre (possibly Sitiwinangun) east of the capital (Figures 54A, 54B, 83). Used with a *kukusan*, steaming basket, it functions as a rice steamer. However, sometimes the steamer is also used as a cooking pot (*pendil*).

2.3.3.7: *Dulang*: Tray for cooling steamed rice

A *dulang* is a wide and shallow tray with handles used for cooling hot rice (Figure 55). The cooked rice is tipped out and aerated, turned over with a longish, spade-like rice spoon (spatula) *énthong* and at the same time aerated with a bamboo fan (*kipas*). This is done to prevent stickiness, to make the rice uniform in appearance and also easier to serve. Also when cooked rice is packed in boxes for transport, it has to be cold as hot rice causes condensation (D. Purbaya, personal communication, 16 May 1997).²⁷ This vessel is typical of Sundanese West Java (Labrousse 1984: 201). The *dulang* is also used when mixing sweet things like *kué dodol*, a toffee, made of glutinous rice flour, coconut milk and palm sugar. *Durian* is often included in the toffee.

In western Java, a wooden vessel, *dulang*, made from a teak trunk (*Tectonia grandis*) was used when cooling rice (Sukanda-Tessier 1977, Figure 32). The tray was also used when panning gold. The potters in Sadang now make a *dulang* of clay.

2.3.4: Cooking pots for soups and stews

2.3.4.1: *Kuwali*: Wide-mouthed cooking pot from Central Java

Surakarta is an interesting place to visit if you want to see earthenwares being used. Food hawkers with large *kuwali* set up business along Surakarta's busy streets where aluminium pots have not quite taken over. The hawkers use the large Surakarta version of the *kuwali* for cooking. Fire for cooking is maintained in the transportable stove, *anglo*.

26 Linear decorations also occur on Indian pottery (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 153, Figure 5: 44) and Sri Lankan pottery (Coomaraswamy 1956: 103). Majapahit ritual vessels in clay are sometimes decorated with red bands (Muller 1978: 89).

27 Neighbours and others who are unable to attend a ritual meal are often sent food packages.

One woman sells *soto sapi*, clear ox soup and another of Surakarta's hawkers has a *kuwali* filled with *gulé* (Figures 56, 57). *Gulé* is a stew-like dish, with curry and spiced coconut milk. Sri Owen mentions *gulé kambing*, goat stew, as a typical street vendors dish (Owen 1994: 152). Some street hawkers transport part of their kitchen *géndhongan* on their back (Figure 58).

2.3.4.2: *Periuk*: Cooking pot from the pottery village Sadang close to Purwakarta in West Java

Periuk, cooking pot, with lid. The pot has a round body and an inverted flange shaped lip. It is well made and has a banded decoration; a wide red ochre band and three thin yellow lines, an attempt at a white slip painted over the red body and slip (Figures 59A, 59B).

This vessel differs from most other cooking pots as it comes fitted with a lid (the Karawang *kendil/pendil*, rice cooking pot, also has its own lid). The domed lid is similar but lower than the lid of a Moroccan *tagine*, which collects the moisture and drops it back. The lid is a bit too small for the pot and almost falls through. The lid has a slight flared tubular 'thrown' handle (cf. Green, Harper, & Prishanchittara 1984: 22, No. 41), which makes lifting the heavy lid easy. The lid is well fired and from the same clay as the pot. The body shows the same terracotta red all through.

A visit to the potters who live outside Purwakarta revealed that the *periuk* was fired in a round kiln built of bricks, an updraft kiln. The kiln consists of two parts, a bottom section (firing chamber) and a setting chamber on which the goods to be fired are placed (Figure 59B).

Like the *kuali* used in western Java, this cooking pot has multipurpose uses. Sir Stamford Raffles (1978b: XCVI) has a comparative list of Java's cooking vessels in which a '*pariuk*' is listed for the western part of Java. The '*blanga*', (spelt *belanga* today) is the Malay name, and *kuwali* is Javanese.

2.3.4.3: *Jajambaran*: Cooking bowl from Cirebon

The *Jajambaran* bowl is used for cooking food and vegetables (*Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* 1983: 45). In Cirebon, a slow cooking coconut-milk soup with animal entrails, *empal gentong*, is cooked in any large terracotta vessel. The clay pot and the smoke from the charcoal stove give the soup a distinctive and much appreciated flavour (Hulupi 2003: 19).

2.3.4.4: *Wajan masak sayur*: Cooking pot for vegetable dishes, old style *wajan* from Central Java

The *wajan masak sayur* has a deep bowl with a spherical centre and an everted mouth rim. The inside of the bowl has a burnished terracotta red slip (Figures 60, 61). The *wajan masak sayur* is used when cooking without oil. It is used for soups such as *sayur bayem*, a vegetable dish with spinach, (*bayem* is a kind of spinach, esp. *Amaranthus oleraceus*²⁸) *sayur sop*, a western type of vegetable soup and *sayur bistek* a vegetable and

28 *Bayam* in Wilkinson (1932a: 94).

meat soup. As a cooking pot, it is probably of a very old type, used long before frying pans using oil found their way to Java. Excavations in Malaysia have yielded similar vessels (cf. Ismail 1986: 80, Figure 6a). This is a successful shape, which has survived since prehistoric times.

2.3.4.5: *Prieuk*: Wide-mouthed Sundanese cooking pot

The potters in Bumi Jaya in Banten call this cooking pot *prieuk*.²⁹ It is of the same type as the *wajan masak sayur*, the deep cooking pot from Surakarta. The body and the mouth rim are decorated with brown bands, four and three centimetres wide. Inside, the cooking vessel has a six centimetres wide brown wash three centimetres from the rim (Figure 62). A prehistoric pot shape from Kelantan in Malaysia compares well with this cooking vessel (Ismail 1986: 81, Figure 7, the third vessel in the second row). See Figure 63 for potting and Figure 3 for firing of the *prieuk*.

A typical Sundanese dish *sayur lodéh*, vegetables simmered in coconut milk, is made in this pot. The term *lodéh* indicates that the greens are boiled soft and pulpy. The mixed vegetables are boiled soft, spiced and flavoured with condiments, then beaten up to a pulpy mass (Wilkinson 1932b: 65). *Sayur lodéh* is eaten with salted fish, *ikan asin*, and spicy condiments such as *sambal*. *Sayur asam*, a popular vegetable soup combining sour, hot and sweet tastes, but no coconut milk, is also cooked in this pot.

2.3.5: Basins for cooking

2.3.5.1: *Goleng*: Basin for cooking fish

The *goleng* is a Sundanese cooking basin with a rolled rim, straight sides and a flat base (Figure 64).

It is used in a special method of cooking fish, *ikan pindang*. The fish is put between layers of banana leaves, which enhance the flavour, and cooked in salted and spiced water until the liquid has been fully absorbed. Milkfish, *bandeng*, is a favourite prepared this way and served as *bandeng pindang*.

Ikan cue, a herring, a small saltwater fish, which is often sold in local markets, is often cooked by this method (see Figure 65 for a picture of how this fish is sold in a traditional market).

2.3.5.2: *Kuwali kumpal*: Javanese cooking vessel for meat soup

Kuwali kumpal is a wide-based and straight-sided tall basin with everted lip and a rope design on the side. This is a special cooking vessel made for *soto* clear meat soups. The dark brown soup pots in the picture were sold in Surakarta (Figure 66).

2.3.6: Frying pans

2.3.6.1: *Kuali*: Shallow pan from West Java

The *kuali* is a multi purpose vessel. As such it is used as a frying pan for fish. People

²⁹ To differentiate between *periuk* (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and *prieuk*, I have used *prieuk*, a Sundanese dialect word, which is also Rigg's 1862 spelling.

especially recommend that fish should be fried in an earthenware vessel, because the fish acquires a delicious taste from the clay-vessel (Figure 50).

The *kuali* is used when preparing a dish from East Java called *Pecel lélé*, catfish with vegetable salad. The fish is fried in oil and served on a stone *cowèk*, a *cowèk batu*, with its belly in a pool of *sambal*. In Jakarta, many *warung*, roadside food stalls, specialize in this dinner dish. I tried *pecel lélé* in Surakarta where the fish was served on a black earthenware saucer, *lèmpèr* (Figure 86).

2.3.6.2: *Wajan*: Frying pan

Most frying today is done in an aluminium or cast iron pan with a round bottom called *wajan* in Bahasa Indonesia. In English, this type of hemispherical frying pan is called *wok* (from Cantonese).³⁰ Its shape distributes heat well and the wide mouth permits easy access. It is shaped for quick frying over an open flame. A frying pan, *wajan*, made of clay is still sold in Surakarta, Central Java (Figures 42, 67). Its shape copies the bowl-shaped *wok*, with the two loop handles, attached, luted to the thick, rolled rim.

The *wajan* is used for *sayur*, vegetable dishes, and frying of fish and soybean cakes. Also for dry frying of sesame seeds *wijèn* (*Sesamum indicum*), which is used as a coating for *ondé-ondé*, round cakes made of glutinous rice flour. The fried balls are filled with sweetened ground mung bean, (green gram), *kacang hijau*, and rolled in sesame seeds. In order to release the rich flavour of the white sesame seeds they are first ‘toasted’ in a pan. A small *wajan* is used as a baking pan for *kué Serabi*, *Serabi* pancake, as well.

The prototype for the clay *wajan* might be the Chinese *wok*. Museum Nasional in Jakarta has a display label informing us that the frying pan, *wajan*, was introduced in the 17th century or perhaps later.³¹

2.3.6.3: *Wengka*: Sundanese toasting pan

Wengka is a Cirebon dialect word. In West Java, the *wok*-shaped frying pan is differently made. The handles are square and compact (Figures 55, 68). The *wenka* is used much the same way as the *wayan*, but is not used when frying with oil. In Cirebon, women cook vegetable dishes in this vessel. *Kerupuk*, chips made of tapioca and other types of flour flavoured with different kinds of fish or shrimps are made in it. The process of making *melinjo* chips, *emping melinjo*, involves toasting the chips in hot sand where a *wengka* could be used (Mowe 1999: 256–257). It is used for roasting peanuts in river or beach sand, and for toasting grated coconut. Many families roast their own coffee beans at home in a *wengka* before grinding and brewing.³²

30 The Chinese invented the *wok* for quick frying some 3000 years ago. It was developed to conserve scarce fuel resources (‘Wok’ 2002).

31 Early cast iron pans exported from China to South East Asia were equipped with a single tapered handle (Flecker 2004: 9–10).

32 The Dutch Governor of Malabar in India arranged for coffee to be planted in Java in 1696. However, due to flooding a few years later the plants perished and new plants had to be obtained (Burkill 1966a: 629). The coffee plant (*Coffea arabica*) is well suited to Java’s climate. Javanese coffee is

2.3.6.4: *Kowi*: ‘Mixing bowl’ from Bumi Jaya

Kowi is a crucible shaped bowl with a round bottom and an open spout (lip). It has a thickened rim. This type of rim is good on utilitarian vessels, as it strengthens it (Figure 69). The *kowi* is used by cooks in similar ways as the *wajan*, and as a mixing bowl or basin.

2.3.7: Cake-moulds

2.3.7.1: *Cetakan Serabi*: Mould for *Serabi* pancake

The *cetakan Serabi* is a cake-mould for *kué Serabi*, a rice-flour pancake. The baking bowl is quite deep and has a round bottom. The inner surface of the bowl has a burnished slip to prevent the cakes from sticking. Before being burnished, the bowl is given a red wash. Burnishing is done when the clay has dried to a semi-hard state. It is performed in several ways, but most often by rubbing with a stone or pebble. Rubbing consolidates the surface by aligning the faces of the particles of different sizes with each other. This makes the surface fairly impervious to liquids even when vessels are fired at low earthenware temperatures (‘Pottery Techniques’ n.d.: 6–7). A domed lid with a small tubular handle covers the bowl (Figures 70A, 70B, 71).

Serabi pancakes are served with palm-sugared and sometimes slightly salted coconut milk and eaten as a snack with a cup of tea or coffee in the morning or afternoon. During the fasting month, *Puasa* (*Ramadan*), patisseries often sell this cake. It is the custom to break the fast with fruits and sweet things. *Puasa*, the fasting month, and *Lebaran*, the festival ending the fasting month, are the most important celebrations of the year, so traditional cakes like *Serabi* cake are popular treats. *Serabi* cakes are often included in spirit offerings as well. In Malaysia it has been the custom to serve *Serabi* cakes to mourners and helpers at funerals (Coope 1987: 257)

Ibu Maah, originally from Cirebon in West Java, is a street vendor, who has put up a stall outside Pasar Inprés in Sunter, Jakarta, selling *kué Serabi* (Figures 72A, 72B). She starts at six o’clock every morning and by nine o’clock she has sold around two hundred pancakes.³³ Her *Serabi* cakes are served with a sauce of *gula Jawa*, palm sugar melted in water, and *santan*, coconut milk. A knotted pandanus leaf (*Pandanus amaryllifolius*) is floating in the coconut-milk container, adding flavour to the liquid. Enterprises in Surakarta bake their *kué Serabi* in small cast iron woks placed on charcoal stoves (*tunku arang*).

In Lombok, one of the islands east of Java, small half-round cakes made from rice flour batter are baked in hollows of a special earthenware griddle-stove (*jangkih serabi*) (McKinnon 1996: 149).

2.3.7.2: *Cetakan kué apem/apam*: Baking pan for rice flour cakes, *apam*

A baking pan for *apem* is displayed in Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat in Bandung. Small half-round rice flour cakes are made in the hollows of the round baking tray of

exported abroad and ‘Java’ is now a synonym for coffee. Today Indonesia is one of the world’s largest producers of *Coffea robusta* (‘Cover story’ 2005: 3).

33 Each bowl-shaped cake sold at Rp. 150 when I visited in May 1997.

clay *cetakan kué apem*. The pan has seven rounded indentions so seven small cakes can be baked at the same time (Figure 73). The *apem* probably originated in Sri Lanka (Hutton 1979: 105). The baking pan for *kué apem* is similar to the Thai terracotta pan in which *khanom krok*, coconut puddings, are baked (See Yee & Gordon 1993: 41).

After a Javanese funeral the close family returns to the house for a *Slametan*, ceremonial meal, in which *kué apem* are always included. The flattened out cakes are symbolic of death. When included in various other ceremonial meals the *apem* are in honor of ancestors (Geertz 1960: 71).

In ritual feasts that mark someone's death *apem* are always included. Well-to-do people in Yogyakarta bake a huge *apem* with a coin in the centre, to be eaten at the *Slametan*, when the family commemorates a loved one on the thousandth day of his death (Ganie 2005: 15).

At *Grebeg Mulud*, the festival which commemorates the Birthday of Prophet Muhammad, held in the third month of the Javanese calendar, the wife of the Sultan, will herself (together with family members) make and serve *apem* to invited guests in the *Karaton* of Yogyakarta.

A ceremony called *Yaqowiyu* is held every year in Jatinom in the regency of Klaten, Central Java, on the 15th of *Sapar*. The ceremony takes place in remembrance of *Kyai Ageng Gribig*, the legendary founder of Jatinom. He lived during the reign of *Sultan Agung* of Mataram (1613–1645). It is said that *Kyai Ageng Gribig* brought *apem* from Mecca for his family, but as he had a large family it was not enough for everybody. Therefore he decided to bake more. Scattering the cakes he shouted '*Yaqowiyu*', 'God Bless You'. The *Yaqowiyu* ritual was intended to teach people to be charitable, but today commercial interests have taken over (Sawega 2002: 12). In 1999, four tons of donated *apem* were thrown from a specially built high stage in the town-square and eagerly picked up by the huge crowd that attended ('Puncak Perayaan' 1999: n.p.).

The women in Kendal village in Central Java bake *apem* for the *Wahyu Kliyu* ritual which takes place every *Suro* 15. In the ritual, which is performed at midnight, the head of each family meets at a pre-designed place with a basket of *apem*. Sitting in a long row each man throws exactly 344 *apem* in a bamboo basket placed on a long banana leaf in front of him. Every time he throws a cake the man shouts '*Wahyu Kliyu! Wahyu Kliyu!*' It is believed that this phrase is derived from the Arabic phrase *Yaqoyu Yaqoyum*, which is a request for God's blessing (Poer 2005: 17). The ritual was said to have a connection to a young prince (blessed with a falling star) who later became Mankunegara I.

Before a Javanese bride is made up, the *dhukun paès*, a woman specializing in making up brides, places a spirit offering next to her bed. *Apem* intended for the ancestors are included.

In Sundanese Java *kué apem* are sometimes included in *sesajén*, spirit offerings, together with the ceremonial red and white rice porridge, *bubur mérah-putih*, and cups containing five different types of drinks; coffee and tea with and without sugar and plain water (T. Purbaya, personal communication, 28 June 1996).

Wingka is another cake made of sticky rice flour. The difference between *kué apem* and *wingka* is that leavening is included in the batter for *kué apem*, but not for *wingka*. The *wingka* Babat from East Java is a giant sticky rice and coconut pancake (Peterson & Peterson 1997: 98).

2.3.8: Mortars or spice grinding platters

Plenty of herbs and spices are used in Indonesian cooking. These are prepared as spice pastes and sauces (*sambal*) and ground down to a paste on platters. The spices are used fresh, as they grow outside the house or are readily available from the local markets. These spicy condiments are indispensable seasoning for many dishes, for instance: *gado-gado*, a vegetable salad, which is served with a peanut sauce, and *rujak*, a fruit salad, made from sliced, raw and acid vegetables and fruits are served with a spicy sauce.

The technique for extracting the aromatic flavours from ingredients like lemongrass, candlenuts, chillies, shallots, garlic, ginger, tumeric, and shrimp paste, does not require strong pounding, therefore the flavours are pressed out with a rolling motion.³⁴

The shallow platter used for grinding is called *cobék* and each cook has his preference as they come in different materials. Wood, different types of stone, cement and clay are materials used for the *cobék*. The best (hard, strong, good ones) are made from granite, *batu kali*, (river stone) and are produced in Java. *Batu gunung*, ‘mountain stone’, volcanic rock, is also used but is easily broken. Most people prefer using a proper stone *cobék* because it produces a better tasting spice sauce.

2.3.8.1: *Cobék*: Grinding plate

The *cobék*, is a shallow grinding plate of earthenware, spelt *cobék* in *Bahasa Indonesia*. *Cowèk* is Javanese and *coét* is Sundanese. *Tjowek* is the old Dutch-Javanese spelling. Pasar Rebo in Purwakarta in West Java had two sizes of this grinding plate in 1996 (Figure 74).

In Java, as in other places in the world, some vessels have dual functions. Grinding plates are sometimes used as serving dishes and also as lids and pot rests. *Tabu gejrot*, tofu ‘crush’, a spicy dish from Cirebon is served on a small *cobék*. Confusingly in Cirebon the *lèmpèr* is called *cobék* (Figure 87). A sticky rice snack called *kipo* is produced in Kotagede outside Yogyakarta, Central Java, using the *cobék* as a baking tray. Five *kipo* are placed on a piece of banana leaf lining and then baked on the shallow *cobék*. The earthenware base prevents burning and over-cooking because the heat is evenly distributed (Christiant 2002: 16).

34 The tool used to crush the different ingredients in the grinding plate is called *uleg*, *uleg-uleg*, *ulegan*, or *anak cobék* in Indonesian and *munthu* in Javanese. The handle of the pestle is carved at a sharp angle from the head, almost shaped like the front hoof of a horse; the rounded hoof used for grinding. It is a prehistoric shape (‘Prehistory’ 1996: 10). Pestles used with the brittle earthenware *cobék* are made from wood. The best wood for this purpose is citrus wood. Acacia wood (*Acacia auriculiformis*), and wood from the beach hibiscus *kayu waru* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) are used as well. Wood from the tamarind tree (*Tamarindus indica*) is also used.

2.3.8.2: *Layah*: Large Javanese shallow mortar plate

Layah, the Javanese large flat stone or shallow mortar plate is used for preparing seasoning.

2.3.8.3: *Lèmpèr*: Large Javanese flat bowl

Lèmpèr, the shallow sturdy Javanese terracotta bowl, is sometimes used for spice preparations.

2.3.9: Spices and seasoning containers

2.3.9.1: *Cewo*: Bowl

Wheel thrown and cord-cut small bowl of natural clay (a red earthenware) with black fire flashes. The approximate firing temperature for the *cewo* is 900°C (Figures 78A, 78B). When used as a condiment, salt is served in small bowls.

2.3.9.2: *Empluk*: Pepper and spice container

The small, lidded *empluk*, covered food container, is ideally suited as a container for spices (Figure 90).

2.3.9.3: *Lodhong tanah*: Clay jar for liquid seasoning

Some food hawkers still use clay vessels for the storage of seasoning. A *lodhong tanah* is a cylindrical clay container with a ‘tea pot’ lid. The light brown parts on many of these jars are indicative of an uneven reduction firing (Figure 75). According to a Sundanese dictionary from 1862 a *lodong* is defined as a large joint of bamboo or, more commonly, two joints with the intermediate diaphragm knocked out. This vessel was used for holding liquids like water, oil, and so on (Rigg 1862: 256). In Jakarta, one can still come across the toddy seller, *tukang tuak*, carrying bamboo containers, *lodong*, on a carrying pole. These contain *tuak*, toddy, palm wine. The alcoholic drink is sold by the glass at about Rp, 2.000 a serve in 1995.³⁵

The food hawkers in Surakarta use the *lodhong tanah* on their food carts, (*gerobak*) as a container for liquid seasoning (Figure 76). At home it is mostly used by Java’s Chinese as a container for sauces, which are served with pork.

The shape of this Javanese seasoning pot may have been influenced by the 15th century Italian apothecary pot, *albarello*, or borrowed its shape from the cylindrical glass jar with a cover, which is also called *lodhong*. A few years ago shop and stall owners used these glass jars as containers for sweets and snacks. A Dutch postcard postmarked in 1918 shows a roadside food stall with lidded glass jars filled with edibles (Haks & Wachlin 2004: 182, bottom). Now many of these jars have ended up in antique shops (Figure 77).

³⁵ Nipa palm (*Nipa fruticans* or *Nypa fruticans*) is used to produce *tuak* (*nipah* in Wilkinson (1932b: 174))

2.3.9.4: *Pendil céndol* or *kendhil (tempat gula) dhawet*: Container for palm sugar syrup

Pendil céndol or *kendhil dhawet*³⁶ is a small round jar with a narrow neck and everted rim. It looks similar in shape to the Indian *lota*, a spherical water vessel of brass or copper used in rituals (Figures 79, 80, 81, 82).

Hawkers selling cold drinks use this earthenware jar for liquidized palm sugar. In the western parts of Java this vessel is called *pendil céndol* and in Central Java it is called *kendhil dhawet*. One hawker calls this vessel *klenthing* (Compare Ridho & Edwards McKinnon 1998: 70–71, Plate 44, where a vessel of this shape is called *jun* or *klenthing*).

The seller of *céndol*, *tukang (jual) céndol*, can be found at entrances to local markets in Jakarta. *Céndol* is a sweet drink composed of coloured rice flour strips called *céndol*, which have given the name to the drink. It also contains palm sugar, *gula Jawa* and coconut milk, *santan*. Sometimes jackfruit, *nangka*, is included. To cool the drink ice shavings are added.

The tradesman keeps the different ingredients for the drink in separate containers. These are first mixed in the customer's glass. The liquidized palm sugar is kept in the small round earthenware pot, called *pendil céndol* in Sundanese and *kendhil dhawet* in Javanese. The pot is usually placed in an enamel or plastic basin, *baskom*. Due to the porosity of the clay, the surface of the pot soon gets coated with a sugary sticky shine. Each seller has equipped his pot with a lid. Sometimes the lid is prettily carved in wood. The palm sugar liquid is measured out with a special brass scoop, *cénthong* fashioned for hanging on the rim of the *pendil/kendhil*. In Central Java, this drink is called *dhawet* and it is a must to serve at wedding parties.

A vessel of similar shape to the *kendhil dhawet/pendil céndol* can be found in Lombok, west of Bali. It is called *penukaan* and used to collect sugar palm sap in the crown of the palm tree itself. The bound and bruised inflorescence produces a liquid that drips into the vessel. The jar is left in the tree for three days. Then it is taken down. The sap will ferment to produce *tuak*, toddy (McKinnon 1996: 68).

2.3.9.5: *Kendil/Pendil* and *Belentong*: Cooking pots used by itinerant food vendors for keeping seasoning

Large cooking pots are often used by ambulant food vendors as containers for liquid seasoning, as vessels with narrow necks are ideal when transporting liquids. The *kendil/pendil*, which has a wide body and a narrow neck, is such vessel.

Some hawkers sell a popular rice noodle dish *laksa*. The curried sauce, which accompanies the noodles, is kept in a *kendil* (Figure 84). A *kendil* also is used as a container for the spicy sauce (*sambal*) by another hawker, who is selling the Javanese bean curd dish *tahu bacem*. Sometimes on a Jakarta street corner one sees a hawker with his ambulant kitchen painted in eye-catching red and yellow. This hawker with his incredibly beautiful pot, which shines like dark polished copper, from fat and oils passing through the porous clay body is selling Bogor's most famous dish, fried bean sprouts *tauge goréng*. The *tauco*

36 For the record the vessels depicted in Figures 79 and 80, were also called *klenthing* by some people in Surakarta. Compare this jar with Ridho & Edwards McKinnon (1998: 71, Plate 44).

sauce, which goes with the fried bean sprouts, is kept in a *belentong*. The *tauco* sauce is made from a paste of fermented yellow soybeans (Figure 83).

2.3.10: Serving dishes and plates

Any plate or saucer with a flat base or a foot ring may be called a *piring* (Figures 49, 85, 86, 87, 107).

2.3.10.1: *Lèmpèr*: Large flat bowl

The Javanese *lèmpèr*, the large, shallow terracotta bowl is used as a serving plate. Marcia, who had a shop selling supplies for the kitchen in Pasar Cikini in Jakarta, informed me that her supply of earthenware *lèmpèr* (which some of her customers use for spice grinding) came from Surabaya in East Java. Marcia's *lèmpèr* were made in four sizes, with an approximate diameter of 10, 15, 20 or 25 cm.

Figure 85 shows a *lèmpèr*, where the rim and the upper part are painted with a thin clay slip, which is high in iron, like a terra sigillata, so as to leave the middle of the bowl untreated. This simple decoration is an effective way of adding beauty to the vessel. Figure 49 shows a large *lèmpèr*. The *lèmpèr* is used as a serving plate, (Figure 86) as well as a stand for hot cooking pots and serves as a lid when reversed (Figure 51).

2.3.11: Serving dishes with lids

2.3.11.1: *Kendhil gudheg* (*tempat sayur*): Casserole for *gudheg*

Kendhil gudheg is a dark brown casserole with curved sides and an everted rim and a well fitting domed lid. The lid for the casseroles has a round knob handle (Figure 89A, 89B). This is a serving dish for vegetables and *gudheg*. *Gudheg* is a famous traditional dish made from unripe jackfruit, *gori*, egg and chicken, cooked in coconut milk. The best is said to come from Yogyakarta. A very large *kendhil gudheg* 1.25 m high with a diameter of 2.2 m was made for Indonesia's Independence Day in 2003. It even made first page news ('Kendil raksasa' 2003: 1).

2.3.11.2: *Empluk* for serving a portion of soup

The *empluk* in Figure 90 is a small earthenware vessel with a lid. The wheel-turned vessel is made of fine red-fired clay, pleasing to the eye. A red slip covers the whole outside body and the everted rim. The concave lid is cut unevenly off the hump, with a small round knob handle placed in the bottom of the 'bowl'. When in place, the lid is positioned deep inside the vessel's everted rim. The course and textured clay used in the manufacture of the lid, however, does not match the fine clay used for the vessel. The lid does not fit the vessel.

Similar lids with (more protruding shanked) knob handles from a 15th century shipwreck have been excavated in the Gulf of Thailand (Green, Harper, & Intakosi 1987: 62). Radiocarbon dating of the associated timber found on the wreck site give a date of $1,410 \pm 70$ years (Green & Harper 1987: 3).

The *empluk* is used for serving an individual portion of soup as well as a container for spices.

2.3.12: Lids

Well-fitting and matching lids are not typical of the earthenwares of Java. For instance see Figure 56, which shows a cooking vessel (*kuwali*) where a bamboo sieve is used as a lid. It is the custom when buying pottery first to select a vessel and then to choose a lid that fits the opening of the pot. The merchant usually keeps his stock of lids in a separate box or bag. However, often a customer has something usable at home and does not need to buy a new lid, as any loose cover can be used on the new earthenware pot. Thus, *piring* and *lèmpèr* also double up as lids. One advantage of using plates as lids is that vessels covered with plates can be stacked one on top of the other. Wilkinson, who published his dictionary in 1932, notes that round wooden covers were used on the Malay curry and vegetable cooking pot *belanga*.³⁷

Handles on lids are of various shapes. For instance, when earthenware plates with foot rings are turned upside down and used as covers, the foot ring serves as a handle. Domed lids often come with Chinese style short tubular hollow handles. The domed lid placed on the steaming basket in Figure 53 has a tubular handle. An open ‘tube’ will not be as hot as a solid knob. See Figure 46 and 59A for other vessels that use lids with this type of tubular lid handles.

Storage vessels have flattened or round knob handles. The concave lid that goes with the *empluk*, used for an individual soup portion, only has a tiny round knob handle (Figure 90). One *kendi* is equipped with a small high lid that has a flat knob handle with a steam hole, useful when the *kendi* is filled with boiling water (Figure 26. See also Figure 93A). Another *kendi* comes with a stopper in the form of a petalled flower (Figure 125).

2.3.12.1: *Kekeb*: Rice cooker lid

Large domed lids, rice cooker lids, *kekeb*, are used as covers when steaming rice. The lid is placed over previously parboiled rice inside the conical bamboo basket, *kukusan*, where the rice steams. The *kukusan* rests on the rim of the rice steaming pot, *dandang*, or cooking pot, *kuwali*, which is also used as a steamer (Figure 91B). A piece of a banana leaf is placed under the lid to prevent excessive evaporation. The water level inside the steamer reaches the tip of the steaming basket. When the water boils the steam will cook the rice. The shape of the lid traps the steam and it drops back creating succulent rice. It is a self-basting lid (Figure 91A).

There are two types of steaming baskets, a female and a male. The *kukusan wadon*, female steaming basket, is used on top of earthenware pots. This steaming basket is shorter and wider than the *kukusan lanang*, the male steaming basket, used with the long necked metal steamers. For an arrangement which shows the placement of the lid see Figures 36, 53, 91B.

Kekap, I was told, is old *Bahasa Jawa*, Javanese, for the lid used when steaming rice. Wilkinson records *kekep* from Java, which he simply translates as a cover. *Kekeb* is Javanese and Sundanese. In Bumi Jaya in Banten, where a coarse form of Sundanese is spoken, I encountered the term *tutup nasi*, ‘rice lid’ (see Figure 2 for lids placed on top of the firing stack). The cover is also used on toasting pans as well as a cover for other

37 The round wooden cover for *belanga*, is called *sauk belanga* (Wilkinson 1932a: 105).

vessels (*Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* 1983: 23). A pot cover was found on a ship wrecked in Indonesian waters in the 12th or early 13th century (Ridho & Edwards McKinnon 1998: 74).

2.3.13: Rests for cooking pots

2.3.13.1: *Lawèh*: Ring-stand for cooking pots on the stove

Earthenware ring-stands, *lawèh*, (*tatakan*) are made in Bumi Jaya in the province of Banten. They are placed on top of wood fired stoves. The insert makes it possible to use a small vessel on the wide stove opening. It also prevents cooking pots from tipping over (see Figure 3, where ring-stands can be seen placed on top of thehipped stack of wares being fired).

2.3.13.2: Stands for pots off the stove

Cooking vessels which are taken off the fire are positioned directly on mud floors or left on the stove so family members can help themselves to a meal whenever they are hungry. At Pasar Jepara (in Jepara) on the north coast of Central Jawa pot-stands made of bamboo or string are available. In Jakarta I bought a large flat bowl, *lèmpèr*, to be used as a rest for my cooking pot, *kendil*, when I took it off the fire (Figure 49).

2.4: VESSELS FOR INFUSIONS

2.4.1: *Poci*: Teapot

Indonesia is one of the five largest tea producers in the world and teapots are made in the countryside around Tegal, the ‘city of tea’.³⁸ Historically, the Dutch brought *Camellia sinensis* (the tea plant) to Java around 1690 and first established tea plantations there in 1825 with seeds brought from Japan (Burkill 1966a: 422). However, tea had been traded and drunk on the island much earlier. Proof of this is a Chinese teapot of Yixing type included in an exhibition of Majapahit artefacts (Miksic & Soekatno 1995: 204, Figure 173). The empire of Majapahit dominated Java from 1294 until the early 16th century. *Taman Sari*, the Water Castle, once the Yogyakarta Sultan’s pleasure garden, which was constructed in 1758, has a pavilion (the *Gedhong patihan*, office of the chief minister), where the monarch used to savour his tea (Lombard 1969: 149–150).

Figure 92A shows a small, beautifully proportioned teapot made of fine polished clay, with a short, curved, moulded spout and a pulled or rolled handle. The base is turned. The teapot is burnished over a banded slip decoration. The lid has the classical shape of a pouring lid but is lacking a tongue.

To bring out the full flavour in tea, it should be made in a clay pot. Before being used for the first time the *poci* has to be seasoned. In order to get rid of the clay smell the pot is filled with tea and hot water and buried for a month. A long used old teapot with a lot of brow stain adhering to it is desirable (Bambang 2005: 18).

The central Javanese prefer a bitter tea, which is jasmine scented like the ‘Losrodjojo’

38 The tea plant *Camellia sinensis* probably comes from western China, Tibet and northern India. The Chinese brewed the leaves of the plant four thousand years ago. Legend has it that the Chinese Emperor Shen Nung discovered the pleasure of tea in 2737 BC, when tea leaves fell into his cup of boiling water. Tea was first drunk for its medicinal properties. Drinking tea became fashionable in China during the Song period (960–1279) (Kenderdine 1995: 262).

brand from Slawi. It is consumed with a generous amount of *gula batu*, lump sugar (sugar cane sugar). The teacup is filled with lumps of sugar and the tea is poured over it. In Central Java customers are served *téh poci* from this type of pot when ordering a cup of tea in any of the small typical Javanese eating places, *warung Jawa*, which line the streets.

Teapots and tea sets consisting of three cups and a pot placed on a tray (Figure 92B) are made in Klampok, Banjarnegara, and are distributed from a village with the same name close to Tegal on Central Java's north coast (Adhyatman 1983: 24, Figure 12). The popularity of the red stoneware Chinese Yixing teapot inspired the production of the Javanese teapot, which was given a Dutch name. The word *poci* comes from the Dutch *potje* meaning 'little pot' (Wilkinson 1932b: 275). Production of imitations of the Chinese teapot *téko* started in 1945 (Solikhan 2001: 8).

2.4.2: Vessels used for preparing *jamu*

Jamu is a traditional medicine prepared from herbs, spices, flowers, fruits, roots, grasses and seeds. Some 200 species of selected plants are used in the different preparations. As many of the ingredients in *jamu* are acidic, they are best boiled in a clay pot. *Jamu* is made at home and also in factories on a commercial scale.

2.4.2.1: *Kendhil jamu*: Pot for cooking herbal medicine

The term refers to a pouring vessel with spout and a long, tubular, vented handle (which minimises heat transfer allowing the handle to stay cool) and a slightly concave base. The concave base indicates that the base had been given a pat (beaten) with the upper part of the palm (J. Burns, personal communication, 2006). Sharp angles are not suitable for pots to be put over fire. Curving allows stress to be distributed. The concave base also makes the pot more stable and less likely to rock when put down. The handle, which is hollow and has been thrown on, has spiralling marks. The spout might have been moulded and pushed on. The pot has a thrown lid, possibly of Chinese influence and has a steam holed knob. The pots have been pit fired and show uneven reduction (Figure 93A, 93B).

The *kendhil jamu* is used when boiling *jamu Jawa godhogan* a medicine boiled from medicinal plants grown in the garden. The medicine pot is used when boiling water as well. The Sundanese call this vessel *pendil jamu*. Some people call it *téko*, Chinese for teapot (Labrousse 1984: 853). The Chinese medicine pot is probably the prototype for the *kendil jamu*. However, the medicine pots that one sees imported from China today are potted in special white sand pot clay. And this pot has handle and spout set at different angles from its Javanese cousin and it has a flat lid.³⁹ Furthermore, the Chinese sand pot is fired at a much higher temperature.

2.4.2.2: *Kuali kecil*: Small shallow pan

Kuali kecil, small shallow pans are sold in huge quantities in Pasar Santa one of Jakarta's traditional markets, to be used as cooking vessels for *jamu*, herbal preparations. It is

³⁹ For a picture of the Chinese herbal teapot, see Sullivan (1985: 61). See also Shiwan herbal kettles from Foshan (CINARC 2018 Figure 6), where earlier versions had the pouring spout and handle set the same way as the *kendhil jamu* (Accessed 14 April 2015).

common practice to use clay vessels for medicinal teas and other medicinal remedies as well as traditional Indonesian cosmetics (Figures 51, 94).

2.4.2.3: *Kendil/kendhil (pendil)*: Cooking pot

Kendil/pendil cooking pots are suitable vessels for boiling water and for preparing *jamu* (Figure 46).

2.4.2.4: *Kendi* for herbal medicine

The *kendi* is associated with the *dukun*, who sometimes uses it in magic cures. The *dukun*, a herbalist, healer and medical man, administers herbal remedies. An early depiction of this practice might be the ascetics and holy men with *kendi* depicted on Borobudur. They were perhaps administering herbal medicines like their Indian counterparts did (V. Somasekara Sivachariyar, personal communication, 22 March, 1991).

3: PART TWO: WARES USED IN RELIGIOUS RITUALS AND CEREMONIES

Earthenware vessels play an important role in rituals throughout a person's life. It is customary that religious vessels are made of clay, since earth is one of the four elements—earth, fire, wind and water, a precept that in Java goes far back in time (Kartiwa 1977:1).

3.1: WATER VESSELS

3.1.1: *Padasan*: Large earthenware vessel with a tap, for water storage for the ablutions, required before prayer

When Islam reached Java at the end of the 13th century a new type of water vessel was needed. Islam prescribes ritual ablutions before prayer (washing of face, teeth, hands and feet), which take place five times a day. At first, Javanese Moslems used large Chinese jars in which to store water. The jars were equipped with a drainage hole close to the base (Adhyatman 1978: 2). Placed on a stand, they were easy to tap. Large jars dating from the Ming period (1368–1644) are still in use in some mosques as containers for ablution water (Adhyatman 1981: 157, 208, Plates 65 and 66). Later, large jars with drainage holes and spouts were produced in Java.

The *padasan* is a jar, which has a small spout at the bottom through which water can be drained. The *padasan* in Figure 95 is crudely potted and comes from a village outside Surakarta. The vessel has been given a red wash.

The *padasan* is placed outside the house where it is placed high on some kind of stand (Figures 11, 95) or on another jar turned upside down. Close to the bottom of this jar is a small hole, which is closed by a bamboo or wooden plug. A jet of water will spurt out when the plug is removed. The vessel is supplied with a loose cover.

A very large *padasan*, 6.8 m high with a diameter of 6.3 m, weighing 7.4 tonnes was created at Masjid Agung Bantul, Bantul regency. The finished concrete and clay vessel, *Padasan Agung*, would be filled with well water and have nine taps. It would be recorded in MURI, the Indonesian Museum of Records, and as such become a tourist attraction ('Padasan Agung' 2003: 3).

3.1.2: Water pouring vessels

In Java, earthenwares used in daily life also double up as vessels used in rituals. The *kendi* has been used as a ritual vessel early in Java's history. On the reliefs of Borobudur, which was constructed between AD 760–830, we can see holy men depicted with a *kamandalu* water vessel (Robinson & Kidney 1984: 2–3). Some of the Borobudur *kendi* have lids (Robinson & Kidney 1984: 3). Borobudur, the largest Buddhist sanctuary ever built, is proof that Java had extensive contact with the Indian subcontinent and with the Buddhist faith, which flourished there. In Buddhism water pouring is an important religious act. One of its meanings is that it transfers merit by one who has acquired it to others (Tambiah 1977: 112). Buddhist holy men in Ceylon would pour water from spouted water vessels of metals equipped with lids (*kendiya*) in confirmation of gifts. The Sinhalese *kotalaya*, on the other hand, an earthenware spouted pouring vessel, has

no lid. It is used to sprinkle flower offerings left on the altar with water (Coomaraswamy 1956: 203, 290–291).

In India's past, *rishis*, seers, *yoghis*, practitioners of yoga, ascetics, and other orthodox and holy men, always carried a *kamandalu*, so as to be able to perform *puja*, the act of performing ritual worship (which may include offerings of flowers, food and water) (Huntington 1985: 725). Even the most ancient texts refer to Buddhist *puja* (Falk 1987: 85).

The *kamandalu* can be of three types; *acamana tirtha patra*, 'sipping-of-water-from-the-palm-of-the-hand-vessel' (in order to cleanse the mouth and lips before religious ceremonies, and before meals), *pancapatra*, 'five vessels' (attribute of a small vessel from which water is poured over the image in the course of worship), and *kendi* (Liebert 1976: 122, 209; Bhattacharyya 1990: 3). It is mentioned in the *sastras*, the old texts and manuals, that the *yoghis* and ascetics, preserved rare fruits, herbs and roots in the pure water of the *kamandalu*. These holy men also used it as a drinking vessel (V. Somasekara Sivachariyar, personal communication, 22 March, 1991). So it is possible that the ascetics and holy men were also healers as their water containers harboured rare herbs.

Statues of deities carved in stone from Java's early Hindu-Buddhist period can be seen in Museum Nasional in Jakarta. Several of them are carrying a spouted *kendi*. The collection contains several statues of Agastya, or Shiva *Guru*, spiritual teacher, who is always carrying his most prominent attribute, a spouted water vessel (See Figures 96, 97 for a picture of Agastya and his *kendi*). The statues of Agastya, were found in Central Java and date from the 8th–9th century.⁴⁰ The statues of him show that a Saivite sect perhaps from Tamil Nadu in India had close cultural contacts with Java at that time. The veneration for the *kendi*-carrying sage Agastya must have been deep.

Among the stone sculptures in Museum Nasional is the 13th Century Buddhist deity, Bhrkuti, (Inv. No. 1129) from Candi Jago, which is dated to c. 1280. She stands tilting her *kendi* surrounded by lotus (Saker & Saker 1985: 100, Figure 12). Figure 98 shows Bhrkuti's *kendi*.

3.1.2.1: *Kendi besar*: Large *kendi*

3.1.2.1.1: Large *kendi* with flange (*chattra*) below the mouth rim

Flanged *kendi* can be found in the Ethnographic section in Museum Nasional. A display shows the canopied, ceremonial bed of *Sri*, the Rice Goddess and her consort Sadono. The Rice Goddess was once much revered in Central Java and her bed—'the symbolic centre of the house-cosmos'—had a central place in the house (Ave 1988: 100). In the display, a pair of *kendi* are among the containers placed in front of *Dèwi Sri*'s ritual marriage bed (Adhyatman 1987: 21, Plate 7; Ashabranner & Ashabranner 1980: 112, Figure 1). The *kendi* are filled with water, offerings to the Goddess. The two *kendi* symbolize the unity of the couple and their harmonious marriage. As the *kendi* is the

40 In India Agastya was identified by a star. Agastya's star is called Canopus in the West. Canopus is the brightest star in the southern hemisphere and the brightest star in heavens after Sirius (Khaire 1978: 57; Mitton 1993: 61; Ridpath 1981: 112; Dallapiccola 2002: 21).

container used for cooling and refreshing water it is seen as a perfect symbol of a good marriage (Adhyatman 1987: 20–21).

A *kendi* with a flange is depicted on Borobudur (Miksic 1990b: 141. Panel IV. 54, left corner). Flanges also occur on bronze *kundika*, ritual vessels which are filled from the spout (Khoo 1991: 117, Figures 157 and 158). These vessels, which were used in Java, date from the 10th to the 12th centuries. Finely executed Majapahit terracotta *kendi* have flanges below the mouth rim (Adhyatman 1987: G). Flanged necks occur in 14th and 15th century Ming *kendi* (Robinson & Kidney 1984: 40). Possibly the flanges which occur on *kendi* originally symbolized a parasol or shaver, *chattra* in Sanskrit, indicating its use as a ritual vessel. The shading umbrella is a symbol of protection in both Hinduism and Buddhism and is one of the Eight Treasures (Cooper 1978: 183). Also referred to as the Eight Buddhist Emblems or the Eight Happy or Auspicious Omens (Yeo and Martin 1978: 305). The wheel (*Chakra*), the Conch shell, the Umbrella (*Chattra*), the Canopy, the Lotus, the Vase, the Pair of Fish and the Endless Knot are supposed to be auspicious signs found on the sole of Buddha's foot (Yeo & Martin 1978: 305).

Describing a ritual water vessel with a flange it is stated that the flange represents a superimposed parasol (Fontein 1990: 277–278). Further, the parasol or shading umbrella, *chattra*, is a symbol of authority and also symbolizes royal status (Miksic 1991b: 233). The practice of holding an umbrella over a royal person came from India. In Java this is still the custom. During the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony for a little prince, a parasol was held over him as he took his first steps (Figure 220).

Parasols placed over a Buddha image indicate his royal birth as well as high spiritual status. *Chattra* are placed at the top of Buddhist *stupa* as well. Perhaps this explains why pouring vessels in the past when used in Buddhist rituals had an auspicious *chattra* on their neck and that today it survives as a flange on the *kendi*. In Java, a parasol is still an important mark of respect and held over a deceased body whilst it is carried on a litter for burial.

3.1.2.1.2: *Kendi* with a *kalasa*-shaped (jar-shaped) mouth

Large *kendi*, with a *kalasa*-shaped mouth, are used in ceremonies like the *Ruwatan*. A *Ruwatan* is a purification ritual performed by Muslims, Christians and Buddhists alike. It is a preventive way of staving off mystically caused misfortune. A *Ruwatan* is always started in the late afternoon before sunset.

At a *Ruwat Negeri*, the purification ceremony for the Indonesian Nation the shadow play started at four o'clock. In this special shadow play, the *kendi* which was used has a *kalasa*-shaped mouth. The *kendi* was filled with water from seven locations (Figure 225). The *Ruwat Negeri* was held as a request to free Indonesia from impending threats and any harmful or evil influences so that the Nation's dignity would be restored. It was held during the *Laku Budaya Jawa I*, Javanese Cultural Conference in Semarang on 17 July 1999. The *Ruwat Negeri* was conducted by one of Java's most famous shadow play puppeteers, the renowned puppet master *Ki Mantep Soedarsono*. He had fasted rigorously before this most important performance. The

wayang story told by the *dalang* was ‘*Pendowo Boyong*’.—‘The *Pandhawas* are moving’. The *Pandhawas* are the five sons of Pandu in the Indian epic *Mahabarata*, an epic almost everybody on Java is familiar with. The title of the play conveys that Indonesia would now move into a new, less difficult phase.

Elaborate spirit offerings accompanied the performance. All kinds of produce were there. They consisted of edible things, fruits and vegetables, which grow in Java, as well as live animals; two pairs of live doves, turtle doves, *perkutut*, and common pigeons, *burung merpati*. A *pangaron*, small basin, housed two swimming catfish (*ikan lélé*). There were also kitchen utensils, and batik sarongs, products of the cotton fields. Among the earthenwares were two *kendi*, one large and one medium-sized, which both had ‘ritual’ *kalasa*-shaped mouths (Figures 225, 103). When the play was over, the audience helped themselves to the many offerings.

3.1.2.1.3: *Kendi cerat*: The spouted *kendi* from Cirebon in West Java

An attractive *kendi* is made in Kampung Posong, Kabupaten Cirebon in West Java. Unlike most other *kendi* from Java’s western parts, this *kendi* is spouted. The spout is conical. The mouth on the vessel’s wide neck consists of four thick mouth rims piled on top of each other.

The *kendi* has a hollow flanged lid possibly thrown off the hump (Figures 99, 130). The upper part of the body is decorated. The shoulder has a border of meandering leaves and the neck vertical lines. A thin slip was first applied, and when dry the decoration was scratched into the surface.

It is the custom for a Cirebonese bride to use this type of *kendi* when she performs the ritual ablution before prayer, *wudu*.⁴¹

A small village in Java celebrates the harvest festival in a spectacular way. As part of the festivities are young ladies, able to balance and twirl on *kendi cerat* whilst at the same time balancing a copper waterpot on their heads. The *Guyub* dance is performed to show that the people living in the village help each other and are able to live together in peace (Reiss 2002: 20). This *kendi* is previously illustrated as *kendi bertutup*, *kendi* with cover (*Dari Tanah Liat sampai ke Wadah* 1983: 30–31). Also featured by Adhyatman (1987: 118, Figure 215).

3.1.2.2: *Kendi sedang*: Medium size *kendi*

3.1.2.2.1: Medium size plain *kendi* with straight neck

This medium size plain *kendi* has a straight neck (Figures 100 and 93B). One *kendi* of this type was seen being purchased for a funeral, perhaps to be broken when the body on the litter was carried away.⁴² Or perhaps the grieving family would use it at the burial site filled with *Air Talkin*, instruction water, although today, I was told, any plastic drinking water bottle is widely used.

41 In Afghanistan and India water poured from *kendi* and water jugs are used for ablutions (Hughes 1973: 4, illustration).

42 Cf. Koentjaraningrat (1985: 363), where ‘an earthenware vessel containing water is broken as the body on the litter is carried away.’

3.1.2.2.2: Medium size *kendi* with a flange (*chattra*) below the mouth rim

High fired dark-brown *kendi* with light-brown patches on the shoulder are made in Central Java (Figure 101). This *kendi* has a neck with a flange parasol (*chattra*) and a short spout. It is thinly potted so very light. With a fast rotating slanting wheel and fine clay it is possible to produce vessels with thin walls. In Klaten and Bayat the potter's slanting wheel slants away from the thrower,⁴³ allowing women to sit with their legs together, while in India, Africa and Egypt it slants toward the thrower (Gearheart 1985: 24). The fast wheel is said to have arrived in the area, introduced (possibly from the Middle East) by a Muslim cleric in the early 16th century. It is also possible that this technique was invented by the women potters themselves (Sadewo 2003: 17).

A *kendi* of the same shape is featured in *Kendis* (Robinson & Kidney 1984: 59, Figure 9).

3.1.2.3: *Kendi* from Jepara on Central Java's north coast

The *kendi* from Jepara is a red-slipped small *kendi* with a *kalasa*-shaped mouth. This *kendi* has a heavily turned flat base and sides. Chatter marks from the turning are visible on the upper part of the *kendi*. The neck and the upper part of the body are roughly burnished, leaving an interesting pattern on the surface. It has a long straight spout. It is very lightweight indicating that it was made in Central Java on a fast slanting wheel, perhaps Mayong or Kudus (Soegondho 1995: 101, Figure 132). Its size and the *kalasa*-shaped mouth indicate a ritual *kendi* (Figures 102, 103). Compare Robinson & Kidney (1984: 59, Figure 10).

3.1.2.4: *Kendi*, (*kendi sesajén*, *tempat sesajén*), from Plered, West Java

Kendi made in West Java do not have spouts. Figure 104 depicts a *kendi sesajén* with a decoration of brown bands. Plered is one place, where such *kendi* are made. When I visited, there were many *kendi sesajén* strung together with pink and baby blue plastic string in groups of ten (Figure 105). This *kendi* is kept by the Sundanese in the *goah*, cooking and storage room, together with heirlooms, according to information obtained at Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat Sri Baduga, in Bandung. The *kendi* is now also used as a flower vase or as a decorative item in the home but originally it was used for rituals.

At a Sundanese *Selamatan*, ceremonial meal, given after a successful harvest, two freshly cut green *hanjuang* leaves, *Cordyline fruticosa*, are placed in a *kendi* (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 132, 454 Figure 74). The plant symbolically represents the Rice Mother (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 41).⁴⁴

43 For a picture (a postcard in Leo Hak's postcard collection) of male Javanese potters using this type of slanting wheel see Ave (1988: 28, bottom).

44 Different versions of a Sundanese creation myth tell how the useful plants were born from the dead body of the Rice Goddess to be of service to humans (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 74, 78–79). The leaves of the *hanjuang*, which represent the Goddess, are cut to the midrib whilst the other half of the leaf is left intact. This is done to indicate that the Rice Goddess does not belong in the temporal world but in the invisible and eternal world. For the Sundanese the spirit world, although invisible to us, is the real world. The fringed side is a gift or sacrifice to honour the Rice Mother. The uncut side represents

The Sundanese *kendi* is also indispensable in wedding ceremonies and at the ceremony celebrating that a woman is seven months pregnant (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 132, note 1). In the Sundanese wedding ceremony, the groom will crush an egg with his right foot. This symbolizes that the wife must obey her husband. The bride then washes her husband's foot, with water (fetched from one water source only – not seven) poured out from a *kendi*. The bride then breaks the empty *kendi*.

The Priangan, a group of people in the inner part of West Java, south east of Bandung, use the *kendi* in their wedding ceremony in yet another way. The bride will light a bunch (seven pieces) of midribs from the sugarpalm, *lidi kawung*, using the flame of a coconut oil lamp. The midribs are then left either to burn out in a water-filled *kendi*, or the flames are extinguished by the bride when still placed in the water filled vessel on the floor in front of the couple. The meaning of this is that as a married woman it is the wife's duty to cool her husband's emotions. The couple is also reminded that often people have weak characters, which are easily broken like the *lidi kawung*, or that people often have bad attitudes (they are quick to get angry). Now, for the married couple, this behaviour must be a thing of the past.

When the Sundanese build a house and have come to the roof construction they place a *kendi* with water next to a pillar to which rice panicles and a sugar cane have been tied. At the same time, an egg laid by a goose (*angsa*) and a packet, *bungkus*, of white cloth are placed in the earth under the house. When one moves to a new house, the rice jar, *padaringan*, salt, *garam*, and earth *tanah*, are brought from the old house. The salt, earth, and water from a *kendi*, are sprinkled around the new home. Then the new occupants are ready to settle down in their new dwelling.⁴⁵

3.2: VESSELS USED AS CENSERS IN CEREMONIES

3.2.1: *Anglo besar*: Large censer (*Yadnya Kasada* festival)

The large *anglo* (Figure 39) is also used as a censer in various religious ceremonies. For instance, the Tengger priest uses it as a ritual vessel at the annual *Yadnya Kasada* festival. On the fourteenth day of the month of *Kasada*, the last month in the Tenggerese calendar, the villagers in the mountainous Tengger area in East Java trek up the slopes of Mount

the world we live in. It is not permanent as it only exists at this very moment. In contrast the spirit world is permanent. It will always be there (Y. Iriani Syarief, personal communication, 2000).

Cordyline fruticosa of the *Liliaceae* family is a pantropic plant with medicinal properties found in India, China and throughout Polynesia (Perry 1980: 235). (Syn. *Cordyline terminalis*. Facciola has this plant belonging to the *Dracaenaceae* family (Facciola 1990: 80). It comes in several forms. The plant with the red leaves are used in processions in Hindu Bali. The green form is the Sundanese *hanjuang*. It is a common plant in Sundanese gardens, perhaps because it is fast growing and quickly provides greenery around the house. It can be classified as a sacred ornamental plant. It is also a useful plant that produces a green dye.

Polynesians grow *Cordyline fruticosa* for its tubers. They are fibrous and high in sugar and roasted in great quantities in special ovens, when communal feasts are held (Davidson 1999: 794).

The *Cordyline* has many names, as a houseplant with beautiful foliage the Ti plant and its many relatives are familiar to most people. The stem-sprouting log often seen in a water container is the Ti plant (Mott 1975: 70). The Chinese call it the Happy Plant.

45 Paine (1990: 131) mentions that in other early societies, travelers had brought earth from their homes as a protective device, as the earth held the friendly spirit of the home.

Bromo. They bring offerings to *Dewa Kusuma*, who is also called *Sang Hyang Bathara Bromo*, the god residing inside the still active volcanic crater. The Hindu *Kasada* festival goes back to ancient times.

In an airline inflight magazine with an article describing this event is a photo showing the priest, with offerings and a large censer, *anglo besar* ('Bromo and the feast of Kesada' 1983: 25).⁴⁶ The priest is consecrating the offerings and inviting the god to come and partake from them, while reciting prayers and burning incense. The incense serves to convey the message to the god (Smith-Hefner 1992: 239–240). Live chickens, sheep, agricultural produce, money and flowers are then hurled into the crater as an appeasement to the god of Bromo. Mount Bromo is still active and an eruption on 8 June 2004, killed two tourists ('Bromo erupts' 2004: 1).

3.2.2: *Anglo kecil*: Small censer (*anglo kemenyan*)

The *anglo kecil*, is a smaller version of the *anglo besar*. The censer is thrown in two sections, which are then joined. The joint above the opening is hidden and strengthened by a rim, which also serves as a decoration. The mouth-rim has three knobs. The grate in the middle of the vessel has six fairly large ventilation holes. They were made before the two pieces were joined together. Above the trapezoidal opening and on the upper side of the vessel, there are two more holes.⁴⁷ The censer is roughly made of an iron-rich clay that fires dark red (Figure 106A).

This type of censer is used at prayers of all kinds. For instance, at Friday Night Prayer, *Solat Malam Jumat*, during religious chanting, *Tablilan*, at the Javanese ritual communal meal *Selamatan*, at prayers before circumcision, *Khitanan*, in traditional purification rituals, *Ruwatan*, when moving into a new house and in healing rituals conducted by shamans, *dukun* (Brummitt 2003: 19 photo) (Also see Figures 106B, 215 for an *anglo kecil*).

3.2.3: *Piring (lèmpèr)* (plate): Stand for *anglo kecil*

It is customary to place the small censer, *anglo kecil*, on a plate. That way the censer is easier to transport (Figure 215) and if it tips over accidental fires can be avoided. The plate in Figure 107 has a footring. Mouthrim and cavetto have a painted red slip with the middle of the plate left bare. In Central Java, this plate is called *lèmpèr*.

3.2.4: *Parupuyan (pedupaan)*: incense burner from West Java

My collection contains four incense burners with foot from West Java. Santoso Soegondho (1995: 72) uses the term footed bowl for this type of censer.

The censer in Figure 108A has a deep bowl with a rolled-over-lip rim on a closed hollow high foot with a square draught opening. The bowl has seven tiny air vents in the bottom.

46 The large censer also features in other ceremonies. An article (Leo 2006: 20) has a photo showing a procession at Baron beach close to Yogyakarta with an *anglo besar*. At the Javanese New Year fishermen at the seaside carry offerings to the Queen of the South Seas in the hope of obtaining good catches in the coming year, in a ceremony called *Sedhekah Laut* (Leo 2006: 20).

47 Used at night, this censer would have the appearance of a Kala mask. It would look like a face with glowing eyes and mouth.

The one in the middle is encircled by six others. It is a crudely made piece.

This type of censer is previously recorded by Sukanda-Tessier (1977: 453, Figure 70), who notes that the censer is taken from its 'place' (*goah*) in the house to the rice barn.⁴⁸ There it is placed in the centre of the offerings for the Rice Goddess, *Nyi Pohaci*, where she is invoked before the rice harvest is started (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 94–95).

Censer #1 in Figure 108B has a bowl with a turned-in-lip rim on a high hollow flared foot. A prehistoric censer from Bali has the same kind of trumpet shaped foot (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 60, Photo 37).

Censer #2 in Figure 108B has a bowl with a turned-out-lip rim with a flange on a short hollow foot.⁴⁹

Censer #3 in Figure 108B has a bowl with a rolled over lip rim on a closed hollow foot, which has an air-vent in the form of a peaking triangle (a fire symbol).

3.2.5: *Anglo ratus*: Perfuming censer

The *anglo ratus* or *ratus*, or simply *anglo*, is an incense burner made in two pieces. The bottom of this censer consists of a plate with sloping sides to which a cylinder, the actual brazier, is luted. This brazier has a deep bowl-shaped grate, with six holes pierced in the bottom and two above a quadrangular air vent. The bottom plate is fused with the brazier, which is then covered by a domed lid. The cover has eleven perforations through which the incense-smoke escapes. The lid also has two protruding ears so the cover can be lifted (Figure 109).

Incense powder is placed on top of glowing charcoal, *arang*. Charcoal made from coconut shell is preferred on this type of censer. This censer is used at celebrations, which take place on the eve before a wedding (Koentjaraningrat 1985: 255). The smell of incense announces to the neighbours that a wedding will be taking place.

Clothes such as the *jarik*, the cotton skirting worn by women, is scented with incense from an *anglo ratus*. The garment is washed and put to dry over a stand (*ceraka*) with the censer underneath. The censer's cover will protect the clothing from being burnt by the hot coals.

3.3: OFFERING DISHES

The island of Java is thought to be populated by spirits. These belong to three different groups. In the highest group we have the guardian deities. The second tier is formed by ancestral spirits. The third group consists of semi-human spirits of the earth and underworld (Smith-Hefner 1992: 240–242). Offerings to the two highest groups are presented in proper vessels. Offerings to the low ranking group of spirits, consisting of leftovers and food scraps, are placed on torn pices of banana leaves directly on the ground.

48 In the *goah* there are the following earthenwares:

1. A rice container, *pambeasan*, (*beas* is hulled rice in Sundanese), filled with hulled rice and usually covered with a white cloth. *Padaringan* is another name for this rice jar.
2. A *kendi goglok* bottle *kendi* with water.
3. *Parupuyan*, incense burner, with gum benjamin.
4. Plate with seven small cups containing offerings of beans.

49 Footed bowls were found in prehistoric sites in western Java (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 72, Photos 58, 59; 79, Photos 70 and 71).

3.3.1: *Lèmpèr*: (saucer), large flat bowl

The *lèmpèr*, shallow dish, is used as an offering plate.

3.3.1.1: *Lèmpèr*: Serving dish for ritual meals

At a ritual meal, *Slametan*, a small rice cone (*tumpeng*) placed on a banana leaf lining (*lapik*) is sometimes presented on a *lèmpèr* instead of on a winnowing tray, *tampah*. This communal and ceremonial feast has animistic and shamanistic elements so an earthenware saucer is an appropriate serving dish.

3.3.1.2: *Lèmpèr*: Presentation dish for food offerings

At *Pura Mankunegaran*, Mankunegaran Palace, in Surakarta food offerings are placed on *lèmpèr*. These dishes are placed at seven locations. They are the four main post bases of the *Pendopo Agung*, plus the *Kyai Pétruk*, which is the most venerated post north of the main north-east post. Two *lèmpèr* are placed at the two side doors of the *Dalem ageng*, Great Palace, the main sacred building of the palace.

The food offerings for the spirits, *sesajén*, are placed in five banana leaf containers, (*takir*), on the plate with a lining (*lapik*) of banana leaf (Figure 110). On my visit, the eve of the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony, the middle leaf container on the *lèmpèr* contained an egg, *tigan*, a pucung nut, *kluwak*, and a candlenut *kemiri* (*miri*). There was plain meat, *daging mela*, garnished with sliced chillies, red onion and garlic and dressed up with a small coconut sauce, in a second banana cup. The third leaf cup held *empon-empon*, spices, consisting of ginger *jahé*, (*Zingiber officinale*), tumeric, *kunyit* (*Curcuma domestica*) and lesser galangal, *kencur* (*Kaempferia galanga*). The fourth cup was filled with mung beans, *kacang ijo* (*Phaseolus radiatus/Phaseolus aureus*), black soybean, *kacang kedhelé ijo* (*Glycine max* sp.) and sesame seeds, *wijèn* (*Sesamum indicum*) topped by a fish. The fifth leaf container was filled with a ceremonial rice porridge *jenang abang-putih*, red and white porridge, which is cooked in coconut milk. On this porridge one half is topped with palm sugar (palm sugar is considered as a red element). This red and white porridge symbolises the unity of man and woman, fertility and prosperity (Figure 110).

3.3.1.3: *Lèmpèr*: Used as a stand

The *lèmpèr* is useful as a stand for the *anglo kecil*, small censer, because it prevents fire accidents. When used as a stand for the censer, it can also be considered a presentation plate. For a suitable *lèmpèr* see Figure 85.

3.4: OFFERING BOWLS

Bowls and basins are filled with water and a mixture of different flowers and sliced leaves. These water and flower offerings are left at specially chosen places in the house on auspicious days or on special occasions.

3.4.1: *Jajambaran*: Sundanese bowl

In the main street of Plered, I came across stacks of decorated basins, which the Sundanese call *jajambaran* (Figure 111). The *jajambaran* is a thrown vessel with a thick rim (typical

of a utilitarian vessel). The side of the bowl has a banded decoration. It consists of five horizontal bands of cream, dark red and brown slips. The bowl is burnished on the outside. The inside decoration consists of two cream coloured slip circles

The *jajambaran* is used by the Sundanese farmers in the *Daur Hidup* ceremony, a Thanksgiving Ceremony given to the Rice Goddess. It is held when the rice seedlings have been transplanted out into the fields. The vessel is filled with an offering of water to which flowers and chopped up herbs called *rampé* have been added.

Rampé is an offering composed of seven sorts of flowers and finely cut and sliced herbs. These are sprinkled into a bowl filled with water (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 67, 95). It seems likely that the colours and the plants used for the offering once corresponded to a given format. In a Sundanese offering of cloth, Sukanda-Tessier notes that if the cloths deposited on the altar are four, the pieces must be of black, red, yellow and white. These are the colour of the four cardinal directions and also of the four elements. When five pieces of cloth are used they must be black, red, yellow, white and blue. With seven pieces the colours are black, red, yellow, white, a dark golden-orange-pink, blue and green. A combination of seven colours is called *tujuh warna* (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 92–93; 93, note 2).

In Hindu Bali the five colours represent the five Hindu elements, earth, fire, ether, wind/air and water. The human body is made of these elements, which mirror the cosmos. Further, three of the colours represent the Hindu Trinity. The colour red stands for Brahma, black for Vishnu, and white for Shiva. The set colour schemes that are required in the colour-coded offerings represent a way of maintaining balance in the cosmic world.

In wedding ceremonies in Cirebon the *jajambaran* is used for ceremonial flower baths (*Air Kembang Setaman*). When a Sundanese mother-to-be celebrates her seven months of pregnancy the flower bath is administered from a *jajambaran*. The bowl is then taken to the nearest crossroads where it is smashed together with what is left of the bath water. This is perhaps done to disorient evil spirits that might bring misfortune. Crossroads are ominous places in all cultures (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996: 257–261).

According to Dra. Yunita Iriani Syarief (personal communication, 2000), *Jajambaran*, is not be translated with *paso*, basin (*pasu* in Indonesian) as a *paso* has straight sides. The *jajambaran* has the profile of a 'bowl'.

3.4.2: *Cuwo*: Floating bowl for *Kembang Setaman* from Pasar Nusukan, Surakarta
Bowl made of fine clay and decorated with a horizontal undulating line (river pattern) incised on the outside under the rim (Figure 112). The bowl is used for *Air Kembang Setaman*, water and flower mixture used ceremonially. As the name indicates this is a set of ritual flowers unspecified in number, which can be found in one garden (*taman*).

Bowls with flower water are placed at auspicious places in the house. This is done on special occasions such as one's monthly (Javanese) birthday (*lapan*) or simply to bring happiness into the house. The offering bowls are also used on sacred days like *Malam Jemuwah*, Thursday after 6 p.m. and *Malam Anggara Kasih (Selasa Kliwon)*, Tuesday Eve that coincides with *Kliwon*.

The Javanese have a beautiful way of explaining this custom. The bowl, *cuwo*, is made of earth and filled with water, *air*. Thus we have the marriage of the two. The flowers in the water are the Hope of Goodness (H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1999).

A bowl with flowers can be seen on a 9th century stone panel from Central Java (Pal 1999: 90, Figure 6). The relief comes from Candi Loro-Jonggran, a Buddhist temple. The scene with the flower bowl depicts a court dance performance in the *Ramayana* epic. From this we can assume that the custom of putting flowers in bowls goes back at least a thousand years and is typical for Java.

The place where *Kyai Gedhé* Solo, the founder of Surakarta, is buried is visited on Thursday evenings (*Malam Jemuwah*). His unmarked grave lies at the beginning of the long row of cannons in *Karaton* Surakarta. On my visit, a group of women were paying their respect by scattering flower petals and placing a bowl filled with *Kembang Setaman*, water in which flower petals float, on the burial place. The flower water was first consecrated with incense and the reciting of a *mantra* by the *Abdi Dalem Caos Dhahar*, palace servant in charge of the spirit offerings (for a picture of him, see Figure 215).

After finishing their prayers the women dabbed their faces with water from the bowl, hoping to look younger and to stay healthy, as the water was now endowed with beneficial properties.

Sometimes the consecrated water is taken home and used to sprinkle over the rice fields (*sawah*) to prevent rats from eating the crops. Such is the magical power of this water that it is even drunk as a cure against disease. Students in Surakarta facing exams also drink the water for success.

3.4.3: *Cuwo*: Shallow and broad-rimmed Javanese earthenware bowl

A modern looking black, burnished earthenware platter has a broad rim with an incised wavy, line-decoration. The incising was done with the vessel turning clock-wise. The underside of the vessel is unburnished (Figure 113).

The old Surakarta woman who sold it suggested that I could use it as an offering dish. Several years later I came across a stack of the same black, rimmed bowls in Pasar Nusukan, Surakarta. Here it was referred to as a large flat bowl, *lèmpèr*. This shows that vessels often have dual uses. They can be used in both rituals and cooking.

3.5: SMALL VESSELS USED FOR SPIRIT OFFERINGS, *SESAJÉN*, BY THE JAVANESE

In most Javanese ceremonies and family celebrations, there are special offerings to the spirits. These offerings are sometimes presented in small vessels made of earthenware, which are specially made for this purpose (see Figure 114A, 114B). Javanese farmers also place offerings for the spirits on the rice fields, when they are plowing, planting, transplanting the rice seedlings, weeding, and harvesting (Geertz 1960: 41–42). At puppet shows those spirits, which inhabit puppets and musical instruments, together with other spirits, are placated with offerings to ensure success for the performance.

Spirits are also placated before other theatrical performances. Spirit offerings take place on numerous other occasions as well, for instance when one moves into a new house. There were four different types of small vessels made especially for spirit offerings in Surakarta. There were small *kendi* for water offerings, small bowls, *empluk*, and small oil lamps, *jlupak*, and their stands, *jodhog*. One can buy these pieces separately, or when needed a whole four piece setting, *dhudhuk*.⁵⁰ In Surakarta's markets, stalls have baskets filled with these small vessels (Figure 115).

3.5.1: *Kendi kecil, kendi sesajén: Kendi* for water offerings

Small exquisitely potted *kendi* made by different potters can be found in many of Java's markets (Figure 116). These small *kendi* are not always sold together with other miniatures like the above-mentioned setting. They are sold separately as well.

At a *Midadarèni* celebration, the ceremony held for the bride on the eve of her wedding, in Kabupaten Karanganyar in Central Java, the spirit offerings in the bride's bedroom were placed in a small basket, (*ténggok*), lined with banana leaves. Inside the basket there were two coarse sitting mats, *klasa bangsa*, (symbolizing beds), betel vine leaves, *sirih*, and edibles; green, white and black beans, and candlenut, *kemiri*, a small old brown coconut, small dried salted fish, (*gerèh pèthèk*). There was a small *kendi* with water, and rice and an egg in a small cover-less bowl *empluk*, and a small earthenware oil lamp, *jlupak* (Figure 117).

Other references to small *kendi* are recorded. Geertz mentions a *Tingkeban* ceremony, which is traditionally held for a woman celebrating her seventh month of pregnancy. The spirit offerings, which accompanied the ceremony, included 'a tiny water jug of Middle-Eastern type' (Geertz 1960: 42). For other small Javanese earthenware *kendi* see Adhyatman (1987: 116, Plates 202 and 203). Small *kendi*, containing libations for spirits, are used in Bali as well (Richter 1993: 42). Another small *kendi* recorded by Shaw comes from Ayuthya in Thailand (Shaw 1987: 47, photo bottom left corner; 48). The author believes that it was once used as an offering in a Thai spirit house.

3.5.2: *Empluk*: Small bowl, used in ritual offerings, *sesajén*

Small containers of different types are used for offerings (Figures 103, 114A, 114B, 118, 119, 120). The *empluk* can be filled with flowers and water when used in the preventive purification ritual, *Ruwatan*, or with red kidney beans, *kacang mérah* (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) or soybeans, *kedhelé* (*Glyxine max*). Salt and sugar are used as offerings as well as hulled rice, *beras*. At the *Ruwat Negeri*, the purification ceremony for the Indonesian Nation the *empluk* was filled with rice topped by an egg (Figure 103).

One of Surakarta's markets sold *pucung* nuts, to be used as offerings placed in the *empluk*. The *pucung* nut, *kluwak*, comes from a tree (*Pangium edule*) and it is used as a

50 *dhudhuk* here means setting (J. Miksic, personal communication, 2007). Zoetmulder (1982a: 422) translates *duduk* with sitting, squatting. Rigg (1862: 40) translates the Sundanese word *duduk* with seated, to become settled).

colouring agent and flavour in meat stews. However, these nuts were light—the shells empty; in Java, nothing goes to waste!

At harvest time, an *empluk* is used in rituals that take place at the rice field. A few grains of unhusked rice, *padi*, and cotton fleece, *kapas*, are placed in an *empluk*. These items represent food and clothing, which are necessities for people as well as spirits.

Inside the house, an *empluk* may be used for an offering of three flowers, (*kembang telon*) placed in front of an heirloom. *Kuwalen*, (*kuwali kecil*) a small cooking pot can replace the *empluk* (Figure 119).

3.5.3: *Jlupak*: Small earthenware oil lamp

The *jlupak*, the Javanese oil lamp without a chimney, is a small saucer with one or three indentations (depressions) for wicks on the rim. The lamp is fuelled with coconut oil, *minyak kelapa*. A wick, *sumbu*, of cotton yarn is used to light the lamp. For illustrations of Majapahit terracotta oil lamps see Miksic & Soekatno (1995: 185).

3.5.4: *Jodhog*: Pedestal for *jlupak* (oil lamp)

The pedestal or stand, *jodhog*, for the oil lamp comes in two sizes (Figure 121).

3.6: EARTHENWARES USED FOR SPIRIT OFFERINGS AT A SUNDANESE EXORCISM AND CLEANSING CEREMONY *RUATAN/RUWATAN*

An exception to the use of small spirit vessels is a different type of offering photographed by Buurman (1988). Among the offerings hung on a rope at a Sundanese rod puppet performance (*wayang golek*) at a *Ruatan* (*Ruwatan*) exorcism ceremony are utilitarian earthenware plates and a bottle *kendi* (Buurman 1988: 67). There is also a banana stock, sugar cane (*tebu*), and rice panicles, *padi*, on the rope. In earlier times it was the tradition to include opium, *madat*. After the performance the audience will fight for the displays, which are taken home. The rice stalks are specially prized as they give protection (T. Purbaya, personal communication, 28 June, 1996).

At a Sundanese *Ruatan* recorded by Herbert the eight eggs in the spirit offerings were placed in the mouths of *kendi goglok*, which were used as eggcups (Herbert 2002: 95, photo).

3.7: VESSELS USED IN PURIFICATION CEREMONIES

In a ceremonial washing and purification ceremony of the sacred heirlooms, *Jamasan Pusaka*, at the Sultan's court in Yogyakarta, there is a *jun*, water pot, with magnificent black firing marks and a *pangaron*, basin. Water is poured from a flanged *kendi* (Fox 1992: 20). All ceremonial washing ceremonies are held in the month of *Sura*, which is the first month in the Javanese calendar.

3.8: VESSELS USED IN WEDDING CEREMONIES

Wedding customs in Java vary. They depend on the cultural, social, financial and religious circumstances of the two families.

3.8.1: *Klemuk*: Small or large ceremonial *kuwali*, cooking pot

3.8.1.1: *Klemuk* used in Mankunegaran Palace

The *klemuk*, (ceremonial *kuwali*) feature as ritual vessels and are used in ceremonies. At the marriage of a Javanese family's youngest daughter, a *Tumplak Punjèn* ('spilled all over the place') ceremony will be held. This ceremony symbolizes that the parents have finished the task of bringing up and caring for their children. The mother will scatter different seeds among the wedding guests. For this ritual she uses a *klemuk*. The grains inside the vessel symbolize what the daughter has learnt from her parents, the values that she received in her home and takes with her in life, and other skills like cooking rice, harvesting it and respecting the food grain. Now that the task of the parents is finished, all their remaining riches (symbolized by the grains) are given away to those present at the wedding. The grains, which are scattered from the *klemuk*, consist of rice coloured yellow with tumeric, *beras kuning*, mung beans, *kacang ijo*, brown soybeans, *tholo*, black soybeans, *kedhelé ireng*, white soybeans, *kedhelé puthi*, and sweetcorn, *jagung*.

Figure 122 shows the chef at Mankunegaran's Palace *Juru masak sajèn*, who prepares food offerings and ritual meals, holding a *klemuk* used at the palace.

3.8.1.2: *Klemuk*: Small *kuwali*, coloured white with lime

The *kuwali*, the Javanese cooking pot for rice and porridges is called *klemuk* when used ceremonially. Spirit offerings which take place at weddings include a *klemuk* together with the setting, *dhudhuk*, of the small ritual vessels; *kendi sesajèn*, *empluk*, *jlupak* and *jodhog*. The *klemuk* is filled with hulled rice, *beras*.

A *klemuk* from Pasar Legi in Surakarta, is coloured white with lime/chalk (calcium carbonate).⁵¹ A brown and green decoration is drawn, also in lime, on the white background. The decoration, which is repeated three times around the side of the body, is perhaps ment to be rice straws.

The lid has a small knob handle, and an impermanent lime decoration of three panels consisting of lines (brown, green, brown) drawn on the white background starting from the knob. The lime decoration is impermanent and can be washed off (Figure 120).

The bamboo winnowing tray, *tampah*, used to separate the rice grains from the chaff, is often used as a tray for the spirit offerings. A suitable spirit offering at a wedding would have an earthenware pot, *klemuk*, filled with (white) rice, *beras*, and a small *kendi*, *kendi sesajèn*, filled with water. A rolled up piece of a banana leaf propped into the *kendi* neck serves as a stopper. An oil lamp, *jlupak*, filled with coconut oil, *minyak*, and supplied with a cotton wick, *sumbu*, is placed on a stand, *jodhog*. Seven small bowls, *empluk*, are filled

51 In (western) Java the Goddess of Rice, is associated with east and the colour white (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 201). In India ceremonial pots are often painted after firing (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 150). There white is one of the colours chosen as a suitable background (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 136). By painting the pots the evil associated with plain ones is abolished, according to a potter in Orissa (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 152).

with the following items:

1. *kacang ijo*, mung beans (*Phaseolus radiatus/Phaseolus aureus*)
2. *kedhelé*, soybeans (*Glycine max*)
3. *bumbu dapur*, cooking spices, three kinds; *kunir*, tumeric (*Curcuma domestica*), *laos*, greater galangal (*Alpinia galanga*), *jahé*, ginger (*Zingiber officinale*)
4. *kacang tanah*, peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*)
5. *telur ayam*, a hen's egg
6. *kluwak*, the seed from the *kepayang* tree (*Pangium edule*), which is used as a spice and colourant in cooking
7. three, five or seven kinds of ceremonial flowers

Further items can be added to this offering. Packages containing suitable articles for this purpose can be bought at the stall. For instance there is a plastic bag which contains white cotton yarn and a green comb (Figure 120). There are also small 'budget' packages for sale. These contain the following five tiny items, which are neatly wrapped in a page from a discarded school exercise book:

1. A piece of factory-made white cotton cloth, *mori*, measuring 4.5 cm x 4.5 cm, part of it dyed light green.⁵²
2. *Kapas*, cotton fleece.
3. *Kaca*, a small piece of a broken mirror (Some packages contain a sharp glass splinter as a substitute for the mirror).
4. *Sisir* a miniature comb with wide teeth cut out from a discarded tin.
5. *Suri* a decorative curved comb cut out from a discarded tin.

3.8.1.3: *Klemuk*, used as a wedding favour

Klemuk with lid topped by a lotus-shaped knob. The jar is painted green (after firing). At the widest part of the body is a confronting row of equilateral triangles (a border of alternating upright and inverted triangles).⁵³ Coomaraswamy (1956: 105, 106, Figure 56) calls this a chevron border. The mouth rim and the bottom row of 'shoulder' triangles are decorated with gold colour.

This specially ordered *klemuk* was given away as a wedding memento at the marriage of the last-born daughter. The bride's mother filled the keepsake pots, which she gave away, with the seed grains mentioned in section 3.8.1.2 (Figure 123).

3.8.2: *Tempayan* (*gentong*): Water jar, *pangaron*: basin, *jembangan*: large basin
Large water vessels are used for the bride and groom's ritual Bathing Ceremony, *Siraman*. All of Java's traditional markets carry jars and basins, as they are indispensable

52 According to Djumena (1990: 112) a green and white colour combination symbolizes prosperity.

53 In India a peaking triangle is a fire symbol (Helfman 1967: 79–80). The pubic triangle is a universal symbol of female fecundity (Paine 1990: 70–71). It is also a water symbol (Cooper 1978: 180). Embroidered triangles and triangle shaped pouches for Koranic texts are common amulets in Central Asia (Harley 2004: 39, Figures 49–54). The peaking triangle as a motif originated in nomadic tribal Central Asia. This pagan motif is still used to ward off evil spirits. Spirits do not like them! (S. Paine, personal communication, 4 August, 1999).

in wedding ceremonies (Adhyatman 1981: 141). Both the bride and groom go through a ritual bathing ceremony, *Siraman*, before getting married. Ceremonial flower water, *Air Kembang Setaman*, is kept in some kind of earthenware vessel and scooped up with a ladle made of coconut shell. Water-dippers with bamboo handles can be seen in Figure 94. Figure 124 shows large basins for sale in a Surakarta market.

3.8.3: *Kendi* used in wedding ceremonies

3.8.3.1: Large *kendi* with *kalasa*-shaped mouth

At one Javanese *Siraman*, ritual bathing ceremony, a large gold painted *kendi* with a *kalasa*-shaped mouth was used (Figure 125). The *kalasa*-shaped mouth might be seen as a *Purnakalasa*, Full Vase. The Full Vase is a symbol of fertility (Liebert 1976: 230).

At a *Siraman*, the flower water⁵⁴ is scooped up from a large vessel and ladled over the bride, who sits on a low stool dressed in batik. Seven ladies (they can also number nine, eleven or fifteen) and the father of the bride take part in the ritual. The Master of Ceremonies is the first to start. It is important that these ladies have good marriages with children. Each person pours three scoops over the bride. Then it is the father who scoops water over his daughter. Thereafter he will use a *kendi* filled with the same flower water and pour the liquid over his daughter Lita. The mother takes over and continues the bathing of the bride, pouring water from the *kendi* over her daughter. When it is empty she says in Javanese; *Ora mecab kendhi nanging pecah pamoré* Lita. Translated from Javanese; 'I am not breaking the *kendi*, but I am revealing Lita's adult features'. Then she will smash the *kendi* on the ground in front of the bride. This is done because the inner spirit of the girl must be set free, she has now become a bride and as a married woman, she will meet with new challenges and be required to live a different kind of life. The breaking of the *kendi* signifies the release of new energy, the revealing of the girl's adult features *pecah pamoré*.

When it is the son in the family who is getting married the roles are reversed. If the *Siraman* is for a son it is the father who breaks the *kendi*. At the *Siraman* held for Budi and Lita the flower water was divided into two parts beforehand and one part taken from the bride's house for the ceremony held for her future husband in his family home. By using the modern addition of a mobile phone it was possible to start the proceedings at both places at exactly the same moment.

54 The water and flower mixture, *Air Kembang Setaman*, for the ritual bathing ceremony, *Siraman*, consists of water taken from seven different sources with five or seven different kinds of flowers. Water used in the *Siraman* is drawn from places that have wells of spiritual significance for the Javanese. The well, *sumur*, in Wuryantoro (one of former President Soeharto's residences) is considered such a place. At the ritual bathing ceremony, *Siraman*, of Ibu R. Rudiwan's son, the family of the bride supplied the flower water, *Kembang Setaman*, into which Ibu Rudiwan mixed holy water (*ZamZam*) from Mecca's sacred well, 'to be extra sure'. (Ibu R. Rudiwan is the well-known owner of 'Siti Sendari', one of Solo's batik shops). *ZamZam* is holy water from Mecca. *ZamZam* is the name of a sacred well, Hagar's well, in Mecca's mosque. *ZamZam* is Arabic and means bubbling (Esposito 1999: 86). Pilgrims return home from Mecca with containers filled with this salty sacred water. It is the custom to give a dying Muslim holy water, *ZamZam*, to drink, when death is near whilst verses from the Koran are read (Gatrad 1994: 521).

3.8.3.2: *Kendi* used in *Tari Bondhan* dance at weddings

Large *kendi* are used to stand on in a dance. ‘The Bondan is a solo female dance, Surakarta style, describing a young girl taking care of and cuddling her little sister.’ (Soedarsono 1974: 93). Other sources also mention this dance, which is performed by a dancer standing on a *kendi* (Adhyatman 1987: 22). The term *tari* indicates that the dance is performed by swaying arms and body. In *Tari Bondhan* the dancer performs standing on a *kendi*. She holds a doll and an open umbrella. She is able to move around on the floor by changing her body weight from one leg to another. To prevent the *kendi* from breaking by this rough treatment a little bit of water is poured into it. When the dance is finished the girl steps down from the *kendi* and breaks it.

Anna Katamsi (personal communication, 4 July 1996), who performed the *Tari Bondhan* for me, said that in earlier days when dance entertainment at weddings was more common, four dances were on the agenda. First came the *Tari Gambyong*, ‘a female dance, Surakarta style, usually danced by one, three or more dancers. The *Gambyong* dance describes a young woman dressing herself up to look more beautiful (Soedarsono 1974: 93). Then came *Tari Bondhan*, followed by *Tari Karonsih*, which is a love story between *Déwa* Kamajaya and *Dèwi* Kamaratih, the God and Goddess of Love and Beauty. The last dance on the agenda was *Tari Bambang Cakil*. This dance is about Bambang’s fight with the evil ogre Cakil. Bambang was one of Arjunas sons, but not with his official wife. In order to demonstrate his noble birth, he has to prove himself in a fight.

3.8.3.3: *Kendi kecil*: Small *kendi* used as wedding favour

The *kendi* is seen as a symbol of perfect harmony between husband and wife. The cold, refreshing water poured from the vessel is considered sacred and pure like the marriage. Therefore small *kendi* are suitable as wedding favours (Figure 116).

3.8.4: *Pangaron bunga setaman*: Basin for ceremonial flower water

Included in the Javanese wedding ceremony is a ritual where the groom will step on an egg, first with his right, then his left foot (to avoid creating an annoying mess, the egg is today placed in a plastic bag). The bride then washes the groom’s feet. Whilst the families that can afford it would use a brass bowl, *bokor*, (Figure 212) as the container for the ceremonial flower water, village people would use a *pangaron bunga setaman*, basin made of clay (Figure 126).

3.8.5: *Anglo ratus*: Perfuming censer used after the Bathing Ceremony, *Siraman*

For a description of a perfuming censer, see section 3.2.5. Incense is used during the traditional Javanese wedding. An incense burner is placed on the floor in front of the bride to be at *Malam Midadarèni*, the Wedding Eve Celebration, ‘so people can smell that a wedding will take place’. Traditionally the bride and groom sit in their bedrooms waiting to be blessed by the Goddess and God of Love the evening before their Big Day (see Figure 109 for a censer used at weddings).

3.8.6: *Keréwéng*: Clay tokens, keepsakes for weddings

A *keréwéng* is a small piece of a broken roof tile.⁵⁵ At Javanese wedding festivities, guests are traditionally served *dhawet*. *Dhawet* is a sweet drink, prepared from coconut milk and palm sugar with rice flour dough strips. It is served cold. It is the custom that the wedding guests pay for this drink using broken tiles as money.

At a wedding I attended, the guests present at the *Siraman*, the ritual bathing ceremony for the bride (which took place the day before the wedding), were given specially commissioned moulded clay tablets to pay for the refreshment instead of using broken roof tiles. When paying for the drink, the clay coin is exchanged with another clay token, which the guest gets to keep. The coin carries the names of the bride and groom plus a request for blessing, *mohon doa restu*, and says Thank you, *Terimakasih* on other side. On the reverse is the date and place of the *Siraman*. This *keréwéng* is like a souvenir coin. The coin is pressed in a mould in a hexagonal flower shape. The diameter of the token measures six centimetres. It is terracotta-coloured.

The guests lined up with their clay money and were served *dhawet* by the mother of the bride whilst the father collected the ‘money’. In return, the father gave his guest, as a memento of the *Siraman* they had attended, a coin in green (of exactly the same mint as the one described above). Green was the colour the bride had chosen as her theme colour all through the wedding celebrations, whereas the groom used blue as his colour; these colours also went through in the young couple’s wedding attire (Figure 127).

Round, specially ‘minted’ (‘broken tiles’) clay tablets were sold in one of Jakarta’s department stores. One side of the coin carries a five-petalled flower in relief and the text *mohon doa restu*, a request for blessing. The flower is featured on the other side as well. The text circling the flower reads *Siraman* and *Terimakasih*. This coin is coloured a bright terracotta orange. The sales attendant informed me that it was made in Klampok, Banjarnegara (Figure 128).

Stamped disks with motifs in high relief, measuring a few centimetres in diameter, have been excavated in East Java and were used by the citizens of Majapahit (Muller 1978: 48–52).

3.9: VESSELS USED IN PREGNANCY AND CHILDBIRTH

3.9.1: *Tempayan* (*gentong*): Water jar for ritual bath before childbirth

Large jars are filled with water and a mixture of flowers, *Air Kembang Setaman*, for the ritual baths, which are taken when a woman reaches her seventh month (7 x 35 days) of pregnancy. This ceremony is called *Tujuh Bulan* in everyday language. In Javanese, this ritual is called *Mitoni*, or *Tinkeban*, if it is a first pregnancy. These baths are taken to ensure that the rest of the pregnancy goes well for both mother and child (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 146, note 3).

3.9.2: *Kuwali*: Cooking pot from Central Java

The Javanese *kuwali* is used when cooking porridge (Figure 129). *Jenang procot*,

55 Round flat fragments of earthenwares, *gacuk*, have been found at archaeological excavations at Pasar Ikan in Jakarta (Adhyatman 1981: 140, quoting Hasan M. Ambary, 1981).

‘slipping out’ porridge, a vulgar term for being born, is a porridge eaten at *Mitoni*, the Javanese ceremony given for a woman pregnant with her first baby. This porridge is of special importance if this is the first time the woman is giving birth, but it is also served at subsequent pregnancies, when they reach seven Javanese months (7 x 35 days).

3.9.3: *Kendil ari-ari* (*pendil ari-ari*): Pot used in placenta burial

A small lidded pot is intended for placenta burials. As such its proper name is *kendil ari-ari* or *pendil ari-ari*. Most often it is however shortened to *kendil* or *pendil*. This type of pot in different versions can be found in all pottery stalls. It always comes with a low lid, the most practical solution for a vessel intended for burial. The lid is a sure indication of its intended use. Kartiwa (1977: 6) calls the vessel used for placenta burial ‘*paso*’, bowl. Adhyatman (1981: 141) uses *paso* or *pasu*.

The *kendil ari-ari* in Figure 130 is an especially attractive specimen as it is decorated. The body of the vessel has a decoration consisting of seven parallel horizontal ‘ochre’ bands. Decorating a vessel with ochre bands is not a new idea. A Majapahit shard (inventory #7969c) displayed in Jakarta’s Museum Nasional has traces of a vertical striped decoration.⁵⁶ The capital Jakarta is today the home of migrants from other places in Indonesia. They have brought different placenta-burial practices with them.

In Java, it is believed that a human being is accompanied through life by four guardian spirits, his four brothers/sisters (*Kanda empat*, the four elder brothers or sisters which are spiritual companions from birth to death). These four are the *kakang kawah*, older brother amniotic fluid, *adhi ari-ari*, younger sibling placenta (also referred to as *sedhèrèk enem* younger brother placenta), *getih babaran*, the blood at birth, and *puser*, the umbilical cord.

A person’s blood and navel are visibly there for all to see. The other two, the placenta and amniotic fluid, are not forgotten, however. Every *weton*, 35-day birthday, most Javanese would remember them and ‘give high appreciation to’, *memulé sedhèrèk*, his four guardian angles with a special birthday ceremonial meal, *Slametan*. The rice cone, *memulé*, served at this occasion has its top cut off. When she was a child, K.R.Ay. Hilmiyah’s mother reminded her that if she wanted to eat she must see to it that her four sisters also had something to eat (H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999). Both the elder brother (*kawah*) and the younger brother (*ari-ari*) are said to have souls. The task of both the elder and younger brothers is to support the baby until adulthood. If the child is sad or distressed, his brothers are there to support him. According to Javanese metaphysics, the *kawah* is white and the *ari-ari* is red.⁵⁷

56 Straight multiple continuous horizontal lines occur on painted ‘contemporary’ (1966) Indian painted pots (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 138, 153, Figure 5: 44). In India however, ceremonial pots are usually painted after firing (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 150). In Orissa the evils associated with unpainted pots are done away with by painting; a magico-religious explanation (Saraswati & Behura 1966: 152). The ochre colour (called *kavi* in Tamil) denotes a ‘giving up, a sacrifice of, worldly things’ (J. D. Ponnuthurai, personal communication, 1999).

57 These are the colours of the Indonesian flag as well.

That the well-being of the two is important is confirmed by the fact that in the ninth month of a woman's pregnancy, a special *Slametan* (ritual feast) is held. The *Slametan memulé sedhèrèk* is held to honour the older sibling, *sedhèrèk sepuh*, symbolized by the *toya kawah*, amniotic fluid, and the younger sibling, *sedhèrèk enem*, symbolized by the placenta. The fluid and placenta are believed to hold guardian spirits, which will be with the child throughout his life (Koentjaraningrat 1985: 353; Achjadi 1989: 153). As the placenta is considered a younger brother/sister of the newborn, it is buried and not thrown away.

After the birth, a smaller version of the cooking pot *kendil*, the earthenware *kendil ari-ari* (*pendil*), serves as a container for the burial of the placenta (Figures 130, 131). The pot is a symbolic womb (Richter 1993: 41). It is important that the placenta is properly buried, a task undertaken by either the father or the *bidan* (midwife).

How the placenta is buried varies among ethnic groups. In Surabaya, East Java, the placenta is first cleaned with water and lime fruit, *jeruk nipis*. It is then wrapped in a white cloth and placed in the *kendil* with seven ritual flowers and buried close to the house.

A Javanese informant told me that the father buries the placenta immediately at the corner of the door for good luck and God's blessing. Sometimes an umbrella is held over the placenta before burial (Kartiwa 1977: 6–7).

In other places in Java when the placenta is from a male child, it is put into a *kendil ari-ari* and thrown into a river, or, more frequently, buried in the backyard. A placenta from a female child is always buried at the right side of the house, along with such objects as a paper on which is written a Javanese alphabetic letter, a needle, or a *canthing*, a waxing tool for batik (Koentjaraningrat 1985: 355). Usually things used by girls are placed with a female's placenta and objects associated with a male are buried with the placenta of a boy (Suhardini, personal communication, 1997, 1999, and 2003). Perhaps this is to ensure that they will excel in their roles as adults.

In a market stall in Jakarta, one can buy a plastic bag containing items needed for proper burial of the placenta (Figure 131). The bag contains:

1. *Kapan*, a white unhemmed cotton cloth 50 x 87 cm in a plastic bag,
2. '*Bumbu dapur*', cooking spices or medicinal herbs (in a plastic bag). There is a piece of ginger, (called *banglé* in Jakarta) (*Zingiber cassumunaar* syn. *Zingiber purpureum*) (Sastrapradja et al. 1981: 103); *dringo*, sweet flag (*Acorus calamus*) a fragrant rush good for stomach inflammation;
3. *Temu ireng* (*Curcuma aeruginosa*), greenish blue rhizomes used in *jamu*, an herbal tonic;
4. *Asam* (*Tamarindus indica*), dried tamarind pulp, an ingredient in Indonesian dishes. Medically it is used for bowel disorders; Tamarind fruit, which is high in vitamin C, fights bacterial infection ('Pulp Fact' 1996: 14).
5. *Batu garam*, a salt brick, 4 x 4 x 4 cm, with a protuberance on one side, the traditional shape;
6. *Notés*, a notepad;

7. *Pencil*, pencil and *rautan*, sharpener;
8. *Jarum*, two sewing needles and white thread, *benang putih*;
9. *Sisir*, a comb, and *bedak*, cosmetic powder, in a square of newspaper, along with *air mata duyung*, a perfume or love potion.

A Javanese man from a village near Surakarta explained that all these things were not really necessary, that when his daughter was born, he had put the placenta on a young banana leaf, *pupus*, in a pot with *temu ireng* (*Curcuma aeruginosa*) the underground root of the ginger family, and buried it near the door of his house. He explained that tamarind is put in the pot to ensure that the baby will have a happy life because tamarind is extremely acidic and forces the lips into a smile when placed in the mouth. Ginger, tamarind, and salt are sometimes made into *jamu*, a tonic taken twice a day by the new mother.

In West Java, a palm seed is sometimes planted with a boy's placenta and grows along with the boy (Whitmore 1985: 112). To verify the seed planting, I talked with a woman living outside Jakarta, who told me that the placenta is wrapped in a white cloth, placed in a *pendil* and buried behind the house. A flowering plant is later put over the burial place. Suitable plants are *melati*, jasmine (*Jasminum sambac*) and *Bunga Tanjung* (*Mimusops elengi*).⁵⁸ A possible substitute for these would be a banana shoot.

In Central Java, the baby and mother are washed while spells are administered. Then the umbilical cord and placenta are salted and wrapped in white muslin, put into an earthenware pot, and buried in front of the house if the child is a boy, and in the back if it is a girl, although some burials are in front for both genders, the boy to the left of the door, the girl to the right. A small wicker fence is put around the spot or a damaged earthenware pot is inverted over it to keep dogs or other animals from digging it up. A candle is kept burning there for thirty-five days to keep away evil spirits (Geertz 1960: 46).

In Java, it is also the custom to light a kerosene lamp (*lampu téplok*) or an oil lamp (*ublik*) immediately after the burial and set it above the spot where the placenta rests.

Related to the practice in Central Java of covering the burial with earthenwares, is that of Lombok, an island east of Java. At an exhibition in Jakarta in 1994, 'Indonesian Ceremonial Objects of the Past', organised between June and December 1994 at the President Hotel in Jakarta by the Kesenian Group there were two terracotta burial covers from West Nusa Tenggara, Lombok (Figures 216A, 216B, 217A, 217B). Birth ceremonies in Lombok give great importance to the placenta. The placenta is washed and buried on the left side next to the door of the house by a relative of the father, if the baby is a boy, and on the right side by a member of the mother's family, if it is a girl. An earthenware cover denotes the burial where offerings must be made daily during the first forty-two days of the baby's life. The placenta is one of the four elements which help the baby develop in the womb, but after its birth, it can harm the child.

58 The Buddha received the myrobalan nut (famed for its medicinal and restorative properties) under the mimosup tree. It was his first food after he became enlightened (Stratton 2004: 421–422). Chebulic Myrobalan (*Terminalia chebula*) is used in Ayurvedic medicine (Patnaik 1993: 61).

The placenta, therefore, must have the same care as the baby—washing and feeding it, praying for and helping it (Kesenian Group 1994).

The Lombok placenta covers were in the form of inverted earthenware pots with grotesque faces moulded on them. Similar inverted fire-blackened earthenware pots with grotesque faces drawn with white lime are also used in Thailand, another Indianized country, to frighten away evil spirits during epidemics (W.A. Graham 1922: 14–15).

In Bali, the placenta is washed and placed in a coconut wrapped in white cloth and buried on the left side of the entrance to the house. This will connect the child to the home (Greaves 2006: 15). Among the Toraja in Sulawesi, on the other hand, it is the custom that the father buries the placenta on the east side of the house (Waterson 1990: 94).

Many traditional societies still take great care of how the placenta is disposed of, as this will influence the child's health and life (Priya 1992: 106–108). In Central Kalimantan for instance, the Ngaju Dayak place the placenta in a basket, which is hung outside the house. The basket is left there during the person's lifetime. At the time of his death, this basket is said to accompany the deceased to the Upper World filled with his belongings (Schiller 1997: 10).

Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, such as in Thailand, the placenta is put in a pot and buried immediately to prevent the Filth Ghost, *Phii Krasue*, from eating it (Guelden 1995: 70). In neighbouring Laos, the *modu*, someone who reads the future, calculates the place for the placenta burial according to the exact time and the year as well as the place of the baby's birth. If the placenta is buried in the right spot the newborn will have a bright future. Otherwise, misfortune or early death might occur.

3.10: VESSELS USED IN CEREMONIES FOR CHILDREN

3.10.1: *Kuwali*: Cooking pot used for ceremonial porridges

The *kuwali* is used when cooking soft puddings and porridges that are eaten at ritual meals. Figures 51 and 129 show *kuwali* suitable for cooking huge amounts of porridge. At the name giving ceremony it is the custom to serve a red coloured porridge, *jenang abang*.

The half-red, half-white porridge, *jenang abang-putih*, should also be mentioned. This porridge is served at a Javanese person's 35-day birthday celebration, *Wetonan*, as well as at other ceremonies. The porridge symbolizes the origin of a human being. The red colour represents the red blood, the menstrual blood, of the mother and the white colour, the white blood, the semen of the father (Cf. Keeler 1983: 6–7).

3.10.2: *Lèmpèr*, plate, used for seven *jadah*, glutinous rice cakes, at the *Tedhak Sitèn* (To Descend upon the Ground Ceremony)

At the *Tedhak Sitèn* (Descend Upon The Ground Ceremony) for a royal child, the seven glutinous rice cakes *jadha* were placed on gold coloured plates *lèmpèr* (Figures 218, 219, 220). As the Javanese believe that human beings belong in the cosmic world, it is at the age of seven Javanese months (7 x 35 days), the baby is ready to make contact with the earth (Sudiarno 2000a: 7). This happens at a ceremony called *Tedhak Sitèn*. In Javanese

tedhak means to descend and *sitèn* comes from *siti*, which means soil or earth. This ritual ensures that the baby is ready to take his place in society as a full human being.

The following is a short account of the *Tedhak Sitèn* Ceremony for Prince GRM Bhre Cakra Hutomo Wiro Sujiwo held at *Pura Mankunegaran* one of the palaces in Surakarta. The ceremony took place in the morning, in front of the newly restored *pendhapa*, open air pavilion and reception hall. A green carpet was rolled out on the ground. Seven gold coloured earthenware plates, *lèmpèr*, were placed on the carpet in a long row. On each plate was a glutinous rice cake, *jadah*. And each cake was garnished with a different colour (Figure 219). Then followed a silver tray with earth and then came a dish with *jenang bluwèk* porridge.⁵⁹ Next came a ladder with seven steps made of sugar cane and decorated with green and yellow crepe paper. Green and yellow are the colours of Mankunegaran's flag. Furthermore, green and yellow colours combined are symbols of prosperity (Djumena 1990: 112); whilst the egg yolk-yellow colour in itself symbolizes royalty and creative power (Irvine 1996: 218), green stands for fertility. There is also a huge chicken coop decorated with garlands. Next to the chicken coop is a brass bowl containing ceremonial flower water for the prince's ritual bathing, *Siraman*.

On the right side on the carpet parallel with the first row there are large, square, green-painted wooden trays, which contain the traditional requisites for the ritual meal, *Slametan*. Thus one tray has a large conical rice mountain, *tumpeng*, surrounded by six smaller rice cones and various auspicious side dishes. These are the prescribed dishes for the *Slametan*, the ritual meal, which follows the ceremony. The side dishes for this occasion are small rice chips, *karag*, spiced and fried meat, *empal*, egg, *tigan*. There is a dish of steamed shredded coconut, salted fish and chillies, *bothok*. Furthermore, there is a dish prepared with the residue of sesame seeds after the oil has been extracted (*cabuk*). The dish is seasoned with the leaves of Kaffir lime, *daun jeruk purut*, grated coconut, sugar and chillies. There is also a dish called *bongko*, made with small red beans with grated coconut and chillies. With it, there is *pucung* nut, (*kluwak*), cucumbers, and carrots. There are also green beans, *boncis*, and soybeans, *kedhelé*. For a plate with these dishes, which were served to everybody present, see Figure 224.

It was explained that in every *Slametan* the colours of the five weekdays (*Pasaran*) are used. Each colour signifies the character of a day in the five-day market-week.⁶⁰

The next tray contains *jajanan pasar* (various kinds of market snacks), specially prepared with children in mind, for it contains fruits, sweets and snacks bought at the market for the occasion. These are considered 'special treats' by a young child because they are not available at home but have to be bought (Figure 223).

The third tray, which is part of the offering (*sesajèn*), is filled with different coloured rice porridges, *jenang manca warni*, placed in banana leaf containers (*takir*). There are ten *takir* on the green tray. The colours used are given in Javanese. Pale blue, *biru*;

59 *Bluwèk* means slipping easily into something.

60 Mowe (1999: 220) has additional information regarding the side dishes arranged around the rice cone, *tumpeng*, in a ceremonial meal. They conform to a strict set of rules that are appropriate to the occasion and 'must represent the forms of life in the elements: walking on the earth (beef), flying in the air (fowl), swimming in the water (fish), rooted in the earth (vegetables).'

red, *abang*; green, *ijo*; white and yellow, *putih kuning*; orange/tumeric yellow, *oranye/kuning kunir*; pink, *jambun*; white, *putih*; black *ireng*. There is also *jenang katul*, bran coloured porridge. The middle container is filled with *jenang palang*, which is a white rice porridge decorated with a red crossbar. This porridge is there to symbolically prevent bad things from entering a person's life (Figure 219).

On the opposite side, also placed on the green runner there is a caged live young chicken, *ayam urip*, black in colour. There is a rice cone adorned with raw vegetables, *tumpeng robyong* in a basket, *ténggok*. There is also a cone of cooked rice, *sega tumpeng*, next to a roasted chicken, *panggang ayam*. There is a bamboo spit, *gapit*, (new) used for roasting chickens. These are all offerings (Figure 218).

At all Javanese ceremonies incense is burnt, so there is a woman present, who is in charge of looking after a censer and the accompanying paraphernalia (incense, *kemenyan*, charcoal, a fan, a pair of tongs for the charcoal). The term for praying with incense is *kutug*.

The ceremony starts in the late morning. The mother of the prince holds him under his arms and is assisted by his grandmother, who makes sure that Bhre steps on each of the coloured, glutinous rice cakes, *jadah*, which all contain grated coconut. This ingredient makes them sticky. In earlier times the child's feet touched the sticky cakes, but in modern ceremonies they are covered by plastic film. The cakes are arranged in this order: white, pink, blue, green, orange, red and black (Figure 218, 219). The colours symbolically represent moods and situations encountered in human life, which we have to accept. They mean to protect the child from harm.⁶¹ White, *putih*, against love passions, lust. Pink, *jambun*, against fear. Pale blue, *biru*, against disease. Green, *ijo*, against frustrating desires. Red, *abang*, against wrongful desires for material things (evil passions). Tumeric yellow, *kuning kunir*, against sleepiness. Black, *ireng*, against hunger. In ceremonies, uneven numbers are used. Therefore the seven plates. The colours are also a Javanese way of expressing the different circumstances man has to face in his life.

The prince has now stepped on seven *jadah*, glutinous rice cakes, each coloured differently. As the rice cakes are made from sticky (glutinous) rice characterized by adhesiveness and closeness, this means that the prince is also familiar with seven components in a human being's life. The colours white, red, yellow and black have a symbolic meaning as they are the components of a human's soul. According to Javanese belief, a human soul has four aspects, which contribute to a person's character, *Sadulur papat lima pancer*. The meaning is that the four siblings are the root of the fifth, a person's self. However, the four parts, or components, need to be equal and balanced. *Sadulur putih*, the white sibling, controls good deeds, *Sadulur abang*, the red sibling controls anger, *Sadulur kuning*, the yellow sibling, controls sexual behaviour, *Sadulur ireng*, the black sibling, controls bad habits and *lima pancer*, the self. When any of these 'passions' take control of a person's life and he is dominated by it, his life becomes unbalanced. For instance, if yellow takes over, his life is dominated by sexual acts. By

61 The *Kumodowati* Lotus firmament in the ceiling of *Pendhapa* Mankunegaran consists of eight colours with a similar protective function. See 4.6.5.

stepping on the white, red, yellow and black rice cakes (*jadah*) the baby is symbolically exposed to the vulnerability of the human soul.

The wind element is in a human body represented by the breath. The sky above the earth is blue so herefore the wind and the air we breath is also blue. The water element is in our bodies and represented by the colours red and white; the red (menstrual) blood of the mother and the white blood (semen) of the father. The colour pink is the mixture of red and white (the blood of the mother and the semen of the father) and represents the beginning of a new life (conception). Pink thus stands for the closeness between mother and father. Green stands for fertility.

Next, the prince steps on a tray containing earth, then on a plate with *jenang blurwek*. This porridge symbolizes that life has some slippery moments that one has to get through. The prince has acquainted himself with earth and is now a complete human being!

The mother then helps her son climb a ladder made of *tebu wulung*, old sugar cane.⁶² *Wulung* means old and therefore perfect. While the little boy puts his feet on each of the steps reaching the top platform the mother hopes that her son will reach a high social position in life. The ladder is made of sugarcane, *tebu*, because in Javanese *teb* (as in *tebu*) is associated with *anteb* (steadfast, dedicated). This association has to do with the meaning of *manteb*, (unwavering) and *kalbu*, heart. In a religious sense, it is also a request to the Almighty to make the baby determined to lead a good (sweet), righteous life as sugarcane is sweet (*legi*).

The little prince is now given a ritual bath, *Siraman*. The ritual water and flower mixture, *Kembang Setaman*, has three sorts of flowers; pink rose petals, *marwar jambu*, jasmine, *melati*, and Perfume Tree flowers, *kenanga*. As this is a royal ceremony, the water vessel used is a brass bowl (Figure 221). After the ceremonial bathing, the prince is dressed in new clothes.

The child is then put inside a huge chicken coop, *kurung ayam*. The coop represents the cosmic world where humans live. It also symbolically protects the baby from anything bad. The cage is decorated with garlands of jasmine and purslane, *krokot* (*Portulaca oleracea*) (Figure 222).

As the little prince is totally bewildered over all the strange happenings, his *emban*, a term referring to the lady looking after a prince child, goes in with him too, for reassurance. He is now presented with a tray containing a huge amount of toys (Figure 223). Which one will he choose? It will indicate his future interests and perhaps his occupation. The prince chooses a yellow and green (the colours of Mankunegaran) plastic boat. This is seen as a good omen for his future as 75% of the Indonesian nation is covered by bodies of water.

While in the coop the prince is called *kur-kur*, the sound one makes when calling chickens to come and eat. Rice grains coloured yellow with tumeric, *beras kuning*, silver, and copper coins of different denominations and pink rose petals are scattered around. For the brass bowl with these, see Figure 223. This propitiatory offering

62 Blue-black, *wulung*, in Javanese, stands for the elderly or those who have more knowledge, wisdom. The blue-black bamboo, *wulung*, because of its age is a useful bamboo.

is meant to repel misfortune and to exorcise evil spirits and influences. The coins are eagerly collected by the spectators. They are taken home as charms; Good Luck money. The scattering also has the purpose of *tulak balak* (*penolak bala*) preventing unhappiness, warding off misfortune, so the child will have a happy and prosperous life. *Tulak* means to prevent magically. *Balak* means to fall from the tree before ripening.

The people who are present at the ceremony are invited to bless the child and wish him well. Then, to end the ceremony, two bucks are sacrificed. For a girl, one buck would have been enough. The throats of the goats are cut and their blood drained in a shallow pit in the ground. The goat sacrifice is an Islamic addition, whilst the rest of the rituals go back to Java's pre-Islamic past.

The ceremonial meal is now served. All the children present are invited to share the snacks from the market. They are served first. Then the grown-ups partake in the *Slametan*, ceremonial feast (Figure 224). There are other references to this Javanese ceremony, by Geertz called *Pitonan* (Geertz 1960: 50; Koentjaraningrat 1985: 358–359, 366–367).

3.10.3: *Pangaron bunga setaman*—small earthenware basin for ceremonial flower water

Basins are used when administering the ceremonial bath at the *Tedhak Sitèn Ceremony* Descend Upon The Ground Ceremony (Figure 126).

3.11: VESSELS USED IN *KHITANAN* (*SUNATAN*)—CIRCUMCISION CEREMONY

In Java, a boy is circumcised when he is between five and fifteen years old. Earthenware jars and basins play an important role on this occasion.

The ceremonial bath that takes place before the circumcision is administered from a basin, *pangaron*, or a water jar, *gentong*. During the prayers that take place before the proceedings, incense is burnt in a censer, *anglo*. The sweet red ceremonial porridge, *bubur mérah*, (*jenang abang*), served at the occasion is cooked in an earthenware *kuali/kuwali*.

3.12: EARTHENWARE WATER JAR, *KLENTHING*, USED AT *TARABAN* RITUAL FOR A GIRL ENTERING WOMANHOOD

Taraban is the name of the ritual which is performed to mark a girl's first menstrual period, her entrance into womanhood. This ritual is still performed in both the Yogyakarta Palace and in Mankunegaran.⁶³ The article in *The Jakarta Post* mentions that the ceremonial flower water used in the ritual is kept in a *klenthing*. After the bathing ceremony, the young princess is made up, dressed in traditional royal costume, and taken to the Sultan to *sungkem*, pay respect by kneeling and pressing her face to her father's knees (Sudiarno 2000b: 8).

63 At Mankunegaran the *Taraban* ritual takes place on the second day of the girl's first period. (K.R.Ay.H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 2 September 2003).

3.13: *KENDI* USED IN THE SUPPORTING CEREMONY *CONGKOKAN*

Congkokan is a traditional Javanese ceremony, which is held for someone who is sick or has reached a frail old age. *Congkokan* can perhaps be translated as a supporting or strengthening ceremony. The following is a ceremony described in *The Jakarta Post* which was conducted in honour of a lady who had reached one hundred years (Bambang 2000: n.p.). She had six children and eighty-eight grandchildren and several great grandchildren.

The first part of the ceremony is called *Angon putu*, the herding of grandchildren. Grandmother Sugiyah was equipped with a stick. She struck it to the ground for her brood to follow her to the nearby market. Upon arriving there she gave each grandchild Rp. 1000, to buy a traditional snack or drink, which had to be consumed on the spot. No food could be taken back to the house. The market outing lasted for half an hour. Grandmother Sugiyah struck her stick on the ground three times and the procession started for home. Walking in a procession symbolizes the unity and togetherness of the family. At home, the family members paid their respect to their grandmother. Grandmother Sugiyah was reported as using an earthenware *kendi* to pour water over the head of her eldest son. This act symbolized the hope that good fortune would always flow over her family. She then threw the *kendi* on the ground. The *kendi* shards were collected in six bags and given to her children. The shards represented her hope that they would be blessed with happiness and prosperity. This was followed by a ceremonial meal consisting of four rice cones, *tumpang*, and in the evening reading from the Koran (Bambang 2000: n.p.).

3.14: VESSELS USED IN MORTUARY RITES

3.14.1: Earthenware basins

According to Islamic law, a corpse must be bathed and covered by unbleached cotton cloth before it is buried ('Bathing corpses' 1996: n.p.). For the ritual washing of the dead, an earthenware jar or basin is filled with clean water, which is scooped up with a ladle, *gayung* (*siwur*) made from half a coconut shell to which a handle of bamboo has been attached. As in all ritual washings and ceremonial lustrations (*mandi*), it is important to use a container made from clay. For a suitable basin see Figure 124. The use of a scoop made from a coconut shell with a bamboo handle is significant as the coconut palm and the bamboo are among the ceremonial plants of the Austronesians.⁶⁴

Geertz (1960: 69) writes that in Java, a dead person is bathed in the front yard. The body is protected from view by bamboo matting. There are usually three earthenware containers used for the ritual. One contains flower water, one vessel has money, leaves from a tree and herbs in the water, and one is filled with clean water. In Central Java today, the usual custom is to add a set of three flowers, *kembang telon*, or rose petals to the bathing water.

3.14.2: *Kendi sedang*—medium size *kendi* broken as a preventive measure

One source mentions that as the litter moves off to the graveyard a vessel filled with water is thrown on the ground and broken (Geertz 1960: 70). This is a Javanese custom

64 Rice, millet, areca nut (*Areca catechu*), yam, taro, sugarcane, banana, also belong there (Jay 1996a: 66).

which is only practised in a certain area. If the death occurs on a Saturday, an item (it can be a plate or a *kendi*) belonging to the family must be broken. This is done to prevent more misfortune from hitting the family. The medium size *kendi* would be suitable for this kind of ritual. An old postcard shows a Javanese funeral procession lead by a man holding a *kendi* (Haks & Wachlin 2004: 174). According to a lady from Bandung in West Java, if someone passes away on a Saturday it is the custom to break an empty *kendi* when the body leaves the house. Otherwise, two more members of the family will die.

Other cultures have similar practices of breaking vessels. In Hindu funeral rites a pot filled with water is broken, as it is believed this releases the soul of the deceased so it can make its way to the other world (Behura 1978: 215). Also in India, vessels used for drinking water are discarded if a death occurs in the household, because these items are considered ritually polluted (Behura 1978: 212).

3.14.3: *Kendi besar* (large *kendi*) of various types—burial use

At the close of a funeral service, a dead person (who is believed to sit up and listen to it) is given a short address in Arabic by the presiding elder. It contains instructions and good advice on how to answer the questions of Munkar and Nakir, the angels who question the dead. *Air Talkin*, instruction water, is then sprinkled over the grave. This final act by the mourners will help the dead to detach himself from this world (Wilkinson 1932b: 522). Today water bottled in a plastic bottle is a more practical dispenser. However, the older generation would perhaps still use a *kendi* when performing this ritual.

Kendi are used as water sprinklers when one visits a grave. This Javanese custom is done to cool the spirit in the grave. At Kupuran Tanah Kusir, where Mohammed Hatta, the independence fighter and first vice-president of Indonesia is buried, one notices that large *kendi* are placed on many graves.⁶⁵ All types of *kendi* are represented here (Figures 132, 133 and 134). Further, some believe that if you leave a *kendi* on the grave when it rains, the *kendi* will be filled with magic rainwater.

In Lombok, water-filled *kendi* are also placed on graves to refresh the deceased's spirit. People visiting the burial place pour consecrated water on the grave (McKinnon 1996: 45).

3.14.4: *Anglo kecil* (*anglo kemenyan*: incense burner for gum benjamin used in prayers for the dead

Incense is burnt at funeral services throughout Indonesia (Kartiwa 1977: 10; Adhyatman 1981: 141). Later, when relatives of the dead visit the burial place they will burn incense as well. During the first forty days after a funeral, the grave is visited every Friday. There are ceremonies held on the day of the funeral and on the seventh, the fortieth, one-hundredth and one-thousandth day of a person's death (Koentjaraningrat 1987: 561).

At these visits, the grave is watered with a *kendi*, then flower petals are scattered over the resting place of the deceased. After that, it is time to light incense and pray.

65 I learnt from a tourist guide that: 'In Java we believe that if the earth covering the grave cracks, the spirit is not happy, so we water it. Whilst for the Chinese cracks in the family grave is seen as a bad omen and a sign that the family is getting poor.'

During the month of *Ruwah*, the month before the fasting month, it is the custom to visit and pray at the graves of loved ones, as well as any of the graves of the nine holy men, *Wali Songo*, who spread Islam in Java. At this time, the graves are cleaned and decorated with flowers. Incense is burnt and prayers are said.⁶⁶ There is also praying at the grave on that last day of the fasting month, and the first and second day of *Idul Fitri*. On all these occasions incense is burnt. See Figures 106A, 106B for the *anglo kecil*.

3.15: LORO BLONYO (THE INSEPARABLE COUPLE) REPRESENTATIONS OF DÈWI SRI AND HER CONSORT SADONO

In earlier times, the main room of a wealthy family's house in Central Java always had a special place for *Dèwi Sri*, the Goddess of Rice. She had her own special ceremonial bed called *pasren* or *petanen*. Placed in front of the bed were statues of her and Sadono (Sedana), her consort. Together, they are named *Loro Blonyo*, The Inseparable Couple, as they are a symbol of harmony within the family. Their images were usually carved in wood. Sometimes they were made of terracotta (Ashabranner & Ashabranner 1980: 116–118; Ave 1988: 51; Fischer 1994: 14–15, Figures 14, 15, 16). The couple was always dressed in wedding attire. When a real wedding took place, the *Loro Blonyo* couple was removed and the bride and groom took their places. Today the ceremonial bed only survives in Java's museums and palaces, but *Loro Blonyo* couples are still made in memory of the past.

'Sanggar Loro Blonyo', an atelier in Bantul (Kasongan) south of Yogyakarta specializes in hand modelled figures. *Pak Sugiman*, an artist attached to the studio, was able to hand-build a *Loro Blonyo* pair in two days. Drying the figures took three days. The firing takes place in a small woodfired oven built of bricks, here called *tungku* and lasts for 24 hours. *Pak Sugiman's Loro Blonyo* came dressed in royal attire with the groom wearing a *kuluk kanigara* monarch's headdress, or as a village couple (Figure 135). These very elegant couples were probably headed for a five-star hotel lobby or as a decoration in an upmarket restaurant serving Indonesian food. *Loro Blonyo* couples also show up disguised as saving boxes (Richter 1993: 17, Figure 1).

3.16: SHERDS

Sherds from broken earthenware vessels (*kendi*, spice grinding plates, cooking vessels and water jars) are used as offerings by the Sundanese. For instance, if an unfavorable building site that faces south has to be used, offerings are made to the earth to be built on, in order to stave off dangers associated with the place. These offerings consist of things associated with the cardinal direction south. As the colour of the south is red, suitable offerings include red earth, or 'red' earthenware shards (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 228, note 2).

66 This practice goes back to pre-Islamic times. The dead need the prayers of those who are left behind, so that their sins can be reduced and their souls released. The prayers offered, *doa*, is a hope that God will reduce the sins of the ancestors. This ritual is called *nyekar*. This goes back to the Javanese ceremony *Nyadran*, paying homage to ancestral spirits. Furthermore, a ceremonial meal, *Selamatan*, where incense is burnt, is held for the ancestral spirits, which return from heaven to earth. As the spirits are hungry some people scatter food on the roofs of their houses as well.

4: PART THREE: OTHER WARES AND THEIR USES

4.1: VESSELS FOR THE GARDEN

In the 18th century, the Sultans in Java built lavish palaces with pleasure gardens containing bathing pools and tanks. Shrubs and plants were placed in planters made of stone and in huge ceramic pots imported from China (Lombard 1969: 146, 150; Dumarçay 1991: 97). Examples of early decorative ‘garden furniture’ can be seen in *Karaton* Surakarta and Taman Sari in Yogyakarta as well as in museums in Banten Lama and Trowulan (J. Miksic, personal communication, 2007). The fashion of having potted plants spread to other layers of society. A demand for suitable planters eventually led to a local production of plant-pots. Today we find pottery producers in Java that produce flowerpot and garden furniture. There are many such enterprises around Jakarta. The beautiful hand-thrown flowerpots of unknown origin in Figure 138 was sold next to a busy Jakarta street.

4.1.1: Pot *bunga*: Flowerpot

Plered in West Java, located southeast of Jakarta, is famous for producing flowerpots. Apart from the aesthetic appeal, terracotta pots produce a better environment for the plants grown in them. Terracotta pots dry out quicker than plastic pots because the walls of a claypot are porous. Water will pass through the surface cooling the pot and its content. This will prevent water clogging and the roots from rotting, in a humid, tropical climate.

Plered is a fascinating village to visit as ceramics have been produced in Plered since the beginning of the last century. The Ceramic Research Centre in Bandung, 64 kilometres away, has helped the Plered villagers to develop new products. The centre has also taught the potters glazing technology and advised them on how to build high-firing kilns (Adhyatman 1978: 5).

The main street of Plered is lined with potteries, each having a shop front, where samples of the current production are for sale. Before being fired new pieces are put out to dry on planks and boards on the sidewalk, or at the back of the shop where hens and chickens walk over them (Figure 137).

Flowerpots come in various types and in many sizes. Some pots have rims with pastry crust scalloping. Others pots are straight, tub-shaped. The flowerpots from Plered are pleasant reddish brown (Figures 136, 139). At *Haji Ujib*’s pottery, the flowerpots are fired for fourteen hours in wood-fired kilns.

A woman was observed decorating pots. With quick and sure movements she shaved the rim of the pot, which was on a fast turntable. A terracotta brown wash then covered the middle of the pot. Using the tips of three middle fingers she made three outlines on the middle of the turning pot (Figure 141A). Then with a brush, she filled the bottom line and then the top line with dark brown colour (Figure 141B). The middle ‘finger’ line is coloured a lighter brown. Then the remaining upper and lower parts were given the same coat of lighter brown as the pot’s middle finger line. Painting with iron oxides allowed clays, which fire a dull grey, to look attractive.

In front of the Plered shops, there were piles of newly produced wares, which were loaded on to pony drawn carts for transport to nearby villages or onto small vans bound for Jakarta (Figure 15B). Other wares are packed into baskets to be sold in the neighbourhood. The baskets were carried away balanced on arched shoulder poles of coolies.

4.1.2: *Jambangan bunga*: Basin used as a planter (garden vessel)

Another of Java's pottery centres, Bumi Jaya, is in Banten, west of Jakarta. It has a huge production of garden vessels that find their way to the metropolis. The potters in Bumi Jaya make huge vessels *jambangan bunga* (Figure 140, 142) and jardinières. These vessels are used as garden ornaments and many are patinated to look old.

Kandanghaur on West Java's north coast is an outlet for garden pottery. Vessels with banded decoration are typical of the pottery made in this area (Figure 143).⁶⁷

Huge basins filled with aquatic plants and ornamental fish can be found in many of Jakarta's gardens. Already furnished basins are also for sale along Jakarta's streets (Figure 144). Among the water plants used in them, we find water lilies and lotus. Goldfish, *ikan mas* (*Carassius auratus*) and other decorative fish belonging to the carp family (*Cyprinidae*) like Koi, Coloured Carp and Oranda, *ikan mas koki*, are popular guests in an open basin, *glek akuarium*.

In the past, the pleasure gardens in Java which were attached to the royal palaces incorporated ponds and potted plants. A bas-relief at Prambanan shows a pot with a huge plant. The temple of Prambanan, which was dedicated to Shiva, was built in the 9th century, fifty years after Borobudur. This vessel predates the planters used in Java's palace gardens (Lombard 1969: 156 and Photo 19).

4.1.3: *Jardinière*—ornamental jar

Lidded jars, some decorated with appliqué designs, are made in Bumi Jaya, Banten. As the jars will be placed in the open, they are supplied with a lid that prevents the jar from filling up with rainwater. After a few years exposed to rain and street dust, they look quite ancient (Figures 145 and 146). Chinese potters living on the north coast of western Java probably already started producing this type of European garden pottery in the 18th century (Rosi 1998: 79). The appliqué decorations on these vessels might be survivors of non-permanent ways of decorating ritual vessels. For other garden vessels with this type of decoration see Kitchener & Kustiarsih 2017 Figures 172 and 173.

4.1.4: *Ganjel*: Support (stand) for garden vessel

The potters in Bumi Jaya, Banten, also produced stands for garden vessels (Figures 140, 144). Postcards from the early 20th century show Dutch gardens with neat rows of flowerpots on stands (Haks & Wachlin 2004: 107, top postcard; 138, top postcard).

Sir Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant-Governor of Java, between 1811–1816 had flowerpots placed on stands as was the fashion at the time (Gallop 1995: 91, Figure 73).

67 Linear decorated pottery was used by people living in the Indus Valley more than 4000 years ago (Jarrige 1988:152, Figure 184; 174, Figure 279).

In China, flowerpots were placed on stands (Valder 1999: 32), and an early photo from the Leo Haks collection shows potters with Chinese looking stands (Ave 1988: 28).

4.2: TOYS

4.2.1: *Tabungan*: Money boxes, piggy banks

People in Java have kept valuables in all kinds of containers. A traditional home-made money box, which is still used as a savings container, consists of a joint of bamboo closed by its nodes and fitted with a slot, *tabungan bambu* or *cèlèngan bumbung*.⁶⁸ In the markets of Jakarta, one can always find a stall selling money banks. Some are cleverly made of plaster of Paris. Others are made of clay. These come in the shape of pumpkins and in the shape of breasts, symbols of abundance, and in zoomorphic forms; fish, rabbits, pigeons, cocks, tigers and lions. The Guardian God of Java, Semar, is also popular as a saving box.

Pots for treasures were used in ancient Java as well. Stone statues of deities with their treasure pots can be seen in Museum Nasional in Jakarta. The museum has a stone statue of Kuvera (Inv. No. 207) originating from a temple in Central Java. It dates from the eight to the ninth century AD. Kuvera is one of the guardian gods (*lokapalas*) as well as the Hindu god of wealth, chief of the Yaksas, the nature spirits, who guard the treasures buried under the earth. The cult of Kuvera was once prominent in Java. The pot-bellied Kuvera presides over four round pots overflowing with treasure. The pots are decorated with a band of circular bosses (Figures 226A, 226B).

Candi Mendut which is contemporary to Borobudur has a bas-relief depicting the *Yaksa* Atavaka. He was a flesh-eating ogre before his conversion to Buddhism. On the relief, he is depicted sitting above three pots of riches decorated with bosses (Bondan 1982: 69).

Another bas-relief on *Candi Mendut* (Bondan 1982: 73) depicts a wish-fulfilling tree, *Kalpataru*. The wish-fulfilling tree was one of the five trees in Indra's heaven. Under the tree we find three jars with high necks and prominent shoulders (again decorated with bosses), overflowing with jewellery. From these three illustrations we can assume that it was common to keep treasures in pots.

People in Majapahit used covered boxes for keeping valuables (Figure 227). These covered boxes are copies of Chinese imports.

Moneyboxes in animal form did exist in east Java already during the Majapahit period. The slots on these boxes are large enough to accommodate Chinese coins, which at that time were used from Japan to Arabia and widely circulated in Majapahit (Miksic & Soekarno 1995: 100).

These zoomorphic containers, it has been suggested, were used for collecting Hindu temple offerings. The moneyboxes were made to represent the vehicles of the Hindu

68 The National Museum of Iraq in Baghdad has a wheel turned saving jar in terracotta. This first known saving box is tentatively dated to 330–280 BC, and attributed to the Babylonian period. It has a vertical slot for coins and measures 17 cm in height (Körberg, Lindmark & Wiséhn 1992: 14–15). This saving jar is similar in shape to the sealed terracotta jars the Romans used (Körberg, Lindmark & Wiséhn 1992: 18–19) (inherited from the Etruscans) which spread all over Europe. However, the money box did not become popular in Europe until the 17th century (Miller 1990: 107–108).

gods. Shiva has his bull Nandi, who was called Lembu by the Javanese. Brahma's vehicle is a goose, and Indra's is an elephant (Richter 1993: 43). The Hindu god Murugan (Skanda) is represented by a cock.

Zoomorphic money boxes may also have been used in elaborate rituals of distributing money staged by Majapahit royalty. These are mentioned in the panegyric poem *Nagarakertagama* from the 14th century (Soemantri 1997: 72).

Many beautifully made saving boxes have also been found in eastern Java (see for instance Miksic & Soekatno 1995: 101; Pal 1999: 95, Figure 15). A terracotta head of a boy, which was once part of a saving box, is in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (R. L. Brown 1985: 123, Figure 89). Among the Majapahit terracotta displays in Museum Nasional we find a huge pig (Figure 228). The origin of the piggy bank *Cèlèngan* is possibly the Javanese wild pig, *cèlèng*, since one of Vishnu's incarnations was as a boar (Kramrisch 1987: 42). When Vishnu appeared on earth to save the world from demons, he often came as an animal metamorphosis (fish, tortoise, boar, lion), because it was only in this form that he could overcome the formidable tyrants (Walker 1968a: 47).

As there were many Chinese traders in Majapahit it is worth considering the pig as a symbol of plenty and wealth. The Sino-Vietnamese considered the sow a sign of wealth as it produces large litters (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996: 83). Throughout tribal and rural Southeast Asia, pigs are still symbols of affluence.

In Tantric Buddhism,⁶⁹ a form existed and was practised in Majapahit side by side with Hinduism, where the boar's female counterpart is the Admantine sow, Great Mother and Queen of heaven. As the pig cools itself in a pond, the devotee should cool evil passions (Cooper 1992: 222).

Zoomorphic saving boxes continued to be made in Java after their first appearance during Majapahit. Museum Nasional in Jakarta displays a bull, a goat and a small bird from Central Java all made from clay. They came into the collection in 1886 (Figure 229).

Perhaps the presence of Chinese traders and settlers in Java has contributed to the popularity of the zoomorphic saving boxes. Both the bull, tiger, rabbit, horse, goat, cock and the boar of Majapahit are animals of the Chinese Twelve Year Cycle.

4.2.1.1: *Kotak uang*: Money box

Painted money boxes come in two types (Figure 147). Both types have a horizontal or vertical slot on the shoulder through which coins can be dropped. They are decorated with the type of paint one uses for iron gates, one in dark Burgundy red, and the other one in a bluish green. Both decorations are highlighted with shining silver paint. The container has to be sacrificed to get the money out.

4.2.1.1.1: Money box, breast-shaped

Compare the money box published in *Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* (1983: 43).⁷⁰ A coin bank shaped like a breast, suggests abundance and plenty (Coomaraswamy 1956: 221).

69 Tantric Buddhism is a sect of Mahayana (Greater Vehicle) Buddhism.

70 The Museum in Bandung sees this as a mangosteen shape.

4.2.1.1.2: Money box with narrow neck

This pot has a narrow neck that can be used as a handle. The top is closed, except for a tiny air hole, necessary for a successful firing.⁷¹

4.2.1.2: *Cèlèngan*: Piggy banks

All money boxes are jokingly called piggy banks *cèlèngan*. The word *Cèlèngan*, piggy bank, comes from *cèlèng*, which means wild pig or boar in Javanese.⁷² However, many animals feature among the piggy banks sold today. There are bulls, tigers and cats, roosters, ducks and geese, rabbits and goats (as well as fantasy and cartoon figures) (Figure 148). All these animals would be familiar to a child growing up in Java. Furthermore, the oxen, tiger, rabbit, horse, goat and cock are six of the twelve animals in the Chinese Zodiac and they would appeal to a Chinese child born in the year of one of these auspicious animals.

4.2.1.2.1: *Ayam jantan*: Rooster

Among all the money banks in animal forms sold at the *Sekatèn* fair, which is held every year in Surakarta in honor of Prophet Muhammad's Birthday, cocks feature in great numbers. The large rooster painted in black and gold with a red comb and a yellow beak comes from Bojonegoro in East Java. It is moulded and hand finished (Figure 149).

The small brightly coloured (in reds, white, black and silver) rooster comes from a pottery workshop close to Jepara (possibly Mayong) in Central Java. It is made in two parts moulded together (Figure 149). Other examples of hen and cock-shaped money boxes are illustrated in Anne Richter's book *Arts and Crafts of Indonesia* (Richter 1993: 55, Figures 43 and 44).

A money bank in the shape of a rooster, *ayam jantan*, would be a popular possession for a child in Java. Elsewhere in the world, such as Sweden, hens and cocks that industriously pick up every small grain symbolize the virtue of saving. The fighting cock in Java, however, will also guard and defend the child's saved coins.

4.2.1.2.2: *Kelinci*: Rabbit

A rabbit painted white, with black features and red, green and silver decoration also features as a saving box. It is made from two moulded sections, which have been joined. The uneven base shows red clay (Figure 150). Historically, rabbits were depicted on

71 The Etruscan money amphora, *terramundi* from Umbria in Italy is similar in shape. Reproductions of this ancient Italian saving box were for sale in Australia. A pamphlet describing the new pots, says that this type of saving device was used in Italy for over 2000 years. The new ones were hand thrown in Italy and hand painted in England. According to a 'JAD Unique Import' pamphlet in Perth, Western Australia, 'Once the first coin is dropped the money pot must be fed until full upon which it must be smashed whilst making a wish.' Like the money pots from Java, the new *terramundi* are hand painted after firing.

72 The evolution of the English 'Piggy Bank' may be quite different from the Indonesian. It has been suggested that money boxes were called 'Pygg Boxes' during the Middle Ages after the clay or 'pygg' from which they were made. Over time, the name changed to 'Piggy Box' and they were made in the shape of a pig as a result (About.com Staff 2017).

Borobudur (Miksic 1990b: 73, panel IB. b. 24–25). The rabbit itself is a symbol of self-sacrifice as the future Buddha in the shape of a rabbit jumped onto the cooking stove to feed a hungry Brahman (Miksic 1990b: 72; Cooper 1978: 121). The rabbit did not burn in the fake fire and in order to let the rabbit's virtue be known, the holy man painted the figure of it on the moon (Coomaraswamy 1956: 89–90).⁷³

4.2.1.2.3: *Sapi*: Bull

Figure 151 depicts a *Cèlèngan sapi*, a money box in the shape of a zebu bull (Figure 151). This zebu bull saving box comes from Bojonegoro in East Java and is an example of how merchants come from far away to the *Sekatèn* Fair in Surakarta with their goods.

Among the many saving boxes in animal form sold at the *Sekatèn* Fair in Surakarta every year, is a saving box in the shape of a gray-white humped and short-horned zebu bull *Bos indicus*. The zebu is a familiar sight as a plow animal in the rice fields and has a long history behind him as Nandi, Lord Shiva's mount. In late East Javanese texts, he is called Nandaka (Coomaraswamy 1956: 89–90). Several beautiful stone statues of Nandi, which were once housed in Java's Hindu temples, can now be seen in Museum Nasional. They are all depicted in a resting position. Today, as a money box, Nandi is standing up—alert and attentive.

4.2.1.2.4: *Kuda*: Horse from Kasongan

The horse in Figure 152 was made in Kasongan, Central Java. The technique of clay modelling may have been introduced in 1963, when a prominent Indonesian artist introduced it to the potters living there as a way to upgrade production and income (Gearheart 1985: 27).

4.2.1.2.5: Semar: The Guardian God of Java

Semar is moulded in two parts (Figure 153). The front and back parts are joined. To prevent the figure from exploding during firing, there are two air vents in the concave base and one air vent in his right ear. The coin-slot allows steam to escape during firing as well. Semar's body is painted white after firing. This is in contrast to leather and wooden Semar puppets which have a black body and a white face. The white face is said to indicate a wise character. Semar's features and his belt buckle are outlined in black. He wears a green vest and a red sarong. He is an old man and there are only two teeth left in his lower jaw. He has a pierced right ear. The coin-slot is located in his laughing mouth.

Semar is the leader of the clown-servants, the *Panakawan* (*Punakawan*), which accompany the heroes in the Javanese and Sundanese versions of the Indian epics *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata*.⁷⁴ The four servants are however Javanese inventions. Semar is the leader of the group and the father of Pétruk, Bagong (also called Cepot in Java's western parts), and Garèng.

73 In Hindu mythology the animal stands for mildness and speed.

74 To understand the people of Java's love of Semar one should read Joseph Fischer's book *The Folk Art of Java* (Fischer 1994: 55–56).

One encounters the figure of Semar all over the island of Java, on advertising boards, as a cartoon figure, in theatre plays as well as in the traditional shadow and rod puppet plays. He is easily recognizable due to his body-build. He is a dwarf with a hunchback and a potbelly and huge bottom. As he is an old man he only has a small tuft of hair left on his head and two teeth in his lower jaw. The tuft is the source of his power (Gearheart 1985: 27). Semar symbolizes wisdom and common sense and has the power to quell all evils.

Semar is the servant of the Pandawas, the five brothers, whose long warring with their cousins, the Kurawas, provides the main theme for the theatre plays in Java. Semar looks after the welfare of the heroes in the plays (and indeed the people of Java). He is always righteous and speaks his mind although in allusions. In Semar's Ismaya form, he is God himself and is higher than the Pandawas. He acts as an intermediary between our world and the divine. The word Semar can be traced to *samar* which means hazy, dimly visible (Bonnefoy 1991: 954).

The history of Semar goes back long before the advent of the Hindu gods in Java. In theatrical performances, Semar speaks to the Hindu deities as his equals. Semar is considered to be the Guardian God of Java. No one can see him. However, as Raharjo from Surakarta confided: 'We know that he is there.'

4.2.2: *Mainan*: Play things

These consist of play sets for little girls. Little girls all over the world like to play with pots and plates and little girls in Java are no exceptions (Figure 154). At the *Sekaten* Fair in Surakarta several pottery stalls can be found in front of *Karaton* Surakarta on the broad grassy area north of the palace, *Alun-alun Lor*. Piles of miniature pottery vessels are for sale. At one stall the sets are painted with commercial paint (Figure 155). The next stall competes with an even larger choice of toy pottery. Here the vessels are unadorned. The vendors supplied the names for my purchase (Figure 156).

4.2.3: *Suitan*: Bird whistle/ocarina

The bird's tail has a hole for blowing. The two fingerholes, one on each side of the bird, make it possible to produce varied and melodious sounds.⁷⁵ The flat base is 6.5 cm. The bird is painted in a mustard yellow colour with commercial paint (Figure 157A, 157B). Richter (1993: 55, Figure 42) has an illustration of a similar toy whistle. See also *mamanukan*, 'made [like a] bird' in *Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* 1983: 60. The Bandung Museum's bird is of unpainted dark red terracotta.⁷⁶

75 Different types of ocarinas can be found all over the world. Some are filled with water. When played, the instrument produces a thrilling sound. The history of the ocarina goes back into antiquity (Mårtensson 1960: 55–71). A terracotta bird whistle dating to c. 2800 BC has been found in Indus Valley excavations (Jarrige 1988: 93, Figure 56). A small clay bird found in an excavation in Bengal is illustrated by Bloch (1906: 97, Plate XXXIX No 7).

76 The whistle was kept in the Museum's storage area when I visited.

4.3: *VAS BUNGA*: FLOWER VASES

Flower shops in Surakarta place cut flowers in heavy, bucket-shaped, earthenware pots (Figure 158). The idea of cutting flowers and placing them in a vase once had religious meaning. On the reliefs of Borobudur and Candi Sewu we can see that the Javanese used cut flowers in vases during religious worship, presumably depicting a common practice at the time. Different types of jars filled with lotus and water lilies are depicted on the reliefs (See Agrawala 1965: 35, Figure 47 and Plate XXXII; Bondan 1982: 54, Figure at bottom left corner). Agrawala (1965: 38) believes that the lotus vases depicted in the niches may be a symbolic representation of the Buddha himself. Both the lotus and the vase are auspicious marks on the sole of Buddha's foot (Yeo & Martin 1978: 305).

At Prambanan, which is dedicated to Shiva, we also find lotus vases (Lombard 1969: 182, Photo 19). According to Liebert (1976: 230), a vase of flowers is a symbol of fertility. Flowers and trees in pots are also ancient auspicious decorative symbols in Asiatic art (Coomaraswamy 1956: 98). An account written in the 13th century describes a Buddhist procession road in Sri Lanka. It was beautifully decorated with flags and banners, plantain trees and beautiful vessels filled with different sorts of ornamental flowers (Coomaraswamy 1956: 174–175). The Full Vase, Vase of Plenty, *Purnakalasa* as a symbol of abundance, reached Java from India. The 'vase' symbol is believed to have originated in Sumeria as a representation of a water goddess (Kremmer 2002: 371).

Old ways of building and decoration continued after Islam reached Java. In a place of worship the Full Vase was still considered a suitable decoration. A panel over a door at the Grand Mosque of Demak shows such a vase decoration (Figure 160). Hand carved teak panels in a Kudus house built in 1820 feature the vase motif as well. The vase is a place for flowers to grow and 'symbolizes the origin of mankind (Adam and Eve)' (Lubis 2003: 15).

The Chinese cultivated the art of arranging flowers indoors several hundred years ago and manufactured different types of vases. Vases in bottle gourd shape were popular (Valder 1999: 57). Another Chinese shape is the vase with a wavy rim. This is a commonly found shape produced in China since the Song dynasty (960–1279) (Ridho & Edwards McKinnon 1998: 40–41). Vases with wavy rims are sold in market stalls in Java (Figures 75, 159).

It is perhaps worth mentioning again that the bottle *kendi*, *tempat sesajén*, container or vessel for ritual offerings, is also used as a flower vase.

4.4: IMPLEMENTS USED IN BATIK MAKING

Java is known for its beautiful hand-drawn batik, *batik tulis*. An instrument with a funnel, a *canting*, is dipped into hot wax and a design is drawn on the cloth. A pan is needed to heat the wax in, and a stove to keep the wax hot. When the material is immersed in a colour bath, the wax-covered parts will not absorb any colour. The illustrated batik set is made of black burnished clay and is a beautiful example of how braziers and pans for batikting looked in the past (Figure 161A).

4.4.1: *Anglo batik*: Charcoal brazier for melting wax

The brazier is thrown in two sections, which are joined. Two lug handles protrude from the middle of the brazier. The rim in the middle is a decoration, but it also serves to strengthen the joint. The grate has six holes, plus an additional two over the trapezoidal ventilation opening. The *anglo batik* is blackfired⁷⁷ and burnished on the outside. Patches of red clay can be seen on and close to the flat base (Figure 161A).

4.4.2: *Wajan batik*: Pan used in melting wax

The pan used for melting wax is called *wajan batik* (Figure 161A, 161B). The bowl shaped pan has a short thrown handle attached. The handle is luted to the rim of the bowl at an angle. The *wajan batik* is fired black. The inside of the bowl is burnished. The rounded bottom of the bowl is unburnished and has ‘kissmarks’ (flame flashing).

A *wajan* made of clay is easier to use than a *wajan* made of metal as the woman can hold the protruding hollow handle without burning her hand. However it takes longer to heat the wax in a clay vessel (Hamzuri 1981: 4).

4.5: BIRD FEEDERS

Caged birds are popular in Java. It is said that a Javanese nobleman should have a house, a wife, a horse, a kris and a songbird (T. Kortschak in Oey 1991: 245). Bird feeders for food and water in fired terracotta were sold at one of the kiosks in Pasar Depok, Surakarta’s bird market.

4.5.1: *Tempat minuman burung*: Drinking bowl for cage bird

A pierced ear handle on the shoulder of the bowl allows the bowl to be secured to the cage (Figure 162).

4.5.2: *Tempat makanan burung (cwo)*: Feeding bowl for cage bird

The feeder is egg-shaped on a flat base. One side has a thin handle, which is pierced to enable the feeder to be tied to a rib in the birdcage. There are two round openings, one for the bird to feed through. The opposite opening, which is slightly bigger, is used for replenishing the food (Figure 162).

4.6: *BAS KELENTING*: A PERCUSSION INSTRUMENT

Pots are used as musical instruments. The bass sound in the *bang-bung* orchestra is produced by hitting a clay pot called *bas kelenting* with a stick. The mouth of the pot is covered with a piece of rubber taken from the used inner tube of a tyre (Susanto 2006: 18).

77 A black finish can be acquired by smothering the fire with wet grass during firing. The red patches, which occur then, are caused by incomplete reduction. Otherwise, the pots can be fired a second time with wet grass (Adhyatman, 1983: 22). In Mayong, pottery is coated with straw ash and burnished (Santoso Soegondho 1995: 48). Each pottery has its tradition regarding manufacture and embellishment of the produced wares.

4.7: EXPORT WARES

Kasongan, a small village south of Yogyakarta in Kabupaten Bantul, is well known outside Indonesia for its production of terracotta. Dozens of pottery workshops in the area also make use of the name Kasongan.

When I visited 'Timboel Ceramic' in the village of Tirto in 1999, the workers were busy repairing and smoothing a fired batch of candleholders, the 'Circle of Friends', which were meant to be sent to Canada and Holland (Figure 163). The candlesticks were made in moulds and fired in a traditional square earthenware kiln called *tunku bak*. For one kiln load of wares, the workers were busy for a full day, pouring the liquid clay into the moulds. Thereafter it takes three days for the clay to dry. The firing lasts for seven hours. Pieces that have not fired properly are repaired and polished before being glazed with earthenware glazes and refired. Each 'Circle of Friends' was individually packed in a custom-made split bamboo box (*beseke*). This gave work to surrounding villagers also hit by the recession. Container loads of bamboo boxes were produced.⁷⁸

Timbul Raharjo, a designer and artist at 'Timboel Ceramic', has designed the productions himself. He started the pottery workshop on his parents' plot of land. Although the clay suitable for pottery production was not available on his land, it could be bought at Kebumen, 60 km west of Yogyakarta, and brought back by truck.

4.8: AMPO: BAKED CLAY TABLETS

Ampo is medicine made of special very fine white clay (kaolin), dug from deep deposits. It is pounded with a pestle and mortar. Pebbles are removed and the clay is left to dry. The clay lumps are then roasted. In order to get rid of the burnt smell, the roasted clay is aerated. The clay is mixed with water and rolled into sausages that are sliced. This type of medicine is produced in the village of Kalibagor, Banyumas, Central Java, as well as other places in Java. *Ampo* is often eaten by pregnant women, who may become addicted because of its taste. This abnormal craving, in medical terms known as *pica*, is not uncommon in pregnancy, but during the period of economic hardship, which hit Java at the end of the last millenium, many people took to snacking on *ampo* to fill their stomachs (Maryono & Utomo 1999: 4). Kaolin (*Bolus alba*) has no nutritional value. It contains hydrated aluminium silicate, which is also of no benefit. The roasting of the clay would kill the germs (D. Maxwell, personal communication, 13 March 2004).

Elsewhere in Asia, kiln baked clay cups meant for consumption are reported from Bengal in India (Davidson 1999: 335). Very fine baked clay, *khola*, is also consumed by pregnant women in Lower Assam (Medhi 2003: 330).

78 In May 2006 a huge earthquake measuring 6.3 shook Java. The potters in Kasongan were again hit hard ('Thankful in the Midst of Tragedy', *Tempo* 40.6, 6–12 June, 2006: 24–25).

5: PART FOUR: BRICKS, TILES AND ROOF DECORATIONS

5.1: BRICKS

A brick is termed a cut-face solid. It is a regular sized unit for building, that can be picked up with one hand.

5.1.1: *Batu mérah* or *batu bata* (bricks)

5.1.1.1: Brick, *bata*, made in Central Java

At Désa Kali Manggis in Central Java, slop-moulded bricks are hand made in moulds the old-fashioned way. The moulding box or brick former, *cetakan bata*, is made of wood. It consists of four compartments and has no base. The mould is dipped in a water-filled trough made of wood. The water prevents the clay from sticking to the mould when it is lifted. The clay has been collected at the site and it is mixed with water from the stream that flows through the work site. A small amount of rice chaff is mixed in and the clay, water and chaff are compacted by treading. The prepared clay is left overnight. The worker then scoops up the mixture by hand and fills and packs the compartments (Figures 164 and 165). The mould is lifted and the four wet clay blocks are left to dry on the dry and flat ground strewn with rice chaff, where the clay blocks are produced. In the evening the neat rows of drying bricks are covered by plastic sheets to protect them from humidity, dew or rain. The dried bricks are collected and carried in a harness, which rests on the shoulder in hawker fashion (Figure 166). They are stacked under a thatched roof in a special way so that the enormous pile forms a kiln. This is called a clamp kiln (Plumridge & Meulenkamp 2000: 167). Air-ducts are incorporated in the structure to ensure even distribution of air and heat. Openings for firewood are left at the bottom of the structure. This stack of bricks (clamp kiln) is called *tombong bata* in Javanese and *bakar bata* in Indonesian.

Around 15,000 bricks at a time are fired overnight. A firing at Désa Kali Manggis started at five in the afternoon would finish at eleven the following morning. See Figures 167 and 168 for examples of stacking of clamp kilns, which are then fired with wood. The best bricks are the bricks fired in the middle. Soft and chalky, underfired bricks are discarded. The finished bricks are 230 mm long, 110 mm wide and 40 mm thick.

Brickmaking that takes place in rice fields sometimes takes up thirty percent of the land. Some producers use their own fields, whilst others rent land. If the weather is good it takes about two weeks for the moulded bricks to sun dry. The dried bricks are stacked in a pyramid with openings every fifty centimetres so that the rice straw, which is used for the firing, can be pushed in (Maryono 1999: 5).

Brickworks on the islands of Bali and Lombok are producing bricks much the same way. Small operators set up business next to a rice field after the rice harvest. The field is the source of the clay. Brick production starts right after rice harvesting, which occurs once or twice a year. Water buffalos are used to trample the mud, which is then poured into bottomless wooden brick-formers with four compartments.⁷⁹ The bricks

⁷⁹ For a brick former with six compartments see Wijaya (2003: 130).

are left to be sun-dried where they are made and then fired in clamp kilns (Blight 1997: 31).⁸⁰

5.1.1.2: Brick manufacturing close to Jakarta

A traveller leaving Jakarta by road towards Cikarang can't miss seeing the many brickworks which produce building bricks and tiles. The fabrication process in a brickworks that I visited, although still labour-intensive, is more advanced because of the use of a pugmill. The clay, which is dug out of a nearby rice field by a team of men using hoes, *pacul*, is loaded onto carts. One man using a harness pulls the heavily loaded cart, whilst two men push it. Rice chaff is occasionally added to the load from a sack placed on the rim of the clay pit (Figure 169). When inside the brickworks, a huge shed without walls, the load is heaped next to a pugmill, which will mix and compress the clay and cut it to brick size.⁸¹ Again a small amount of rice chaff is added to the clay as temper. This acts as a filler in the clay, helps control shrinkage and produces tensile strength, making the unfired product easier to move when extruded from the pug mill. It also makes the brick lighter. In the drying process, the chaff helps control shrinkage and cracking. The fired brick is lighter to handle and has insulating properties. The clay slabs are then arranged under the roof of the shed for drying in a way that allows air to circulate (Figures 170, 171). When dry the bricks are fired. It takes 24 hours for a load of bricks to be fired.

In *Bahasa Indonesia*, a brick is called *batu bata* or *batu mérah*. The exact meaning of *batu mérah* is red stone. This is indeed an appropriate name for these beautiful dark red bricks. The brick, which I acquired at a building depot in Jakarta (Figure 172), measures 202 x 100 x 40 mm.⁸² It weighs 1.45 kg. One can see that the raw clay has been cut by wire. All surfaces are extremely rough and are furrowed in a semicircular way by the cutting tool.⁸³

When and how did Java come to use bricks? Historically, Java's western parts had contact with India at an early date and in India, the earliest stupas were made of brick (Willis 1996: 794). It is likely that with the spread of Buddhist teachings, brick technology and architecture also spread to Java. A Buddhist temple complex in Batujaya,

80 In Nepal bricks are produced in a similar way from special riverbed clay. They are hand-formed in a wooden mould one by one. Then they are dried in the sun. The unbaked bricks are arranged in rows one above the other, forming a pyramid. Bundles of sticks are burnt under the pile until the bricks turn a bright orange (Collins 1978/1979: 11). The over 200 brickworks situated on the riverbanks outside Calcutta, which in the 1980s produced an estimated 80 million bricks annually, also employed workers that made each brick by hand. The moulds were sprinkled with white sand, a lump of clay dropped into the mould, then excess clay was trimmed off with a wire and the surface dusted with sand. A sharp tap would knock out the brick on the ground. On a good day a brick moulder could produce a thousand bricks (Berwick 1986: 31).

81 The Dutch probably invented the pugmill in the late 17th century (Plumridge & Meulenkamp 2000: 165).

82 Thin bricks (like the ones the Romans made) take less fuel to fire (Plumridge & Meulenkamp 2000: 165).

83 The price was Rp. 100, about five US cents.

Rengasdengklok, in the regency of Karawang, West Java (which was being excavated when I visited), may date to the 5th century and might have been part of the Hindu-Buddhist (5th-7th century) kingdom of Tarumanegara (Chamim 2003: 55). Enormous piles of huge clay bricks (400 x 300 mm) indicate the remains of Buddhist stupas. The bricks are tempered with rice chaff (Basrie 1997a; Basrie 1997b; Yuliandini, 2003: 19) and made from local clay (Figure 173).

A pile of bricks discovered five kilometres north of Borobudur, turned out to be that of a temple foundation that dated to approximately the 10th century. Each brick measures 600 x 450 x 50 mm (Berchman 2002: 17).

In Java, minor Hindu temples were constructed of brick after the mid 9th century (Jay 1996b: 796). Almost all East Javanese temples during the East Javanese period (900–1500), were built of brick instead of the basaltic stone used in Central Java (Miksic 1990b: 146–147). During this period temples were made of durable bricks and brick foundations were used for buildings.⁸⁴ Figure 174 shows a Majapahit model of a brick foundation.

Water management was of utmost importance in the kingdom's capital Trowulan. Huge dams, pools and ponds with canals connecting them were all constructed using bricks (Tanesia 2002: 19; D. Graham 2005: 18).

Bricks were excellent (paying) ballast. They were easy to handle and could be packed tightly. Bricks were found on all wrecked Dutch East India Company ships. About 8,000 small building bricks were recovered from the *Vergulde Draeck*, which sank in 1656. They can be seen in the Western Australian Maritime Museum in Fremantle. The bricks, which are all yellow, vary in size, measuring between 170–180 x 70–80 x 30–38 mm and weigh approximately 0.825 kg (Green 1977: 169, 171). The *Zeewijk* bricks were slightly bigger. The *Zeewijk* wrecked in 1727. On their return trip to Holland, the sailing ships were filled with spices, ceramics and other exotic goods.

As late as in the 1920s, bricks were transported from Holland to Indonesia. The imposing Villa Mérah on Jalan Tamansari 78, in Bandung, was built in tropical Art Deco style in 1922 by bricks shipped all the way from Holland (Roelcke & Crabb 1994: 40; Eliot & Bickersteth 1995: 695). The house has a black wooden shingle; *sirap*, roof and the Dutch bricks are now rendered and coated with dark-red paint (Figure 176).

Did the Dutch start the manufacture of bricks at Batavia (Jakarta), as the bricks currently made near Jakarta compare quite well with the early Dutch bricks? Or was the Majapahit technology of brick manufacture transferred from east Java, where the Trowulan builders in Majapahit used small 'Roman type of bricks'?⁸⁵ Notably, Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles, Lieutenant Governor over Java during the English interregnum between

84 K.R.H.T. Hardjonagoro, (personal communication, 20 October, 1994, and 13 December, 1996) in Surakarta has made a wall of his collection of Majapahit (paving?) bricks in his private museum. They measure approximately 200 x 300 mm (Figure 175).

85 'Roman brick' architecture was also employed in Ayutthaya, Katmandu, Champa, Pagan and Angkor Thom during the same era (Wijaya 2003: 158). Furthermore, '[t]he red brick used by the Cham is a unique feature of their civilization, and is not found elsewhere in Southeast Asia, but for the rare exceptions in Majapahit Java—like around Trowulan—and in Bali (Helmi 2005: 15).'

1811–1816, reported that bricks were manufactured over almost all the island of Java and were ‘employed in the better sort of buildings’ (Raffles 1978a: 165).

Another term for brick kilns in Java is *lio*. As this is a Chinese word (Echols & Shadily 1994: 346), it probably indicates Chinese involvement in the manufacturing process at some stage in the past.⁸⁶

As noted before, rice husks have been used as temper since ancient times. Indian pottery from the first millennium BC has been found on the island of Bali east of Java. The many shards show that rice husk was used as temper (Ardika & Bellwood 1991: 225, 231).

Elsewhere in Southeast Asia, a similar tradition exists as the potters in southern Thailand used chaff as temper when producing earthenwares as early as the 1st century BC (A. Srisuchat, personal communication, 10 July 1998; Srisuchat 2003: 256–257). This new technique then spread to surrounding areas. The Mons who lived in Thailand in the 7th–13th century also used rice chaff as temper for their bricks (Jay 1996b: 796).

5.2: ROOF TILES

A tile is a unit of baked clay, which in its various forms, can be used for roofing, walls or floors. It can be of various shapes.⁸⁷ In mainland Southeast Asia, the Chams in Vietnam used half-cylindrical roof tiles of a Han Chinese shape (Glover, Yamagata & Southworth 1996: 171–175). The Khmers abandoned their Indian flat tiles in the 9th century in favour of Chinese curved tiles (Dumarçay & Smithies 1995: 3). On the other hand, the tiles made by the Sukhothai potters were flat (R. M. Brown 1988: 75) and in Sri Lanka, the oldest type of roofing tile is flat as well (Coomaraswamy 1956: 223).

5.2.1: *Genténg*: Roof tile, made in large factories

One often sees stacks of roof tiles, *genténg*, at the roadside. They are intended for *kampung* houses under repair. Today the roof tiles in Jakarta are mostly of a modern, high-fired type (Figure 177). See also Figure 189 for a stack of high-fired roof tiles.

An article in *The Jakarta Post* describes a successful modern roof tile factory in Kebumen Regency, Central Java (Budiman 2000: 8). The ‘Soka’⁸⁸ factory was started by the Dutch, who found the soil in the area suitable for making roof tiles. The production of roof tiles continued after independence. Clay is purchased from rice field owners in the area. The ricefield clay is mixed with sand and formed into lumps

86 In China tombs were built of bricks already in the Han dynasty (206 BC–220 AD) and pagodas constructed of bricks during the Tang dynasty (618–907) (Vainker 1991: 162).

87 Tiles excavated in Bengal probably date to the 5th or the 6th century. The tiles had rims on each side of the edges which when laid on a roof joined the sides of the next tile. On top, there was a hole in which a peg was inserted so the tile could be fastened to the roof frame (Bloch 1906: 94, Plate XXXVII No 25). Roman roofs were laid with two types of tiles. Flat cover-tiles with upturned edges on which semi-cylindrical tiles were laid. The semi-cylindrical tiles covered the upturned edges of the flat tiles (Blagg 1996: 878).

88 The name of the factory is auspicious as it has taken the name of the soka tree *Saraca indica*. In Sanskrit *ashoka* means ‘unsorrowing’. In India, the flower buds are eaten to remove grief (Patnaik 1993: 51).

measuring 15 x 15 x 5 cm. These are put into a manual moulding machine. Every lump is smeared with oil before being pressed. This prevents the tile from sticking in the pressing mould. The tiles are dried in the sun after which they are fired for 24 hours in a wood fired kiln with a capacity of 30,000 tiles. The 'Soka' tiles are of high quality and are sold all over Java as well as in Bali and Sumatra.

5.2.2: *Genténg*: Roof tile, made by a small operator

In Java, one also sees an older Dutch type of roofing tile, the Dutch wing tile (Figures 182A, 182B). It is a curved roofing tile resembling a stretched out letter S.⁸⁹ The tile has the right upper and the left lower corners cut off. These roof tiles are still made the traditional way, one at a time by *Pak Ajun*, a Sundanese man, living in the regency of Bekasi. For the tile making process a wooden mould is used. The bottom of the mould is sprinkled with coarse sand. This process is called sand stock moulding. A lump of clay is put in the mould. The clay is compacted, and pressed into the mould by foot (Figure 178). The surplus clay is then cut off with a wire and smoothed for a uniform and neat finish (Figure 179). The clay tile is tipped over and the clay slab put on the earthen floor in the potting shed (Figure 180). When the clay has hardened sufficiently, the tile is put in another wooden mould, this time with the 'sandy' bottom side up. This second mould is slightly curved in the fashion of a roofing tile (Figure 181). The base of the tile is now fitted with a nib (of clay), which will enable it to hang on the battens. The shaped tile is tipped out and taken out to dry in the sun in front of the work shed. There the tiles are placed with the arched side up so that air can circulate under them. *Pak Ajun* used an updraught kiln, *lio (genténg)*, built of brick for firing. A load of tiles in this kiln took six hours to fire. Figures 182A, 182B shows one of *Pak Ajun's* roof tiles.

Unglazed earthenware tiles are highly porous, absorbing water when it rains. The evaporation that occurs when the sun shines on a tiled roof has a cooling effect. Buildings with this type of roof and how the tiles are placed can be seen in Figures 183 and 184A.⁹⁰

It should be noted that '[t]he essential element in Javanese architecture is not the wall, as in Western architecture, but the central column and beam system that supports a hanging roof' (Jessup 1996: 772). Many types of houses with different roof structures and roof coverings can be seen throughout Java, because '[t]raditionally, a house's shape, especially the shape of its roof, was regulated by the family's social standing' (Keeler 1983: 1).

There are thatched, *atap*, roofs of different kinds of dried palm leaves, grasses as well as the black fibre from the sugar palm, *ijuk* on Java's houses. Some buildings have roofs covered with wood shingles, *sirap*, or corrugated iron roofs, and there are roofs with terracotta tiles.

The Badui in Java's interior use a tall, coarse grass, *alang-alang*, or coconut leaf thatching, *atap kelapa*, as roof covering. They do not like to live in houses covered by

89 Dumarçay (1986: 37, 41) speculates that tiles of Chinese origin looking like a horizontal laid S were introduced in the 15th C.

90 The Dutch tile type also found its way to Sweden (Figure 184B).

terracotta tiles or in houses made of brick. If your house is made of these materials, it is as if you were already buried. Brick covered roofs are also more hazardous in an earthquake prone zone like Java.

A guide at Mankunegaran palace in Surakarta in Central Java said that the Javanese prefer living under a roof covered by wood shingle (*sirap*)—’like in the olden days. Such a roof will impart spirituality. But, today wood is expensive and supply is limited, [so] we have to make do with roof tiles of terracotta, *genténg*. These tiles are made from fire and earth. We feel like victims under the soil’.

What type of roof covering was used in Java in earlier times? Foundations of early buildings have survived, but roof constructions and their coverings have long since vanished. Reliefs on the 9th century Prambanan temple show buildings covered with wood shingles; it is also possible that they were broad flat rectangular terracotta tiles with a very indented lower edge.

Miniature clay house models from Majapahit indicate that at that time, different roofing materials were used for different types of constructions. Curved tiles, wooden shingles and thatching were used (Miksic & Soekatno 1995: 192–193, Figures 150–152). A miniature roof with curved tiles is illustrated in *Majapahit Terra-cotta Art* (Soemantri 1997: 150, Figure 203).

Flat terracotta tiles were introduced in the 13th century (Dumarçay 1987: 12). They were often rectangular. Sometimes they were shaped like scales (round-edged). Museum Nasional has one such terracotta tile with a rounded edge on display (Figure 185). Roofs laid with flat tiles had the advantage of being lighter than roofs laid with curved tiles (Dumarçay 1987: 24).

Fragments of broken roof tiles, *keréwéng*, are used by guests invited to attend Javanese weddings as a token payment for the drink *céndhol/dhawet*. Similarly, pieces of broken roof tiles are used as money to pay for *rujak*, a fruit salad made from seven sorts of fruit, by the participants of the ceremony celebrating a woman’s seven months of pregnancy (Kartiwa 1977: 9–10).

5.3: ROOF DECORATIONS AND DECORATIVE TILES

5.3.1: *Mustaka* and *mamolo*: Crowning ornament on mosques and buildings in cemeteries

Many mosques in Java have a three-tiered roof structure, which is called a *Méru*-roof. Mount Meru in Hindu and Buddhist cosmology is the axis of the Universe and the abode of the gods (Ringis 1990: 156). The crowning ornament on top of the roof is in Central Java called *mustaka*. In West Java, the term for this crowning ornament is *mamolo* (which is another name for *kepala*, head).

In the past, many mosques were crowned by very elaborate terracotta ornaments. A terracotta *mamolo* from Banten consists of three domed cord (*pilin*) trimmed platforms. These are circled with rows of cock heads (in the cardinal directions) interspersed with *tumpal*, triangular motifs. In each row there are four cock heads and four *tumpal*. The structure is topped by two globes. Parts of the *mamolo* are painted red and yellow. The *tumpal*, a triangle with its base down, as well as the

cock decorations, are there to prevent misfortune (*tulak balak*).

Chinese houses on the north coast of western Java often have cock decorations. As many of the coastal influences originated in China, the inclusion of roosters in this Banten *mamolo* are considered a Chinese addition. The homophony between the Chinese ideogram for cock (*ki*) and that which means ‘of good omen’, ‘favourable’ could be the reason for this (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1996: 209). The cock is one of the Chinese Twelve Year Cycle Symbols and may well have appealed to the Chinese entrepreneurs, who settled on the north coast of Java. This *mamolo* or *mahkota*, crown, made for a mosque would thus be a typical example of acculturation with Chinese, Hindu and animist motifs (for a *Mamolo* from Banten, see Figure 186).

A terracotta *mamolo* from Cirebon consists of three parts. It has a square base. At each corner of the square is an upward spiralling plant motif, (*sulur*), that indicates one of the cardinal directions. On each side of the square curved base there are four, five-petalled flowers jutting out. Then comes the neck, an inverted stepped box with geometric motifs. The *mahkota*, crown, of the *mamolo* is placed on a square with four upward spiralling plants, (*sulur*) in the corners. Again there is a decoration of stemmed five-petalled flowers on the square base. There are *tumpal*, triangles, covering the base of the head. The terms *mustaka*, head, and *mahkota*, crown, are used in both Javanese and Sundanese as well as in *Bahasa Indonesia*.

5.3.1.1: *Sulur*: upward spiralling foliate design

The upward spiralling plant motif may be an old fertility symbol, a symbol of new growth. At *Mitoni*, the ceremony held when a Javanese woman reaches her seventh month of pregnancy. The woman would wear a *lurik*, a striped handwoven material, with a design named ‘*Sulur ijo*’, ‘Upward spiralling green shoot’ (‘Lurik Cloth’ 2000: 7).⁹¹

5.3.1.2: *Tumpal*: Isosceles triangle motif

Rows of elongated triangles are a common border and end design on Indonesian textiles. They often occur on the vertical edge of sarongs. This row of triangles is called *tumpal* (Gittinger 1979: 233–234). The design is sometimes referred to as *pucuk rebung*. It is interpreted as being that of the edible tip of the sprouting bamboo (Coope 1987: 217–228). There have been other attempts at interpreting the meaning of this ancient design. *Tumbal* according to Echols & Shadily (1994: 591) is a protective agent. A water buffalo head (which is triangular in shape) is

91 The upward spiraling plant motif may have started out as a solar swirl design (or as ram’s horns?) far away from Java. Whorl designs traveled from nomadic tribes in Central Asia and were reinterpreted and given new names, which were relevant for the cultures that adopted the designs (Paine 1990: 7, 77, 80).

Menhirs erected in honor of ancestors on the Indonesian island of Sumba are curve-shaped (Kartik 1999: 86, Figures 43–46). Perhaps these ancient curved stones can be seen as shooting plants, which assured eternal life for the departed.

a pacifying gift for the surrounding spirits as well as for the Queen of the South Seas. It can be used to prevent disease or misfortune and bestow prosperity. The tongues of fire flames are related to *tumpal* designs (Boow 1988: 150, 152).⁹²

Coomaraswamy has classified the triangular motif into three groups. The triangles on the *mamolo* from Banten are elongated triangles (isosceles) and, according to him, of Malay—Polynesian origin and to be interpreted as a wedge or wing (Coomaraswamy 1956: 105–106). It may be as Paine notes, that '[a]s a pattern travels through distance and time its name usually refers to what it resembles rather than what it represents' (Paine 1990: 7). The original meaning of these ancient designs is often forgotten by the people, who use them today.

5.3.2: *Mahkota*: Crown for a Javanese house

Many houses in Central Java are built with traditional roof structures and decorated roofs. Among the decorations is a terracotta crown, *mahkota*, placed on the middle of the roof. In the old city of Kartasura, close to Surakarta, there is a cluster of shops that specialize in selling these decorative roof ornaments. They come in different sizes and shapes.

5.3.2.1: Crown-shaped *Mahkota*

The crown shaped *Mahkota* in Figure 187 has four curving and scaled *naga* (mythical serpents) forming the crown and lifting a stemmed and open vase-shaped, four-petalled flower, possibly a lotus, with their tails. In Hindu mythology, the four cardinal directions (and their intermediate points) are presided over by a protective deity, *lokapala*. Associated with each deity and keeping watch over each of the cardinal directions is a guardian serpent, *naga* (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 335). The lotus flower is a symbol of water and thus of life (Klokke 1993: 125).

Placed low between each *naga* is a *makara*. A *makara* is a composite animal made up of parts of different animals. The *makara* is the vehicle of Varuna, (bringer of rain) an early Vedic sky god (Liebert 1976: 165–166; Stutley & Stutley 1977: 323–324), who later became the guardian (*lokapala*) of the western quarter. In India and Southeast Asia the *makara* is frequently depicted as an architectural ornament. Over different periods it shows up in a variety of shapes (Fickle 1974: 34–35; Liebert 1976: 165–166; Stutley & Stutley 1977: 173–174).

The Indian *makara* is a mythological sea monster. In Java the *makara* has a parrot's beak (Miksic 1990b: 57). The function of the *makara* is to ward off evil. Both the *naga* and the *makara* are aquatic animals living in clouds and waters. As such they are closely connected with fertility.

The *mahkota* is also called *cundhuk*, which is the name for the large pin, which holds a woman's chignon in place. This term quite possibly refers to the fact that in earlier

92 Triangle decorations are said to have originated on the steppes in Central Asia (Holmgren 1989: 102, note 1). Prehistoric pottery vessels from Egypt dating c. 3500–3200 BC are embellished with triangular shoulder decorations. Depicted on the vessels are river scenes with boats. Peaked triangles form a skyline, which can be interpreted as hills (I. Shaw 2000: 55, 60).

times when roofs were thatched the crowning ornament's function was to hold the thatching in place. Yet another name for the *mahkota*, crown, is *kerpus*.

Hindu Bali houses are also capped with *mahkota*. As in Java, these roof ornaments incorporate vases of plenty, *kalasa*, serpents, *naga*, and mythical aquatic creatures, *makara*. The author Thelma R. Newman has photographed how a potter from Pejaten constructs a *mahkota*, and has also photographed some different types of *mahkota* (Newman 1977: 211–213). Binoh, five kilometres north of Denpasar, is a Balinese pottery centre with a production of *mahkota* (Sunarta 2002: 15).

5.3.2.2: *Mahkota*: Crown, incorporating *badhong*, upsweeping wings

Figures 188 and 189 show examples of high-fired modern *mahkota* with upsweeping wings.

5.3.2.3: *Mahkota* consisting of two dragons

A *mahkota* featuring two crowned *naga* with entwined tails look more like dragons than serpents (Figure 188). The horizontal strut on the gong stand, *gayor*, (made of wood) in the *gamelan* orchestra often has this type of *naga* decoration.

This modern high-fired *mahkota* brings to mind the clay modeling that was introduced in Kasongan. As previously mentioned, in 1963, an effort was made to improve the income of the potters living there by introducing clay modeling. Prototypes for the new products were found in other media like wood, metal or leather. In earlier times, household goods of clay were produced by women, but clay modelling became a male occupation (Gearheart 1985: 23–25).

Dragons are complex symbols that exist in many cultures. The Chinese, have for instance, classified the dragon in three groups; those living in the marshes and mountains, those living in the ocean and those living in the sky (Yeo & Martin 1978: 305). However, unlike the Chinese dragon, the Javanese dragon has no legs.

Perhaps the creator of this *mahkota* has seen the famous painting hanging in the Yogyakarta Palace. There, the two dragons in the painting (*Dwi Naga Rasa Tunggal*, Two *naga* share feelings) can be understood as a Javanese chronogram, pictorial rebus, giving the date 1682. It records the year when the court in Yogyakarta was established. The first word in the sentence becomes the last digit. However, it can also be read as '*Dwi nagara satunggal*' meaning 'Two states unite', having a hidden meaning that the two sultanates, represented by the dragons, should unite in opposing the Dutch colonizers (Wijayatno 2003: 8).

5.3.3: *Badhong*: Gable finial, end tile on the roof ridge

Many buildings in Central Java have gable finials (*badhong*) and roof ends in the shape of an upsweeping Garuda-bird wing. The Garuda is an important symbol, known to be a mythical bird and the mount of the Hindu god Vishnu. The Coat of Arms of the Republic of Indonesia is called *Garuda Pancasila* as it carries a Garuda. Often these gable finials are made of zinc, but on imposing government buildings from which power is administered heavier terracotta end-tiles are used (for a pair of elaborate

gable finials see Figure 189⁹³). *Badhong* gable finials serve the purpose of repelling evil forces.

The wing-like part of the *wajang* costume of the leather puppets in the shadow puppet play is also called *badhong*. Not all characters have a *badhong* as part of their costume. The *badhong* in the puppet's costume indicates a prince or warrior, someone with status and power.⁹⁴ Gatotkaca, Kresna (Krishna), Baladewa, and Adipati Karna are characters with *badhong*. Of these Kresna and Gatotkaca are able to fly, but Baladewa and Adipati Karna are not.

'Horn shaped' gable-finials appear on buildings all over South-East Asia. These often take the shape of birds or *naga* (Waterson, 1990: 7). Roof ridge ends with dragon heads occur in East Java (Purwono 1993/1994: 64). Wing-like endings, were used on the roofs of the royal palace at Angkor, and appear on a relief at the 13th century Bayon in Cambodia (Dumarçay 1991: 43, Figure 23). Roof ridge ends in Thailand on Buddhist temples and buildings are called *chofa*, (sky hooks or sky tassles). These finials can be seen as stylized birds. Perhaps it is a Garuda, the vehicle of the Hindu god Vishnu, perhaps a Hamsa, Brahma's goose, swan. Whatever the case, it similarly conveys the protective power of the god (Ringis 1990: 79, 155).

Modern high-fired factory produced roof ridge ends also come in the shape of rooster heads (Figure 190). A similar looking rooster head, *kepala jago*, roof end occurs on roofs in East Java as well (Purwono 1993/1994: 63).

5.3.4: *Wuwung jago*: Ridge-end rooster

Tiles with roosters were produced and used on houses in the region around Mayong until World War II. The ceramic cocks calling the sun to rise in the sky were placed at the end of the roof (Figure 191). In Java, a rooster tile on top of the roof is a sign that the inhabitants of the house are wealthy (Suhardini, personal communication, 1997, 1999, and 2003).

Broken rooster ridge tiles, like the one on top of the roof, were marked SUBAGYO and left in a pile on the ground when I visited the site. The people south of Kudus said that they were about fifty years old. Subagyo was probably the name of the company that made them. *Subagyo* in Javanese means 'more happy', a very auspicious name for a company as well a good omen for the customers' roofs. Recently, the production of rooster ridge tiles has been taken up anew (Figure 192).

We know from written sources and finds that Majapahit rooftops in East Java were decorated with roosters (Muller 1978: 26, Plates 36–37; Richter 1993: 43). Rooster ridge tiles from the region of Mayong (Kudus—Jepara area) are depicted in *The Crafts of Indonesia* (Ave 1988: 50). Ridge tiles in this area once featured sun disks as well (Ave 1988: 50). These decorations must have been inspired by earlier practices. Solar disks were used to cap Majapahit temple ceilings (Miksic & Soekarno 1995: 124). We also

93 Cf. this photograph with the Balinese pavilion 'tree fern trunk' roof decoration recorded by Wijaya (2003: 55).

94 Information obtained through personal communication with artisans making leather puppets at 'Gubug Wayang- 44' in Yogyakarta (14 July, 1999).

find ornamental roof tiles on the island of Bali. These Balinese tiles with a *Cili* motif are representations of *Dèwi Sri*, the Rice Goddess (Ramseyer 1977: 28, Figures 27–28).

5.3.4.1: The cock, *Gallus gallus*, as a symbol

The rooster, *sawung*, is a Yogyakarta symbol of bravery (Brus 1984: 71).⁹⁵ General Wiranto, chief of Indonesia's armed forces, was presented with a cock to gain mental strength from it. This was reported on Australian TV on September 18, 1999 as the Timor crisis was at its height.

Elsewhere in Indonesia, in the olden days, roosters were taken on board sailing ships as their crow was a sign that the ship was closing in on land. This custom is still practised on sailing ships from Madura according to information obtained from the Museum Nasional in Jakarta. For the people living in Tanah Toraja, in Sulawesi, the rooster, which likes to sit high on a roof, is a sun symbol.

Tizar Purbaya (personal communication, 28 June, 1996), the famous Sundanese *dalang*, puppeteer, sometimes tells an audience of children an old folk story. It relates how the dragon borrowed the horns from the cock. In return, the dragon lends the cock his small spurs, which are put on the cock's feet. The dragon promises to come back with the horns the following morning. That is why the cock always sits on top of the roof every morning waiting for the dragon to return with his horns.

Building and carving medium in earlier times was wood. Roosters carved in wood might once have adorned roof ridges throughout the Indonesian archipelago. A regent's house in the island of Timor has a roof ridge with cocks and other birds carved in wood (Dawson & Gillow 1994: 158, Figure 151).

Lombok houses had roosters on roof-caps. Besides holding the thatch on the roof in place, aggressive roosters on roof-caps were there to protect babies from being harmed by *selak* (McKinnon 1996: 73). *Selak* are evil ghosts that eat small children (Y. Iriani Syarief, personal communication, 1999–2000).^{96, 97}

95 Poultry was likely domesticated in Southeast Asia (Storey et al. 2012). Eggs laid by hens in captivity were easy to collect. However, it is most likely that the birds were bred for their aggressiveness, and the cocks used in fights. In India, the cock, *kukkuta* in Sanskrit, is a symbol for the rising sun and the vehicle, bearer of Skanda, a war god (Liebert 1976: 144; Stutley & Stutley 1977: 282). The worship of Skanda was current in northern India in the 5th century. Skanda is today more known by various other names like Subramania and Murugan (Stutley & Stutley 1977: 281–282). Lord Murugan rides on a peacock, but his banner has a cock upon it (Coomaraswamy 1956: 112).

96 Y. Iriani Syarief was stationed in Lombok for over ten years and could clarify this Sasak word, which could not be found in any dictionary. The Sasak speak a language closely related to Balinese and Javanese (McKinnon 1996: 12).

97 People in other parts of the world have also found the rooster an important symbol. The people of Carthage saw in the cockerel, the symbol of the soul, the breath of life. For the Christians the weathercock on the church spire is a symbol of Christ the Saviour. In Scandinavia, weather cocks were used by priests and farmers as well. Their cocks also decorated candlesticks. Cocks were symbols of vigilance (Nodermann 1985: 20). As the cock is the harbinger of daylight it is believed to drive away the spirits of the night (Paine 1990: 72, 80). The widespread cult of the cock from Indonesia to the Mediterranean world might be traced back to the Dravidians and their worship of the deity Murugan (Daniélou 2005: 107).

5.3.5: *Genténg kelir*: coloured tiles (The decorative ridge tiles in the Kudus—Jepara area)

The ridge or cam, *bubungan*, (*wuwungan*), of prominent houses in the Kudus—Jepara area, are decorated with spectacular ridge tiles. These tiles, of eye-catching shapes, are decorated with pieces of broken white porcelain, which shine when weather and wind have darkened the terracotta. The porcelain decoration is only done on the front part of the tile. When in place on the roof, the tiles face people coming to the house and alert visitors to the high social status of the owner (Figures 193, 194). The interlocking ridge tiles are heavier than ordinary tiles. Their weight helps to keep the next row of tiles in place and by so doing will also secure succeeding rows.

The coloured ridge tiles (*genténg kelir*) on the houses are of two types; *genténg gunung*, mountain tile, which is placed in the middle of the roof, and *sampingan*, side tile.⁹⁸

5.3.5.1: *Genténg gunung*—mountain-tile, ‘Cosmic Mountain’ tile

The mountain is an important symbol for Java’s people. Since prehistoric times, mountains have been considered holy because they were places where ancestors dwelled and were worshipped (Miksic 1990b: 47). Hindu and Buddhist beliefs with Mount Meru as the axis of the world enforced earlier beliefs. A person’s house was then seen as being a reflection of this world order and thus, the Mountain-tile placed on a roof shows the house as the microcosm of the universe.

The *genténg gunung* is placed in the middle of the roof ridge. The front of the tile is decorated with broken pieces of porcelain (See Figure 195 for a close up of the tile, and Figures 193, 194, 197 for roofs with this auspicious tile).

5.3.5.2: *Sampingan*—side tile (also called *Patih*, adviser)

Side or flanking tiles, *sampingan*, surround the ‘Cosmic Mountain’ tile in the middle of the roof (Figure 196). The tiles are made in two different shapes depending on whether they are to be placed to the left or the right of the Mountain-tile. The innermost part of each tile is higher and curves away from the centre. One person I interviewed calls them *Patih*. A *patih* in Javanese is the assistant or adviser to a regent. The word *Patih* comes from Sanskrit. In former times it was the title of a minister or vizier (Wilkinson 1932b: 219).

5.3.5.3: *Sampingan jènggèr*—hip tile with cockscomb

Many houses in Java have half-hipped or hipped roofs. Special tiles are made to cover the seam between the two tiled sides of this type of roof construction. The tiles are of a hollow truncated cone shape, sliced along its axis. The upper part of the tile has a projection, which will stop the tile above it from sliding down. In place, each tile overlaps the one below.

98 Dumarçay (1987: 45) refers to the Kudus houses ‘with a ridge decorated with terracotta palms; as these quickly become black because of the weather, fragments of porcelain have been inserted in them and these remain bright in the sunlight.’ However, I did not observe any terracotta palms, but a mountain tile flanked by spectacular ridge tiles.

Rows of these cockscomb tiles seal the sloping sides of many roofs (Figure 200) as well as the very steep sides of the four columned roofs of *joglo* houses, where the row of cockscomb side tiles is called *bandongan* (Figure 194). The sides of these hip tiles are all trimmed with a cord-like decoration (Figure 198). The tile's cockscomb has a vegetal decoration (Figures 199A, 199B). This type of decorative tile is recorded on the roof of a *joglo* house in the Kudus area in Central Java (Winardi 1993/1994: 51). The decoration on these tiles belongs to Java's fauna and flora.

5.3.6: *Sudut bulus* — corner tortoise (a hip-end tile)

The last tile in the row of hip tiles is shaped like the shield of a tortoise. This tile is called *sudut bulus*, corner tortoise (Figures 201, 203). The *bulus* is a large freshwater tortoise. It is apparent that the shape of the animal's shield has given name to this tile. The shield-shaped tile is trimmed with a cord (*pilin*) decoration. A comparable cord decoration can be seen on a Majapahit bronze tortoise depicted in *The Legacy of Majapahit* (Miksic & Soekatno 1995: 146, Figure 44).

A cockscomb, *jènggèr*, is flanked by two semicircular bends, projections, which curve inwards, called *gelung*. *Gelung* is a traditional Javanese hairstyle with the hair coiffed in a semi-circular bend.⁹⁹ Many of the *wayang* puppets wear their hair in such a coil. A Majapahit roofing tile with an upward curving decoration incorporates a leaf design (Miksic & Soekatno 1995: 188, Figure 142). The *jènggèr*, 'comb', on the end-tile is moulded in two parts and decorated with a tendril design (Figures 202A, 202B). The comb decoration on the tile in Figure 203 is slightly different from the decoration on the tile in Figure 201. The top of the tile has a hole for a peg (or a cord?) by which it can be fastened to the roof frame.

The upward curving bends could represent plants spiralling upwards.¹⁰⁰ Upward spiralling roof ridge ends occur on houses in East Java (Purwono 1993/1994: 65). They are shoots, *sulur*. Vegetal curved decoration also occurs on baskets from Borneo (Zainie 1969: 8). As for occurrences elsewhere in Indonesia, houses on the island of Nias west of Sumatra are decorated with elaborate woodcarvings. Among the decorations are fern fronds, which represent fertility (Waterson 1990: 111). The spread of spiral designs found in islands of South East Asia was earlier attributed to influences from the Dong Son culture (Zainie 1969: Introduction), which flourished in northern Vietnam sometime between the 7th century BC and the 2nd century AD. This culture, in turn, shared designs with the much earlier Lapita Pacific island cultures (Taylor 1991: 59). Dong Son artefacts, like decorated bronze drums, were sought after trade items. Decorative motifs used on them and on other cast artefacts, as well as on textiles and baskets, were presumed to have spread and evolved through trade.¹⁰¹

The tortoise was an important religious pre-Islamic symbol as this was the form taken by Vishnu in one of his incarnations. The turtle was the foundation of the churning

99 *gelong* in Wilkinson (1932a: 344).

100 An example is a ridge tile from western Java with curved leaves/shoots flanking a bird/cock, which can be seen at Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung (Figure 186).

101 However, the fern shoot design might have its origins in a common prehistoric Central Asian heritage, as a hook motif does exist on hand loomed carpets from Central Asia.

stick with which Vishnu stirred the Cosmic Ocean when the universe was created.¹⁰² Three giant flat-backed turtles can be found at Candi Sukuh, built in the 15th century. Candi Sukuh is the last of the Hindu-Buddhist temples built in Java.

¹⁰² Many languages do not differentiate between tortoises and turtles with the tortoise belonging in the turtle family.

6: CONCLUSIONS

The earthenwares of Java have many uses and are fascinatingly diverse. Some people think of earthenwares as dull and inferior as they are seldom glazed, as they have not evolved into the higher status glazed wares possess. However, the earthenwares of Java have beautiful forms and shapes and most surfaces are indeed decorated in some way. Both pit firing and controlled firing produce decorative vessels. Burnishing, sgraffito as well as slip painting and patination are common decorative devices. There were ridge ornaments with shard decoration. Garden vessels had appliqué decoration. Money boxes were painted with commercial paints after firing. An impermanent white decoration occurred on a ritual vessel.

Java has a varied production of earthenware. Each pottery workshop is specializing in something different, whether it is for local consumption or intended for export. It is also evident that the earthenwares of Java have been exposed to outside influences, which over the centuries have left their mark on what the potters produce today.

The earthenwares made in western Java are generally fired at lower temperatures than in Central Java. Many of the earthenwares displayed in Museum Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung and collected in the past have a decoration of horizontal bands. Linear and banded decoration is typical for pottery made today too, whether painted with iron oxide or with commercial paints. Sometimes a vegetal decoration is added as well. As a base for the decoration, the vessels are given an iron oxide wash.

In Central Java, decoration may consist of burnishing or by contrasting plain untreated surfaces with burnished surfaces.

A cooking pot, *wajan masak sayur*, which is similar to those found in prehistoric sites, is still used.

However, as new waves of foreign cultures have exposed the population to outside influences, the potters have adapted their production to new demands. If an import was too expensive to buy, it could be produced locally in clay. For example, the Chinese *wok*, traditionally made of iron, was reproduced in clay. The Dutch or Japanese glass jars were perhaps the prototype for the *lodhong tanah*. The Chinese teapot, *téko*, became the *poci*, when made of Java's beautiful clay. The *pembakaran kué*, cake oven, made it possible to bake Dutch type sponge cakes and cupcakes without the luxury of a Western style stove with oven. The culinary wares reflect both the inherited and the changed eating and drinking habits of Java.

As labour is cheap, the production is cheap; the finished product can then be marketed at a competitive price. Flowerpots and basins are produced because plants and fish do look good in them. These vessels also provide a better environment for their inhabitants than hard plastic. In the long run plastic will break down when exposed to damaging UV light.

Bricks and tiles are still superior and cheaper than concrete and other artificial and synthetic building materials. Synthetics do not 'breathe' and sometimes give out poisonous gases. In the tropics, a house built of brick, tiles, and wood provides a better living environment.

Cooking pots and spice grinders of terracotta are cheaper to buy than metal cooking pots and electrical grinders. Many homes still have no electricity. It should also be remembered that aluminium pots are not the best choice for local cuisine, which often contains acidic ingredients, like *asam* and lime fruit. These can react detrimentally with the metal, creating a health hazard.

Although censers and small vessels for spirit offerings are specially made, many of Java's earthenware vessels have both utilitarian and ritual functions. If you are not rich, you make do with what is already in the house.

My pursuit of earthenwares started in 1991 and ended in early-2000. During that period the different potteries continued their production of established models. I found that the same assortment of *kendi*, as well as cooking vessels and saving boxes, were for sale in Java's markets at the end of my research as at the beginning of it. Indeed, earlier publications have recorded some of the same wares that I came across (*Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah*: 1983; Robinson & Kidney: 1984; Adhyatman: 1987).

We can also see how the change in today's earthenware production reflects Java's long and fascinating history. Many outside influences have been absorbed and adopted to form something unique for Java.

A prosperous Majapahit, with huge amounts of Chinese coins in circulation, could spend lavishly on ritual vessels and so the zoomorphic saving banks became popular. There are several types of censers used in rituals, which take place on important occasions during a person's life. They remind us that Java and the surrounding archipelago once played an important role in trade that supplied incense to the world beyond. Roof covers and roof decorations reflect influences from India and Southeast Asia as well as Holland. Islam brought the need for a special type of vessel, *padasan*. As for today's huge and varied production of flowerpots used as planters in gardens and on verandas and patios, China played a role by supplying the first large vessels. Later, Western appetites for antiques led to the production of artificially antiquated garden vessels.

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APPENDIX 1: GLOSSARY

Malay, part of the Malayo-Polynesian language family (a sub-group of the Austronesian languages), was selected as the basis for the national languages of both Indonesia and Malaysia. Malay as it is spoken in Indonesia (*Bahasa Indonesia*) became the national language in 1928. In 1972, the spelling of *Bahasa Indonesia* was simplified. Dj became j, j the letter y, tj became c, and ch became kh. Peoples' names were not affected by the new spelling rules, because names are considered sacred. Today modern Malay is written in two slightly different forms of the Latin alphabet, one used in Malaysia, one in Indonesia.

Javanese, which over 78 million people speak, belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian language family, as does Sundanese, which is spoken by an estimated 30 million people in West Java and Banten.¹⁰³ Javanese (as well as various other dialects) is spoken by the people living in Central and East Java and on the north coast of western Java. The Javanese express themselves by using different speech register styles, *Krama* or *Ngoko*. This relates to the status of the speaker and the person addressed.

The names given to the different vessels in this text were the actual names given by my correspondents. The accompanying vocabulary was compiled from entries in several dictionaries, as well as from cookery books and through interviews. Some dictionaries list *Bahasa Betawi*, Jakarta dialect words. There are Sundanese–Dutch dictionaries, which I have tackled. However, different dictionaries classify their words according to different systems and some words are 'difficult' to find. Asking people for help with spelling has not been of much help either as both new and old (Dutch) spelling come into the picture. Additionally, many people have only spent a few years at school. It should be noted that it was not always clear, when I interviewed them, which language they used, and that the languages spoken in Java have absorbed influences from Sanskrit, Chinese, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch and English.

A standardized Romanised spelling for the vocabulary I encountered while researching the earthenwares in Java did not exist. There are many variant spellings.

<i>abang</i>	(Javanese) red.
<i>abdi dalem</i>	(Javanese) palace servant, courtier, court servant. (<i>abdi</i> means servant in Arabic).
<i>abrit</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) red.
<i>acamana</i>	(Sanskrit) the sipping of water from the palm of the right hand; sipping water for purification (Gonda 1973: 390), in a sitting position facing north or east (Bhattacharyya 1990: 3).
<i>adhi</i>	younger sibling.
Agastya	or <i>Siva Guru</i> . In Java, Agastya is a manifestation of Shiva. Agastya is identified with Canopus, in the constellation Carina. His is the brightest star in the southern hemisphere. His star-form is the second brightest star in the heavens after Sirius.
<i>ageng</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) large, great (Horne 1974: 10)

103 The Hindu kingdom of Sunda flourished there in the 13th century.

<i>agung</i>	exalted, high, noble
<i>air</i>	water.
<i>Air kembang</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) flower water, flower bath. The bath taken by a bride and groom before their wedding is called <i>Air kembang</i> , flower bath.
<i>Air Kembang Setaman</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) water and flower mixture used ceremonially.
<i>air mata</i>	tears.
<i>air mata duyung</i>	love-potion, perfume (<i>duyung</i> , dugong, <i>Dugong dugong</i>)
<i>air nira</i>	sap obtained by tapping inflorescences of various palms used for making sugar or spirits
<i>air talkin</i>	'instruction water'
<i>air tujuh rupa</i>	'seven kinds of water'
<i>aji</i>	king, ruler
<i>akacia</i>	acacia (<i>Acacia auriculiformis</i> , Family: Leguminosae)
<i>akuarium</i>	aquarium.
<i>alang-alang</i>	elephant grass, a tall, coarse grass, <i>alang</i> (<i>Imperata cylindrica</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>) used for roof thatching.
<i>alun-alun</i>	a broad grassy area in front (north) and back (south) of a palace or regent's residence.
<i>alun-alun lor</i>	(Javanese) broad grassy area in front (north). <i>lor</i> , north.
<i>ampo</i>	partially baked clay-tablet sometimes eaten by pregnant women (Horne 1974: 20).
<i>anak</i>	child.
<i>anak cobék</i>	crusher, pestle (the child of the mortar).
<i>Anggara</i>	(Javanese) Tuesday (the Indian name for Tuesday).
<i>Anggara Kasih</i>	(Javanese) an alternative name for <i>Selasa Kliwon</i> Tuesday <i>Kliwon</i> . <i>Selasa</i> (Javanese) Tuesday.
<i>anggrék</i>	orchid flower.
<i>angin</i>	wind.
<i>anglo</i>	(from Chinese) charcoal brazier, charcoal stove. The <i>anglo</i> uses charcoal for firing and is portable.
<i>anglo batik</i>	charcoal brazier for melting wax when making hand-drawn batik.
<i>anglo besar</i>	charcoal stove.
<i>anglo dapur</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) charcoal stove.
<i>anglo kecil</i>	incense burner.
<i>anglo kemenyan</i>	incense burner for gum Benjamin.
<i>anglo ratus</i>	perfuming censer (used with fragrant powders, <i>ratus</i>). An <i>anglo ratus</i> with a handle is used for perfuming a woman's hair.
<i>anglo saté</i>	<i>saté</i> grill.
<i>angon</i>	(<i>Bahasa Betawi</i> , Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) heard.
<i>angsa</i>	goose.
<i>anteb</i>	(Javanese) steadfast.
<i>apam, apem</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>), <i>apem</i> (Javanese) kind of rice flour and coconut cake often used as a ceremonial food during the month before the fasting month. It is served with a sauce of coconut milk, sweetened with palm sugar. Yeast is used in the batter for <i>apam</i> , but not in the batter for the similar <i>wingka</i> .
<i>api</i>	fire.
<i>arang</i>	charcoal.
<i>arang kelapa tempurung</i>	charcoal made from coconut shell.
<i>arén</i>	sugarpalm (<i>Borassus flabellifer</i> , Family: <i>Palmae</i>) as well as <i>Arenga pinnata</i> . The nipa palm, <i>lahang</i> , (<i>Nipa fruticans</i>) is also a sugar producing palm. Its

	fruit is called <i>kolang kaling</i> . or <i>buah atap</i> , atap fruit.
<i>ari</i>	(Javanese) younger sibling.
<i>ari-ari</i>	placenta, afterbirth.
<i>asam</i>	acid, sour.
<i>asam, asam Jawa</i>	tamarind (<i>Tamarindus indica</i> , Family: <i>Caesalpiniaceae</i>)
<i>asap</i>	smoke, scent, steam, to perfume clothes with incense.
<i>asapan nasi</i>	rice steamer.
<i>asin</i>	salt, salty, salted.
<i>astha</i>	(Javanese) eight.
<i>atap</i>	thatched roof of palm leaves.
<i>ayam</i>	chicken, fowl.
<i>ayam jantan</i>	rooster.
<i>bacem</i>	(Javanese) food partly steamed, then finished by frying.
<i>badhong</i>	wing-like ornament of a <i>wajang</i> costume, an upsweeping wing, gable finial.
Baduga	as in <i>Sri Baduga</i> ; the name of an ancient ruler.
Badui	(<i>urang Kanekes</i>) an ethnic group in Sundanese West Java (the regency of Lebak in Banten) of which the inner core has kept their pre-Islamic ways. The Badui are animists. <i>Badui Dalam</i> are the Badui living in the inner part of their community. <i>Badui Luar</i> are the Badui living in the outer part of their territory.
<i>Bahasa Betawi</i>	a distinct dialect spoken in Jakarta, earlier called Batavia.
<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>	It is the Indonesian form of Malay and the national language.
<i>Bahasa Jawa</i>	Javanese.
<i>Bahasa Melayu</i>	the Malay language.
<i>Bahasa Sunda</i>	Sundanese, the Sundanese are the main ethnic group in West Java and Banten.
<i>bak</i>	trough, basin, tank, box.
<i>bak kamar mandi</i>	an open water tank in the bath room from which water is scooped up.
<i>bakar bata</i>	kiln for firing bricks.
<i>bakul</i>	basket, small tradeswoman.
<i>balak</i>	to fall from the tree before ripening (Horne 1972: 51). <i>tulak balak</i> to ward off evil spirits or influences.
<i>Bali Yatri</i>	a festival held in Orissa in India.
<i>bambu tali</i>	string bamboo (<i>Gigantochloa apus</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae/Poaceae</i>) (Farrelly 1996: 192).
<i>bandeng</i>	milk-fish (<i>Chanos salmoneus</i>).
<i>bandong</i>	cock or rooster (also <i>mandong</i>).
<i>bandongan</i>	row of side tiles on <i>joglo</i> house.
<i>bang-bung</i>	an orchestra consisting of mostly bamboo instruments.
<i>banglé</i>	a ginger (<i>Zingiber cassumunar</i> syn. <i>Zingiber purpureum</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>) a plant used in medicine. According to <i>Ibu Mar</i> this is what <i>Betawi</i> people call this plant. In <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> it is called <i>lempuyang</i> .
<i>Bapak, Pak</i>	form of address to an older man, Father, Mr.
<i>barat</i>	west.
<i>baro-baro</i>	a white rice porridge with grated sugared coconut served at ritual ceremonies.
<i>baru</i>	new.
<i>bas kelenteng</i>	a pot (<i>klenthing</i>), used as a percussion instrument.
<i>baskom</i>	derived from Dutch <i>waskom</i> , wash basin (of plastic, metal, china) used for food by small restaurants and food hawkers.
<i>bata</i>	(Javanese) brick.

<i>batara</i>	god, male deity, <i>bathara</i> (Javanese).
<i>batik</i>	a method of decorating cloth by using wax to cover the parts, which will remain undyed.
<i>batik tulis</i>	hand drawn batik, hand made batik, <i>tulis</i> written.
<i>batu</i>	brick, stone.
<i>batu bata</i>	brick.
<i>batu garam</i>	saltbrick.
<i>batu mérah</i>	brick.
<i>bayem</i>	(Javanese) spinach, amaranth, Chinese or round leafed spinach (<i>Amaranthus hybridis</i>) (Wall 1985: 18). <i>Ipomea aquatica</i> , Family: <i>Convolvulaceae</i> , Chinese Watercress (Mowe 1999: 150).
<i>bawang (Bombay)</i>	<i>bayam</i> (Wilkinson 1932a: 94) esp. <i>Amaranthus oleraceus</i> used by the Malays for spinach. Family: <i>Amaranthaceae</i> according to Wilkinson.
<i>bawang goréng</i>	common yellow bulb onion (<i>Allium cepa</i> , Family: <i>Liliaceae</i>).
<i>beas</i>	fried onion. (Sundanese) hulled rice rice cleaned from husk and bran (Rigg 1863: 47)
<i>bedak</i>	cosmetic powder
<i>bekatul</i>	(Javanese) bran and small broken rice grains produced by pounding.
<i>belanga, bèlanga</i>	(Wilkinson 1932a: 105) wide-mouthed cooking pot of unglazed earthenware, for cooking curries, vegetables, <u>not</u> for boiling rice. In Java called a <i>kuali</i> .
<i>belentong, blentong</i>	(Sundanese) steamer and cooking pot.
<i>benang</i>	thread, string, yarn.
<i>bengkuan</i>	yam bean, (jicama) (<i>Pachyrhizus erosus</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i> (syn. <i>Fabaceae</i>) a sweet tasting juicy tuber and a native of America, now pantropic.
<i>beras</i>	hulled rice. When threshed and sold in the market rice is called <i>beras</i> (<i>beas</i> in Sundanese). Rice grown in a field or just harvested is called <i>padi</i> . The term for cooked rice is <i>nasi</i> .
<i>beras ketan</i>	glutinous sticky white rice.
<i>beras kuning</i>	uncooked rice coloured yellow with tumeric, usually scattered at ceremonies.
<i>bertutup</i>	have a cover.
<i>besar</i>	large, large.
<i>besek</i>	square box of bamboo.
<i>Betawi</i>	an adjective and a corruption of Batavia. Batavia was the Dutch colonial name for Jakarta. The <i>Betawi</i> are native residents of Jakarta. They have a hybrid culture.
<i>bidan</i>	(from Sanskrit) midwife.
<i>biru</i>	pale blue.
<i>bistek</i>	(from Dutch) beef steak.
<i>bluwek</i>	(Javanese) slipping easily into.
<i>bokor</i>	(Javanese) large bowl of brass or gold.
<i>bolu</i>	(from Portuguese <i>bolo</i> cake) spongecake (Wilkinson 1932a: 149).
<i>bomoh</i>	medicine man, shaman.
<i>boncis</i>	green beans.
<i>Bondhan</i>	(Javanese) a classical dance of Surakarta depicting a mother caring for her child, performed solo by a female dancer.
<i>bongko</i>	rice-accompanying dish, with small red beans, grated coconut and chillies steamed in banana leaf wrappings.
Borobudur	Buddhist monument in Central Java. It is the largest Buddhist sanctuary

	ever built. The construction probably began round 760 AD and was finished about 830 AD (Miksic 1990b: 25).
<i>bothok</i>	(Javanese) a rice-accompanying dish of steamed salted fish, grated coconut, and chillies
<i>boyong</i>	move to, move from one place to another.
<i>brigjén</i>	brigadier general.
<i>bubungan</i>	or <i>wuwungan</i> ridge of house.
<i>bubur</i>	(Javanese) ceremonial porridge, pulpy or viscous food.
<i>bubur mérah</i>	ceremonial rice porridge with palm sugar. It is cooked in a <i>kuwali</i> . Ingredients are rice (<i>beras</i>) and <i>gula mérah</i> palm sugar and coconut milk.
<i>bubur mérah-putih</i>	ceremonial red and white porridge.
<i>bubur sumsum</i>	a ceremonial Javanese porridge made of rice flour and coconut milk eaten cold with syrup or palm sugar sauce.
<i>bulan</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) month, moon.
<i>bulus</i>	large freshwater tortoise.
<i>bumbu</i>	(Javanese) condiments, seasoning, spices or a spice paste obtained by pounding different ingredients, for instance salt, onion, red peppers, tamarind, grated coconut and gingers.
<i>bumbu dapur</i>	cooking spices.
<i>bumbung</i>	bamboo tube.
<i>bumbung air</i>	(Javanese) a long hollowed out piece of bamboo, approximately 1.5 metres long used for carrying water, also used for <i>tuak</i> .
<i>bunga</i>	flower.
<i>Bunga Kemboja</i>	frangipani, the white variety (<i>Plumeria obtusa</i> , Family <i>Apocynaceae</i>).
<i>bunga rampai</i>	a sort of potpourri made by chopping up petals and leaves, especially pandanus. Young banana leaves are also used.
<i>bunga tabur</i>	scattering flowers.
<i>Bunga Tanjung</i>	(<i>Mimusops elengi</i> , Family: <i>Sapotaceae</i>) an evergreen tree with small white fragrant blossoms.
<i>Bunga Wera</i>	red hibiscus <i>Hibiscus rosa sinensis</i> , Family: <i>Malvaceae</i> .
<i>bungkus</i>	parcel, wrapped packet, wrapper.
<i>burung</i>	bird.
<i>burung merpati</i>	pigeon.
<i>buyung</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> , Sundanese) round water vessel with a narrow neck.
<i>cabé</i>	chillies (<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> spp / <i>Capsicum annum</i> var. Family: <i>Solanaceae</i>).
<i>cabé rawit</i>	a small pungent chilli, bird's-eye chilli (<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> , Family: <i>Solanaceae</i>).
<i>cabuk</i>	a dish prepared from sesame seed residue.
<i>cakra</i>	(Sanskrit) wheel, disk, discus.
<i>campur</i>	mixed.
<i>canang</i>	(Balinese) Balinese offering with betel chewing ingredients and flowers in a palm leaf container.
<i>candi</i>	temple, pre-Islamic ruins of Buddhist stupa or Hindu era Javanese temple.
<i>canthing, canting</i>	an implement, a wax drawing pen made of bamboo, used when drawing on cloth with liquid wax in batikng.
<i>canting dhawet</i>	small scoop used together with the <i>kendil dhawet</i> .
<i>caos</i>	to offer, to give.
<i>caos dhabar</i>	(Javanese) to set out food as offering for the spirits, a ritual in which court servants prepare and serve various offerings, <i>dhabar</i> (Javanese <i>Krama</i>) to eat.
<i>cèlèng</i>	(Javanese) wild pig, boar.

<i>cèlèngan</i>	piggy bank.
<i>cèlèngan bumbung</i>	piggy bank made from a bamboo tube.
<i>cemeng</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) black.
<i>Cempaka, (Campaka)</i>	(Javanese) the white Frangipani (<i>Plumeria obtusa</i> , Family: <i>Apocynaceae</i>) and other similar flowering shrubs (Echols & Shadily 1994: 111). In <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> called <i>kemboja</i> .
<i>cendana</i>	yellow sandalwood used for incense (<i>Santalum album</i> , Family: <i>Santalaceae</i>). ‘Sandalwood—and other fragrant woods—are believed by Moslems to have sprung from the tears of contrition shed by Adam after his expulsion from Paradise’ (<i>chendana</i> in Wilkinson 1932a: 208).
<i>céndhol</i>	(Javanese) <i>céndol</i> .
<i>céndol</i>	small, doughy rice-flour droplets (often green) used in cold drinks. A beverage served with shaved ice containing coconut milk and melted palm sugar with such droplets is called (<i>es</i>) <i>céndol</i> .
<i>cénthong</i>	(Javanese) rice serving-spoon, also a dipper with a handle, <i>céntong</i> (<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>).
<i>ceraka</i>	stand on which clothes are laid for perfuming with incense.
<i>cerat</i>	spout.
<i>cétakan</i>	mould.
<i>cétakan kué apam</i>	(Sundanese) cake mould for the rice flour cake <i>apam</i> , (Javanese) <i>apem</i> .
<i>cétakan Serabi</i>	cake mould for <i>Serabi</i> cake.
<i>cething</i>	bowl for serving boiled rice (<i>nasi</i>).
<i>cewo</i>	(Sundanese) bowl
Cham	group of people living in central and southern Vietnam, Champa kingdom.
<i>chakra, cakra</i>	(Sanskrit) wheel, Vishnu’s whirling sundisk. Any of a number of the human body’s psychic-energy centres (‘Chakra’ 2002).
<i>chattra</i>	(Sanskrit) parasol, shading umbrella. An ensign of royal or delegate power (of which there are five) (Liebert 1976: 60, 233). The seven worlds are said to be arranged one above the other like a number of parasols (Stutley & Stutley 1977: 62).
<i>chempaka</i>	Champac flower.
<i>chempaka kuning</i>	Golden Champac (<i>Michelia champaca</i> , Family: <i>Magnoliaceae</i>) with yellow flowers, from Sanskrit <i>cepaka</i> .
<i>chempaka putih</i>	White Champac (<i>Michelia alba</i> , Family: <i>Magnoliaceae</i>) (<i>gading</i>).
<i>chofa</i>	(Thai) the finial at the end of the ridge on each of the multiple roofs on a <i>bot</i> or <i>wihan</i> . The word means bunch of sky or sky tassel, often a stylized bird: Garuda or Hamsa (Fickle 1974: 13).
<i>cidhuk</i>	(Javanese) scoop, ladle.
<i>Cili</i>	(Balinese) a female figure representing <i>Dèwi Sri</i> , the Rice Goddess, a Balinese fertility symbol.
<i>Cina</i>	China, Chinese.
<i>cobek</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) shallow mortar which can be of different materials. It is used for grinding condiments into a paste, spice grinding platter.
<i>cobek batu</i>	spice grinding platter made of stone, <i>cowèk</i> (Javanese) <i>coét</i> (Sundanese).
<i>Congkokan</i>	a ceremony held for an elderly person to support and sustain him (from <i>congkok</i> support, prop up).
<i>cowèk</i>	(Javanese) saucer-like earthen platter (<i>tjowèk</i> in Horne (1974: 650)), spelt <i>cobék</i> in <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> . Also a stone bowl. <i>Coét</i> is Sundanese.
<i>cucuk</i>	pouring spout, bill, beak.
<i>cundhuk</i>	large pin for holding chignon in place.

<i>curwo</i>	bowl, broad rimmed shallow earthenware platter (<i>tjuwo</i> in Horne 1974: 650).
<i>daging</i>	(Javanese) meat, flesh of an animal.
<i>dalam</i>	interior, inside, the main family section.
<i>dalang</i>	puppet master, puppeteer, the man who manipulates the puppets in a shadow play (<i>wayang kulit</i>) or a rod puppet performance (<i>wayang golek</i>) <i>dhalang</i> (Javanese).
<i>dalem</i>	(Javanese) main family section in the back of the house, or palace, 'Dalem saya' 'My house'.
<i>Dalem Ageng</i>	centre of the palace.
<i>dandang</i>	earthenware rice (or <i>thiwul</i>) steamer. It can also be a large, long-necked metal vessel over which a woven bamboo cone steamer <i>kukusan lanang</i> (Javanese) is placed. (A rice steamer is also named <i>asapan nasi</i>).
<i>dapur</i>	(Javanese, <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) kitchen, stove, cooking place. If a separate kitchen is built it is called <i>rumah dapur</i> <i>dapur bata</i> kiln <i>dapur tanah</i> mud oven (Wilkinson1932a: 256).
<i>dari</i>	from.
<i>daun</i>	leaf.
<i>daun jeruk purut</i>	Kaffir lime leaf (<i>Citrus hystrix</i> , Family: <i>Rutaceae</i>).
<i>daun kelapa muda</i>	young coconut leaf (<i>Cocos nucifera</i> , Family: <i>Palmae</i>).
<i>daun pandan</i>	pandanus leaf, screw pine leaf (<i>Pandanus amaryllifolius</i> syn. <i>Pandanus odoratus</i> Family: <i>Pandanaceae</i>).
<i>daun pisang</i>	banana leaf (<i>Musa</i> , Family: <i>Musaceae</i>).
<i>daun sirih</i>	betel leaf (<i>Piper betle</i> , Family: <i>Piperaceae</i>).
<i>daun suji</i>	(<i>Dracaena angustifolia</i> , Family: <i>Dracaenaceae</i>) syn. <i>Pleomele angustifolia</i> the leaves are used as a food dye (Facciola 1990: 80). <i>Suji Semar</i> . <i>daun suji</i> is used as a green colouring agent for <i>bubur sumsum</i> , <i>kué pisang</i> , <i>kué nagasari</i> , <i>kelepon</i> .
<i>daur</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) cycle of years.
<i>daur hidup</i>	life cycle, (<i>hidup</i> , living, being alive, life).
<i>dawet</i>	<i>dhawet</i> (Javanese) cold drink made from coconut milk, melted palm sugar, rice flour dough droplets, <i>céndhol</i> , and shaved ice. The Javanese also call this drink <i>céndhol</i> . Sometimes served with jackfruit.
<i>Demang</i>	title of a customary law expert.
<i>depok</i>	hamlet.
<i>désa</i>	small village.
<i>devi</i>	goddess (Stutley & Stutley 1977: 74–75).
<i>déwa</i>	(Sanskrit) deva, spirit, also a title for lower gods.
<i>dèwi</i>	female deity, title for princesses and goddesses.
<i>Dèwi Sri</i>	the Goddess of Rice. She is called <i>Nyi Pohaci</i> by the Sundanese.
<i>dharma</i>	(Sanskrit) a term used in names of associations.
<i>Dhamma</i>	(Pali) The (Buddhist) Doctrine.
<i>(Kanjeng Kiai) Dhudha</i>	the name of a sacred heirloom rice steamer, (<i>dhudha</i> , widower) (<i>dudahan</i> , opened up, taken out).
<i>dhudhuk</i>	(Javanese) setting.
<i>dhukun paès</i>	one who puts on a Javanese bride's traditional wedding make up.
DIY	<i>Daérah Istiméwa Yogyakarta</i> , Special District of Yogyakarta.
DKI	<i>Daérah Khusus Ibukota</i> , Special Capital District of Jakarta.
<i>dlingo</i>	(Javanese) sweet flag (<i>Acorus calamus</i> , Family: <i>Araceae</i>).
<i>doa</i>	prayer.

<i>dodol</i>	toffee made of sticky rice, coconut milk and palm sugar. In East Java a man would bring along some soft fudge <i>jenang dodol</i> when he proposes to a woman. The stickiness of the sweet represents the bond that will keep them together for life (Kartika 2002:13).
Dong Son culture	an important prehistoric culture of Indochina named after the village Dong Song in northern Vietnam, that flourished from the 7th century BC until the 2nd century AD. This seafaring people traded throughout Southeast Asia and are best known for their ritual bronze kettledrums.
<i>dringo</i>	(Javanese) <i>dlingo</i> , <i>benglé</i> (<i>Acorus calamus</i> , Family: <i>Araceae</i>) sweet flag, a fragrant rush [from the French word ‘acore’ which means sweet rush]. It is cultivated throughout India. In China it is used to ward off evil influences (Valder 1999: 228). One of the most used medicinal plants in the world.
<i>dukun</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) traditional healer, sorcerer. There are several classes of <i>dukun</i> , some concentrating on curing sick people or casting spells, others specialize in the performance of ceremonies and rituals.
<i>dulang</i>	a kind of round tray of wood for cooling hot rice, food tray (Eringa 1984: 195). wooden trough or bowl in which warm and fresh boiled rice undergoes kneading (Rigg 1862: 111). round wooden tray (Horne 1974: 157), round vessel on which cooked rice is aerated and stirred (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 101, note 4).
<i>dupa</i>	(Sanskrit) smoke, vapour. incense, a composition of various sweet smelling materials, which are burnt in the house as perfume (Rigg 1862: 111). ‘Properly a compound of various sweet-smelling materials burnt in the house to scent it’ (Wilkinson 1932a: 291). Some brands contain over 100 ingredients. <i>Dupa</i> has a softer more refined scent than other types of incense.
<i>durian</i>	durian fruit and tree (<i>Durio zibethinus</i> , Family: <i>Bombacaceae</i>).
<i>duyung</i>	dugong, ‘mermaid’.
<i>ébi</i>	small dried shrimps.
<i>emban</i>	woman devoting her life to looking after a prince child, nursemaid. <i>Emban</i> was originally a batik shoulder cloth used to carry a baby.
<i>empal</i>	(Javanese) slices of spiced meat fried in coconut oil.
<i>empal gentong</i>	name of a famous soup special to Cirebon.
<i>emping</i>	fried chips made of <i>Gnetum gnemon</i> fruit.
<i>empluk</i>	small bowl, with or without cover, used as a vessel for offerings, also used for soup when prepared in small quantities. Covered earthenware food container (Horne 1974: 168).
<i>empon-empon</i>	spices (Echols & Shadily 1994).
<i>enem</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) younger.
<i>énthong</i>	(Javanese) rice ladle, rice paddle, of coconut shell or wood. The spatula-like wooden <i>énthong</i> is used when scooping up rice from a steaming basket and to aerate it.
Funan	an Indianized kingdom of the 1st–6th century covering part of present day Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand.
<i>gacuk</i>	object/token, used in children’s games for winning.
<i>gading</i>	‘ivory coloured’, Champac <i>chempaka putih</i> (<i>Michelia alba</i> , Family: <i>Magnoliaceae</i>).
<i>gado-gado</i>	a salad of blanched or steamed vegetables served with a spicy peanut sauce.
<i>gaharu, garu</i>	(from Sanskrit <i>agaru</i>) aloeswood, eagle-wood (Patnaik 1993: 166) (<i>Aquilaria malaccensis</i> , Family: <i>Thymelaeaceae</i>) syn.

	(<i>Aquilaria agallocha</i>) ‘the diseased core of a large tree’, the rotten xylem of which yields fragrant resinous material. It is burnt as a perfume.
<i>Gambyong</i>	name of a classic dance.
<i>gamelan</i>	an orchestra consisting of classical Javanese musical instrument.
<i>Ganésa</i>	The elephant-headed god Ganesha, son of Shiva and Parvati.
<i>ganjel</i>	support (Rigg 1862: 121).
<i>gapit</i>	bamboo stick, spit.
<i>garam, garem</i>	(Javanese) salt, sodium chloride.
<i>Garuda</i>	A giant mythical bird, the king of birds. God Vishnu’s mount. The bird in Indonesia’s coat of arms and national symbol is the Garuda.
<i>gayung</i>	large ladle for taking water, made from half a coconut shell to which a bamboo or wooden handle has been attached. In Javanese it is called <i>siwur</i> , dipper.
<i>gayor</i>	(Javanese) gong stand.
<i>gedhang</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) banana (<i>Musa</i> spp.).
<i>gede</i>	large, large. <i>gedhé</i> (Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>).
<i>gedhong</i>	(Javanese) building of brick or stone.
<i>gelung</i>	traditional Javanese ladies hairstyle (Horne 1974: 199), to wear one’s hair in a coil, semi-circular bend (<i>gelong</i> in Wilkinson 1932a: 344).
<i>géndhong</i>	batik used as a sling for carrying things.
<i>géndhongan</i>	thing carried on the back, carrying cloth.
<i>genténg</i>	roof tile.
<i>genténg sawungan</i>	rooster tile.
<i>gentong</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> , Sundanese) any large earthenware storage water jar with a neck.
<i>tong</i>	(Dutch) a wooden bath-tub, tub, barrel, (Javanese) barrel, keg, (Sundanese) tub, cask of smaller dimensions than a <i>tabang</i> (Rigg 1862: 472). a <i>tabang</i> is any large receiver (Rigg 1862: 502).
<i>genthong</i>	(Javanese) large earthenware storage jar for water.
<i>genuk</i>	a small clay container for rice (Horne 1974: 204), large earthen pot (Zoetmulder 1982a: 517).
<i>gerabah</i>	(coarse) earthenware vessels (Echols & Shadily 1994), <i>gerah</i> oppressively hot (Wilkinson 1932a: 353).
<i>gerèh pèthèk</i>	small flat round dried salted fish (Horne 1974: 214).
<i>gerobak</i>	cart.
<i>getak</i>	(Javanese) rice cooking pot, in Cirebon ‘earthenwares’.
<i>getik</i>	blood.
<i>getik babaran</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama Inggil</i>) the blood at birth.
<i>glek akuarium</i>	open basin (<i>glek-glek-glek</i> the sound of gulping down liquids).
<i>goah</i>	(Sundanese) cooking place, ‘kitchen’ (Rigg 1862: 131–132). place for keeping food, store room, also for heirlooms (Eringa, 1984: 258) a special place combining food and heirloom storage with family altar.
<i>godhogan</i>	boiled.
<i>goglet</i>	(Anglo-Indian) a water-cooler.
<i>(kendhi) gogok</i>	(Javanese) bottle <i>kendi</i> . to gulp down, to drink straight from a pitcher, <i>ngglogok</i> (Javanese) to pour water from a water pitcher into the mouth (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 255).
<i>goleng</i>	(Sundanese) basin used for cooking (Y. Iriani Syarief, personal

	communication, 1999–2000).
<i>goréng</i>	(something) fried.
<i>gorgoleta</i>	(Portuguese) water-cooler.
<i>gori</i>	(Javanese) unripe jackfruit (<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> syn. <i>Artocarpus integer</i> , Family: <i>Moraceae</i>).
	jackfruit, <i>nangka</i> , in its unripe state is used in cooking.
<i>Grebeg, Garebeg</i>	(Javanese) traditional religious festival held three times a year. These traditional festivals, which have Hindu origin, have been incorporated in the Islamic calendar.
	<i>Grebeg Mulud (Mauludan)</i> commemorates Prophet Muhammad's Birthday.
	<i>Grebeg Besar</i> is the Day of Sacrifice; <i>Idul Adha</i> .
	<i>Grebeg Puasa</i> celebrates the end of the fasting month (<i>Idul Fitri</i>).
GRM	an honorific title; <i>Gusti Raden Mas</i> .
	<i>Gusti</i> (Javanese) Highness (title of respect).
<i>gudheg</i>	a popular and famous, very traditional dish from Central Java. The best comes from Yogya. The dish consists of unripe jackfruit, <i>gori</i> , chicken and eggs, which are cooked in coconut milk (Owen 1994: 168).
<i>gula</i>	sugar.
<i>gula batu</i>	lump sugar, from sugar cane (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 309).
<i>gula Jawa</i>	palm sugar from <i>Borassus flabellifer</i> and other sugar producing palms; <i>Arenga pinnata</i> , <i>Cocos nusifera</i> , <i>Nipa fruticans</i> .
<i>gula mérah</i>	'red sugar' general name for sugar produced from different palms.
<i>gulé</i>	(Javanese) a stew-like dish cooked in spiced coconut milk. The ingredients are simmered in a large amount of liquid.
<i>gunung</i>	mountain.
<i>gunungan</i>	likeness of a mountain, mountain-shaped (Horne 1974: 225), 'Cosmic Mountain'.
	In <i>wayang</i> performances the <i>gunungan</i> or <i>kayon</i> takes the shape of a flat leather prop and is used to open and close a performance, to indicate a change of scene. It is also employed to show a mountain.
	As an offering the <i>gunungan</i> is made of steamed rice and decorated with produce (fruit and vegetables) and auspicious side dishes.
<i>guru</i>	(Sanskrit) teacher, spiritual leader.
<i>guyub</i>	(Sundanese, Javanese) mutually helpful.
H.	<i>Hijriah</i> year of the Arabic calendar.
	1 H. corresponds to AD 622
<i>Haj</i>	pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>Haji</i>	a title indicating that a man has been on the Haj, the pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>hanjuang</i>	(Sundanese) Ti plant (<i>Cordyline fruticosa</i> , syn. <i>Cordyline terminalis</i> , Family: <i>Dracaenaceae</i>) (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 393; Perry 1980: 235).
<i>hawu</i>	(Sundanese) the native fireplace of brick or earth (Rigg 1862: 145) in Javanese called <i>parwon</i> .
	<i>habu</i> ash (Wilkinson 1932a: 385)
<i>hidup</i>	living, being alive, life.
<i>bio</i>	(Chinese) joss stick, incense sticks.
<i>hukum</i>	law, verdict, doom.
<i>hukum karma</i>	the Javanese philosophical concept that one's fate is decided by one's deeds and that good breeds good, just as bad breeds evil.
<i>Hyang</i>	an honorific title or form of address for a Hindu god or an ancestor.
<i>Ibu</i>	Mother, Madam, a term of address. A deferential or affectionate title used when addressing older women.

<i>Idul Adha</i> or <i>Idul Korban</i>	the Muslim feast of the sacrifice, a holy day associated with the pilgrimage to Mecca.
<i>Idul Fitri</i>	(<i>Lebaran</i>) <i>Hari Raya</i> the two-day feast following <i>Ramadan</i> (Arabic) celebrating the end of the fasting month. In 2003 (1424 H) <i>Idul Fitri</i> is celebrated on 25 (and 26) November.
<i>ijem</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) green.
<i>ijo</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) green.
<i>ijuk</i>	a hairy black fibre clinging to the trunk of the sugar palm (<i>Arenga pinnata</i> syn. <i>Arenga saccharifera</i> , Family: <i>Palmae</i>) used for thatching, <i>tali ijuk</i> is string made of <i>ijuk</i> fibre.
<i>ikan</i>	the generic name for fish.
<i>ikan asin</i>	salted fish.
<i>ikan cue</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>), a small saltwater fish, (a herring), probably the Bali sardinella (<i>Sardinella lemur</i> , Family: <i>Clupeidae</i>).
<i>ikan lélé</i>	catfish (<i>Clarias batrachus</i>) or according to another dictionary (<i>Clarias melanoderma</i>).
<i>ikan mas</i>	gold fish, carp (<i>Carassius auratus</i>).
<i>ikan mas koki</i>	a type of gold fish, Oranda.
<i>indah</i>	beautiful.
Indra	In Vedic times one of the most important gods. He lived on Mount Meru and was the king of the gods. He is the regent (<i>lokapala</i>) of the east.
<i>ireng</i>	(Javanese) black.
<i>irus</i>	(Javanese) vegetable or soup ladle of coconut shell or wood, also <i>séndhok</i>
Islam	86.9% of Indonesia's population adhere to the religion of Islam.
<i>istana</i>	palace.
<i>jadah</i>	(Javanese) a glutinous rice cake.
<i>jago</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) rooster, cock.
<i>jagung</i>	sweetcorn (<i>Zea mays</i> var. <i>rugosa</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i> syn. <i>Poaceae</i>).
<i>jagur</i>	robust, sturdy, <i>Si Jagur</i> 'Venerable Sturdy'.
<i>jahé</i>	(Javanese) ginger (<i>Zingiber officinale</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>jajambaran</i>	bowl shaped basin (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 97), <i>jambar</i> a large, deep earthenware basin (Eringa 1984: 323).
<i>jajan</i>	snack or sweet.
<i>jajanan pasar</i>	various kinds of snacks from the market, sweets and treats.
<i>jalan</i>	road, way.
<i>jamás</i>	to wash one's hair.
<i>jamanán</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama Inggil</i>) bathing, washing.
<i>Jamásan Pusaka</i>	ceremonial bathing ceremony of the sacred heirlooms.
<i>jambang</i>	water tub, pot, large flower-tub.
<i>jambangan</i>	(Sundanese) large vat for water, a large basin-shaped water vessel used for (bath-water (<i>mandi</i>)), also flower tub, flower vase.
<i>jambangan bunga</i>	<i>jembangan bunga</i> (Javanese) large planter, garden pot.
<i>jambu</i>	(Sanskrit) a generic name for a number of fruits of the rose apple class.
<i>jambu air</i>	'water jambu', rose apple (<i>Eugenia aquea/aqueum</i>) syn. (<i>Syzygium javanica</i> , Family: <i>Myrtaceae</i>).
<i>jambu bol</i>	Malay rose apple (<i>Eugenia malaccensis</i> syn. <i>Syzygium malaccense</i> , Family: <i>Myrtaceae</i>). In Javanese called <i>dersana</i> .
<i>jambu mérah</i>	Java apple <i>Syzygium samarangese</i> (Mowe 1999: 255).
<i>jambun</i>	red jambu (<i>Eugenia malaccensis</i> syn. <i>Malaccense</i>), Family: <i>Myrtaceae</i> .
<i>jamu</i>	(Javanese) pink. herbal tonic, a traditional medicine made from healing herbs, roots, barks

	and grasses.
<i>jangkih</i>	(Sasak, spoken in Lombok) stove.
<i>jarik</i>	a length of cotton cloth used for skirting, which is decorated, batiked or painted. It is not sewn together to form a tube like a <i>sarong</i> , instead it is wrapped and folded in pleats (<i>wiru</i>) around the waist. In Java a woman uses it with her long sleeved overblouse <i>kebaya</i> .
<i>jarum</i>	sewing needle.
<i>Jawa</i>	Java, a major island of Indonesia with several different cultural regions and the capital Jakarta. Java is comparable in size with England.
<i>jawawut, jewawut</i>	finger millet (<i>Eleusine corasana</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>) also Job's Tears (<i>Coix lacrima-jobi</i> , Family: <i>Poaceae</i>).
<i>jedhing</i>	(Javanese) kind of tub or cistern for storing water for bathing.
<i>jembangan</i>	(Javanese) a large earthenware basin for water, a bathing jar.
<i>Jemuwah</i>	(Javanese) Friday.
<i>jenang</i>	a porridge or soft pudding or any food which is thick and viscous. For ritual-meal ceremonies, <i>slametan</i> , it is made of rice. (<i>djenang</i> in Horne 1974: 136).
<i>jenang abang</i>	a sweet red-coloured porridge served at a name-changing or circumcision ceremonies (Horne 1974: 136).
<i>jenang abang-putih</i>	(Javanese) a half-red, half-white rice flour porridge. It is cooked with coconut milk. When served one half is topped with palm sugar. It symbolizes the unity of man and woman, prosperity and fertility. It is cooked in small quantities for spirit offerings, <i>sesajén</i> .
<i>jenang baro-baro</i>	porridge made with white rice (not glutinous rice, <i>ketan</i>) and grated sugared coconut in the middle, served at ceremonies.
<i>jenang bluwek</i>	porridge made of small broken rice grains and bran <i>bekatul</i> , <i>katul</i> . This porridge symbolizes that in life there are some slippery moments, that one has to get through. <i>bluwek</i> slipping easily into something.
<i>jenang dodol</i>	'fudge' porridge.
<i>jenang katul</i>	porridge made of broken rice grains and rice bran.
<i>jenang limun</i>	a porridge special for <i>Lebaran</i> , a <i>Betawi</i> dish coloured red from wood strips or <i>bir blethok</i> , 'muddy beer'. (<i>limun</i> lemonade). This porridge is cooked in large pots.
<i>jenang palang</i>	red porridge decorated with a decorative white cross on top (Horne 1974: 136)
	<i>palang</i> , crossbar, object placed crosswise.
<i>jenang procot</i>	'slipping out' porridge served at <i>Tingkeban</i> a ceremony for a seven months pregnant woman. Koentjaraningrat 1985: 352 mentions <i>jenang procot</i> <i>procot</i> (a vulgar word) to be born (Echols & Shadily 1994).
<i>jenang putih</i>	a salty white porridge.
<i>jenang sumsum</i>	a porridge made of rice flour and coconut milk.
<i>jenang sundhul langit</i>	'Reaching the sky porridge'.
<i>jené</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) yellow.
<i>jènggèr</i>	comb of cock.
<i>jeruk</i>	citrus fruit.
<i>jeruk nipis</i>	lime fruit, calamondin (<i>Citrus aurantifoila</i> , Family: <i>Rutaceae</i>).
<i>jeruk purut</i>	Kaffir lime (<i>Citrus hystrix</i> , Family: <i>Rutaceae</i>) <i>daun jeruk purut</i> , leaf of the Leprous lime or Kaffir lime.
<i>klamprang</i>	a <i>nitik</i> motif (a batik design, consisting of dots), an adaptation of Patola geometric motif = double <i>ikat</i> weave,

	an eight pointed flower motif popular on batik, an eight petalled rosette motif set in squares, circles or lozenges, flower of the wild gardenia tree (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 315).
<i>jlupak</i>	(Javanese) a small earthenware oil lamp or even a wick in a saucer serving as an impromptu coconut-oil lamp.
<i>jodhog</i>	pedestal, stand for the oil lamp, <i>jlupak</i> .
<i>joglo</i>	(Javanese) a type of high roof construction resting on four posts.
<i>jual</i>	selling.
<i>Jumat</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) Friday.
<i>jun</i>	(Javanese) large earthenware water jar [carried on back]. <i>Jun</i> and <i>klenthing</i> are sometimes interchangeable.
<i>juru</i>	person who performs a certain job (<i>djuro</i> in Horne 1974: 149).
<i>juru masak sajèn</i>	professional ‘ <i>sajèn</i> ’ chef, cook.
<i>Kabah</i>	(Arabic) cube, the small cubicle shrine covered by gold embroidered black silk, in the Great Mosque of Mecca, which in the eastern corner contains the sacred Black Stone, which had fallen from the sky (Esposito 1999: 85). Pilgrims walk around the Kabah anti-clockwise seven times while praying for God’s forgiveness.
<i>kabupaten</i>	regency.
<i>kaca</i>	(from Sanskrit, where it means glass) mirror, glass.
<i>kacang</i>	a generic word for legumes.
<i>kacang hijau</i>	mung bean, green gram (<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i> / <i>Phaseolus aureus</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kacang ijo</i>	(Javanese) mung bean, green gram (<i>Phaseolus radiatus</i> / <i>Phaseolus aureus</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
(<i>kacang</i>) <i>kedelè ijo</i>	soybean (<i>Glycine maxinus</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>). <i>kedhelé</i> (Javanese).
<i>kacang mérah</i>	red kidney bean (<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kacang panjang</i>	yard-long bean (<i>Vigna sesquipedalis</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kacang tanah</i>	peanut (<i>Arachis hypogaea</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kapan</i>	(Arabic) white cotton cloth, winding-sheet.
<i>kain</i>	cloth, sarong, wrap around skirt worn by women, a length of material worn by both men and women.
<i>kain géndhong</i>	shoulder cloth (batik or woven) used for carrying children and goods
<i>kain panjang</i>	skirt cloth, used by <i>jamu</i> sellers to carry the basket containing bottles.
<i>kain sléndhang</i>	(Javanese) shawl, stole for <i>kebaya</i> . shoulder cloth used for carrying goods (<i>léndhang</i>).
<i>kain seléndang</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) breast and shoulder cloth, a scarf-like batik ladies wear over one shoulder for decoration purposes or for carrying babies or small bundles.
<i>kakang</i>	older brother (Horne 1974: 251).
<i>kakang kawah</i>	older brother amniotic fluid ‘born’ before the child.
<i>kaki</i>	foot, leg.
<i>kaki lima</i>	five-foot-way, sidewalk which in the olden days was five foot wide and where street vendors set up shop Wilkinson 1932a: 496). Today a hawker with his mobile stall (a ‘three-legged’ push cart) is called ‘five legs’, <i>kaki lima</i> .
<i>Kala</i>	(Sanskrit, Pali) Hindu divinity, a mask like creature, protective face, used in Buddhist and Hindu shrines.
<i>kalasa</i>	(Sanskrit) water pot, overflowing vase, Vase/Jar of Plenty, sacrificial vase, also a potshaped finial.
<i>kalbu</i>	(Arabic, Javanese) heart, mind (the seat of emotion).

<i>kali</i>	river.
<i>kalo</i>	(Javanese) bamboo sieve.
<i>Kalpataru</i>	(Sanskrit) a wish-fulfilling tree.
<i>Kamajaya</i>	the God of Love.
<i>Kamandalu</i>	(Sanskrit) the water vessel (of metal or clay) of ascetics, 'a jar with a narrow neck, or a pot, or pitcher with a pipe' (Liebert 1976: 122), <i>kamandhalu</i> (Javanese) waterpot <i>kamandalu</i> earthenware jug for carrying water to the home (Horne 1974: 253).
<i>kamar</i>	room.
<i>kamar kecil</i>	lavatory, W.C.
<i>kamar mandi</i>	bathroom.
<i>Kamaratih</i>	the Goddess of Love and Beauty.
<i>kambing</i>	goat.
<i>kampung</i>	village, cluster of buildings surrounded by gardens making up a small hamlet.
<i>kanda empat</i>	'The four elder brothers or sisters', which are a person's spiritual companions from birth to death.
<i>kandil</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) lamp (Brus, 1984: 71), has a picture of the <i>Kandil</i> , The Lantern of Light. It is one of the sacred regalia of the <i>karaton</i> (palace) of Yogyakarta.
<i>kangkung</i>	water convolvulus (<i>Ipomea aquatica</i> , Family: <i>Convolvulaceae</i>).
<i>Kangjeng, Kanjeng</i>	form of address for a high-ranking noble.
<i>K.R.Ay.</i>	<i>Kanjeng Raden Ayu</i> .
<i>kanthil</i>	(Javanese) Champac (<i>Michelia champaca</i> , Family: <i>Magnoliaceae</i>) a tree indigenous to Tibet and Yunnan. In Surakarta <i>Michelia alba</i> is called <i>kanthil</i> .
<i>kanan</i>	(Javanese) white cotton cloth.
<i>kapas</i>	cotton (<i>Gossypium obtusifoli</i> , Family: <i>Malvaceae</i>). fleece (unspun cotton).
<i>karag</i>	rice scraped from the bottom of the cooking pot, sun dried, and fried into chips (Horne 1974: 258).
<i>karaton, kraton</i>	a Javanese palace or court. It is built as a symbolic representation of the cosmos with the king at the centre.
<i>Karaton Ka(e)sunan</i>	the royal palace of the monarch of Surakarta, also referred to as <i>Karaton Surakarta Hadiningrat</i> , <i>hadiningrat</i> 'first, best in the world'
<i>karma</i>	bad, that happens to one because of deeds in a previous life.
<i>karonsih</i>	to make love with.
<i>karu, ngaru</i>	to cook rice by steaming it half done, removing it to a large bowl and pour boiling water over it, then returning it to the steamer to finish cooking (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 337).
<i>Kasada, Kosoda</i>	a festival held by the Tenggerese in the twelfth month of the Hindu-Javanese calendar. It occurs when the moon is full.
<i>Kasunanan</i>	realm of the <i>Sunan</i> e.g. Surakarta.
<i>kasih</i>	(Javanese) sympathy, compassion.
<i>katul</i>	(Javanese) very fine rice bran mixed with small broken grains.
<i>kavi</i>	(Tamil) ochre colour.
<i>kawah</i>	(Javanese) amniotic fluid.
<i>kawung</i>	sugar palm leaf.
<i>kayon</i>	or <i>gunungan</i> flat leather mountain cut out used in <i>wayang golek</i> and

	<i>wayang kulit</i> .
<i>kayu</i>	generic name for wood.
<i>kayu akasia</i>	acacia wood (<i>Acacia auriculiformis</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kayu jeruk</i>	wood from a citrus tree (<i>Citrus</i> , Family: <i>Rutaceae</i>).
<i>kayu waru</i>	beach hibiscus (<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus</i> , Family: <i>Malvaceus</i>).
<i>ke</i>	into, going to.
<i>kebaya</i>	(from Portuguese) a Javanese woman's long-sleeved overblouse worn with batik skirt.
<i>kecamatan</i>	district, subdistrict.
<i>kécap gula</i>	sweet soy sauce (<i>Glycine max</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kécap manis</i>	sweet soy sauce (<i>Glycine max</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kecil</i>	small.
<i>kedelé</i>	soybean (<i>Glycine max</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>).
<i>kedhelé</i>	(Javanese) soybean.
<i>kedondong</i>	Spanish plum (<i>Spondias dulcis</i> , Family: <i>Anacardiaceae</i>).
<i>kekap</i>	(old Javanese) terracotta lid
<i>kekeb</i>	rice cooker lid (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 348)
<i>kekep</i>	(Malay) cover (Wilkinson 1932a: 530)
<i>kelapa</i>	coconut (<i>Cocos nusifera</i> , Family: <i>Palmae</i>).
<i>kelenting</i>	(Sundanese) earthenware water jar. small round earthenware jar for water or oil (Eringa 1984: 381). The <i>kélénting</i> can be closed with a stopper and carried with a sling (Coolsma 1912: 275).
<i>kelontong</i>	rattle, hawker who sells kitchenwares, sundries.
<i>kelepon</i>	a marble-size cookie of sticky rice filled with palm sugar.
<i>kelinci</i>	rabbit, hare. Derived from the Dutch word <i>kleintje</i> little one (Rigg 1862: 214).
<i>kelir</i>	(Javanese) colour.
<i>keluak</i>	the fruit of the large <i>kepayang</i> tree, used as a spice (<i>Pangium edule</i> , Family: <i>Flacourtiaceae</i>).
<i>kluwak</i>	(Javanese) <i>pucong</i> nut, the fruit of the <i>kepayang</i> tree.
<i>kelurahan</i>	<i>Kel.</i> Subdistrict.
<i>kembang</i>	(Javanese) flower, bloom.
<i>Kembang Liman</i>	a set of five flowers.
<i>Kembang Setaman</i>	(Javanese) water and flower mixture used ceremonially. The flowers are of unspecified sorts and numbers ('Flowers from one garden').
<i>Kembang Telon</i>	a bouquet of three particular flowers, for instance; <i>kenanga</i> , <i>mawar jambu</i> , <i>melati</i> . (These flowers were used for <i>Tedhak Sitèn</i> (<i>Pitonan</i>), and the <i>Panggih</i> ceremonies that the author attended). A grave offering, consisting of three kinds of flowers, which is strewn on a grave is called <i>Kembang Telon</i> . Suitable bouquet flowers are <i>kanthil</i> , <i>kenanga</i> and <i>mawar</i> (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 352).
<i>Kembang Tujuh Rupa</i>	a mixture of seven kinds of flowers. These are used when the bride is bathed before her wedding. The bath the bride takes is called <i>air kembang</i> . The water is kept in a large jar <i>gentong besar</i> .
<i>kemben</i>	upper body covering, long narrow sash worn at or above the waist, breast cloth.
<i>Kemboya</i>	<i>Kamboja</i> frangipani, the white variety (<i>Plumeria obtusa</i> , Family: <i>Apocynaceae</i>).
<i>kemenyan, menyan</i>	<i>semboja</i> (Javanese) white frangipani. (<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> , Javanese) incense, gum benjamin (<i>Styrax benzoin</i> , Family: <i>Styracaceae</i>) is a heated up resin incense.

<i>kemiri</i>	also <i>miri</i> candlenut which grows on the candle nut tree (<i>Aleurites moluccana</i> , Family: <i>Euphorbiaceae</i>) used for flavouring and thickening of sauces.
<i>kenanga</i>	Perfume tree flower (<i>Cananga odorata</i> , Family: <i>Annonaceae</i>). It has scented yellow-green flowers.
<i>kencur</i>	lesser galangal (<i>Kaempferia galanga</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>kendbi</i>	(Javanese) earthenware water carafe with a pouring spout.
<i>kendbi gogok</i>	(Javanese) spoutless earthen pitcher, bottle <i>kendi</i> . <i>ngglogok</i> to drink from a pitcher.
<i>kendbil</i>	(Javanese) earthenware or copper pot for cooking rice and <i>sayur</i> (vegetables).
<i>kendbil ari-ari</i>	earthenware pot used for placenta burial.
<i>kendbil gudheg</i>	casserole for <i>gudheg</i> .
<i>kendbil jamu</i>	pot used for cooking herbal medicine.
<i>kendbil (tempat gula) dhawet</i>	a <i>kendbil</i> used for palm sugar syrup, one of the ingredients for the drink <i>dhawet</i> .
<i>kendi</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) a water vessel, water-pitcher with or without a pouring spout.
<i>kendi goglok</i>	(Sundanese) bottle <i>kendi</i> , spoutless earthen pitcher.
<i>kendi sesajén</i>	small <i>kendi</i> used for spirit offerings.
<i>kendil ari-ari</i>	earthenware pot used for placenta burial.
<i>kendil</i>	pot for cooking rice.
<i>kendiya</i>	(Sinhalese) a spouted water vessel of metal with a lid.
<i>kepayang</i>	(<i>Pangium edule</i> , Family: <i>Flacourtiaceae</i>) a large tree, which produces the <i>kluwak</i> nut used for colouring and flavouring.
<i>kepala</i>	head.
<i>kerak</i>	dry crusty part of boiled rice left sticking to the bottom sides of the cooking pot, (Sundanese) the brown crust of boiled rice, that part which is next to the pot, which adheres to it and gets done brown (Rigg 1862: 217).
<i>kerak telur</i>	name of a <i>Betawi</i> dish; 'egg and rice crust'.
<i>keranjang</i>	a coarsely made basket, hamper or crate of bamboo.
<i>keranjang tabur</i>	transport basket for scattering flowers.
<i>kéré</i>	beggar, vagrant.
<i>keren</i>	(Javanese, Sundanese) wood fired stove.
<i>keréta</i>	carriage.
<i>keréwéng</i>	fragment of broken tile.
<i>keris</i>	kris, the wavy double-edged dagger is a thrusting weapon, which is often attributed with magic properties.
<i>kerpus</i>	cap, crown, roof peak cap.
<i>kerupuk, krupuk</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) crisp chips made from different types of flour flavoured with fish, shrimps or prawns.
<i>ketan</i>	(Javanese) sticky or glutinous rice, black or white in colour (<i>Oryza sativa</i> , <i>forma glutinosa</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>).
<i>ketan hitam</i>	black glutinous rice (<i>Oryza sativa</i> spp.).
<i>ketimun</i>	cucumber (<i>Cucumis sativus</i> , Family: <i>Cucurbitaceae</i>).
<i>ketupat</i>	rice cooked in a container made of plaited young coconut leaves filled up with rice. The rice grains expand when cooked and form a firm cake. The rhomboid container is split open and the cake sliced and served cold.
<i>Khitanan</i>	circumcision ceremony. In Java a boy is circumcised when he is between five and fifteen years. Circumcision is essential for Muslim boys to mark the arrival of puberty.
<i>Khmer</i>	noun and adjective pertaining to the inhabitants of the Khmer empire,

	which dominated parts of mainland Southeast Asia during the 9th to the 15th century.
<i>Ki</i>	title of respect for men learned in religious matters.
<i>Kiai</i>	title used with certain objects of veneration.
<i>kipas</i>	(Javanese) a square hand fan of woven bamboo slivers for fanning the fire, the handle being an extension of one of the sides, also <i>tépas</i> (Javanese).
<i>kipo</i>	a small, traditional sticky rice snack with a filling of palm sugar, grated coconut and jackfruit.
<i>klasa bangka</i>	tough and stiff mat, <i>bangka</i> tough and stiff (of mat)
<i>klemuk</i>	a cheap poorly made mat of grass for sitting. an earthenware container (with lid), small <i>kuwali</i> (with lid) a ceremonial earthenware cooking pot.
<i>klenthing</i>	In some places it is the name of a large covered earthenware container, where one keeps oil (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 379). (Javanese) earthenware water jug (smaller than <i>jun</i>) carried on shoulder or in arms. <i>kelenting</i> (Sundanese).
<i>Kliwon</i>	(Javanese) a day of the five-day week.
<i>kluwak, keluak</i>	(Javanese) <i>pucung</i> nut, the mature seed of the <i>kepayang</i> tree (<i>Pangium edule</i> , Family: <i>Flacourtiaceae</i>) The nut is used for flavour and as a colourant in a clear brown beef dish, <i>rawon</i> .
<i>kolak</i>	a sweet compote made of starchy tubers or bananas (also pumpkin) stewed in coconut milk (Yasa Boga 1998: 100). It is a popular dish for breaking the <i>Ramadan</i> fast.
<i>kompor</i>	stove which burns gas, kerosene or gasoline.
<i>kota</i>	city, town.
<i>kotak</i>	box, section, division, compartment.
<i>kotak uang</i>	money box.
<i>kotalaya</i>	(Sinhalese) earthenware pouring vessel without a lid.
<i>kowi</i>	(Sundanese) bowl, mixing bowl used as a cooking vessel, a small <i>wajan</i> ; crucible (Coolsma 1912: 316).
<i>Krama</i>	is a Javanese speaking style used in conversation with people of higher status or someone one does not know well.
<i>Krama Inggil</i>	expresses respect for the person addressed or spoken about.
K.R.H.T.	an honorific title. <i>Kanjeng</i> form of address for a high-ranking noble. <i>Raden</i> title of nobility <i>Haryo</i> ‘Sir’. <i>Tumenggung</i> title applied to a regional chief, a high-ranking administrator.
<i>krokot</i>	purslane (<i>Portulaca oleracea</i> , Family: <i>Portulacaceae</i>) a succulent green salad vegetable and medicinal plant (Ochse & Brink 1977: 616, 617).
<i>kuali</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) a wide mouthed earthenware cooking pot especially for cooking rice also for frying fish. The <i>kuali</i> is also used for <i>sayur</i> , vegetable dishes.
<i>kuali jangan</i>	vegetable soup pot <i>janggan</i> (Javanese) is a souplike dish made with green vegetables in coconut milk.
<i>kuburan</i>	cemetery.
<i>kuda</i>	horse.
<i>kudus</i>	holy, sacred.
Kudus	‘The Holy Place’ where Islam was first established in Java.

<i>kué</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) generic word for cake, cookie. Rigg defines <i>kuéh</i> as any cake or ‘mess’ made from rice flour (Rigg 1862: 231).
<i>(kué) apam, apem</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) <i>apem</i> (Javanese) cake of rice flour with leavening.
<i>kué bolo (bolu)</i>	sponge cake (Wilkinson 1932a: 149). (from Portuguese <i>bolu</i>).
<i>(kué) dodol</i>	toffee made from glutinous rice, coconut milk and palm sugar.
<i>kué keprok</i>	a mandarin-orange cake.
<i>kué Serabi</i>	<i>Serabi</i> cake (made from sticky rice).
<i>kukkuta</i>	(Sanskrit) cock.
<i>kukuk</i>	(Sundanese) gourd (Eringa 1984: 422). It is still used as a water vessel by the Badui. The gourd belongs to the <i>Lagenaria</i> species in the <i>Curbitaceae</i> family (Wray 1903: 31, has bottle gourd, <i>Lagenaria vulgaris</i> , Family: <i>Crusiferae</i>).
<i>kukus</i>	to steam.
<i>kukusan</i>	conical basket woven of bamboo used for steaming rice. It is placed over boiling water in a <i>dandang</i> . The rice is cooked by the steam rising from the water below. There are two types of steaming baskets. See the next two entries:
<i>kukusan lanang</i>	male steaming basket used on top of the tall hourglass-shaped metal steamer (in earlier times made of copper).
<i>kukusan wadon</i>	female steaming basket used on top of a <i>dandang</i> or <i>kuwali</i> . This steaming basket is shorter and wider than the <i>kukusan lanang</i> .
<i>kulah</i>	small basin built into the bathroom.
<i>kulit</i>	skin, leather.
<i>kuluk kanigara</i>	a monarch’s headdress shaped like a fez, now used as headdress for Javanese bridegrooms.
<i>kumbh</i>	(from Sanskrit) water jar from India.
<i>Kumodowati</i>	Lotus firmament, the special motif in the ceiling of <i>Pendopo</i> (<i>Pendhapa</i>) Mankunegaran. <i>kumuda</i> (old Javanese) lotus blossom (Horne 1974: 315), <i>kumuda</i> white lotus (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 410), <i>kumuda</i> white waterlily (Gonda 1973: 322), <i>kumuda</i> white waterlily <i>Nymphaea alba</i> (Liebert 1976: 145), <i>wati</i> (Sanskrit) firmament, vault of heaven.
<i>kumpal</i>	(Javanese) meat.
<i>kund</i>	(Sanskrit) pond.
<i>kundi</i>	(Sanskrit) bowl, pitcher, water pot.
<i>kundika</i>	(Sanskrit) a water vessel which is filled from the spout.
<i>kuning</i>	yellow. Rice coloured yellow with tumeric is called <i>nasi kuning</i> . It is a dish served at celebrations. Yellow is thought of as a sacred colour, the colour of purity.
<i>kuning kunir</i>	tumeric yellow.
<i>kunir</i>	(Javanese) tumeric (<i>Curcuma domestica</i> syn. <i>Curcuma longa</i> Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>kunyit</i>	tumeric (<i>Curcuma domestica</i> syn. <i>Curcuma longa</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>) also <i>temu kunyit</i> .
<i>kur-kur</i>	the sound one makes when calling chickens to eat.
<i>kurung ayam</i>	chicken coop.
<i>kusuma</i>	(Javanese) flower.
<i>kutug</i>	to burn incense.
<i>Kuvera</i>	the Hindu god of wealth, one of the eight guardian gods, <i>Astha Brata</i> (Javanese).

<i>kuwali</i>	(Javanese) earthen or metal cooking pot.
<i>kuwalen</i>	<i>kuwali</i> (Sundanese) a large pan for boiling in, a cauldron (Rigg 1862: 238).
<i>Kyai, Khyai, Kiai, Ki</i>	a small <i>kuwali</i> used as a <i>klemuk</i> . title for a venerated scholar, teacher of Islam, and also a title of respect used with certain objects of veneration. <i>Ki Jagur</i> or <i>Si Jagur</i> is the title of an ancient much revered cannon in Jakarta (<i>jagur</i> robust, sturdy).
<i>labu</i>	(Sanskrit) gourd, squash, flask (<i>labu Siam</i>).
<i>laksa</i>	a noodle dish in a curry sauce (<i>laksa</i> , 10,000).
<i>lampu</i>	(from Portuguese) lamp, light.
<i>lampu téplok</i>	kerosene lamp.
<i>langit</i>	sky, the heavens.
<i>laos</i>	greater galangal, galingale root (<i>Alpinia galanga</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>lapan</i>	35-day period.
<i>lapik</i>	lining, banana leaf plate lining.
<i>lawèh</i>	(local Bantenese) ring-stand, insert for wood-fired stove <i>keren</i> and used to steady cooking pots like <i>periuk</i> , (<i>kuali</i>). These props also make it possible to use a small pot on the wide opening of the stove.
<i>layah</i>	(Javanese) mortar; a large flat stone or large shallow mortar plate used with a pestle (<i>munthu</i>) for preparing seasoning.
<i>Lebaran</i>	the festival (<i>Idul Fitri</i>) celebrating the end of the fasting month. In Malaysia it is called <i>Hari Raya Puasa</i> .
<i>Legi</i>	(Javanese) the first day of the Javanese five-day market-week if one considers <i>Legi</i> as the first day. The days are <i>Legi</i> , <i>Paing</i> , <i>Pon</i> , <i>Wagé</i> , <i>Kliwon</i> .
<i>legi</i>	sweet (-tasting) (Horne 1974: 335).
<i>legin</i>	sweet nectar from coconut or areca-palm blossoms, unfermented toddy.
<i>lélé</i>	(Javanese) <i>ikan lélé</i> a catfish (<i>Clarias</i> spp.) esp. (<i>Clarias melanoderma</i>) a freshwater fish resembling a catfish, <i>lélé</i> (Sundanese) a fish found in swamps and stagnant pools (<i>Clarias punctatus</i>) (Rigg 1862: 248).
<i>Lem</i>	(Javanese) term of address used for old people.
<i>lembu</i>	bull probably a white cow or bull (Zoetmulder 1982b: 1005).
<i>lèmèk</i>	protective underlayer, lining.
<i>lèmèk daun pisang</i>	lining of banana leaf.
<i>lèmpèr</i>	(Javanese) saucer, a broad, flat earthenware bowl for cooking, ‘shallow dish’, <i>lèmpèr</i> is used as a serving dish for spicy dips, <i>sambal</i> also used for a small rice cone, <i>tumpang</i> .
<i>lempuyang</i>	a ginger (<i>Zingiber cassumunar</i> syn. <i>Zingiber purpureum</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>Letjen</i>	lieutenant general.
<i>lidi</i>	midrib of a palm frond (often from a coconut palm) used for closing the small banana leaf package.
<i>lima</i>	five.
<i>limasan</i>	upper section of a four-section roof on a house with a rectangular ground-plan, <i>limas</i> pyramid. <i>rumah limasan</i> , eight-post Javanese house with a hipped roof construction.
<i>lio</i>	(Chinese) brick kiln.
<i>lio (genténg)</i>	kiln for roof tiles.
<i>liwet</i>	(Javanese) as in <i>nasi liwet</i> is rice cooked until it has absorbed all the water placed in the pan with it.
<i>lodéh</i>	boiled soft, pulpy; a vegetable dish or sauce cooked with coconut milk. A

<i>lodong</i>	coconut milk vegetable soup spiced with large red peppers (<i>cabé mérah</i>). (<i>Bahasa Betawi</i>) bamboo segment,
	<i>lodhong</i> (Javanese) a bamboo tube for holding liquids,
	<i>lodong tuak</i> container for <i>tuak</i> ‘palm wine’, (<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> , Sundanese) covered glass jar, This vessel is also used for <i>air nira</i> , sap obtained by tapping inflorescences of various palms used for making sugar or spirits.
<i>lodhong tanah lokapala</i>	covered earthenware jar. Regent of a quarter, World protector, Lord of the World The four Indian deities which since Vedic times are the guardians of the world are: Kubera (Kuvera), Varuna, Indra and Yama. When eight <i>lokapala</i> are mentioned Vayu, Agni, Surya (or Nirrti) and Soma are included (Bhattacharyya 1990: 91–92).
<i>lontong</i>	white rice which is cooked in a banana-leaf wrapper formed into a roll (like a small sausage) and served cold (unwrapped) in slices. <i>Lontong</i> with plain rice is eaten with <i>saté</i> , other types have a filling of vegetables.
<i>lor</i>	north.
<i>loro</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) two.
<i>Loro Blonyo</i>	The Inseparable Couple, <i>Dèwi Sri</i> and Sadono (Sedana).
<i>lota</i>	(Sanskrit) Brahmin water pot, a small spherical watervessel often of brass or copper.
<i>lowong</i>	(Javanese) unfilled, empty.
<i>luar</i>	outside, outer part.
<i>lurik</i>	(Javanese) striped woven cotton fabric.
<i>madat</i>	a preparation of opium (<i>Papaver somniferum</i> , Family: <i>Papaveraceae</i>) boiled down to a black substance, resembling treacle, ready for smoking (Rigg 1862: 262).
<i>Mahabarata</i>	Indian epic, which dates from the period between 500–300 BC, and travelled to Java and Southeast Asia. It recounts the war between the five Pandawa brothers and their cousins the Kurawa.
<i>mahkota</i>	(Sanskrit) crown (also called <i>cundhuk</i> which is a hair ornament, or <i>kerpus</i> roof peak cap).
<i>mainan</i>	toy(s).
<i>Majapahit</i>	Majapahit ‘Bitter Gourd’. The most powerful kingdom in Indonesia’s history with Trowulan as its capital. Miksic (1991a: 39) has dates as 1292–c. 1500. Miksic & Soekatno (1995: 14) date the founding of Majapahit to 1294. The Majapahit period lasted from 1292–1528 (Shaffer 1996: 86).
<i>makam</i>	tomb, grave.
<i>makanan</i>	to eat, as in <i>tempat makanan burung</i> , bird-feeder.
<i>makara</i>	a composite mythical creature associated with water. There are different types of this mythical beast, which frequently appears as an architectural ornament. The <i>makara</i> originated in India. It may have begun as a river dolphin (<i>Platanista gangeticus</i>) but its iconographic form becomes more and more fanciful the further it is from any actual experience of the animal. The <i>makara</i> is the mount of both Varuna, the Lord of Waters, and the river deity Ganga. In Java’s temples the <i>makara</i> is composed of an elephant’s trunk, parrot’s beak and a fish tail. <i>Makara</i> can symbolize the energy excited by desire (Miksic 1990b: 57).
<i>makrifat</i>	(Arabic) the highest knowledge.
<i>malam</i>	night, evening, the sunless part of the twenty-four hour day, ‘Eve’. In Java the new day starts at sunset.

<i>Malam Jemuwah</i>	(<i>Malam Jumabat</i>) Thursday evening after 6 p.m. is regarded as a sacrosanct time. The night between Thursday and Friday is ‘The Special Night’. <i>Malam Sabtu</i> is Friday evening. <i>Sabtu Malam</i> is Saturday evening.
<i>mamanukan</i>	(Sundanese) ‘made like a bird’, toy-bird, <i>manuk</i> bird.
<i>mamolo</i>	(Sundanese) or <i>kepala</i> head, roof decoration for houses and mosques.
<i>manca</i>	(Sanskrit) various, different, many.
<i>manca warni</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) various coloured.
<i>mandi</i>	bathroom, to bathe, to take a bath, also a ‘ceremonial lustration’, a purifying bath as to avert future disasters, to take a ceremonial bath for exorcising evil spirits.
<i>mangga</i>	(Sanskrit) mango (<i>Mangifera indica</i> , Family: <i>Anacardiaceae</i>).
<i>manggis</i>	mangosteen (<i>Garcinia mangostana</i> , Family: <i>Guttiferae</i>).
<i>manis</i>	sweet.
<i>Manis</i>	an early name for <i>Legi</i> , a day in the five-day week.
<i>mangkok</i>	(Javanese) a small bowl used for eating soup, also basin used for carrying liquid food sold by street peddlers.
<i>mankuk</i>	cup, bowl.
<i>manteb, mantep</i>	unwavering.
<i>mantra</i>	sacred syllables, magically powerful formula, incantation.
<i>mantri</i>	minister for the court, palace official (Horne 1974: 365).
<i>martavan</i>	does not figure in Javanese or Malay dictionaries. It is a name given to large jars, named after the Burmese port of Martavan through which in previous times many large jars were shipped out.
<i>Mas</i>	male title or term of address.
<i>masak</i>	(Javanese) food, cooked food, to cook.
<i>masak jenang</i>	porridge dishes.
<i>masjid, mesjid</i>	mosque.
<i>Mauludan, Muludan</i>	(<i>Grebeg Mulud</i>) commemorates Prophet Muhammad’s birth and death day (which is celebrated on <i>Mulud</i> 12).
<i>mawar</i>	the rose (<i>Rosa</i> spp. Family: <i>Rosaceae</i>) is an ancient plant that grew wild in India, China and parts of Asia.
<i>maya</i>	(Sanskrit) the illusion through ignorance that the world is a reality in itself.
<i>mecah</i>	<i>mléca</i> to break.
<i>mela</i>	(Javanese) clear.
<i>melati</i>	(Sanskrit) jasmine (<i>Jasminum sambac</i> Arabian jasmine and <i>Jasminum multiflorum</i> , Family: <i>Oleaceae</i>).
<i>melinjo</i>	(<i>Gnetum gnemon</i> , Family: <i>Flacourtiaceae</i>) a tree bearing edible leaves and small olive like fruits used in <i>sayur asam</i> a sour soup-like dish. <i>Emping melinjo</i> are chips made from the kernel inside the fruit. (Perry (1980: 161) has <i>melinjo</i> belonging to the <i>Gnetaceae</i> family).
<i>memule sedhèrèk</i>	‘give high appreciation to’.
<i>menur</i>	(Javanese) jasmine (<i>Jasminum sambac</i> , Family: <i>Oleaceae</i>), rosette (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 480).
<i>mérah</i>	red.
<i>merica</i>	pepper (<i>Piper nigrum</i> , Family: <i>Piperaceae</i>).
<i>merpati</i>	(Sanskrit) domestic dove, pigeon.
<i>Méru</i>	Mount Meru, the central point of the universe, also an architectural term for a multi-layered roof on a mosque, a type of roof construction which dates back to earlier Hindu-Javanese temple architecture, where multi-layered roofs on religious buildings were imitations of the sacred Mount Meru, the abode of the gods and the centre of the Universe.

<i>mi, mie</i>	(Javanese) egg noodles, vermicelli.
<i>Midadarèni</i>	(Javanese) to observe a vigil for on the eve of the wedding.
<i>Malam Midadarèni</i>	Wedding Eve Celebration. It is the traditional practice for Javanese brides and grooms to sit up through the night before the wedding. The Goddess of Love, <i>Dèwi Ratih</i> , will come and give beauty and her blessings to the bride. <i>Déwa Kamajaya</i> , the God of Love, will visit and bless the groom in his house.
	(Javanese) <i>widadara</i> male celestial nymph
	(Sanskrit) <i>widadari</i> celestial nymph, (Gonda 1973: 96); a benevolent fairy, heavenly maiden.
<i>mimi</i>	(Javanese) male horseshoe crab. The male crab survives by clinging to the back of his female mate <i>mintuna</i> . They always stay clasped tightly together, travelling around as a pair. He dies when she does. Folklore has it that the crabs have to be caught and cooked together, otherwise they are poisonous to eat. This is however not true. Mangrove horseshoe crab (<i>Tachypleus gigas</i>) (<i>Carcinoscorpius rotundicauda</i>). In Singapore this crab is called King crab.
Ming	the Ming Dynasty in China (1368–1644).
<i>minyak</i>	oil.
<i>mintuna</i>	(Javanese) female horseshoe crab (<i>Tachypleus gigas</i>).
<i>minuman</i>	drink, beverage.
<i>Mitoni</i>	(Javanese) a ceremony and feast given for a woman seven months pregnant with her first baby (Echols & Shadily 1994: 374) <i>Slametan Mitoni</i> . This ceremony is also called <i>Tingkeban</i> .
<i>modu</i>	(Lao spoken in Laos) a man versed in calculating a favourable spot for burial of the placenta, (diviner?)
<i>mohon</i>	request.
<i>mohon doa restu</i>	requesting your prayers and blessings (<i>doa</i> prayer, <i>restu</i> blessing).
<i>mondokaki</i>	double-flowered form of the Pinwheel Flower <i>Tabernaemontana divaricata</i> , R.Br. (syn. <i>Ervatamia divaricata</i> , Family: <i>Apocynaceae</i>).
the Mons	a group of people who lived in Burma and southern Thailand. In Thailand the <i>Mon</i> kingdom of <i>Dvaravati</i> flourished from the 6th to the 13th century. (Fickle 1974 has it ending in the 11th century). <i>Dvaravati</i> was important as a transmitter of Indian culture into the area. The Mon kingdom in Burma lasted from the ninth to the eleventh century.
<i>mori</i>	white cotton fabric.
<i>Mpu</i>	<i>empu</i> , a title of an outstanding poet or artist.
<i>muda</i>	young, unripe.
<i>mulé, memulé</i>	to honour (deceased ones).
<i>memulé</i>	<i>memulé sedhèrèk</i> to give high appreciation (to honour) our four brothers/sisters.
<i>munthu</i>	(Javanese) small stone tool, a pestle used for grinding seasoning and spices in a flat stoneware bowl. In Jakarta the pestle it is called <i>ulegan</i> . <i>Ulek-ulek</i> and <i>anak cobék</i> are <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> terms. If the grinding plate is made of earthenware a wooden pestle is used. The best wood for this tool is <i>kayu jeruk</i> , citrus wood. Pestles are also made of acasia wood, <i>kayu akasia</i> . Pestles made from <i>kayu waru</i> were sold in Pasar Baru in Bandung.
MURI	<i>Museum Rekor Indonesia</i> , The Indonesian Museum of Records is situated in Semarang at Jl. Setiabudi 179.
<i>mustaka</i>	head, crowning ornament on Javanese mosque.

<i>naga</i>	mythical serpent, naga serpent, dragon.
<i>Nagasari</i>	the name of a banana-stuffed and steamed rice and cornflour cake (also a tree <i>nagasari</i> with white flowers (<i>Mesua ferrea</i>) (Amranand 1970: 25).
<i>Nagapuspa</i>	Snake Flower (<i>Michelia Champaca</i>) (Liebert 1976: 188).
<i>Nagarakertagama</i>	14th century panegyric poem (Gonda 1973: 348).
<i>nanas</i>	pineapple (<i>Ananas comosus</i> , Family: <i>Bromeliaceae</i>).
<i>nanging</i>	(Javanese) but.
<i>nangka</i>	jackfruit (<i>Artocarpus heterophyllus</i> syn. <i>Artocarpus integer</i> , Family: <i>Moraceae</i>).
<i>nasi</i>	boiled rice, also with assorted side dishes, e.g. food.
<i>nasi kuning</i>	rice cooked with tumeric (<i>Curcuma domestica</i> , syn. <i>Curcuma longa</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberceae</i>), which gives it a yellow colour, a ceremonial dish.
<i>nasi liwet</i>	plain boiled rice, rice cooked the traditional way in water. <i>Liwet</i> is rice cooked until it has absorbed all the water placed in the pan with it. Also a special garnished dish from Surakarta, where the rice is cooked with coconut milk, <i>santan</i> .
<i>nasi tim</i>	steamed rice.
<i>nasi tumpeng</i>	ceremonial dish of yellow rice served in a cone shape.
<i>Navagraha</i>	(Sanskrit) deities representing The Nine Planets; the sun and the moon, and the planet Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, plus Rahu, moon's ascending node, and Ketu, moon's descending node.
(<i>Nawa Sanga</i>)	The totality of the universe symbolized by the eight directions plus the centre, each associated with a certain god, attribute, colour, number etc.
<i>negara</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) nation, state, country, land.
<i>negeri</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) for country, land, state, 'Nation'.
<i>ngaru, karu</i>	(Javanese) to half cook rice by steaming it half done, removing it to a large basin and pouring boiling water over it, then returning it to the steamer to finish cooking.
<i>nggadhang</i>	(Javanese) to want, to wish for
<i>Ngoko</i>	a Javanese speaking style used in conversation with people of lower or equal status.
<i>nipah</i>	thatch palm, swamp palm (<i>Nipa fruticans</i> , Family: <i>Palmae</i>) (Wilkinson 1932b: 174; Whitmore 1985: 81, <i>Nypa fruticans</i>). Nipa palm is used to produce palm toddy <i>tuak</i> . Sellers of this brew can be seen on the streets of Jakarta carrying long bamboo tubes.
<i>nira</i>	(Sanskrit) the fresh sap obtained by tapping inflorescences of various palms (from which spirit is made by fermentation and also palm-sugar).
<i>nitik</i>	name of a batik design formed by dots.
<i>Nonya, Nyonya</i>	Mrs. Term of address for Chinese or Western woman, it also has the meaning of a Straits Chinese born person.
<i>notés</i>	small notebook, notepad.
<i>nusa</i>	island.
<i>Nusa Indah</i>	Buddha's Lamp (<i>Mussaenda philippica</i> , Family: <i>Rubiaceae</i>).
<i>Nyadran</i>	or <i>Sadran</i> (Javanese) to visit, maintain and make offerings of flowers and incense at a family ancestral grave during the month of <i>Ruwah</i> . (Javanese).
<i>nyekar</i>	(Javanese) to place and scatter flowers and petals on a grave, the ritual of ornamenting and praying at the graves of loved ones before the start of the fasting month.
(<i>Nyepi</i>)	The Day of Silence. The Balinese Hindu Saka New Year's Day, which falls on the day following the dark moon of the spring equinox
<i>Nyi Pohaci</i>	(Sundanese) the Rice Goddess. <i>Dèwi Sri</i> in Central Java.
<i>oncom</i>	a fermented paste made from the residue of peanuts after the oil has been

<i>ondé-ondé</i>	extracted (Peterson & Peterson 1997: 124). Mung Bean Roll, a small fried ball shaped cake of glutinous rice flour with a filling of palm sugar and mung beans and coated with sesame seeds. <i>Onde</i> means ball in Tamil (Wilkinson 1932b: 185).
<i>ora</i>	(Javanese) not.
<i>oranye</i>	orange coloured.
<i>pacar</i>	lover, 'flirt'.
<i>Pacar Air</i>	Garden Balsam (<i>Impatiens balsamina</i> , Family: <i>Balsaminaceae</i>) the variety with red flowers.
<i>Pacar Cina</i>	Garden Balsam (<i>Impatiens balsamina</i> , Family: <i>Balsaminaceae</i>).
<i>pacul</i>	hoe (tool for loosening soil).
<i>pada</i>	(Sanskrit, Javanese) foot.
<i>padaringan</i>	(Sundanese, Javanese) earthenware jar for storing hulled rice. In west Java rice is stored in bins as well, also named <i>padaringan</i> (T. Purbaya, personal communication, 28 June 1996). In South Kalimantan, this is also the name given to a rice jar (Kartiwa 1977: III).
<i>padasan</i>	large earthenware water jar for ritual ablutions. The jar is supplied with a loose cover and has a tap. It is kept outside the house or in front of a mosque. Ritual ablutions, (cleaning of the face, teeth, hands and feet) are prescribed before the five daily prayers. The <i>padasan</i> should contain wellwater.
<i>padi</i>	unhusked rice, rice plant (<i>Oryza sativa</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>), rice growing in a field or just harvested. <i>Gabah</i> (Javanese) unmilled, unhulled rice separated from the stalks. It is rice with husk on which can be sown.
<i>padupan</i>	(Javanese) incense burner, thurible <i>anglo padupan</i> covered incense burner (Horne 1974: 29)
<i>padupaan</i>	(Sundanese) censer, e.g. 'the place where incense is offered in worship'
<i>pagi</i>	morning.
<i>Paing</i>	a day of the five-day week.
<i>palang</i>	object placed crosswise, crossbar.
<i>Pali</i>	an ancient Indian language related to Sanskrit. The basic Buddhist scriptures were taken to Ceylon (Sri Lanka) in Pali possibly as early as in the 3rd century BC (Morgan 1987: 43–44).
<i>pambeasan</i>	vessel for hulled rice, (<i>pendaringan</i>)
<i>pabeasan</i>	(Sundanese) rice jar (D. Purbaya, personal communication, 16 May 1997), <i>béas</i> (<i>beras</i> hulled rice) is rice cleaned from the husk and bran but not cooked (Rigg 1862: 47), <i>paméan</i> vat for rice (Eringa 1984: 542).
<i>Pa(u)nakawan</i>	followers, wise clown-servants, which accompany the heroes in the Javanese and Sundanese versions of the Hindu Sanskrit epics the <i>Ramayana</i> and the <i>Mahabharata</i> and in other <i>wayang</i> , (theatrical) performances. They are: Semar, Pétruk, Bagong (called Cepot in west Java (Irvine 1996: 305)) and Garèng. <i>pana</i> to know, <i>kawan</i> (Javanese <i>Krama</i>) four according to: an entry in <i>Mythologies</i> , (Bonnetfoy 1991: 955) <i>punakawa</i> are male servants, who act as both counsellors and 'jesters' to the heroes of the <i>wayang purwa</i> (epic repertory of Hindu origin). They are supposed to portray popular Javanese common sense. The <i>punakawan</i> are four: Pétruk, Bagong, Garèng and Semar. Semar is the father of the three. Cepot is called Bagong in <i>wayang kulit</i> (the leather shadow puppet theater). These clown escorts, who serve the heroes, are a Javanese invention.
<i>panca</i>	(Sanskrit) five.

<i>pancapatra</i>	(Sanskrit) ‘five cups’, ‘five vessels’, attr. of a small vessel from which water is poured over the image in the course of worship (Liebert 1976: 209, 368).
<i>Pancasila</i>	The Five-Point Indonesian State Ideology. The first of these principles is Belief in the Only One God.
<i>pancawara</i>	(Sanskrit) five-day week.
<i>panca warna</i>	five-coloured, the five colours which are reflected by the body of the Buddha; blue, gold-coloured, red, white and black (Rigg 1862: 342).
<i>pancawindu</i>	a period of forty Javanese years.
<i>pancer</i>	tap-root, the principal root of a tree, line of descent. ‘ <i>Sadulur papat lima pancer</i> ’ Four siblings are the root of the fifth (myself). The meaning is that four traits will contribute to a person’s character. For a balanced personality they should be present in equal parts. If one of them, for instance yellow, takes over a person’s life will be dominated by sexual acts. <i>Sadulur putih</i> (white sibling) controls good deeds. <i>Sadulur abang</i> (red sibling) controls anger. <i>Sadulur kuning</i> (yellow sibling) controls sexual behaviour. <i>Sadulur ireng</i> (black sibling) controls bad habits and <i>lima pancer</i> a person’s self.
<i>pandan</i>	a generic name given to the smaller screw-pines (<i>Pandanaceae</i>).
<i>pandan wangi</i>	fragrant pandanus, <i>daun pandan</i> (<i>Pandanus amaryllifolius</i> syn. <i>Pandanus odoratus</i> , Family: <i>Pandanaceae</i>).
<i>Pandawa</i>	the sons of Pandu, group name of the five brothers in the <i>Mahabharata</i> . Title of shadow play: ‘ <i>Pendowo boyong</i> ’. ‘The <i>Pandawas</i> are going to move’.
<i>pangaron</i>	(Javanese) earthenware basin used in the process of cooking rice. According to Horne (1974: 260) <i>pangaron</i> comes from <i>karu</i> . <i>karu</i> rice steaming it halfway done, removing it to a large bowl and pouring boiling water over it, then—after the water is absorbed—returning it to the steamer to finish cooking.
<i>pangaron bunga setaman</i>	small earthenware basin for ceremonial flower water.
<i>panggang</i>	to roast.
<i>Panggih</i>	(Javanese) ritual meeting of the bride and groom at the Javanese wedding.
<i>papat</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) four.
<i>papaya</i>	pawpaw (<i>Carica papaya</i> , Family: <i>Caricaceae</i>).
<i>para nini</i>	grandmothers (<i>para</i> is a collective plural marker (Horne 1974: 429), <i>nini</i> grandmother, great-aunt (Horne 1974: 402).
<i>paringkelan</i>	a six-day week used to determine unfavourable days.
<i>parupuyan</i>	(Javanese, Sundanese) censer (used with <i>kemenyan</i>).
<i>pasar</i>	(‘Persian’) market, bazaar.
<i>Pasar Seni</i>	‘fine artistic’ market.
<i>Pasaran</i>	the Javanese five-day market week, also the ceremony held when a baby is five days old.
<i>pasir</i>	sand.
<i>paso</i>	(Sundanese) a large earthenware vessel for holding water, such as an infant is bathed in, a bathing tub (Rigg 1862: 363).
<i>paso karon</i>	basin used for a traditional way of cooking rice where boiling water is poured over the half steamed rice. When the rice has absorbed the water the steaming is continued.
<i>pasren</i>	<i>pa-sri-an</i> , the place where <i>Dèwi Sri</i> , the Goddess of rice, came to earth (Rosi 1998: 26).

<i>pasu</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) basin (which is always from earthenware), (soup-) bowl.
<i>patih</i>	(Sanskrit) adviser, vizier, chief minister.
<i>patra</i>	(Sanskrit) vessel, cup, bowl, drinking vessel.
<i>pawon</i>	(Javanese) Javanese kitchen or cooking area. from <i>awu</i> , ash. The traditional <i>pawon</i> in Java is made from brick or mud. As fuel it uses firewood.
<i>pecah pamoré</i>	(Javanese) to reveal one's adult features.
<i>pecel</i>	a salad made with blanched vegetables served with a spicy peanut sauce. Vegetables used; amaranth, <i>bayem</i> , bean sprouts, <i>tauge</i> , cassava, <i>singkong</i> , water convolvulus <i>kangkung</i> , (<i>Ipomoea aquatica</i> , Family: <i>Convolvulaceae</i>).
<i>pecel lélé</i>	a fried catfish dish from East Java eaten with <i>sambal</i> . The fish is oil-fried in a <i>kuali</i> and served swimming in the spice sauce on a stone <i>cobek batu</i> . Next to it is a helping of <i>pecel</i> salad. It is eaten with rice. <i>Pecel lélé</i> is a dish served at many food stalls in the evening.
<i>pedupaan</i>	(Sundanese) incense burner, thurible.
<i>pekan</i>	exposition, market.
<i>pekan raya</i>	large exposition.
<i>pembakaran</i>	'kiln', firing place fuelled by grass.
<i>pembakaran kué</i>	cake oven, possibly also <i>pambuahan</i>
<i>pendaringan</i>	(<i>Bahasa Betawi</i>) a storage basket or jar for rice.
<i>pendhapa</i>	(Javanese), <i>pendopo</i> , large square open air pillared pavillion.
<i>pendil</i>	(Sundanese) a small cooking pot of clay or copper. <i>pendhil</i> (Javanese).
<i>pendil ari-ari</i>	earthenware pot used for placenta burial.
<i>pendil céndol</i>	a <i>pendil</i> used for palm sugar syrup, one of the ingredients for the drink <i>céndol</i> .
<i>pendopo</i>	(from Sanskrit) <i>pendhapa</i> (Javanese) large square open air pillared pavillion, which serves as an audience hall. The open construction of the <i>pendhapa</i> signifies the Javanese openness for friendship.
<i>penjunan</i>	one who makes pots (Echols & Shadily 1994: 419). Another Javanese term for potter is <i>kundhi</i>
<i>penolok bala</i>	to exorcise evil spirits or influences, <i>bala</i> (Arabic) misfortune.
<i>pénsil</i>	pencil.
<i>penuakan</i>	jar used in Lombok for collecting and brewing sap from the inflorescence of palm trees to produce <i>tuak</i> .
<i>periuk</i>	cooking pot for rice and vegetables.
<i>perkutut</i>	small turtle dove, zebra dove.
<i>petanen</i>	the ceremonial bed of <i>Dèwi Sri</i> , 'place of agricultural activity', 'affairs of the land' also called <i>pasren</i> .
<i>pethak</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) white.
<i>pétungan</i>	number value used in numerological calculations.
<i>pica</i>	(Latin) magpie, a medical term for an eating disorder. An abnormal craving for substances, which have no nutritional value.
<i>pikulan</i>	carrying pole, a long pole which is carried horizontally on one shoulder.
<i>pilin</i>	twist, cord.
<i>pinandita</i>	an established Hindu-Javanese priest not yet a high priest.
<i>pindang</i>	a way of cooking fish (sometimes eggs) whereby the spiced water (often including tamarind and soy sauce) is absorbed.
<i>pinggir</i>	edge.
<i>Pinggir Rekso</i>	guarded edge, guarded side.

<i>piring</i>	saucer, dish, shallow-rimmed platter or plate (a small <i>piring</i> is used as a lid for <i>kendil ari-ari</i>).
<i>pisang</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) banana (<i>Musa</i> spp. Family: <i>Musaceae</i>)
<i>Pitonan</i>	'Touching the ground' ceremony seven Javanese months after birth
<i>pitu</i>	(Javanese) seven.
<i>poci</i>	teapot (derived from Dutch <i>potje</i> little pot).
<i>Pohaci</i>	<i>Nyi Pohaci</i> (Sundanese) the Rice Goddess.
<i>Pon</i>	a day in the five-day week.
<i>pot</i>	(Dutch) pot, flowerpot.
<i>pot bunga</i>	flowerpot.
Priangan	a group of people living in the Prianger highlands south east of Bandung in West Java (Rigg 1862: 382).
<i>prieuk</i>	a wide-mouthed, coarse, earthenware cooking pot (Rigg 1862: 382).
<i>pringgitan</i>	(Javanese) the part of the house between the <i>pendhapa</i> and the <i>dalem</i> where the <i>wayang kulit</i> is performed .
<i>procot</i>	slipping out, emergence at birth (a vulgar word).
<i>provinci</i>	province.
<i>Puasa</i>	<i>Bulan Puasa</i> , the month of <i>Ramadan</i> , the fasting month, the ninth month.
<i>pucuk</i>	tip, shoot, sprout.
<i>pucuk rebung</i>	the edible young shoots of the bamboo, chevrons as a design in art (Coope 1987: 217, 228), a pattern of very acute angled chevrons suggesting a line of bamboo shoots.
<i>pucung</i>	(<i>Pangium edule</i> , Family: <i>Flacourtiaceae</i>).
<i>puja</i>	(Sanskrit) worship.
<i>Punakawan</i>	see <i>Panakawan</i> , the wise clown-servants.
<i>punjèn</i>	earthen jar to hold water, a crockery moneybank.
<i>pupus</i>	a young new-grown leaf that has just come out.
<i>pura</i>	(Javanese) palace, court <i>Pura</i> Mankunegaran.
<i>Purnakalasa</i>	(Sanskrit) Full Vase, Jar of Plenty (Liebert 1976: 230).
<i>pusaka</i>	sacred heirloom, revered object handed down from one generation to the next.
<i>puser</i>	(Javanese) umbilical cord, navel.
<i>putih</i>	white, clear.
<i>putu</i>	grandchild.
<i>Raden</i>	title of high-ranking Javanese nobility.
<i>Raden Ayu, R.Ay.</i>	(Javanese) title of married female aristocrat, title of nobility of the fifth generation from the king (Boow1988: 167)
<i>ayu</i>	pretty, beautiful.
<i>ragi</i>	finger millet (<i>Eleusine coracana</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>) ('Millet' 2002). a reddish-coloured grain used in flatbread and porridges. <i>Ragi</i> comes from Hindustani <i>ragy</i> , derieved from <i>raga</i> , which in Sanskrit means red. <i>Tapai</i> , an alcoholic beverage, is made with glutinous rice and some <i>ragi</i> , used as fermenting medium. Later <i>ragi</i> , (Javanese) came to mean yeast, or a fermentation agent.
<i>Ramadan</i>	(Arabic) or <i>Puasa</i> , the Islamic holy fasting month.
<i>Ramayana</i>	ninth month of the Arabic calendar. Hindu epic, which tells the story of Prince Rama and how he defeated the evil king Rahwana.
<i>rampai</i>	potpourri. <i>bunga rampai</i> another name for chopped up pandanus leaves and sometimes

<i>rampé</i>	banana leaves, <i>dawn pisang</i> . (Sundanese) offering composed of seven kinds of flowers and chopped up herbs, which are mixed in water (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 352) or finely shredded young pandanus leaves mixed with flowers (Rigg 1862: 394).
<i>ranupada</i>	(Javanese) foot-washing ceremony (Unable to verify this word).
<i>ranu</i>	<i>ranu</i> (Sanskrit, Javanese) water, <i>pada</i> (Sanskrit) foot of royalty.
<i>ratus</i>	(Javanese) incense consisting of a mixture of various fragrant substances. <i>Ratus</i> is used at weddings. (<i>meratus</i> to dry and perfume one's hair or clothes by passing it over a censer exuding the smoke of such powder) (for a dead man one uses <i>kemenyan</i>), censer.
<i>rautan</i>	pencil sharpener.
<i>rawit</i>	(Javanese) fine, small <i>cabé rawit</i> the very hot bird's-eye chillies (<i>Capsicum frutescens</i> , Family: <i>Solanaceae</i>).
<i>rawon</i>	(Javanese) a kind of clear beef stew flavoured and coloured with the soft inside of the pucung nut, <i>kluwak</i> . The stew is halfway between a meat dish and a soup and almost black in colour (Owen 1994: 158).
<i>raya</i>	great, large.
<i>rebung</i>	bambooo shoot.
<i>reksa, rekso</i>	watch over, guard.
<i>rishi</i>	(Sanskrit) seer, ascetic, sage.
<i>robjong</i>	decorative hanging object (<i>robjong</i> in Horne 1974: 508).
<i>roncèn</i>	(Javanese) a string of (beads, flowers).
<i>roncèn melati</i>	string of <i>melati</i> , jasmine flowers.
<i>ruatan</i>	(Sundanese) exorcism ritual, see <i>ruwatan</i> (<i>ruh</i> spirit, soul).
<i>rujak</i>	a mixture of seven kinds of sliced unripe fruits and vegetables served with a spicy sauce. This dish is especially important during pregnancy.
<i>rukun</i>	administrative unit.
<i>Rukun Tetangga</i>	RT neighborhood association administrative unit in the <i>Rukun Warga</i> (for instance; RT 1, RT 2, etc.).
<i>Rukun Warga</i>	RW administrative unit at the next to lowest level in a city.
<i>rumah</i>	house, dwelling.
<i>rumah limasan</i>	house with a four section pyramidal roof.
<i>rupa</i>	(Sanskrit) form, kind, colour.
<i>Rupiah</i>	Indonesia's monetary unit is called <i>rupiah</i> , Rp.
<i>ruwat</i>	(Javanese) release from divine punishment, to exorcise, free from, vow to request reprieve from the pending <i>bukum karma</i> , <i>bukum</i> law, verdict, doom. <i>Karma</i> is 'bad' that happens to one because of deeds in a previous life.
<i>Ruwah</i>	the 8th month of the Javanese-Islamic calendar.
<i>Ruwatan</i>	(Javanese) from <i>ruwat</i> , which means 'free from', a purification ceremony in order to prevent disaster and alter the direction of fate. The <i>Ruwatan</i> takes the form of a special <i>wayang</i> performance held as an act of excorsism and is conducted by Moslems, Christians and Buddhists alike. It is a preventive ritual, as well as a protective measure, for instance, for a child born under ominous circumstances, or a threatened household, area or country according to animistic principles. The ceremony cleanses sins and undesired elements. A <i>Ruwatan</i> must start before sunset.
<i>sadulur</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) sibling.
<i>sadulur papat</i>	the four siblings (brothers/sisters).

<i>sadwara</i>	six-day week.
<i>sajèn, sesajèn</i>	(Javanese) offering of flowers or food set out as appeasement of the spirits.
<i>samar</i>	(Javanese) dimly visible.
<i>sambal</i>	‘Sambals are relishes or condiments used in or served with Indonesian dishes’ (Grigson 1988: 259). There are different types of <i>sambal</i> , cooked or uncooked. Hot and spicy ingredients like ginger, chilies, garlic, onion, salt, vinegar are used (Ochse & Brink 1977: 963–964).
<i>samir</i>	a fringed silk sash worn by palace officials as an emblem of their office; yellow and green at Mankunegaran palace, yellow and red at <i>Karaton</i> Surakarta.
<i>sampai</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) transformed.
<i>samping</i>	side, flank, edge.
<i>sampingan</i>	side tile.
<i>Sang</i>	an honorary title.
<i>Sang Hyang</i>	Lord, honorary title for a god or deity.
<i>sanggar</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) atelier, workshop, studio.
<i>santa</i>	(female) saint, also holy.
<i>santan</i>	(<i>Indonesia Bahasa</i>) the milk/cream squeezed from the grated flesh of the mature coconut. <i>santen</i> (Javanese).
<i>Sapar</i>	second month of the Javanese calendar.
<i>sapi</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) ox, bull, <i>lembu</i> (Javanese <i>Krama</i>), (<i>lembu</i> when distinct from <i>sapi</i> probably a white cow or bull, Zoetmulder 1982b: 1005).
<i>saptawara</i>	seven-day week.
<i>sapu</i>	brush, broom.
<i>sapu kuali</i>	bamboo brush for <i>kuali</i> , wide mouthed earthenware pot.
<i>sari</i>	Taman Sari, the Water Castle (<i>sari</i> essence).
<i>sarong</i>	sarong, a tubular skirt wrapping, a cotton skirt cloth with ends joined to make a tube twice as long as it is wide.
<i>sastra</i>	(Sanskrit) literary work, rule, ‘law-book’, manual.
<i>saté</i>	<i>saté</i> , strips of marinated meat grilled on thin skewers.
<i>saté ayam</i>	chicken <i>saté</i> , pieces of chicken broiled on skewers.
<i>saté kambing</i>	goat <i>saté</i> .
<i>saté kéré</i>	‘beggar’ <i>saté</i> <i>kéré</i> , vagrant, tramp, beggar <i>Saté kéré</i> , made of ox-intestines, was one of the favorite dishes of Mangkunegoro VII, often served at the court of Mangkunegaran.
<i>satu</i>	one.
<i>satunggal</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) one.
<i>sawah</i>	wet-rice field, dyked rice field (Wilkinson 1932b: 394). <i>ladang padi</i> dry (unirrigated) rice field with <i>Oryza montana</i> (Wilkinson 1932b:3).
<i>sawung</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) rooster, cock.
<i>sayur</i>	vegetables in general, green food.
<i>sayur asam</i>	a sour vegetable soup. Ingredients: <i>labu Siam</i> (<i>Sechium edule</i>), <i>melinjo</i> (<i>Gnetum gnemon</i>) (<i>Zea mays</i>) sweetcorn, <i>kacang panjang</i> , (<i>Vigna sesquipedalis</i>) long beans, <i>asam</i> (<i>Tamarindus indica</i>) tamarind.
<i>sayur lodéh</i>	mixed vegetables boiled soft with coconut milk, spiced and flavoured with condiments, then beaten up in a pulpy mass (Wilkinson 1932b: 65). This

<i>sedang</i>	dish is a speciality of Cirebon in West Java (Peterson & Peterson 1997: 94). medium.
<i>sedap</i>	fragrant.
<i>Sedap malam</i>	Tuberose (<i>Polianthes tuberosa</i> , Family: <i>Agavaceae</i>) with intensely fragrant white small flowers comes from Mexico (Burkill 1966b: 1815–1816).
<i>Sedhekah Laut</i>	a ceremony performed every Javanese New Year for the Queen of the South Seas at Baron beach, Gunung Kidul regency close to Yogyakarta. <i>sedhekah</i> alms, charitable gift <i>laut</i> sea.
<i>sedhèrèk</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) sibling, relation, relative.
<i>sedhèrèk enem</i>	younger sibling.
<i>sedhèrèk sepuh</i>	old sibling (<i>sepuh</i> old, mature).
<i>seg</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) cooked rice.
<i>sega tumpeng</i>	cone of cooked rice.
<i>sekar</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) flower
<i>Sekatèn</i>	a festival held in Surakarta and Yogyakarta in honor of Prophet Muhammad's Birthday in the month of <i>Mulud</i> .
<i>selak</i>	(Sasak spoken in Lombok) evil ghost in Lombok.
<i>Selamatan</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) a ceremonial communal meal held at important occasions esp. marriages and promotions. <i>salimat</i> (Arabic) (Labrousse 1984: 743) <i>Slametan</i> (Javanese).
<i>selapan</i>	(Javanese) one 35-day month (5 x 7 days) The cycle when a day of the five-day week coincides with a day of the seven-day week. From a <i>Legi</i> , which falls on a Monday to the next <i>Legi</i> /Monday there are 35 days, this is called a <i>lapan</i> (Horne 1974: 536).
<i>Selapanan</i>	the ceremony conducted when the baby is 35 days old and a hair cutting ritual conducted.
<i>Selasa, Slasa</i>	(Javanese) Tuesday.
<i>Semar</i>	beloved dwarf who is always righteous. Semar is often presented as one of the clown servants to the Pandawa. Semar is a very important character in <i>Panakawan</i> in the Sundanese <i>wayang golek</i> plus in the <i>wayang</i> stories in general. He features prominently in <i>wayang purwa</i> , which refers to the stories of the Javanese versions of the two great Indian epics, the <i>Mahabarata</i> and the <i>Ramayana</i> . In the Indian epics there were no clowns. The clowns are Javanese inventions. The clowns, who serve the Pandawas are Semar, who is the father of Pétruk (recognised by his long nose), Bagong and Nala-Garèng. Semar is thought to be a personification of the Hindu god Cipta Ismaya or Batara Ismaya (Bonney 1991: 954). Ismaya, 'beyond illusion' <i>maya</i> , Semar is considered the Guardian God of Java.
<i>samar</i>	indistinct, hidden, obscure, <i>sengkalan</i> (Javanese) a cryptic means of expressing the digits of calendar years in reverse order by the use of four ordinary words, which mystically represent those years, chronogram, markings denoting years <i>sengkalan memet</i> a pictorial rebus suggesting a date <i>sengkalan sastra</i> a rebus of letters suggesting a date <i>sengkalan surya</i> a Christian calendar based rebus <i>sengkalan candra</i> a rebus based on the Islamic calendar.
<i>senthong</i>	(Javanese) a small inner room in a traditional Javanese house, used for

	making offerings to the spirits, for wedding ceremonies and for other special purposes.
<i>Senthong kiwa</i>	left inner room.
<i>Senthong tengen</i>	right inner room.
<i>Sepasaran</i>	a ceremonial thanksgiving held when the baby is five days old (one five-day week) and named.
<i>sepatu</i>	shoe.
<i>sepuh</i>	(Javanese) old.
<i>serabi</i>	Serabi pancake It is a bowl-shaped rice flour pancake, which is served with palm sugar and coconut milk. <i>srabi</i> (Javanese).
<i>serai, seré</i>	lemongrass (<i>Cymbopogon citratus</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>).
<i>serek</i>	(regional Javanese) stick.
<i>serek goréng</i>	'frying stick', a J shaped whisk made of bamboo.
<i>sérundeng, srundeng</i>	relish of toasted, grated coconut to which peanuts, shallots, garlic, sugar and salt is added.
<i>sesajén, sesaji</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) ritual offerings Offerings to the spirits are presented on most social occasions as the spirits can guard from bad things. <i>sesajèn, sajèn, saji</i> (Javanese).
<i>setaman</i>	a certain preparation for ceremonial use (Horne 1974: 548).
<i>setanggi</i>	(Sanskrit) gum benjamin incense in powder form <i>Setanggi</i> is used as a starch, when starching the <i>wiron</i> .
<i>Si</i>	a title used before the name of a social equal or inferior <i>Si Jagur</i> , 'Venerable Sturdy' the ancient much venerated cannon in Jakarta. <i>jagur</i> (Javanese) fist (the fist is a symbol of cohabitation).
<i>siang</i>	midday from about 11 a.m. to three p.m.
<i>siji</i>	(Javanese <i>Ngoko</i>) one.
<i>Siraman</i>	(Javanese) ritual bathing ceremony for a bride and groom before their wedding. Dictionary also mentions this bath as following a circumcision (<i>Khitanan</i>) and after a girl's first menstruation (<i>Taraban</i>). <i>Siraman</i> is used at <i>Pitonan</i> , 'Touching the ground' ceremony (<i>Tedhak Sitèn</i>) and at <i>Mitoni</i> and <i>Tingkeban</i> the seven Javanese months pregnancy celebrations.
<i>sirap</i>	(Javanese) a flat bit used for tile, wood shingle, wooden roofing shingle (sometimes made from split bamboo). <i>atap sirap</i> , shingle roof.
<i>sirih</i>	betel vine (<i>Piper betle</i> , Family: <i>Piperaceae</i>).
<i>singkong</i>	cassava, tapioca (<i>Manihot esculenta</i> , Family: <i>Euphorbiaceae</i>).
<i>sisir</i>	(Javanese) comb
<i>siti</i>	soil, earth.
<i>Siti Sendari</i>	Krishna's daughter in the Mahabarata was named <i>Dèwi Siti Sendari</i> . <i>Dèwi</i> here is a title indicating a female deity.
<i>Siva</i>	Lord Shiva, the Hindu god.
<i>siwur</i>	(Javanese) dipper, made from a coconut shell.
<i>Slametan</i>	(Javanese) a ritual sacred communal meal, a gathering to celebrate with a ceremonial feast, is called <i>Slametan</i> . The ceremony attached to the meal has an animistic and shamanistic flavour. It is held as a measure for promoting the security of the host and those close to the host. <i>Slametan</i> is held at all special occasions. <i>Slametan</i> can be held when giving a child a name or when an infant loses

	the umbilical cord, at a circumcision, the anniversary of a death, the seventh month of pregnancy, <i>Slametan Mitoni</i> , or when moving into a new house, at marriages and promotions.
	In a home it may include Arabic and Javanese chants worshipping Allah. It is meant to placate spirits and unifying the participants so that they are peaceful and secure (Prijetomo 1984: 102).
	The Javanese farmers also hold <i>Slametan</i> in connection with the cultivation of rice (Ashabranner & Ashabranner 1980: 118).
	It also the custom to give away sacred food, (see <i>tonjok</i>) to those, who could not participate. This act will also ensure security to the host and his family.
SH	<i>Sarjana Hukum</i> , Master of Law (an academic degree).
<i>Slasa (Selasa) Kliwon</i>	Tuesday <i>Kliwon</i> is a sacred and favourable day, another name for this day is <i>Anggara Kashi</i> .
<i>Soka, angsoka</i>	Asoka tree, Sorrowless Tree (with orange flowers) (<i>Saraca Indica</i> , Family: <i>Caesalpinaceae</i>). The Buddha is said to have been born under this tree. <i>asoka</i> means unsorrowing (Patnaik 1993: 51).
<i>solat</i>	ritual prayers performed five times a day.
<i>Solat Malam Jumat</i>	Friday Night Prayer.
Solo	(earlier spelling Sala) Surakarta.
<i>sop</i>	western style soup, clear broth.
<i>soré</i>	afternoon between three and six p.m..
<i>sosog</i>	a bamboo split in eight or ten shreds lengthwise. The split ends are woven into a round basket. Used as a stand for <i>kendi</i> , also a utensil for picking fruit.
<i>soto</i>	clear soup of mixed vegetables and meat in a rich seasoned broth.
<i>Sri</i>	(Sanskrit) great, a title of honor, a royal title, 'The Perfect One'.
Srivijaya	The Srivijaya empire originated in Palembang on Sumatra. It flourished in the Malay Archipelago between the 7th and 13th centuries.
<i>stupa</i>	(Sanskrit) in Buddhism an architectural structure designed to house relics of the Buddha and of other spiritually advanced beings.
Subagyo	factory or company name. <i>subhaga</i> lucky (Sanskrit) (Gonda 1973: 405). <i>bagya/bagyo</i> (Javanese) happy [<i>subagyo</i> 'more happy'].
<i>subur</i>	(Javanese) prosperous, flourishing.
(<i>sudhi</i>)	container for offerings made of banana leaf folded paper-like-wise and held with a bamboo pin.
<i>sudut</i>	corner.
<i>suitan</i>	a whistle.
Sukhothai	The capital of the first independent Siamese Thai state, which rose to power in the 13th century.
<i>Sultan</i>	ruler.
<i>sulur</i>	spiralling upward of plants, shoots an upward spiralling foliate design.
<i>sumbu</i>	(Javanese) wick.
<i>sumsum</i>	bone marrow.
<i>sumur</i>	well.
<i>Sunan</i>	'eminence', title applied to the nine apostles (<i>Wali Songo</i>) of Islam in Java, and also to the ruler of Surakarta.
<i>Sunatan</i>	(Javanese) circumcision ceremony.
Sunda	historical name for a Hindu kingdom that once flourished in western Java.

	The people living in this part of Java today still have a distinct language (<i>Sunda</i>) and culture.
<i>sundhul</i>	reach.
<i>sundhul langit</i>	reaching the sky.
<i>sungkem</i>	(Javanese) pay respect by kneeling and pressing one's face to another's knees.
Surakarta or Solo	city in central Java. The oldest surviving Javanese kingdom (before the 1945 revolution) and site of the court headed by the <i>Sunan</i> . Earlier Solo was spelt Sala. One of the two major cultural Javanese centres.
<i>Sura (Suro)</i>	is the Javanese name for the first month of the Javanese Muslim calendar.
<i>Suran</i>	religious feast on the first day, <i>Satu Suro</i> , of the Javanese New Year.
<i>suri</i>	(Javanese) a curved comb to hold the hair in place, can also be a small comb with fine teeth for removing head lice.
<i>Susuhunan</i>	'The Venerated', old Javanese title for the ruler of Surakarta.
<i>Sutasoma</i>	Abbreviation <i>Sunan</i> . a poem composed in the 13th century.
	<i>Sutasoma</i> is credited to the Buddhist priest <i>Mpu Tantular</i> .
<i>tabung</i>	a cylindrical vessel of a single joint of bamboo for papers, water, money.
<i>tabungan</i>	money box, piggy bank, bank. (The traditional homemade savings bank with a slit for the coins is made of a bamboo joint).
<i>tabur</i>	'scattering', to pour out (Rigg 1862: 471).
<i>tagine</i>	Moroccan traditional clay pot with a cone shaped lid.
<i>tablil</i>	(Arabic, <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) meaning religious chanting, the pronouncing of the creed <i>la ilaaha illa 'llah</i> 'There is no God but God'.
<i>Tablilan</i>	The repeated recitation of confession of the Muslim faith. It is believed to cleanse a person's sins and help him gain merit. It is a ritual ceremony usually conducted by a group of people in connection with a burial. A <i>Slametan</i> followed by <i>Tablilan</i> is usually held on the evening on the first day after the burial and on the third, the seventh, the 40th, the 100th and one year after death (<i>mendhak pistan</i>), then two years thereafter, three years thereafter (<i>nyandi/nyewa</i>). This is the time when the gravestone is put on the grave. For those who can afford it a <i>slametan kol</i> is then the annual ceremony commemorating a death anniversary. The morning after these commemorations incense, <i>kemenyan</i> , is burnt and flowers placed on the grave (a ritual called <i>Nyekar</i> from <i>sekar</i> (flower). <i>Sekar</i> is Javanese <i>Krama</i> for <i>kembang</i>).
<i>tabu</i>	beancake, tofu, soybean curd. It is made from puréed soybeans.
<i>Tabu Bacem</i>	a Central Javanese soybean cake dish; soybean cake partly steamed then fried (Peterson & Peterson 1997: 96).
<i>Tabu Gejrot</i>	name of a soybean curd dish, <i>gejrot</i> , crush is a dialect word.
<i>Tabu Kupat</i>	name of a beancurd dish. <i>Kupat</i> or <i>ketupat</i> is rice cooked in a plaited coconut leaf container.
<i>takir</i>	a small container folded from banana leaves.
<i>tali</i>	rope, twist.
<i>tali bambu</i>	bamboo twine.
<i>talkin</i>	(Arabic) instruction recitations for a deceased.
<i>taman</i>	(Javanese) ornamental garden.
Taman Sari	Taman Sari, (The Water Castle) in Yogyakarta built in the 18th century was once home to the Sultan. 'Flower garden' (Gonda's 1973: 89).

<i>tampah</i>	‘Perfumed garden’ (translation by Lombard 1969: 139). (Javanese) winnowing tray, a large tray of woven bamboo for serving communal meals, spreading foods for drying, tossing rice to separate the grains from the chaff, also used for ritual offerings.
<i>tanah</i>	earth, soil, land.
<i>tanah liat</i>	clay.
<i>tanjung</i>	cape, promontory.
<i>tapai</i>	(Sundanese) a preparation of boiled <i>ketan</i> rice in which <i>ragi</i> has been mixed and set to ferment for a couple of days (Rigg 1862: 483). Today it is an alcoholic beverage made by fermenting rice or tapioca (Wilkinson 1932b: 536). <i>tapai</i> is a house product made with <i>uli</i> , fermented glutinous rice, and also a sweet cake made from the fermented rice or tapioca after the liquid is removed.
<i>tarab</i>	menstruation.
<i>Taraban</i>	ritual held at the time of a girl’s first menstruation to mark her entry into womanhood.
<i>tari</i>	dancing by swaying the arms and body.
<i>Tari Bondhan</i>	a classical dance of Surakarta, performed solo by a female, depicting a mother caring for her child, <i>bondha</i> mother. ‘The <i>Bondan</i> is a solo female dance, Surakarta style, describing a young girl taking care of and cuddling her little sister’ (Soedarsono 1974: 93). According to a young woman, a dancer herself, at the Surakarta Tourist Information Centre, <i>Tari Bondhan</i> is rarely performed. It is more a dance to make a child fall asleep. At a dance performance the dancer holds an umbrella and a doll and dances on a <i>kendi</i> . When she has finished she breaks the <i>kendi</i> .
Tarumanegara	Hindu kingdom in West Java. It flourished between the 5th and the 7th century (<i>Indonesian Heritage Society</i> 1999: xvii).
<i>tatakan</i>	coaster, saucer, insert for stoves.
<i>tauco</i>	(Chinese) a fermented soybean product, used as a condiment. In Indonesia <i>tauco</i> is bought by weight, spooned out from large stoneware jars (Owen 1990: 44).
<i>tauge</i>	(Chinese) bean sprouts. In Indonesia green mung beans (<i>Phaseolus aureus</i> , Family: <i>Leguminosae</i>) are used for sprouting.
<i>tauge goréng</i>	fried bean sprouts with noodles, the fermented peanut paste <i>oncom</i> , and chives.
<i>taun</i>	(Javanese) year.
<i>Taun Jawa</i>	a 120—day year made up of 30 <i>wuku</i> .
<i>Taun Saka</i>	The Saka Era (plus 78 years = AD) used by Hindus in Bali and Java.
<i>tebu</i>	sugarcane (<i>Saccharum officinarum</i> , Family: <i>Gramineae</i>).
<i>tedhak</i>	to descend, move downward.
<i>Tedhak Sitèn</i>	a ceremony for an infant, ‘to set foot on the ground for the first time in his life’. It is the first time the baby touches the ground in order to learn to stand. The ceremony takes place when he is 245 days old (7 x 35 days).
<i>téh</i>	tea (<i>Camellia sinensis</i> , Family: <i>Theaceae</i>).
<i>téh poci</i>	tea served in a teapot.
<i>téko</i>	Chinese teapot.
<i>telon</i>	a variety of three.
<i>telur</i>	egg.
<i>tembikar</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) earthenware. This term is used in western and in East

<i>tempat</i>	Java. <i>Gerabah</i> is the term used in Central Java. ‘place for’, container.
<i>tempat makanan</i>	feeding bowl.
<i>tempat minuman</i>	drinking bowl.
<i>tempayan</i>	(<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>) any earthenware storage jar for water <i>tempayan</i> (Javanese) large earthenware water jar. Wilkinson (1932b: 536) explains that any water jar is called a <i>tempayan</i> . However, its name indicates that originally it was a fermenting jar (<i>tapaian</i>) for an alcoholic brew, <i>tapai</i> .
<i>tempurung</i>	a piece of coconut shell.
<i>temu</i>	a generic term for many <i>Curcuma</i> species and similar plants.
<i>temu ireng</i>	(<i>Curcuma aeruginosa</i> , Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>) a native of Burma (<i>ireng</i> black in Javanese). The rhizome is used in <i>jamu</i> .
<i>temu kunyit</i>	tumeric (<i>Curcuma domestica</i> syn. <i>Curcuma longa</i> Family: <i>Zingiberaceae</i>).
<i>tengah</i>	middle, centre.
<i>ténggok</i>	(Javanese) small deep basket of woven bamboo, like the one used by the <i>saté</i> sellers, also called <i>bakul</i> , basket, <i>bakul</i> a small tradeswoman.
<i>tépas</i>	(Javanese) bamboo fan for fanning the fire.
<i>terasi</i>	fermented shrimp or small fish paste sold in hard blocks, similar to the Malay <i>blachan</i> .
<i>Terimakasih</i>	Thank you.
<i>teruntum, truntum</i>	flower motif, name of a popular batik design. The motif symbolizes eternal love and is usually worn by the parents of the bride and groom. Possibly it is the white-flowered black mangrove flower (<i>Lumnitzera racemosa</i> , Family: <i>Combretaceae</i>), which has given the name to the popular batik flower <i>truntum</i> -design.
<i>tetangga</i>	neighbour.
<i>Tetesan</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) female circumcision ceremony.
<i>thiwul</i>	a steamed fluffy porridge made of powdery dry cassava and served with brown sugar and grated coconut. <i>Gaplek</i> is made of dried cassava, which is washed, pounded with a rice pestle (<i>alu</i>), then a small amount of water is added—then the dish is steamed. <i>Gogik</i> is dried <i>thiwul</i> , which is washed with water and cooked again. (The cassava used in the above dishes is a substitute for rice).
<i>tholo</i>	brown soybean, a brown cultivar of <i>Glycine max</i> .
<i>tigan</i>	(Javanese <i>Krama</i>) egg.
<i>timur</i>	east.
<i>Tingkeban</i>	(Javanese) traditional ceremony held for a woman seven months pregnant (Echols & Shadily 1994: 579). The dictionaries have different definitions of this ceremony: at the first pregnancy (Eringa 1984: 783), usually at the first pregnancy (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 749), <i>Mitoni</i> (Javanese) ceremony and feast given for a woman seven months pregnant with her first baby (Echols & Shadily 1994: 374).
<i>Tiratana</i>	(Pali) The Three Jewels or Threefold Refuge.
<i>tirtha</i>	(Sanskrit) water.
<i>tlasih, slasih</i>	(Javanese) Holy Basil flower (<i>Ocimum sanctum</i> , Family: <i>Labiatae</i>). The flowers are used to scatter over graves.
<i>toko</i>	shop, store.
<i>tombong, tobong</i>	kiln for firing earthenware or bricks.
<i>tonjok</i>	food from a ceremony (<i>Slametan</i>) in banana-leaf wrappings sent around to neighbours or others, who did not attend the proceedings.

<i>toya</i>	(Javanese) water, fluid.
<i>toya kawah</i>	amniotic fluid.
<i>tri</i>	(Sanskrit, Pali) three.
<i>Trimurti</i>	Trinity, the one-ness of the three Hindu gods, Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.
<i>Triratna</i>	(Sanskrit) The Three Jewels; <i>Tiratana</i> (Pali).
<i>tuak</i>	toddy, fermented palm wine. It can be produced from either sugar palm or coconut palm. A sugary liquid is collected from the bound, beaten and cut inflorescence. This is fermented to toddy, palm wine (Whitmore 1985: 41–42, 49) put into large earthenware jars, <i>tempayan</i> , to brew. Sometimes drunk from a <i>kendi</i> . <i>Tuak</i> is brewed throughout Indonesia and made from various other plants as well, like sugar cane, glutinous rice and sago palm. The brew is used in many traditional ceremonies. In Sundanese and Javanese unfermented toddy is called <i>legin</i> , from <i>legi</i> , sweet.
<i>tujuh</i>	seven.
<i>tujuh bulan</i>	a popular term for <i>Tingkeban</i> , the Javanese seventh month pregnancy solemnization ceremony.
<i>tujuh warna</i>	(Javanese, Sundanese) seven colours or seven sorts (of flowers) although not always in seven colours (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 93, note 2).
<i>tukang</i>	(Javanese) vendor, merchant, trader, ‘one who (does)’.
<i>tukang (jual) céndol/dhawet</i>	seller of <i>céndol/dhawet</i> .
<i>tukang (jual) kembang</i>	flower merchant.
<i>tukang (jual) kerak telur</i>	hawker selling ‘egg and rice crust’ a traditional <i>Betawi</i> dish.
<i>tukang saté or bakul saté</i>	or simply ‘ <i>Bakul</i> ’, <i>saté</i> seller.
<i>tukang (jual) tuak</i>	toddy seller.
<i>tulak</i>	to prevent magically, to repel disaster.
<i>tulak balak</i>	ward off.
<i>tumbuk</i>	to coincide with.
<i>Tumbukan</i>	traditional ceremony held to celebrate someone’s eight-year cycle.
<i>tumpal, tumbal</i>	a border design consisting of a row of repeated isosceles triangles having two equal sides.
<i>tumpeng</i>	(Javanese) A ceremonial dish of yellow rice served in a cone shape. It is served placed on a <i>tampah</i> or <i>lèmpèr</i> . It is surrounded by other dishes with symbolic meanings relating to their names, colours, appearance or use (Koentjaraningrat 1987: 561) and served at <i>Slametan</i> and celebrations. The side dishes vary depending on the occasion. The top of the rice cone is usually cut off by/or presented to the most important person present, the VIP. The <i>tumpeng</i> is made of yellow rice, <i>nasi kuning</i> . The <i>tumpeng</i> symbolizes the mountain. There are many types of <i>tumpeng</i> , and in Yogyakarta and Surakarta at <i>Idul Fitri</i> even a crockery <i>tumpeng</i> , <i>tumpeng grabah</i> is recorded.
<i>tumpeng robyong</i>	a <i>tumpeng</i> decorated with hanging raw vegetables.
<i>tumplak</i>	(Javanese) spilled all over the place.
<i>tumplak</i>	the final wedding for which the parents are responsible i.e. the wedding of their youngest daughter.
<i>Tumplak Punjèn</i>	‘spilled all over the place’ ceremony.
<i>tungku</i>	<i>punjèn</i> a crockery piggy bank. hearth, fireplace of stones, stove, trivet. Malay cooking is done on three hearthstones for one pot, or five for two pots, with the fire burning in between (Wilkinson 1932b: 617) (an arrangement of stones making a primitive stove).

	A <i>tungku</i> , can be made from a plantain stem cut in short lengths and set together, generally three bits, as to form a place to cook at, or boil a pot upon, in the open air (Rigg 1862: 512).
<i>tungku arang</i>	charcoal stove.
<i>tungku bak</i>	square shaped kiln, 'box kiln'.
<i>tutup</i>	lid, cover.
<i>uang</i>	money (Echols & Shadily 1994: 598).
<i>ubluk</i>	(Javanese) oil lamp.
<i>ubi</i>	edible tuber.
<i>ubi kolak</i>	a sweet compote made of starchy tubers.
<i>uleg, uleg-uleg</i>	(Javanese) wooden or stone tool used for grinding spices in a flat stone bowl. Another name for this pestle is <i>munthu</i> . In Jakarta the pestle is called <i>ulegan</i> .
<i>ulek, ulek-ulek,</i>	pestle, crusher, grinder used sideways, in <i>Bahasa Indonesia</i> called <i>anak cobek</i> .
<i>uli</i>	glutinous rice.
<i>untuk</i>	'for the purpose', for.
<i>urip</i>	to live, be alive.
Varuna	Vedic god, that later became one of the Guardians of the World (<i>Dikpala</i>). Varuna is the Lord of the West. In South India Varuna is the Lord of the waters (Liebert 1976: 331).
<i>vas</i>	vase.
<i>vas bunga</i>	flower vase.
VOC	Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie The Dutch East India Company was active between 1602 -1799.
<i>wadah</i>	receptacle, container.
Wagé	a day of the five-day week.
<i>wahyu</i>	a sign from heaven in the form of a falling star, indicating that the one on whom it falls is destined for high office (to become village head or king).
<i>wajan, bajan</i>	(Javanese) a concave bottomed pan, frying pan made of iron or aluminium, a <i>wok</i> . From the word <i>waja</i> , which means steel, iron. In Surakarta terracotta <i>wajan</i> are still used; <i>wajan</i> (Arabic, Persian) (Labrousse 1984: 57).
<i>wajan batik</i>	pan for melting wax.
<i>wajan masak sayur</i>	(Javanese) cooking pot for vegetable dishes.
Wali	religious leader, one of the nine legendary holy men, <i>Wali Songo</i> , who in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries spread Islam in Java.
<i>warga</i>	member, citizen.
<i>wangi</i>	fragrant.
<i>warna</i>	(Sanskrit) colour; (Javanese) kind, sort, (Sundanese) colour, kind, sort (Rigg 1862: 530).
Waru	beach or tree hibiscus (<i>Hibiscus tiliaceaus</i> , Family: <i>Malvaceae</i>) (Wilkinson 1932b: 647), (Rigg 1862: 530 has <i>Hibiscus similis</i>).
<i>warung</i>	roadside food stall, small cheap eating place selling articles of food or dress or any other goods.
<i>watu</i>	(Javanese) stone, rock.
Watu Gunung	the main character in the <i>Watu Gunung</i> story is called Watugunung.
<i>wayang</i>	(Javanese) performance, theatrical show, play, shadow play, based on the great Indian epics and Javanese legends.
<i>wayang bèbèr</i>	<i>wayang</i> performance in which the <i>dalang</i> unrolls a painted picture scroll and chants the story. <i>Wayang bèbèr</i> is an early form of <i>wayang</i> .
<i>wayang golek</i>	a three dimensional wooden rod puppet or a show where these puppets are

	used.
<i>wayang kulit</i>	shadow play in which flat leather puppets are used.
<i>wengka</i>	(Sundanese) a round bottomed pan.
<i>wéra</i>	used for frying peanuts with river sand, and for toasting grated coconut red Hibiscus, Shoe flower (<i>Hibiscus rosa sinensis</i>) (Rigg 1862: 533). The hibiscus flower was used for shining shoes.
<i>Wésak</i>	the day celebrating the Buddha's birth, enlightenment and death.
<i>weton</i>	(Javanese) a 35 day birthday, from <i>wetu</i> , to emerge, be born.
<i>Wetonan</i>	ceremony celebrating one's birthday.
<i>wijèn</i>	(Javanese) sesame seed (<i>Sesamum indicum</i> , Family: <i>Pedaliaceae</i>) <i>bijan</i> (<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>).
<i>windu</i>	cycle consisting of eight 210-days years in Javanese calendrical reckoning (Echols & Shadily 1994: 614). They recur in cycles of four. The names of the four cycles are <i>Adi</i> , <i>Kunthara</i> , <i>Sangara</i> and <i>Sancaya</i> . Other cycles of years have been used, for instance five or 120 (Rigg 1862: 534).
<i>wingka</i>	cake made of sticky-rice flour (<i>tepung ketan</i>), coconut and sugar. Yeast is used in the batter for <i>apem</i> , but not in the batter for <i>wingka</i> .
<i>wingka Babat</i>	specialty cake from the town of Babat, Kabupaten Lamongan, East Java.
<i>wiron</i>	(Javanese) pleats at the front of batik wrap-around. The <i>wiron</i> is folded lengthwise accordion like (at the time when the wearer puts it on) by finger pressing the folds and clipping them in place (Horne 1974: 720). It has seven pleats for a tall or fat woman and nine pleats if the lady is thin, for a lady to the right, for a man to the left; <i>wiru</i> fold, pleat.
<i>wok</i>	(Chinese Cantonese) Chinese wide pan of cast iron or other metal with curved base and sides, used for stir-frying and deep-frying.
<i>wolu</i>	(Javanese) eight.
<i>wudu, wudlu</i>	(Arabic) lesser ablution intended to take care of minor defilements occurring after a major ablution (Federspiel 1995: 287).
<i>wuku</i>	(Javanese) the Javanese seven-day week, one of the thirty, seven day periods, each with its own name, which make up the 210-day calendar cycle, a Javanese year, <i>Taun Jawa</i> . Each of the thirty weeks, which make up a Javanese calendar year are named after characters in the <i>Watu Gunung</i> story (Damais 1967: 137).
<i>wulung</i>	(Javanese) a blue-black colour. The black bamboo from its colour is a useful bamboo (Rigg 1862: 536). The black bamboo is used for certain bamboo handicrafts. <i>Bambu wulung</i> is a purple-black bamboo mostly used for rituals.
<i>wungu</i>	purple, deep reddish brown.
<i>wwwung</i>	ridge of house, rooftop.
<i>wwwung jago</i>	ridge cock, rooster ridge tile.
<i>wwwung pencu</i>	roof tile for pyramid shaped roof, <i>pencu</i> roof with a tall levelled-off peak, <i>pencu</i> with pyramid-shaped roof (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 555).
<i>wwwungan</i>	also <i>bubungan</i> ridge of house.
<i>yadnya</i>	(Javanese) offering, sacrifice.
<i>Yadnya Kasada</i>	the most important festival celebrated by the Hindu Tengger people in the last month of their calendar.
<i>yaksa</i>	a nature spirit, (Miksic translates it 'forest ogre').
<i>yatra</i>	(Sanskrit) setting out, going from one place to another, festival.
<i>Yaqowiyyu</i>	(Arabic) a ceremony held every year in Jatinom, Kabupaten Klaten in remembrance of <i>Kyai Ageng Gribig</i> on <i>Sapar</i> 15th (in the second Javanese

yoghi
Yogyakarta
ZamZam

month).
practitioner of yoga, ascetic, revered teacher.
Yogya. Central Javanese city, former sultanate and still the site of a court headed by a Sultan. One of Java's cultural centres.
(Arabic) bubbling, holy water from Mecca.
A sacred well in the Great Mosque of Mecca, Hagar's well. Water drawn from Mecca's sacred well ZamZam (Brockman 1997: 101).

APPENDIX 1.1: GLOSSARY OF CERAMIC TERMS

ALBARELLO	a maiolica pharmacy jar from 15th century Italy
BURNISHING	rubbing the surface of the leather-hard clay with an object so as to cause the grains of clay to lie in such a fashion as to present a smooth surface.
BASIN	a round, hollow vessel, which is much wider than it is deep
BON-FIRE	see OPEN-AIR FIRING (<i>Bon</i> is French for good)
BOWL	a deep, round container
CAVETTO	curved interior sidewall of a plate
CERAMIC	all articles made by firing clay
CHATTER	a series of indents around a piece, which are caused by using a blunt turning tool
COILING	forming pottery with rolls of clay
EARTHENWARE	<p>a non-vitreous ceramic—usually low-fired clay <1,100°C. A chemical change occurs in clay at ~500°C. Any pottery, which has a porosity of more than five per cent, usually means that it has been fired below 1,100°C (Hamer 1977: 111). (Firing temperatures given for earthenwares vary. Memmott (1972) considers wares fired at temperatures below 1,200°C as earthenware. Nelson (1996: 874) gives the firing temperature for unglazed earthenware tiles as up to 1,100–1,150°C. A Javanese man, Timbul Raharjo, owner of a pottery in Kasongan, and lecturing in pottery making in Gadjah Madah University in Yogyakarta gave me a temperature between 600–1,000°C). Unglazed earthenwares are generally divided into five groups (J. Burns, personal communication, 17 March, 2000):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Natural clay (red earthenware). Example; <i>cewo</i>, Figure 78.2. Black fired wares. Example; <i>anglo batik</i>, Figure 161A.3. Burnished (polished at a leather-hard state) wares. This helps to make the pot waterproof. Example; <i>poci</i>, Figure 92A.4. Painted slip. Example; flowerpots from Plered, Figure 136.5. Wares which have incising or scratching (<i>sgraffito</i>). Example; <i>kendi cerat</i>, Figure 99.
GROG	<p>fireclay, which has been fired and then crushed Grog helps the clay to dry uniformly and prevents shrinkage and hence cracking and warping. The term grog is sometimes used in a less specific way to mean any addition to the clay like sand or rice chaff.</p>
GLAZING	to cover a surface with a glaze. Glazing makes the vessel impervious and often more attractive looking.
LEATHER-HARD	partially dried clay
LUTING	a method of joining two pieces of still damp clay
OPEN-AIR FIRING	firing in which the wares are unprotected from the flames. Open-air firing goes fast because the water in the vessels can evaporate rapidly. Inside a kiln the evaporation is slow.
PORCELAIN	a white, translucent ceramic which is high-fired (~1,300°C) and highly vitreous
PUG	clay in a plastic state, for brickmaking
PYGG	a type of clay once used in English potteries for making household objects such as jars. People saving money in jars called them pygg jars.
SAND POT	an often unglazed Chinese cooking pot made from a light-coloured sandy, porous clay (Passmore 1991: 301). The cooking vessel is glazed inside.

SGRAFFITO	scratched decoration made by brushing a thin layer of slip in a different colour over a leather-hard surface. When the slip is sufficiently dry a design is scratched into it. This will reveal the surface of the underlying clay.
SLIP	liquid clay used as a decoration
STONEWARE	an opaque vitreous ceramic high-fired >1,180°C
TAGINE	a Moroccan clay pot with a conically shaped lid
TEMPER	any non-plastic material; it can be a vegetable or mineral, which is added to a clay. It is mixed in to improve the clay's workability and to increase its binding capacity. It will decrease shrinkage and improve the clay's ability to withstand sudden temperature changes during firing. Sand used as temper in earthenware adds to the porosity of the finished vessel. This is important for vessels used for drinking water, as evaporation will keep water cool and pleasant to drink.
TERRACOTTA	Italian for baked earth used to describe finegrained red earthenware. 'earth seal', a Greek and Roman method of obtaining a semi-glazed finish using a painted clay slip of fine red clay, which is high in iron. The Pueblo Indians also used this technique (J. Burns, personal communication, 2006; Gartside 1989: 16.).
THERMAL SHOCK	stress set up by rapid temperature changes
THROWING	the process of making pots on a wheel
TURNING	trimming pottery on the wheel while it is leather hard
VAT	a very large container for holding liquids
VITREOUS CERAMICS	ceramic bodies, which contain glassy phases formed during firing (>1,180°C).
ZOOMORPHIC	The use of animal forms.

APPENDIX 2: IMAGES



Figure 1: Stacking wares to be fired in Désa Jambu Alas, Banten.

Small pieces of earthenware are stacked inside stoves, *keren*. Note the air-vents on the side of the stoves, which are in the form of triangles. A peaked triangle is a fire symbol.



Figure 2: Women assisting man in charge of building the hipped-shaped stack of earthenware to be fired.

The stack includes wood-fired stoves, *keren*. There are also covers, *tutup nasi*, which are placed over the rice in the steaming basket.



Figure 3: The fire is begun against the prevailing wind at the end of the trench. Note the large ring stands on top of the pile.



Figure 4: Museum Nasional in 1995 during celebrations for Indonesia's 50 years of independence.



Figure 5: Earthenware *buyung* once used by a Sundanese woman for fetching water.

Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' (West Java Cultural Museum) in Bandung. Previously illustrated in *Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* (1983: 28–29). Inv. No. 03. 1361. H. 30 cm, D. 31.5 cm, Mouth 17 cm.



Figure 6: Woman with *buyung* in the pottery village of Sadang outside Purwakarta, West Java in July 1996.



Figure 7: Jars for sale on Jalan Letjen T.B. Simatupang, Jakarta.

The smallest ones are 34 cm high and are called *buyung*. The large water storage jars are called *gentong*. These examples reportedly came from Serang, possibly Bumi Jaya east of Serang.



Figure 8: Woman carrying *jun*.

The heavy load is carried *géndhongan*, on the back in a shoulder cloth.



Figure 9: Woman carrying *jun*.

The heavy load is carried *géndhongan*, on the back in a shoulder cloth.



Figure 10: Woman carrying *jun*.

The heavy load is carried *géndhongan*, on the back with the help of a shoulder cloth. Note that here the cloth is slung around the pot's neck.



Figure 11: People and *jun* around a well in Gundhi, Central Java.

As can be seen, these water pots come in many sizes. It was reported that the pots were made in Kedungjati, Kabupaten Purwodadi, in Central Java. Note the three stones used as stands for the round-bottomed jars. The jar placed high on a stand to the left is a *padasan*, water storage jar, for ritual ablutions.



Figure 12: Ibu Sarno with her supply of *jun* at Pasar Legi, Solo.

Left pot; H. 27 cm, D. 31.5 cm.



Figure 13: *Klenthing*.

H. 46 cm, D. 34.1 cm, Mouth 13 cm. Photographed at Pasar Legi, Solo in 1995. There are also two huge *kuwali* to the left.



Figure 14: *Gentong* for sale in Jakarta.



Figure 15A: Packing decorated water jars made at a pottery in Plered.

The jars are padded with rice-straw in bundles of five, the bundles are then piled on top of one another. H. 30 cm, D. 31.9 cm, Base 12.5 cm, Mouth 20 cm.



Figure 15B: Jars and other Plered earthenwares are straw-packed for transport on a small lorry.



Figure 16A: *Tempayan* with slip-painted shoulder wing motifs and cross-hatchings (three lines crossing three lines).

Two of each motifs. H. 32.5 cm, Mouth 21 cm, Base 12 cm, flat. Acquired in Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan. Compare this jar with Adhyatman & Ridho (1984: Pl. 204).



Figure 16B: The wing motif on the *tempayan* in Figure 16A.



Figure 17: Glazed jars for sale at Purwakarta.

The tapioca tubers, which hang over the entrance are used for savouries and for *tapai*, an alcoholic drink, which is brewed in *tempayan*.



Figure 18: Jakarta shop lavatory with a *jambangan* from Bumi Jaya in Banten.

Water used for paper-free cleaning is scooped up with the red plastic dipper, which floats on top of the water.



Figure 19: *Pangaron kecil*, a small basin with a wide mouthrim.

H. 20 cm, Mouth 42 cm, Rim 5 cm, Base 21 cm. 74 Jalan Gajah Mada, Surakarta.



Figure 20: Large *kendi* for sale in Jakarta.

The matte lower part of the vessels helps evaporation to cool the water in the *kendi*. Plain *kendi* with incised neck decoration to the left. H. 26 cm, Mouth 8 cm, D. 22 cm, Base 15 cm. From Central Java. *Kendi* with *kalasa*-shaped mouth. H. 27 cm, Mouth 7.5 cm, D. 22. cm. base 15 cm. From Bayat in the regency (*kabupaten*) of Klaten, Central Java.



Figure 21A: *Kendi* decorated with a border of 15 small, six-petal flowers on its shoulder at Jalan Surabaya, Jakarta's flea market.

To attract buyers it is polished with Kiwi shoe polish and is offered as an antique at over US\$45. Similar *kendi* can be found at a fraction of that price in a nearby market. H. 27 cm, D. 23.9 cm, Mouth 8.5 cm, Base 12 cm.



Figure 21B: *Kendi* decorated with a border of rosettes photographed at Pasar Santa in 1996.



Figure 22: *Kendi* with a *kalasa*-shaped mouth and flanged spouts are for sale at the 1999 *Sekatèn* Fair in Surakarta.

They are bundled together with string bamboo.



Figure 23: *Bapak Paijo* of *Kampung Rambat Sawit* in *Nogosari* making a *sosog*.



Figure 24: *Sosog* with its lidded *kendi* tied to a house pillar in *Bapak Paijo's* house in Central Java.



Figure 25: Cabinet with glass *kendi* placed in silver bowls in Pura Mankunegaran, Surakarta.



Figure 26: *Kendi* with a flared mouth, lid and a flanged spout.
H. 26 cm, D. 22.3 cm, Mouth 7 cm, Base 13 cm.



Figure 27A: *Kendi* with handle from Purwakarta.
H. 34 cm, D. 23.9 cm, Mouth 11 cm, Base 13 cm.



Figure 27B: Packing of *kendi* with handle from Purwakarta.



Figure 28: *Kukuk*, bottle gourd.
Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung.



Figure 29: Bottle *kendi* from Plered with a loose metal lid placed outside a *kampung* house in Batujaya in West Java.

The metal lid is placed there to prevent dirt and insects from falling into the water.



Figure 30: Two bottle *kendi*.

The vessel on the left comes from Bumi Jaya. H. 23 cm, D. 14.3 cm, Mouth 3.5 cm, Base 9.3 cm, flat. Purchased at Jalan Kapten Tendean in Jakarta.



Figure 31: *Padaringan*, rice jar.

H. 33 cm, D. 42.2 cm, Mouth 25.5 cm, Base 14.5 cm. Note the firing mark which indicates that the vessel was fired under primitive conditions.



Figure 32: *Padaringan*, stored upside down by the potters in Bumi Jaya, Banten.



Figure 33: Potter in Bumi Jaya, Banten, using a paddle to shape a *padaringan*, rice jar.



Figure 34: *Padaringan*, rice jar with lid.

Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung. Ref. No. 03. 1356. H.
32.5 cm, D. 40 cm, Mouth 25 cm.



Figure 35: *Genuk*, small rice jar.

H. 21 cm, Base 21 cm, flat. Lid D. 21 cm. Pasar Legi, Solo.



Figure 36: *Pawon*, firewood stove, with *kuwali* on which is placed a *kukusan wadon*, (the female version of the steaming basket) covered by a rice cooker lid, *kekeb*.

Firewood is pushed in from the short end of the stove. Photographed in Boyolali outside Solo, Central Java.



Figure 37: Kitchen in the pottery village of Sadang, with square stove, *hawu*, made of loose bricks placed in the middle of the kitchen.

Another (broken) type of wood-fired stove is next to the wall. This stove, *hawu*, is made from a block of stone. Firewood is pushed in from the short end of these square stoves. A round-bottomed pan, *wenka*, can be seen between the stoves.



Figure 38: *Keren*.

H. 21 cm, Mouth 27 cm, Base 27 cm, flat. Note the three knobs inside the rim.



Figure 39: *Anglo besar*, large brazier.

H. 24 cm, Mouth 24 cm, Base 12.5 cm. Acquired at Pasar Jalan Ciputat Raya, Jakarta Selatan, reported to have come from Plered.



Figure 40: *Tungku arang* in a street kitchen in Solo (Surakarta).

Left stove: H. 33 cm, D. 42.2 cm, Mouth 25.5 cm, Base 14.5 cm. Note the firing mark which indicates that the vessel was fired under primitive conditions.



Figure 41A: *Tukang kerak telur* with assistant.



Figure 41B: Cooking *Kerak Telur Betawi*, 'Jakarta egg and rice crust', on an *anglo besar*.

The egg is being whisked in, as an assistant fans the fire.



Figure 41C: *Tukang kerak telur* with his mobile kitchen at the 1994 Jakarta Fair.
Note the J-shaped bamboo whisk.



Figure 41D: A *kerak telur* cake ready to be sold at the 1994 Jakarta Fair.



Figure 42: *Anglo saté* and *wajan*.

(Left): *Anglo saté*, *saté* grill of clay. H. 10.5 cm, D. 16.5 cm, Length 27 cm. The grill will take approximately eight sticks of *saté ayam*, chicken *saté*, or *saté kambing*, goat meat *saté*. (Right): *Wajan*, frying pan. H. 7.5 cm, D. 27.5 cm. Loop handles. Note the burnished inside. 74, Jalan Gajah Mada, Solo, Central Java.



Figure 43: Woman selling *saté*.

Jalan Brigjen Slamet Riyadi, in Solo.



Figure 44: *Saté* trader at Pasar Triwindu in Solo.

Note the banana leaves to be fashioned into ‘take-away cornets’ for the saté skewers.



Figure 45: Parts of a cake oven, *pembakaran kué*, left outside a potter’s house to dry. A shrinkage of 10–15% will occur when the parts have been fired. Photographed in Bumi Jaya, Banten.



Figure 46: *Kendil/pendil* from Karawang, West Java.

(Left): H. 18.5 cm, D. 20.7 cm, Mouth 14.5 cm. This cooking pot which is made in Karawang has a dome-shaped lid with a low tubular handle making it easy to lift. H. 5 cm, D. 12.3 cm. Jalan Arteri, Jakarta. (Right): The truncated conical shaped *kendil* is the type most often seen in Jakarta's markets. It comes without a lid. H. 18 cm, D. 20.5 cm, Mouth 17 cm. Round bottom.



Figure 47: *Kendil besar*, large rice cooking pot.

H. 28 cm, D. at widest point 29 cm. Mouth 25 cm. Rounded bottom. A *lèmpèr* is used as a lid for a *kendil besar*. H. 5 cm, D. 23 cm, base 9.5 cm, flat. Unknown origin.



Figure 48: Shop shelves with *belentong* and *kendil besar*.

'Kelentong' 45/46 at Pasar Cikini, Jalan Cikini Raya, Menteng, Jakarta.



Figure 49: *Lèmpèr*, dish, which can be used as a lid or a pot stand, as well as for spice preparations.

H. 7 cm, D. 25 cm, Foot ring 10 cm.



Figure 50: Medium-sized *kuali*.

H. 14.5 cm, D. 24.2 cm, Mouth 25 cm, Base 15 cm, flat. Pasar Ciputat, Jakarta.



Figure 51: *Kuali kecil* and *Kuwali besar* with lids.

(Left): *Kuali kecil*, small *kuali*, from West Java. H. 11.2 cm, D. 18.5 cm, Mouth 19.5 cm, Base 10 cm, flat. The burnished, everted lip measures 2 cm. Firing mark on shoulder. A saucer shaped lid, *tutup*, is used on the small *kuali*. The lid fits well into the everted lip. It is easy to lift, as it has a footring. This is a good example of a common Chinese type of lid that could be inverted and used as a saucer. H. 4 cm, D. 16 cm. (Right): *Kuwali besar*, large *kuwali* coming from Central Java. H. 23 cm (with lid in place, 30 cm), Diameter at widest point 29.3 cm, which occurs 6.5 cm from the rounded bottom. Mouth 28 cm. A Javanese *lèmpèr* is used as a lid for a *kuwali besar*. H. 6.5 cm, D. 26 cm. Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Jakarta Selatan.



Figure 52: A bunch of *kuali* brushes, *sapu kuali*, made of split bamboo for sale at a traditional market.

Length of brush 40 cm. Photographed at Pasar Baru, Bandung, West Java.



Figure 53: *Dandang*.

(Middle): *Dandang*, earthenware rice steamer, topped with a short wide female steamer (*kukusan wadon*). H. 24 cm, D. 31.5 cm, mouth 34 cm. Made in Bayat. (Top): *Kekeb*, rice cooker lid. H. 16 cm, D. 30 cm. The knob for lifting is 7 cm in diameter. The lid is placed in a *kukusan wadon*, female steamer. Made in Bayat. (Bottom): *Anglo arang*, charcoal stove H. 20 cm, D. 30 cm at the mouth, Base 19 cm. Possibly from Makam Haji, Pajang in Kartasura, outside Solo. Photographed in Pasar Legi, Solo, Central Java.



Figure 54A: *Belentong*, steamer, decorated with straight horizontal lines for sale at Pasar Cikini, Jalan Cikini Raya, Menteng, Jakarta.

H. 23.5 cm, D. at widest point 22.3 cm, Mouth 18 cm.



Figure 54B: *Belentong*.

See Figure 54A for recorded information.



Figure 55: *Dulang* drying on a potter's veranda.

H. 18 cm, D. 44 cm before firing. The fired vessel in the photo is a round-bottomed pan, *wengka*. H. 10 cm, D. 31.5 cm. Photographed at the pottery village of Sadang outside Purwakarta in West Java.



Figure 56: *Kuwali* with *gulé*, a curry dish.

A *kalo*, bamboo sieve, is used as a lid. Photographed at Pasar Depok in Surakarta.



Figure 57: Inside the cooking pot in Figure 56 a bunch of lemongrass floats on the surface and imparts flavour to the curry dish.



Figure 58: Street hawker in Solo, Central Java, transporting her *kuwali* in a basket carried *gendhongan*, on the back.



Figure 59A: *Periuk* for sale at Plered, West Java.

H. 17.5 cm, D. 25 cm, Mouth 26 cm. The lid, *tutup*, on the pot. H. 7.8 cm, D. 21.5 cm. Diameter of the tubular handle 6.8 cm. Made in the pottery village of Sadang outside Purwakarta. The jars are *tempayan*.



Figure 59B: *Periuk* photographed at the pottery village of Sadang. An updraft kiln in the background.



Figure 60: Profile of *wajan masak sayur*.

Mouth 36 cm, depth of vessel 20 cm. In 1995 this cooking pot sold for Rp. 1,500. Photographed at Pasar Legi, Solo.



Figure 61: Inside treatment of a *wajan masak sayur*.



Figure 62: *Prieuk* from Bumi Jaya, Banten.

Mouth 31 cm, Depth 17 cm. Photographed at Pasar Inprés, Cipete, Jakarta.



Figure 63: Potter in Bumi Jaya checking that a *prieuk* has a smooth finish.



Figure 64: *Goleng*.

H. 22 cm, Mouth 45 cm with a rolled rim, Base 27 cm. Photographed at Bumi Jaya, Banten in November 1996.



Figure 65: *Ikan cue* are sold in traditional markets and placed in small trays, each tray containing eight fish.

Photographed at Pasar Ciputat, Jakarta.



Figure 66: *Kuwali kumpal*.

The top right pot H. 19 cm (approximately), Mouth 32 cm, Base flat. Photographed at Pasar Legi, Solo in 1999. Made in Bayat.



Figure 67: Clay *wajan* for sale at Pasar Legi, Solo.

The diameter is 29 cm. Fans used for fanning the fire in the foreground.



Figure 68: *Wengka*, placed on top of a stove.

(Left): Photographed in Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung. Inv. No. 03. 1362, H. 10 cm, Mouth 15.5 cm. *Kwali* to the right.



Figure 69: *Kowi*, bowl.

H. 8.5 cm, Mouth 18 cm, the rolled rim 2.5 cm wide. The rim has a pouring spout. Bumi Jaya, Banten.



Figure 70A: *Cétakan Serabi*, mould for *Serabi* pancake and lid.

(Bottom): H. 6.cm, D. 17.5 cm. It has a round bottom. The interior is coated with a red wash and then burnished. (Top): Domed lid. H. 5.5 cm, D. 11.8 cm. It is an inverted bowl with a tubular handle that is luted to the lid. The rim of the lid is flared. The lid sits deep in the bowl.



Figure 70B: *Cétakan Serabi*, mould for *Serabi* pancake and lid.

See description for Figure 70A.



Figure 71: Photo of Marcia's store at Pasar Cikini, Jalan Cikini Raya, Menteng, Jakarta with a *cetakan Serabi* mould among her wares.

There is also a rosette-decorated *kendi*.



Figure 72A: *Ibu Maah's kue Serabi* stall at Pasar Inprés, Sunter, Jakarta.



Figure 72B: Close up of *Ibu Maah's Serabi* cake kitchen.



Figure 73: *Cetakan kue apem* from Cirebon on display in Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat 'Sri Baduga' in Bandung.

Inv. No. 03. 935.



Figure 74: Stacks of *cobék* photographed at Pasar Rebo, Purwakarta in West Java.

There are two sizes of earthenware *cobék*. The dark *cobék* are made of cement. Small bowl-shaped *cobék*. H. 5 cm, D. 17 cm, rolled lip, Base 7.8 cm, flat. Large bowl-shaped *cobék*. H. 6 cm, D. 22.5cm, rolled lip, Base 10 cm, rounded. Both *cobék* have been burnished, probably with a lump of dry clay before firing. These *cobék* were probably made by the potters at Sadang outside Purwakarta.



Figure 75: *Lodhgong tanah*, clay jars.

H. 20 cm, D. 18.1 cm, Mouth 15 cm, Base 16 cm. Six *lodhgong tanah* and eight *vas bunga*, vases photographed in shop selling earthenwares at Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Solo.



Figure 76: *Lodhong tanah* used by food hawkers.

The containers contain seasoning. In the left *lodhong* there is water seasoned with garlic, *air bawang putih*. A sweet soy sauce, *kecap gula*, is kept in the other pot. These condiments were served with the hawker's *tahu kupat* (*ketupat*) beancurd, and rice in a casing made of coconut leaves. The *ketupat* are hanging on the beam above. Casings can be seen hanging on a nail to the left. The picture also illustrates the construction of the food cart. Note the stove *tungku arang* in its recess.



Figure 77: Stall selling *lodhong*, glass jars, at Pasar Triwindu, Solo's flea market.

The jars are marked 'Made in Japan'.



Figure 78A: *Cewo*, bowl.

H. 5.5 cm, Mouth 12 cm, Base 8.5 cm. Made in Plered, West Java.



Figure 78B: Newly potted money boxes and bowls, *cewo*, left to dry in the sun outside a small pottery at Plered in July 1996.



Figure 79: Street vendor selling *dhawet*.

Photographed in Solo, Central Java.



Figure 80: *Kendhil dhawet* photographed at Pasar Kembang, Solo in Central Java.

The teak lid on the container is decorated with a carved flower. Note the practical handle of the brass scoop, *cidhuk/cénthong*. The round bottomed *kendhil dhawet* is positioned in a basin of enamel, *baskom*.



Figure 81: *Pendil céndol* with a glass of the drink *céndol*.

Photographed at Pasar Inprés, Sunter, Jakarta.



Figure 82: *Pendil céndol* with a lathed lid.

Photographed at Pasar Inprés, Sunter, Jakarta.



Figure 83: *Belentong*, steamer, used for *tauco* sauce by an ambulant food vendor. Photographed at Jalan Kemang Raya, Jakarta.



Figure 84: Jakarta food hawker, *kaki lima*, with his mobile stall selling *laksa*. The curried sauce, which accompanies the noodles is kept in the *kendil*.



Figure 85: *Lèmpèr*.

The bowl-shaped saucer has a thick rolled rim. The rim and the upper part of the cavetto are painted with a very thin high iron clay slip like the *terra sigillata*. H. 5 cm, D. 19.5 cm, Base 8.5 cm.



Figure 86: *Pecel lélé*, a fried catfish dish, served on a large, black lèmpèr.

H. 6 cm, D. 24 cm, Foot ring 10 cm. This black *lèmpèr* was photographed in a restaurant in Solo.



Figure 87: Seller of *Tahu Gejrot* with his stall.

The dish is served on a *lèmpèr*. (The name the trader gave this small dish was *cobek*). Small plates; H. 2.5 cm, D. 13 cm, flat base 6 cm. Photographed in Cirebon, West Java.



Figure 88: *Ibu Sarno* at Pasar Legi with a Javanese rice steamer *dandang*.



Figure 89A: *Kendhil gudheg*.

H. 14 cm, D. 14.3 cm, Mouth 13 cm, Base 9.5 cm.



Figure 89B: *Kendhil gudheg*, (*dandang*, rice steamer to the right).

H. 14 cm, D. 14.3 cm, Mouth 13 cm, Base 9.5 cm. Photographed at Pasar Legi, Solo.
Made in Bayat.



Figure 90: *Empluk*.

(Left): H. 8 cm, D. 12.4 cm, Mouth 11 cm, Base 6–7 cm, flat, uneven, coarse, cut off the hump when potted. (Right): Lid for *empluk*. H. 2.5 cm, D. 9 cm. Dish-shaped lid with round knob handle at the bottom. 74, Jalan Gajah Mada in Solo.



Figure 91A: *Kekeb*.

H. 10 cm, D. 25 cm. Tubular Chinese style handle, 1.5 cm high, 5.8 cm wide. Used by *Ibu Warinem* in Boyolali, Central Java.



Figure 91B: *Kekeb* on top of *kukusan wadon* placed on a *kuwali*.
Photographed at Pasar Legi, Surakarta.



Figure 92A: *Poci*, teapot.
H. 14 cm, foot ring 7.8 cm, lid knob has a steam hole. Purchased in the 'Mega Pasaraya' department store, Jakarta.



Figure 92B: 'Tea sets at the 'Mega Pasaraya' department store in Jakarta.



Figure 93A: *Kendhil jamu*.

H. without lid 16 cm, H. with lid 18 cm, D. 19.1 cm. Mouth 10 cm, Base 11 cm, slightly convex. The lid has a knob with a steam hole. The lid is 10 cm in diameter. The vessel is made in Bayat and was acquired from 'Toko Gerabah', Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Pasar Nusukan, Solo.



Figure 93B: *Kendi* for sale at a Jakarta market.

In the chaotic display, there are three *kendhil jamu*.



Figure 94: A supply of *kuali kecil*, small cooking pots used for herbal preparations.

H. 9 cm, D. 17.5 cm. There are also *kendil ari-ari* on the shelves to the right. The water dippers with handles of bamboo and coconut shell are used in rituals. Photographed at Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan.



Figure 95: *Padasan*.

H. 39 cm, D. 35 cm, Mouth rim 24 cm, Base 22 cm and flat. Photographed at 74, Jalan Gajah Mada, Solo.



Figure 96: Agastya/Shiva Guru statue with *kendi*.

Museum Nasional Inv. No. 61.



Figure 97: Agastya's *kendi*.

Museum Nasional Inv. No. 61.



Figure 98: Bhrkuti's *kendi* with lid.

The statue was made in the 13th century. Museum Nasional Inv. No. 112 a (3624).



Figure 99: *Kendi cerat*.

H. 26.5 cm, H. with lid 30 cm, D. at widest body part 20.4 cm, Mouth 6 cm, Base 11.5 cm. The spout is conical.



Figure 100: Medium size plain *kendi* with straight neck to the right.

H. 19 cm, Base 10.5 cm. The spout is short and tubular. Photographed at Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan. From Central Java.



Figure 101: Medium size *kendi* with a flange.

H. 15 cm, D. 12.9 cm, Mouth 2.5 cm, Base 7.5 cm. Short tubular spout. From Delanggu close to Klaten. Photographed at Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Pasar Nusukan.



Figure 102: Medium size *kendi* from Jepara, Central Java.

H. 17 cm, D. 12.4 cm, Mouth 1.8 cm, Base 8 cm. Photographed at Pasar Jepara, Jepara, Central Java.



Figure 103: Medium-sized 'Jepara' *kendi*, filled with water and *empluk* filled with white rice topped by an egg.

(The *empluk* is next to the umbrella handle). The two vessels are used as containers for spirit offerings. They form part of a wide range of offerings (*sesajén*) at a *Ruwat Negeri*, purification ceremony for the Indonesian Nation.



Figure 104: *Kendi goglok* and *kendi sesajén*.

(Left): H. 16 cm, D. 10.35 cm, mouth 5.5 cm, base 7 cm, flat. (Right): *kendi sesajén*. Both from Plered.



Figure 105: *Kendi sesajén* strung together, ready for distribution.

Photographed at Plered, West Java.



Figure 106A: *Anglo kecil*, small censer.

H. 9 cm, Mouth 11 cm, Base 5 cm. Pasar Cikini, Jalan Cikini Raya, Menteng, Jakarta.



Figure 106B: Stall owner selling ritual wares used for spirit offerings.

There are two small *kendi*, a setting of four small vessels, and an *anglo kecil*, used for spirit offerings.



Figure 107: *Piring*, plate.

H. 3.5 cm, D. 16.5 cm, foot ring 7.8 cm. According to the merchant it came from Cirebon. Acquired at Pasar Cikini, Jakarta.



Figure 108A: Plate and censers among earthenwares on shop shelf at Plered, West Java.

(Left): Plates are needed as coasters for the censers, *parupuyan*. A plate prevents accidental fires and makes it easier to move the censer. (Right): *Parupuyan*, bowl with a rolled-over-lip rim on closed hollow high base. H. 9.5 cm, Mouth 13 cm, Foot 4 cm, Base 7 cm, closed. The flared foot has a square air-vent. The grate inside the bowl has seven tiny holes. The price in 1992 was Rp. 300.



Figure 108B: Three censers.

Censer 1 (Left): *Parupuyan*, with turned-in-lip rim bowl on high hollow flared base. H. 11.5 cm, Mouth 14.5 cm, H. of ring-foot 4 cm, D. of foot 8.5 cm. Purchased at Pasar Rebo, Purwakarta, West Java. Censer 2 (Center): *Parupuyan*, bowl with turned-out-lip rim with a flange on a short hollow foot. H. 10 cm, Mouth 17.5 cm, H of the foot 3 cm, D. foot 8 cm. The censer has a red iron oxide wash. Purchased at Pasar Rebo, Purwakarta, West Java. Censer 3 (Right): *Parupuyan*, bowl with rolled-over-lip rim on closed hollow base with an air-vent in the form of a peaking triangle. H. 11.5 cm, Mouth 12.5 cm. H. foot 4.5 cm, Base 7 cm flat, cord cut. The grate inside the bowl has seven round holes. Purchased in Jakarta in 1991.



Figure 109: *Anglo ratus*.

H. 10 cm, D. of plate 16 cm, Base of plate 8 cm. Bought at Pasar Cikini, Jalan Cikini Raya, Menteng, Jakarta.



Figure 110: Black *lèmpèr* with food offerings.

Takir, shallow banana leaf container, with an offering of flower petals. Photographed at *Pendopo Agung* at Mankunegaran Palace in Solo.



Figure 111: Stacks of *jajambaran*.

H. 12 cm, Mouth 26 cm, Base 14.5 cm, flat, wheel-turned with uneven coarse cutting marks. A heavy vessel. Note that the vessels are stacked in fives. Photographed along the main street in Plered.



Figure 112: *Cuwo*.

H. 11.5 cm, Mouth 23 cm, Foot ring 10.5 cm. Acquired at 'Toko Gerabah', Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Pasar Nusukan, Solo.



Figure 113: *Curwo* (black bowl with rim).

H. 5.5 cm, D. 19.2 cm, Foot ring 7.5 cm. The broad rim has a wavy line decoration. 74, Jalan Gajah Mada in Solo, in 1995. The same type of vessel was available at Solo's Pasar Nusukan in 2003.



Figure 114A: *Dhudbuk*, setting, made in Delanggu acquired at Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Pasar Nusukan, Solo.



Figure 114B: The setting showing the oil lamp, *jlupak*, placed on its pedestal stand, *jodhog*.



Figure 115: Basket filled with small pieces for the *dhudhuk*, setting.

There are *kendi sesajén* small *kendi*, *jlupak*, oil lamps, *jodhog*, stands for the oil lamp, *empluk*, small bowls. They are made in Delanggu. Photographed at Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, Pasar Nusukan, Solo.



Figure 116: Three *kendi sesajén* used for spirit offerings of water or as wedding favours.

(Left): Small *kendi*, from Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan. H. 7.5 cm, Base 4 cm. (Center): Small *kendi* from Pasar Legi in Solo. H. 7.2 cm, Base 3 cm. (Right): Small *kendi* from Pasar Legi in Solo. H. 6.5 cm, Base 3 cm.



Figure 117: Spirit offerings placed in a *ténggok*, small bamboo basket, at a *Midadarèni* vigil, on the eve before a wedding.

Note the small *kendi* and the stand, *jodhog* with the oil lamp. Photographed at Kabupaten Karanganyar, Central Java.



Figure 118: *Empluk* used at *Ruwat Negeri*, purification ceremony for the Indonesian Nation.

See Figure 103. H. 8 cm, Mouth 6.5 cm, Base 5 cm, flat, cord-cut.



Figure 119: This spirit offering was placed on a small shelf nailed to a supporting post in the large market by the shop's owner *Ibu Sarno*, who sells earthenwares.

An egg and jasmine flowers are placed on a banana leaf lining in the *kuwalen*. *Kuwalen* was the name *Ibu Sarno* gave this small vessel. Photographed in Pasar Legi, Solo.



Figure 120: A lime-decorated *klemuk* and a setting, *dhudhuk*, consisting of four small vessels suitable as containers for spirit offerings at a wedding.

Helpful salespeople in Pasar Legi, Solo, showed me how the oil lamp, *jlupak*, which would be placed on its stand, *jodhog*, together with an *empluk* and a *kendi sesajén* would be used. The plastic bag contains additional items suitable as spirit offerings. *Klemuk*: H. 11 cm, D. 13.7 cm, Mouth 12 cm. *Tutup*, lid for *klemuk*: H. 4 cm, D. 11 cm. *Jlupak* Javanese oil lamp: H. 2 cm, D. at mouth 5.2 cm, Base 3.5 cm, crude, unevenly cut. *Jodhog*, stand for *jlupak*: H. 5.5 cm. *Empluk*. *Kendi sesajén*: H. 7.2 cm, Base 3 cm.



Figure 121: *Jodhog*, stands for *jlupak*.

Jodhog in two sizes. The left is 8.5 cm. The small measures 5.5 cm in height.



Figure 122: *Klemuk* used in Mankunegaran Palace in Solo.

It is photographed in the lap of *Ibu Mami Patmadi, Juru masak sajèn*, the chef, in charge of preparing and cooking food offerings and ritual meals in the Palace.



Figure 123: Wedding memento.

(Bottom): H. 10 cm, Height with lid 14 cm, D. 11.5 cm, Mouth 7 cm, B. 6 cm, flat.
Tutup, lid, with lotus bud knob. H. 5 cm, D. 6.5 cm.



Figure 124: *Jembangan*, large basins, for sale in Pasar Legi, Solo. Approximate height of basins 36 cm. Photographed in July 1999.



Figure 125: Gold painted *kendhi* with *kalasa*-shaped mouth used at a Javanese *Siraman*.

The flower arrangement behind the *kendhi* denotes fertility, red for the mother and white for the father.



Figure 126: *Pangaron bunga setaman*, earthenware basin used for the ceremonial water and flower mixture.

Photographed at Pasar Legi, Solo.



Figure 127: *Dhawet* stall at a bride's *Siraman*, bathing ceremony.

Guests are served *dhawet* by the bride's parents and are given a green clay token, *keréwéng*, which was specially commissioned for the occasion.



Figure 128: Three clay tokens, *keréwéng*.

The two *keréwéng* used at Lita's *Siraman* have a diameter of 6 cm. The diameter of the smaller token sold in 'Mega Pasaraya' department store is 5.2 cm.



Figure 129: Shopper at Pasar Legi in Solo with *kuwali*.

Note the ingenious way she carries the large pot supported by her shoulder cloth, *sléndhang*.



Figure 130: *Pendil ari-ari/kendil ari-ari* placenta burying pots, and *kendi cerat*, spouted Cirebon *kendi*, for sale in an open-air stall.

The placenta burying pot. H. 14.5 cm, D. 16.2 cm, Mouth 12 cm, round bottom. *Tutup*, lid. H. 2.5 cm, D. 11.5 cm. The cover is placed on the pot with the concave side up. Photographed at Jalan Lauser in Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta.



Figure 131: *Kendil ari-ari* for sale at the flower vendor's stall at Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta Selatan.

The pot for placenta burial has the lid, *tutup*, placed on top of the container with the concave side up. H. 11.5 cm, D. 15.8 cm, Mouth 11.8 cm, Base 11 cm, flat. *Tutup*, lid. H. 2 cm, D. 11.5 cm.



Figure 132: *Kendi* with a border of rosettes.

Photographed on grave decorated with scattering flowers at Kupuran Tanah Kusir, Jakarta.



Figure 133: *Kendi* with a jar-shaped mouth.

Note the dating on the tombstone. The deceased was born on *Kamis Legi*, Thursday *Legi* and passed away on *Selasa Pon*, Tuesday *Pon*. The *kendi* was photographed on a grave at Kupuran Tanah Kusir, Jakarta.



Figure 134: *Kendi gogok* photographed on grave at Kupuran Tanah Kusir, Jakarta.



Figure 135: *Loro Blonyo*, The Inseparable Couple rendered in palace style and village style.

The unfired clay figures are still in the process of drying. In the unfired state, Sadono measures 56 cm and Dèwi Sri 50 cm. Photographed at ‘Sanggar Loro Blonyo’, Bantul (Kasongan), Central Java.



Figure 136: Two hand-thrown flowerpots from Plered.

(Left): The bigger pot is marked AS and '14' (14 cm). AS probably indicates potter or pottery workshop. (Right): Small flowerpot. H. 9 cm, Mouth and base 11.5 cm. The base has a drainage hole and is marked 'AS' and '12'. Number 12 stands for the diameter of the base, which is twelve centimetres. As each pot is individually thrown the measurements are not exact. Both acquired in Jakarta.



Figure 137: Flowerpots drying on round potting stands.

The flowerpots with the holes are intended for orchids.



Figure 138: Pot *bunga*, flowerpot, bell-shaped with a pie-crust decoration.

Hand thrown. H. 12.5 cm, Mouth 17 cm, Foot ring 9 cm, drainage hole. Acquired in Jakarta.



Figure 139: An assortment of garden vessels for sale at an open-air stall in South Jakarta.

The tub shaped flowerpots with handles in the foreground come from Plered.



Figure 140: An assortment of garden decorations from Bumi Jaya for sale at a shop in Jakarta.

Note the stand in the foreground.



Figure 141A: The three middle fingers are used to mark where the line decoration should be applied.

Note the well-made base of the still undecorated pot at the back.



Figure 141B: A brush is used when filling in the brown colour.



Figure 142: *Jambangan bunga* from Bumi Jaya filled with Water hyacinth (*Eichhornia crassipes*).

Photographed in the Pondok Klub Vila compound, Jakarta.



Figure 143: Basin with a decoration of five bands.

H. 36.5 cm, Mouth 53 cm, Base 17 cm. This huge vessel is thinly potted. The clay contains much sand and the surface feels like sandpaper.



Figure 144: Different sorts of decorative vessels filled with water plants.

Note the basins placed on stands. Photographed at Jalan Letjen T.B. Simatupang, Jakarta.



Figure 145: Huge ornamental jar.
Photographed at Bumi Jaya, Banten.



Figure 146: Jardinière photographed at Pondok Klub Vila, Jakarta.



Figure 147: Three *Céléngan*.

(Left): *Céléngan*, breast-shaped Burgundy red money box. H. 14.5 cm, Base 7 cm and flat, in a light brown terracotta. Slot for coin cut vertically on shoulder. Decorated with commercial paints. Purchased at Pasar Cikini, Jakarta. (Center): *Céléngan*, money box in blue. H. 13 cm, Base 7.5 cm, slightly concave and black. Slot placed horizontally on shoulder. Silver and black paint on shoulder, with bands and a leaf design, repeated three times. Purchased at Pasar Cikini, Jakarta. (Right): Small red *céléngan* decorated with three painted silver lines. H. 11 cm, Base 6.5 cm, flat. Slot placed horizontally on shoulder. Purchased at Pasar Legi, Solo, Central Java.



Figure 148: An assortment of money boxes for sale at the *Sekatèn* Fair in Solo.

White short-horned zebu bulls figure among the saving boxes. The huge animals in the background are house decorations.



Figure 149: Money boxes in the form of roosters, *céléngan ayam*.

(Left): Large *céléngan ayam*. H. 26 cm. From Bojonegoro in East Java. (Right): Small *céléngan ayam*. H. 16 cm. From Jepara in Central Java. Both pieces were acquired at the *Sekatèn* Fair held at Alun-alun Lor, Solo in 1999.



Figure 150: Money box in the form of a rabbit, *kelinci*.

H. 18.5 cm. Acquired at Pasar Legi, Solo. From Jepara.



Figure 151: *Célengan sapi* acquired at the *Sekatèn* Fair in Solo, Central Java.



Figure 152: Horse with a coin-slit on the left side of the neck, modelled in Kasongan.
H. 31.5 cm. Bought at Plered.



Figure 153: Semar.

H. 25 cm. Base 16 cm. The base has two ventilation holes. Acquired in Tegal, Central Java. Compare *Dari Tanah Liat Sampai ke Wadah* (1983:40–41).



Figure 154: Children playing on a Jakarta sidewalk.

Two of the vessels are clay vessels, namely a *kuwali kecil*, small cooking pot and a *piring kecil*, small plate.



Figure 155: Toy stall selling piggy banks and playsets.

Photographed at the *Sekatèn* Fair in front of *Karaton* Surakarta, Solo, Central Java. In the playset pile you can see:

Dandang, rice steamer, painted blue with a silver lip rim and silver and a black brushstroke decoration on the side. H. 7.5 cm, flat base.

Piring, plate, painted yellow. Two silver and black brush stroke decorations at the bottom. Sections of the rim are silver painted. D. 11 cm.

Mangkok, basin or bowl, inside painted red, with sections of the rim painted in silver, and silver and black brush stroke decorations in the bottom. The outside is left unpainted.

Énthong, rice paddle (serving spoon for rice) painted blue with a handle ending in an upward turning spiral.

Irus, soup ladle in red with a handle ending in a downward turning spiral.

The price for the whole lot was Rp. 1,000 in 1999, equal to about US \$0.50.



Figure 156: Toy pottery sold in front of Karaton Surakarta, Solo, Central Java.

From left to right:

Layah, which is what a large shallow mortar plate is called in *Bahasa Jawa*.

Munthu, the pestle, that goes with it.

Dandang, rice steamer in clay with light brown spots. H. 8 cm.

Kuwali, cooking pot D. 10 cm.

Énthong, rice spoon, painted red. Its handle ends in an upward turning spiral. In the photo placed in the *kuwali*.

Cething, bowl for rice. The bowl has a small handle. D. 8.5 cm.

Irus, soup ladle, 'untuk sayur', for watery vegetable dishes and soup. The larger version of this type of ladle has a coconut bowl with a handle of wood.

Keren, a wood-fired stove

Mangkok, basin, bowl, the Javanese street vendor's basin for liquid food.

Wajan, the round-bottomed frying pan.

These toys are made in Mayong according to the seller.



Figure 157A: Bird whistles on top of a box of bird seeds at the bird market Pasar Barito, Jalan Barito, Jakarta Selatan.



Figure 157B: Bird whistle 6.5 cm with flat base and blowing hole in the tail.



Figure 158: Bucket shaped sturdy containers used by flower shops in Solo.
Made in Bari near Wonosari according to the shopkeeper.



Figure 159: Three small bottle vases with wavy rims photographed in a shop at Jalan Brigjen Sugiono, opposite Pasar Nusukan, Solo.

The wavy rim is a common feature since the Song dynasty (Ridho & Edwards McKinnon 1998: 40–41).



Figure 160: Wooden panel with Overflowing Vase, *Purnakalasa* photographed at Mesjid Agung, the Grand Mosque at Demak.



Figure 161A: *Anglo batik* and *wajan batik*.

(Right): *Anglo batik*, brazier used when heating wax for making batik. H. 13.5 cm, D. 10.2 cm, Base 8.2 cm. (Left): *Wajan batik*, pan used in melting wax. H. 5.5 cm, D. 15.2 cm. This set was found at 74, Jalan Gajah Mada in Surakarta.



Figure 161B: *Wajan batik*.

This image shows the hollow handle of the *Wajan batik*. It may have been made so that a wooden handle could be inserted into it, just like the handle used on old Chinese brass irons. That way one would not burn one's fingers when lifting the hot pot.



Figure 162: Two types of bird-feeders.

Tempat minuman burung, drinking bowl for birds. H. 4 cm, Mouth 6 cm, Base 4.5 cm, flat. *Tempat makanan burung*, feeding bowls (two views). H. 7 cm, Base 4 cm. Bought at Pasar Depok, Solo, Central Java.



Figure 163: Worker at ‘Timboel Ceramic’ in Central Java polishing a candle-holder before glazing.

He sits in front of a square earthenware kiln, *tungku bak*. This kiln is divided into two parts. The large oven is used when firing large loads and the small oven for firing a few pieces.



Figure 164: Noritin scoops up some of the clay from the pile of prepared brick-clay on to a tray with three sides.

The tray is heavy when loaded, therefore it has a rope so it can be pulled to the brick former. Note that the flat, hard ground on which the bricks are made and left to dry has been strewn with rice chaff. Photographed at Désa Kali Manggis, Central Java.



Figure 165: The brick former is dipped in water then filled with clay.

When the mould is lifted off the ground a neat row of bricks is left behind. This method results in the brickmaker travelling a long distance. Water trough at the foreground.



Figure 166: Worker transporting the sufficiently dried bricks to the kiln.

Note rice chaff on bricks and ground. The plastic sheet in the ditch is used to cover the bricks in case of rain. When it rains the water is channelled into the ditch, which empties into the stream below. Photographed at Désa Kali Manggis.



Figure 167: Brick kiln, *tombong bata*, under protective, removable thatched roof at Désa Kali Manggis, Kecamatan Subah, Kabupaten Dati II Batang, Central Java.

Note the long sawmill discards, which will be used for firing the kiln.



Figure 168: Brick kiln and firewood at Kampung Gondang, Kecamatan Cepiring, Central Java.



Figure 169: Harvesting of brick-clay in a field earlier used for growing rice.

Workers with hoes can be seen in a clay pit and their overseer in white shirt sitting in the background. There is a sack containing rice chaff in the foreground. Photographed at Cikarang, West Java.



Figure 170: Bricks are stacked to dry under a thatched roof in an open-sided shed, which allows free air circulation.

Photographed at Cikarang, West Java.



Figure 171: Drying of bricks.

Photographed at Kabupaten Bekasi, West Java.



Figure 172: Men unloading bricks, which they have transported on a hand-pulled cart, at a depot for building materials.

Photo taken at Jalan Bangka Raya, Jakarta.



Figure 173: Ancient foundation of bricks photographed at the excavation of Candi Jiwa in Batujaya, Karawang, West Java.



Figure 174: Majapahit model of a brick foundation.

National Museum Inv. No. TRW II / 77.



Figure 175: Wall made of Majapahit (possibly paving) bricks.

The bricks are not of uniform size. They measure approximately 200 x 300 mm. K.R.H.T. Hardjonagoro's Radya Pustaka Museum in Surakarta.



Figure 176: The imposing Villa Mérah in Bandung in West Java is built from bricks imported from Holland.



Figure 177: House in Jakarta covered by two types of commonly used roof tiles.

The low roof at the left is covered by modern high-fired factory-made roof tiles. The main roof is tiled with an older type of tiles.



Figure 178: *Pak Ajun* is compacting clay in a handmade wooden roof tile mould by standing on it.

A heap of coarse sand used for sprinkling the mould can be seen in the left corner. A wooden bow with wire string is used to remove surplus clay.



Figure 179: A wooden knife is used to smooth the clay after surplus clay has been cut off with a wire tied between both ends of a wooden bow.



Figure 180: Drying the flat clay slabs takes place on the floor of the work shed.



Figure 181: Shaping of the leather-hard clay slab is done in a second type of wooden mould.



Figure 182A: *Genténg* made by *Pak Ajun*, a Sundanese man, living in Kampung Patola, Désa Pasir Tanjung, Kecamatan Lemah Abang, Kabupaten Bekasi.

Length 28.5 cm, Width 24 cm, curved. Thickness of tile 0.9 cm.



Figure 182B: The rough back of the same roof tile.



Figure 183: *Kampung* house with roofing tiles on bamboo battens.
Photographed at Batujaya, West Java.



Figure 184A: Tiles covering a brickworks roof at Bekasi, West Java.



Figure 184B: Old cellar roof in Sweden covered by the Dutch type of roofing tiles.



Figure 185: Flat round-edge Majapahit roof tile.

Length 21 cm. Width 10.5 cm. Inv. No. 8023. Museum Nasional, Jakarta.



Figure 186: Old pyramidal crowning ornaments, *mamolo limasan* of terracotta for mosques from western Java.

The *mamolo limasan* on the left, with cocks and elongated triangles comes from Banten (Inv. No. 03. 647). The right ornament is from Cirebon and is more Javanese in style (Inv. No. 03. 988). The *mahkota* at the top right in the photo has a bird flanked by inward curving appendices. Photographed in Museum Negeri Propinsi Jawa Barat ‘Sri Baduga’ in Bandung.



Figure 187: Modern *mahkota*, crown, with four *naga* and four *makara* at cardinal and sub-cardinal points.

The whole ensemble is topped with a *kalasa*, which is shaped like an open four-petaled flower. H. 45 cm, Base 26 cm. Photographed at Jalan Ahmad Yani, Kartasura, Central Java.



Figure 188: Two modern and high-fired *mahkota*.

(Left): *Mahkota* in the shape of a budding flower flanked by wings. H. 39 cm, Length 35 cm.

(Right): *Mahkota* featuring two crowned *naga* with intertwined tails. H. 39 cm, Length 38 cm. Photographed at Jalan Ahmad Yani in Kartasura, Central Java.



Figure 189: *Mahkota*, crown with upsweeping wings.

H. 62 cm, Length 54 cm. The *mahkota* is flanked by a set of *badhong*, gable finials. H 37 cm, Length 39 cm, displayed on top of a stack of factory-made high-fired roofing tiles. Photographed at Jalan Ahmad Yani in Kartasura, Central Java.



Figure 190: *Badhong*, gable finial, in the shape of two stylized rooster heads.

H. 57 cm, Length 54 cm. Photographed at Jalan Ahmad Yani in Kartasura, Central Java.



Figure 191: *Wuwung jago*, rooster ridge tile.

The rooster is positioned so it looks towards the centre of the house. Photographed south of Kudus, Central Java.



Figure 192: Modern *Wuwung jago*, rooster ridge tile.

When the tile is placed on a roof the rooster will look away from the centre of the house. H. 44 cm, Length 35 cm. Photographed in Kartasura, Central Java.



Figure 193: *Rumah limasan*, house with a four-section pyramidal roof, in Bandung Indah, close to Bangsri, Central Java, with decorated ridge tiles, *genteng kelir*.



Figure 194: Steep upper section of *joglo* house with ridge tiles, and a row of cockscorn hip tiles, *bandongan*.

Photographed south of Kudus.



Figure 195: *Genténg gunung*, mountain tile decorated with pieces of broken porcelain. The 97 in the decoration indicates 1997, the year the tile was made. H. 60 cm, Length 37 cm, Width 34 cm.



Figure 196: *Sampingan*, side tile, also called *Patih*, vizier or *genténg sawungan*, rooster tile.

H. 48 cm, Length 37 cm. Photographed outside Bangsri on the north coast of Central Java.



Figure 197: Ridge tiles from the Kudus—Jepara area are used by an antique shop in Ciputat Raya in Jakarta, as decoration over the roofed entrance to its premises.

The tiles have become weathered and the white porcelain decoration shines. The tiles flanking the mountain-tile, *genténg gunungan*, are made to turn in opposite directions. Note the end-hip tile.



Figure 198: Stack of modern hip tiles decorated with cockscomb, *jènggèr*, photographed south of Kudus, Central Java.

H. 23 cm, Length 37 cm, Width 34 cm. On top, the tile is marked with an impressed SUBUR (possibly a factory name). *Subur* incidentally means prosperous.



Figure 199A: Close up of cockscomb on the hip tile.

The tile's ornament, the cockscomb, is moulded in two equal parts, which are luted together. Both sides have a vegetal asymmetrical decoration. Are they spiralling shoots, tendrils or fern-fronds? The purpose of the hole in the comb is for gases to escape during firing.



Figure 199B: Close up of cockscomb viewed from the opposite side.



Figure 200: Hip tiles and pan tiles on a roof, Kudus area.



Figure 201: *Sudut bulus* 'corner tortoise' acquired south of Kudus.

H. 28 cm, Length 39 cm. Width at straight end of 'tortoise back' 29.5 cm. Width at curved part of tile 35 cm.



Figure 202A: Close up of decoration on the *sudut bulus*.

The decorated cockscomb is flanked by two curved shoots, semi-circular bends (*gelung*).



Figure 202B: *Sudut bulus* decoration seen from the opposite side.



Figure 203: Hip-tiles on the roof of an antique shop in Ciputat Raya in Jakarta.

The protruding knob on each tile prevents the tiles from sliding. The end-hip tile is called *sudut bulus*.



Figure 204: Flower stall in Pasar Santa, Jalan Cipaku 1, Jakarta Selatan is well-stocked with roses and *Impatiens balsamina* petals.

There is shredded *Pandanus* and also bundles of banana leaf wrappers.



Figure 205: The Perfume Tree flower, *Cananga odorata*.



Figure 206: *Melati*, Arabian Jasmine, *Jasminum sambac*.



Figure 207: Pink roses, *Michelia champaca* and *Michelia alba* for sale in Pasar Kembang in Solo.



Figure 208: The seven auspicious flowers shown on a section of a banana leaf.

When sold the flowers are rolled up in this banana leaf to form a package. A piece of a midrib from a palm frond, (*lidi*) closes each end of the package. Packed this way the flowers will stay fresh. The flowers are: *Michelia champaca*, *Michelia alba*, *Cananga odorata*, *Jasminum sambac* and white, pink and red roses. Photographed in Pasar Kembang in Solo.



Figure 209A: *Pinandita* Soatrisno with the flower bowl with the seven flowers as they were in front of the *Trimurti* statue of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva.



Figure 209B: Bowl with the seven ritual flowers at *Pura Mandita Seta*.



Figure 210: Flower offering placed in a *takir* on the floor of *Pendopo Agung* in Mankunegaran.

The sliced pandanus leaves are placed on top of the flower petals.



Figure 211: Brass bowl with five sorts of ritual flowers floating on the water, the bowl is placed at one of the posts in the *Pendopo Agung* in Pura Mankunegaran.

The green plate has an offering of flowers and petals. The green shredded leaves are *daun pandan*, screw pine, *Pandanus amaryllifolius*.



Figure 212: Bride washing her groom's right foot in a Solonese wedding ceremony.

The ceremonial water and flower mixture, *Kembang setaman*, contains three sorts of flowers; pink rose, *mawar jambu*, Perfume Tree flower, *kenanga*, and jasmine, *melati*.



Figure 213: Red joss sticks placed in an incense holder in front of Semar.

There is also a banana leaf *bungkus* with a flower offering. The text on the plaque says: 'SEMAR BOYONG BUDA PON 20-2-1985'. 'Semar moved to this place *Buda Pon* 20-2-1985'. Photographed at the Hindu Dharma in Solo.



Figure 214: People praying with incense in front of the building housing *Kanjeng Nyai Setomi*.



Figure 215: *Abdi Dalem Caos Dhahar* with *anglo*, incense burner placed on a *lèmpèr*, fan and flower offerings in front of the cannons in Karaton Kesunanan (Karaton Surakarta).



Figure 216A: Placenta cover from Lombok, front view. H. 25 cm, D. 28 cm.



Figure 216B: Placenta cover from Lombok, side view. H. 25 cm, D. 28 cm.



Figure 217A: Placenta cover from Lombok seen from the front.
H. 30 cm, D. 24 cm.



Figure 217B: Placenta cover from Lombok seen from the back.
H. 30 cm, D. 24 cm.



Figure 218: Green runner in front of *Pendopo* Mankunegaran where the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony is held.

A cage with a live chicken, a rice cone decorated with raw vegetables, *tumpeng robyong* in a basket and a cone of cooked rice with a roast chicken. Seven *lèmpèr* with rice cakes in different colours. A tray with a large *tumpeng*, rice cone, surrounded by six small rice cones and the various ceremonial dishes can be seen at lower right. The next tray contains the *jajanan pasar* for the children.



Figure 219: Master of ceremony inspecting some of the required components in the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony held at Pura Mankunegaran in Solo.

At the top, there is a basket with a *tumpeng robyong*. Then comes a tray containing *jajanan pasar*, market snacks, which will be served to the participating children. Then comes a tray containing seven *jadah*, rice cakes in different colours. They are covered by plastic foil and placed on gold-coloured plates, *lèmpèr*. The last tray has ten banana leaf containers with *jenang*, ceremonial porridges. In the middle is the *jenang palang*. A porcelain bowl with *jenang bluwèk* can also be seen.



Figure 220: The prince is supported by his mother while stepping on the seven rice cakes.

His grandmother makes sure that he puts his feet on each cake. A yellow parasol, the insignia of royalty, is held over the prince.



Figure 221: *Siraman*, the ritual bathing of the prince.

The prince is held by his nursemaid. The Master of ceremony to the left.



Figure 222: Large decorated chicken coop used in the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony at Pura Mankunegaran.

Garlands of jasmine and 'krokot' leaves together with bright yellow Golden Champac flowers. Trays with new clothes and toys can be seen inside the coop. Brass bowl with flower petals yet to be filled with water for the ceremonial bath. The second brass bowl contains yellow rice grains, coins and pink rose petals.



Figure 223: Brass bowl with rice grain coloured yellow with tumeric, coins and pink rose petals.

Tray with toys for the prince to choose from.



Figure 224: Plate with an individual serving of the ceremonial meal served at *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony.



Figure 225: A large *kendi* filled with water from seven locations is among the offerings at a purification ceremony for the Indonesian nation.

Note the *tumpeng*, rice cones. The cones are made of different types of steamed rice and are in the colours of the cardinal directions. The white rice mountain cone indicates east, the red south, the yellow west, the black north. There is also a small 'ritual' *kendi* (from Jepara) on the left tray.



Figure 226A: Kuvera, the god of wealth.

He belongs in both the Hindu and Buddhist pantheon. Inv. No. 207 in Museum Nasional, Jakarta.



Figure 226B: Close up of the lidded overflowing treasure boxes belonging to the 9th century Buddhist deity Kuvera, Inv. No. 207 in Museum Nasional.

Kuvera is sitting 'in royal ease' resting on pillows patterned with petalled flowers. Kuvera's treasure pots are decorated with a band of bosses.



Figure 227: Covered box from Kediri, East Java, 13th–14th century.

The lid has a tubular handle and a wavy line decoration. H. 29.5 cm. Museum Nasional Inv. No. 1951.



Figure 228: *Célengan*, piggy bank, from Majapahit.

H 36 cm. L 45 cm. Museum Nasional Inv. No. 7858.



Figure 229: Money boxes in the shapes of a Buffalo, Goat, and Chicken.

(Left): A buffalo shaped money box from Tegal, Central Java. H. 14 cm, Length 20 cm, Inv. No. 4890. (Center): Money box shaped like a goat comes from Kedu, Central Java. H. 8.5 cm, L. 13 cm, Inv. No. 1352 (2). (Right): Money box shaped like a fowl (*ayam*) H. 8 cm, Length 11 cm. Inv. No. 1352 (4). All in Museum Nasional.



Figure 230: The Hindu god Ganésa.

The statue of [Ganésa](#) greets the visitor at the entrance of Museum Nasional's archaeological stone collection. He is wearing a loincloth decorated with rosettes. Some flowers have seven petals, others have eight petals. The statue dates from the 7th–8th century. Inv. No. 186b/4845.



Figure 231: Display in Museum Nasional in Jakarta showing an earthenware shard, part of a rim decorated with impressed circles and eight-petalled flowers.

Inv. No. KLR /P/183.

APPENDIX 3: MAP OF JAVA

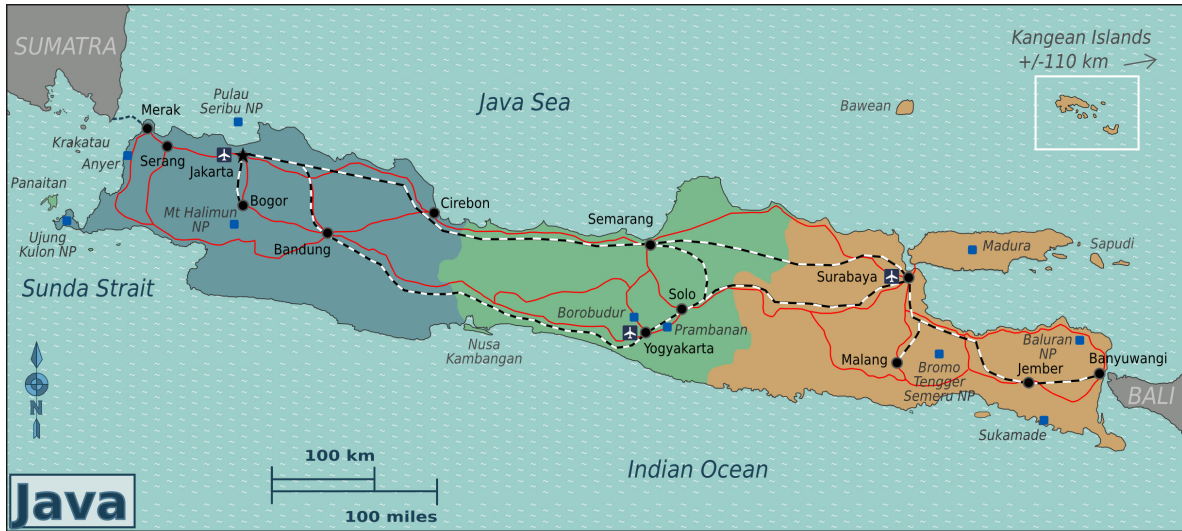


Figure 232: Map of Java.

Credit: Burmesedays / Wikimedia Commons.

APPENDIX 4: BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON JAVA

While collecting information about earthenwares I discovered that I lacked knowledge of other important facets of life in Java. Therefore I have added in appendices how Java is administered, how time is measured on the island (important for rituals). This leads on to the required components in the rituals; different types of incense, sacred plants and flowers, ritual food, and the meaning of colour.

A4.1: ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

Indonesia consists of 31 provinces, *provinsi* and two special areas.

A province is divided into regencies, *kabupaten*.

Each regency is divided into districts, *kecamatan*.

The *kecamatan* is divided into subdistricts, *kelurahan*, which are then divided into villages or small towns, *désa*.

The villages, (*désa*), are administered in units called *rukun warga* (RW), this unit is divided in *rukun tetangga* (RT), neighbourhood associations.

A4.2: TIMEKEEPING

People all over Java today are using different ways to measure time. Perhaps one can say that they follow different calendars simultaneously.

The oldest way of keeping track of time is the five-day market week. Life in Java once revolved around the markets where people went to sell and buy produce. These markets were held at different locations. Every day the market place in an area shifted but returned to the first place five days later. Thus people counted in cycles of five. This gave the name to the days of a five-day market week, *Pasaran*. This old pattern is still preserved in many market names although today these markets, *pasar*, are open for business every day.

Aji (king) Saka, an ancient Javanese ruler, which legend has it, came from Champa now part of Vietnam, is credited with having introduced the Saka calendar in 78 AD, when his reign began (Horne 1974: 517–518). This is the *Taun Saka*, which is used by Hindu Java and in Bali. The Saka lunar year consists of twelve months.

The five-day market week *Pasaran* was incorporated in this calendar, which has a seven-day week. Every 35 days the days in the five-day week and the seven-day week coincide. This 35-day unit is a Javanese month. When the days in the five-day *Pasaran* and the seven-day week (*wuku*) coincide with each other it is called *tumbuk*.

According to this Hindu Javanese calendar, there are thirty *wuku*, each *wuku* consisting of seven days in this 210—day cycle year. This is a Javanese year. Each of the thirty weeks in this Javanese year, *Taun Jawa*, is named after Watugunung the main character in the *Watu Gunung* story (Irvine 1996: 342). Eight Javanese years make up one cycle called a *windu*. Each of the years in a *windu* has a name. They are named *Alip*, *Ehé*, *Jimawal*, *Jé*, *Dal*, *Bé*, *Wawu*, *Jimakir* (Horne 1974: 719–720; Robson & Wibisono 2002: 812). These eight-year *windu* recur in cycles of four. The first *windu* in the cycle

is called *Adi* (characterized by events of supreme greatness and significance) followed by *Kunthara* (characterized by creative activities). The third cycle is called *Sangara* (characterized by natural disasters). The fourth *windu* is *Sancya*. Characteristic for these last eight years is co-operation and friendship (Horne 1974: 719–720).

Once a six-day week *Paringkelan* was also in use. It was probably an agricultural calendar (thus solar) based on the star constellations (Damais 1967: 134–137). Now it is only relevant when combined with the *Pasaran* and *wuku* for horoscopes. In Sundanese Java, the six-day week is still in use to determine favourable days for marriage (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 196).

With the advent of Islam the Muslim calendar came into use. The Muslim calendar is computed from the Hejira, the flight of Muhammad from Mecca to Medina. The Prophet reached Medina at sunset 16 July 622 AD. As Muhammad arrived at Medina at sunset, the day runs from sunset to sunset (Parise 1982: 71).

The Islamic year is a lunar year, which has twelve months and 354 days, which is 11 days less than in the Western calendar. That means that *Lebaran*, which celebrates the end of the fasting month, comes eleven days earlier every year. Periodically, one day is added for a leap year.

In 1633, *Sultan Agung* of Mataram introduced the Arabic year count. He decided that the Javanese 210 day-year should start on the same day as the Islamic 354-day year. Festivals and holy days were moved and celebrated on Muslim holy days. According to the 1633 calendar, the fasting month consists of 30 days instead of 29 days. The year count is also different.

Business and government offices rely on the Western Gregorian 365 day solar year and its seven-day working week. However, as most people in Java are Muslim they also follow the Muslim calendar. Therefore Friday afternoon is a day when offices are closed as people go to the mosque to pray.

Java is also the home to a number of ethnic Chinese who have migrated and settled in Indonesia over centuries of trade. The Chinese calendar year is lunisolar and consists of twelve months, which are referred to by a number. Each month has 29 or 30 days. The New Year begins on the first day of the new moon after the sun enters Aquarius so does not fall on the same date every year. This event always takes place between 21 January and 19 February. In the Chinese calendar, it takes sixty years to complete one cycle. This cycle consists of five twelve-years cycles. Each year in the twelve-year Chinese Zodiac is presided over by an animal. The animals appear in this order; rat, ox, tiger, rabbit, dragon, snake, horse, goat, monkey, rooster, dog, pig. The animal years are further influenced by one of the five Chinese elements metal, water, wood, fire and earth; thus the sixty-year cycle is formed.

In Java rites of passage ceremonies and birthdays as well as other rituals follow the still important Javanese calendar with its auspicious days.

The day in Java is divided into four parts. The new day starts when the sun sets in the evening, *malam* (on Java at approximately 6 p.m.). For a Western person, this is confusing because we think of a new day as starting at midnight.

The morning, *pagi*, starts at sunrise and lasts until 11 a.m. Then comes midday, *siang*, from about 11 a.m. to three p.m. and *soré*, afternoon between three and six p.m. *Malam* is the dark period, the evening and night.

It is debatable which day in the five-day week, *pancawara*, should be considered the first. Many consider *Paing* to be the first day, followed by *Pon*, *Wagé*, *Kliwon*, *Legi* (Damais 1967: 137; cf. Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 197, note 2).

But the controversy does not end here because Sukanda-Tessier (1977) has *Kliwon* as first or fourth day, and Horne has both *Kliwon* and *Legi* as the first day (Horne 1974: 294, 335)! A reason for this might be because, in Central Java, a popular and common practice is to consider *Kliwon* the first day (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 213). This is explained by the fact that the first day of the first quarter of the new moon, which is *Legi*, the moon is not visible.

Geetz (1960: 31) consider *Legi* as the first day. Rigg (1862) has: *Manis*, *Pahing*, *Pon*, *Wagé*, *Kliwon*. *Manis* was the early name for *Legi*. Both have the meaning 'sweet'. *Manis* is the first day of the new moon (Rigg 1862: 272). Rigg noted an incantation consisting of five words starting with east, south, west, north and ending with earth (Rigg 1862: 442). This he says in some way has to do with the five days of the week and would also explain where the markets in an area were held; *Manis*—east, *Pahing*—south, *Pon*—west, *Wagé*—north. *Kliwon* stands for earth, thus centre.

Certain days are especially auspicious. *Selasa Kliwon*, Tuesday that coincides with *Kliwon*, the 'first' day of the Javanese week (Echols 1994: 493) and *Jemuwah Kliwon*, Friday *Kliwon*, are still observed by many as sacred days. Friday *Kliwon* especially, is filled with Friday the 13th superstition. *Anggara Kasih* is an alternative name for *Selasa Kliwon*, Tuesday *Kliwon*.

The Javanese five-day market week starting with *Legi* is:

<i>Legi</i>	the first day
<i>Paing</i>	the second day
<i>Pon</i>	the third day
<i>Wagé</i>	the fourth day
<i>Kliwon</i>	the fifth day

The days of the six-day week *sadwara*, *paringkelan* are named:

<i>Tunglé</i>	the first day of the six-day week
<i>Aryang</i>	the second day
<i>Warukung</i>	the third day
<i>Pamugron</i>	the fourth day
<i>Uwas</i>	the fifth day
<i>Marwulu</i>	the sixth day

As mentioned earlier the five-day *pasar* cycle was combined with a seven-day week, *wuku*. Each *wuku* had its own name and there were thirty *wuku* in a Javanese year (which has 210 days). The seven days of the 'old' Javanese seven-day week, *saptawara*, or week, *wuku*, are called:

<i>Radité</i>	Sunday
<i>Soma</i>	Monday
<i>Anggara</i>	Tuesday
<i>Buda</i>	Wednesday
<i>Respati</i>	Thursday
<i>Sukra</i>	Friday
<i>Tumpak</i>	Saturday

The Western—Muslim seven-day week in Javanese:

<i>Minggu</i>	Sunday
<i>Senèn</i>	Monday
<i>Selasa</i>	Tuesday
<i>Rebo</i>	Wednesday
<i>Kemis</i>	Thursday
<i>Jemuwah</i>	Friday
<i>Setu</i>	Saturday

The modern Western—Muslim seven-day week in *Bahasa Indonesia*:

<i>Minggu</i>	Sunday
<i>Senèn</i>	Monday
<i>Selasa</i>	Tuesday
<i>Rabu</i>	Wednesday
<i>Kamis</i>	Thursday
<i>Jumat</i>	Friday
<i>Sabtu</i>	Saturday

When one combines the two timekeeping systems one finds that every 35 days the days are aligned the same way. They coincide, *tumbuk*. The combination of the two days is the day a person celebrates as his birthday. A person will always remember this day but may have forgotten in which year he was born, as this is of little importance (Geertz 1960: 35). One 35-day period is called a *selapan*.

A cycle of eight years is one *windu*. *Tumbukan* is a traditional ceremony, which is held to celebrate one's eight-year (*windu*) birthday. *Triwindu* (three times eight, 24 years) is the name given to a Surakarta market. A period of forty years is thus *pancawindu*, five eight-year cycles, as *panca* means five in Sanskrit. An eighty years birthday, *Tumbuk Ageng*, is ten *windu*. In earlier times there were also *windu* consisting of five and 120 years as well as several intermediate numbers (Rigg 1862: 534).

The original months in the 120 days Saka year (K.R.Ay. H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999):

<i>Kaso</i>	the first month
<i>Karo</i>	the second month
<i>Katelu (Katiga)</i>	the third month
<i>Kapat</i>	the fourth month
<i>Kalimo</i>	the fifth month
<i>Kanem</i>	the sixth month
<i>Kapitu</i>	the seventh month
<i>Kawolu</i>	the eighth month
<i>Kasongo</i>	the ninth month
<i>Kadoso</i>	the tenth month
<i>Apit lemah</i>	the eleventh month
<i>Apit kayu</i>	the twelfth month

In 1855 Paku Buwono VII of Surakarta used this Old Javanese calendar to create a new calendar with twelve months.

<i>Koso</i>	41 days	22/6	-	1/8
<i>Karo</i>	23 days	2/8	-	24/8
<i>Katiga</i>	24 days	25/8	-	17/9
<i>Kapat</i>	25 days	18/9	-	12/10
<i>Kalimo</i>	27 days	13/10	-	8/11
<i>Kanem</i>	43 days	9/11	-	21/12
<i>Kapitu</i>	43 days	22/12	-	2/2
<i>Kawolu</i>	26 days	2/2	-	28/2
<i>Kasongo</i>	25 days	1/3	-	25/3
<i>Kadoso</i>	24 days	26/3	-	18/4
<i>Destho</i>	23 days	19/4	-	11/5
<i>Saddho</i>	41 days	12/5	-	21/6

The names of the Javanese months are:

Sura the first month

Sapar

Mulud

Bakda Mulud

Jumadil Awal

Jumadil Akir

Rejeb

Ruwah is when one prays at the family tomb

Pasa

Sawal

Dulkangidah

Besar (Dulkijah)

The names of the Javanese-Islamic (Arabic) months are:

<i>Muharam</i>	first month of the Muslem calendar
<i>Sapar</i>	the second month
<i>Rabingulawal</i>	the third month, is the Birthday and death day month of the Prophet
<i>Rabingulakhir</i>	the fourth month
<i>Jumadilawal</i>	the fifth month
<i>Jumadilakhir</i>	the sixth month
<i>Rejeb</i>	the seventh month
<i>Ruwah</i>	the eighth month when one is paying homage to deceased ancestors
<i>Pasa</i>	the holy fasting month (<i>Ramadan</i>)
<i>Sawal</i>	starts with a festive celebration, <i>Lebaran</i>
<i>Dulkangidah</i>	the eleventh month
<i>Dulkijah</i>	the twelfth month

In *Bahasa Indonesia* the months are called:

<i>Muharram</i>	first month of the Arabic calendar
<i>Sapar</i>	the second month
<i>Rabi'ul-awal</i> or <i>Mulud</i>	the third month is the Prophet's Birthday month
<i>Rabi'ul-akhir</i> or <i>Silih Mulud</i>	the fourth month
<i>Jumadilawal</i>	the fifth month
<i>Jumadilakhir</i>	the sixth month
<i>Rajab</i>	the seventh month
<i>Sa'ban, Syaban</i>	the eighth month
<i>Puasa</i>	the ninth month, <i>Puasa</i> means fasting
<i>Syawal</i>	the tenth month
<i>Zulkaédah</i>	the eleventh month, <i>Idul Adha/Korban</i>
<i>Zulhijah</i>	the twelfth month, when Pilgrimage to Mecca takes place

The Sundanese speaking Badui in Banten's interior use a system which consists of twelve months of which there exist three variations; one with a year of 360 days, one with 360 or 365 days and one with 460 days (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 214–215).

Weddings do not take place all year round. According to old customs, certain months are auspicious for weddings and others are not, while others are more or less favourable. Deciding on a date for a wedding, however, in the final analysis, depends on how the horoscopes of the bride and groom combine.

Here is a list supplied by *Ibu* R. Rudiwan owner of 'Siti Sendari', a well-known batik shop in Surakarta, of the months considered good or inauspicious for marriage:

Sura (30 days) is not a good month for marriage
Sapar is not so good (29 days)
Mulud (30 days) is very good, (the Birthday month of Prophet Muhammad)
Bakda Mulud (29 days) good
Jumadil Awal (30 days) good
Jumadil Akir (29 days) good
Rejeb (30 days) good
Ruwah (29 days) not so good
Pasa (30 days) not good
Sawal (29 days) most auspicious
Dulkangidah (30 days) not good (*lowong*, (Javanese) vacant, empty)
Besar (29 or 30 days) the best month for getting married

A4.2.1: *Sengkalan*: The Javanese Chronogram

Scholarly Javanese in earlier centuries had a unique way of remembering important years. They used chronograms. A chronogram is a practice of hiding a date by using a series of words or letters. When understood the chronogram gives the date of an important event. The Javanese chronogram, *sengkalan*, used symbols for the numbers zero to nine. An easy to remember phrase, a sort of rebus, was then constructed from the hidden words. To complicate the puzzle these code words were further read backwards. There were different kinds of chronograms, like pictorial rebuses *sengkalan nemet* and *sengkalan sastra*, which each was a rebus of letters, both of these suggesting dates.

In Yogyakarta a *Sengkalan nemet* at Taman Sari's western gate gives the Javanese year 1691 as its construction. *Sengkalan candra* was a rebus based on the cycle of the moon as in the Muslim calendar thus indicating that the Islamic year was meant. A rebus following the Christian calendar, which uses a solar cycle, is called *Sengkalan surya* (Wijayatno 2003: 8). Chronograms occur in Islamic literature as well.

A4.3: NUMEROLOGY

Numerology is the study of the magic meaning of numbers. On the island of Java, like everywhere else, we find that certain numbers are favoured.

A4.3.1: Even Numbers

There is a preference for the even digits four and eight as these numbers bring order and stability.

A4.3.1.1: The Digit Four

Like in the ancient world four was and still is an important number in Java. Digit four 'brings order into the chaos' (Schimmel 1987: 15). We have the four cardinal points and the four elements, the four heads of the Indian god Brahma, the four pots of Kuvera, the Hindu god of wealth. The four *naga* and the four *makara* forming the *mahkota* of the Javanese house have already been discussed before (Figure 187). The *Panakavan*, clown-servants, headed by Semar are four.

There is a unique concept in Java that four components are needed to make a whole, which equates the fifth. For instance, the Four Brothers, a person's guardian spirits, which accompany him through life, the elder brother amniotic fluid, the younger brother placenta, the blood and the navel are needed to make a centre/whole, a complete self.

According to the Javanese, the world is also arranged according to this principle. The four cardinal points with its centre make the world. The Javanese five-day market week (*Pasaran*) was arranged the same way with markets circulating around a central point. This ensemble formed a unit.

A4.3.1.2: The Digit Eight

The four cardinal points were expanded to eight under Indian influence (Waterson 1990: 95). Digit eight is 'an Indian' number used by both Hindus and Buddhists. In Java it is auspicious to have a name spelt with eight letters. Former President Soeharto used eight letters in the spelling of his name.

A4.3.2: Uneven Numbers

Uneven numbers are favourable. They are a must for spirit offerings. Participants in rituals must come in an uneven number.

A4.3.2.1: The Digit Three

Human life is divided into three stages, our life as an unborn, when we are attached to the placenta, life on earth, and life after death in spirit form. Likewise, a Javanese house should have three parts: *pendopo*, *pringgitan* and *dalem* (Borobudur, is constructed in three parts representing *Kamadhatu*, the sphere of desire, *Rupadhatu*, the sphere of form *Arupadhatu*, the sphere of the formless).

A4.3.2.2: The Digit Five

We find the digit five in the old five-day market week, *Pasaran*, and the five seven-day weeks that make a Javanese month. When goods for sale are displayed in the markets it is mostly five and five together. Spirit offerings often come in fives.

That five is an important number is evident as we have The Five Point Indonesian State Ideology, *Pancasila*, and The Five Pillars of Islam. The digit five also figures prominently in Indian thought. The *Mahabharata*, the Indian epic, which reached Indonesia, features five brother heroes, the Pandhawas.

A4.3.2.3: The Digit Seven

The digit seven appears frequently in both the Bible and the Koran. Seven is a quarter of the 28-day lunar cycle. Seven has strong magic attached to it and often figures in Javanese rituals. Many ceremonies take place in the seventh month, for instance, *Mitoni*, *Tingkeban* and *Tedhak Sitèn*. The Javanese *wuku* is a seven-day week.

Mitoni and *Tingkeban* are ceremonies given for pregnant Javanese women. The ceremony takes place when the pregnancy has reached seven Javanese months. At the

ceremony *rujak*, a fruit-salad is served. This dish is made from seven kinds of sliced, acid fruits and vegetables. The mother-to-be is ritually dressed in seven breast cloths and seven *kebaya*.

Tedhak Sitèn, the ceremony, when a baby first makes contact with the earth, takes place when he is seven (Javanese) months old. The baby will step on seven coloured pudding dishes and climb a ladder with seven steps.

Kembang Setaman, the water and flower mixture, which is used in the ceremonial baths, is usually composed of three, five or seven kinds of flowers (and seven waters) (Achjadi 1998: 152).

It is believed that going seven times on pilgrimage to Mesjid Agung, the old mosque in Demak is equivalent to making the *haj*, pilgrimage to Mecca (Kumar 1991: 40; Oey 1991: 287). In Islam number seven is the first perfect number and the Kabah is circulated (anti-clockwise) seven times (Cooper 1978: 118).¹⁰⁴

A4.3.2.4: The Digit Nine

Number nine invokes the blessings of the *Wali Songo*, the nine holy men who introduced Islam to Java (Achjadi 1998: 157).

A4.3.3: *Pétungan*: The Number Values of Days

In Java each day in the five- and seven-day weeks is assigned a number. The numerical values of the days are used to foretell an outcome.

It is, for instance, important to start a new enterprise on a favourable day. When you start building a house you must also find an auspicious day (Suhardini, personal communication, 1997, 1999, and 2003). In this way, you can predict success and enhance the chances of success.

A person's *weton*, birthday, is the most important day in his life and he will always remember it although, as stated previously, he might have forgotten in which year he was born. By adding the number assigned to the day in the five-day week with the number for the seven-day week, a person's birthday number is revealed. This information is important for both the Javanese and the Sundanese. One reason for this is that horoscopes are important.

Marriage is one of life's most challenging endeavours; therefore the partners should be well matched socially. It is equally important that their horoscopes are compatible. In working out a horoscope in Java the fundamental thing is the birth date numbers. The couple's birthday numbers have to be balanced.

The days in *Pasaran*, the five-day market week, have the following numerical values. The same system applies for both the Sundanese and the Javanese (Geertz 1960: 31; Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 203, note 2).

This is the most used list in Java when calculating numerical values:

104 In the astrological religion of Babylon three and seven together with forty were considered perfect numbers, as they were linked to the completion of the lunar cycle (Paine 1990: 151).

<i>Manis</i>	<i>lima</i>	five
<i>Paing</i>	<i>sembilan</i>	nine
<i>Pon</i>	<i>tujuh</i>	seven
<i>Wagé</i>	<i>empat</i>	four
<i>Kliwon</i>	<i>delapan</i>	eight

There are however variations in the numerical values for the five-day week. Hidding has recorded the following values for the Sundanese five-day week (Hidding 1935:137).

<i>Paing</i>	six
<i>Pon</i>	three
<i>Wagé</i>	seven
<i>Kliwon</i>	five
<i>Manis</i>	eight

The variations in calculating the values of the days in *pasaran*, the market week, indicate that the five-day week is older than the seven-day week. The number values for the days in the seven-day week are the same all over Java.

The days in the seven-day week have these values:

<i>Minggu</i>	Sunday	<i>lima</i>	five
<i>Senén</i>	Monday	<i>empat</i>	four
<i>Selasa</i>	Tuesday	<i>tiga</i>	three
<i>Rabu</i>	Wednesday	<i>tujuh</i>	seven
<i>Kamis</i>	Thursday	<i>delapan</i>	eight
<i>Jumat</i>	Friday	<i>enam</i>	six
<i>Sabtu</i>	Saturday	<i>sembilan</i>	nine

When the numbers of the day of birth according to both five-day and seven-day calendars are added, we will get a sum. A person born on *Sabtu/Paing* is considered to have a very strong character as the sum of eight and nine is seventeen. A person whose birthday adds up to a low sum is however not handicapped as his character reveals patience and perseverance, character traits that are highly valued. In the end he will win! Well-matched horoscopes are important indications when predicting the success of a marriage (H. Adiwoso, personal communication, 29 October 1997).

Weddings as well as *gamelan* orchestra performances and *wayang*, shadow plays, often take place on Saturdays as *Sabtu* has a high, uneven and consequently auspicious numerical value.

A4.4: JAVA'S CEREMONIAL FLOWERS

At Pasar Santa, a traditional market, in Kebayoran Baru, one can find the flower vendor, *tukang (jual) kembang*, selling roses behind a table heaped with flower petals and sliced, fragrant pandanus leaves (Figure 204). These loose flowers are used as offerings, as well as for ritual baths and ceremonies. The flower vendor also sells betel leaves (*Piper betle*), as well as prepared quids of betel, coconut ladles, fans and censers. These are laid out on a side table. He keeps his supply of expensive gum benjamin, *kemenyan*, under the counter. All these items are necessary components in many rituals. In Jakarta, these loose flowers would be packed in a page from an old newspaper, but in Surakarta a banana leaf parcel, *bungkus*, keeps the flowers fresh.

The inhabitants of some cities like Surakarta in Central Java go to a flower market, to buy ritual flowers (Figure 208). A customer would choose and combine the flowers he needs for each occasion. When not locally available or in season a flower can be replaced with a different one. Most of the flowers used are fragrant and some of them have medicinal properties as well.

Offerings always come in uneven numbers, so a 'bouquet' will consist of three, five or seven types of flowers. It is the colours of the flowers that are now important. Perhaps earlier a flower also personified a deity or like in Bali it was the type of offering that decided the suitability of the flower.

Eka Karya Botanical Park in Bali has a collection of over 130 species of ceremonial plants. These are divided into five groups, those that are suitable for offerings to gods, sages, ancestors, humans and nature forces (Juniartha 2004: 18).

A4.4.1: Potpourri Flowers and Plants Used in Ceremonies

A4.4.1.1: *Cananga odorata*

Family: *Annonaceae*. *Kenanga* The Perfume Tree flower (Figure 205).

Flowers and leaves from the *Kenanga* tree are used in medicine. The flowers yield a scent known as Cananga oil, which is used in the perfume industry. Dried flowers are used in the treatment of malaria (Perry 1980: 19).

A4.4.1.2: *Clitoria ternatea*

Family: *Leguminosae*. *Kembang telang*, *Teleng* or *Menteleng*. Butterfly Pea (Burkill 1966a: 595–596).

Teleng means cocking the head to one side. This plant is a perennial twiner, which can grow three metres high. It is native to India (Köhlein & Menzel 1994: 95), where the flower is sacred to Lord Murugan.

According to one of my friends (Augustina Chairil, personal communication, n.d.) this flower is used as an eyewash for babies. The blue flower petals are left in a cup of warm water. When the blue colouring agent has dissolved, a piece of cotton wool is dipped in the solution and the baby's eyes wiped clean.

The anthocyanin pigment in the petals is used to colour Nonya cakes blue (Polunin 1987: 132). The flowers are used for colouring Indonesian cakes and titbits as well (Yasa Boga 1998: 25).

A4.4.1.3: *Hibiscus rosa sinensis*

Family: *Malvaceae*. *Bunga Wera*. Red Hibiscus.

The Hibiscus is also called *Bunga Sepatu*, Shoe Flower, as once this flower was used as a shoe polish. When rubbed on leather it blackened it. The hibiscus is a medicinal plant. In India the red hibiscus is used in *Devi*, goddess, worship.

A4.4.1.4: *Impatiens balsamina*

Family: *Balsaminaceae*, *Pacar Cina* or *Pacar Air*. Garden Balsam

In Bali Garden Balsam (Figure 204) is used for making fingernail dye and its petals are used as offerings. The name *Pacar Air* meaning ‘water lover’, is interpreted as a plant, which likes a lot of water. This is certainly true. However, Wilkinson’s (1932b: 190) dictionary informs that its name indicates it is a plant used to produce body stains. Plant names that include *pacar* are used for body staining.¹⁰⁵ Garden Balsam is a non-fragrant flower among the ritual flowers.

A4.4.1.5: *Jasminum sambac* and *Jasminum multiflorum*

Family: *Oleaceae*, *Melati*, Arabian Jasmine. In Javanese called *Menur* (Figure 206).

The very fragrant, small, white jasmine flowers grow on evergreen bushes and are picked when still in bud. The jasmine is Indonesia’s national flower. It was the late First Lady Tien Soeharto’s favourite flower (Mariani 2005a: 22).

In a Javanese wedding, both bride and groom wear necklaces made of jasmine and the bride wears a hair ornament consisting of four strings of jasmine, *roncèn melati*. The Malays use jasmine flowers as decoration during the wedding season (Sullivan 1985: 90) and in India, the flower is used for garlands and hair ornaments. Jasmine flower garlands are also used as temple offerings in both India and Thailand. Jasmine flowers are scattered on graves in the Muslim cemeteries on Java.

Further, jasmine is used in perfumes and as an aromatic and a flavouring of food, drinking water and Chinese tea (Dalby 2000: 77). The tea produced around Tegal in Central Java and drunk as *teh poci* is scented with jasmine (Bambang 2005: 18).

A4.4.1.6: *Michelia alba*

Family: *Magnoliaceae*. *Gading*, ‘Ivory Coloured’, and *Chempaka Putih* and *Kanthil Putih* are some of the names for the White Champac (Figures 207, 208).

For the Javanese Hindu *Kanthil Putih* is considered to be in possession of the highest energy level (followed by jasmine, *Melati*, Perfume tree flower, *Kenanga* and *Plumeria acutifolia* the frangipani *Cempaka*).

A4.4.1.7: *Michelia champaca*

Family: *Magnoliaceae* (Figures 207, 208).

This flower has many names. In English, it is called Golden or Yellow Champac. In Java, I encountered *Chempaka Kuning*, *Kanthil Kuning*, Golden Champac, *Gading Mérah*, Red Champac. Clercq has a long list of names used for this flower (Clercq 1927: 149).

105 Wilkinson (1932b: 190), ‘III. PACHAR various plants for staining the body.’

The flower's English name Champac comes from Sanskrit *chempaka* (Wilkinson 1932a: 205). Labrousse (1984) has the same information but spells the Romanised Sanskrit word *cepaka*, which means yellow, topaz. In Sanskrit, Champac is also called *Dipapushpa*, which means 'lamp flower' (Dymock, Warden & Hooper 1890: 19). Possibly the Sanskrit name was translated to *Kanthil* (*Kandil*), 'lamp flower'. The '*Kandil*', 'The Lantern of Light', is one of the sacred regalia of the *karaton* (palace) of Yogyakarta (Brus 1984: 71).

In India, the Golden Champac is planted in Hindu temple grounds because it is sacred to Vishnu ('Champac' 2002: 71–72).

A4.4.1.8: *Musa* spp.

Family: *Musaceae*, the banana plant, *pisang*, is a ritual plant.

In Javanese *Krama* speech style, which is used when one speaks to people of higher status, the name for the banana plant is *pisang*, but the plant is called *gedhang* in *Ngoko*, the Javanese speech style used when one speaks to people of equal or lower status. For the Javanese it signifies *nggadhang*, to want, to wish for, waiting for all that is good in life. (It is a sort of play on words).

A4.4.1.9: *Mussaenda philippica*

Family: *Rubiaceae*, Virgin tree, Buddha's Lamp. In Indonesia, its name is *Nusa Indah*, translated as Beautiful Island. This plant comes from the Philippines.

A4.4.1.10: *Pandanus amaryllifolius* syn. *Pandanus odorus*

Family: *Pandanaceae*. The Screw Pine is in Java called *Daun pandan* or *Pandan Wangi*, Fragrant Pandanus. Screw Pine is a plant about 70 cm high, with aromatic leaves in a rosette. Pandanus leaves are used extensively in Indonesian and Malaysian cooking for their unique flavour. The green sap is used as a green colouring agent. In Thailand, the leaves are used to flavour sweets and are used as containers for coconut jellies. Pandanus is available year-round.

A4.4.1.11: *Plumeria obtusa*

Family: *Apocynaceae*. *Kemboja puti*, Frangipani, (the white variety) is also known as Plumeria, the Pagoda tree or the Graveyard tree (Macoboy 1989: 127). In Indonesia this flower is sometimes called *Cempaka* (Echols & Shadily 1994: 111).

People with Frangipani growing in their gardens sometimes include a Frangipani flower in an offering. However, in Thailand it is considered bad luck to have this plant in your garden. In Java, Frangipani is often planted in Muslim cemeteries, because it is believed that the tree can absorb the poison of corpses. Sometimes one also sees the red variety (*Plumeria acuminata*). In Java, the white Frangipani is regarded as a substitute for the sacred Lotus (*Nelumbo nucifera*).

In Hindu Bali, the flower is used to decorate statues and worn as hair ornaments. When living in Malaysia I was told that it is an auspicious flower for the Buddhists. Although it is often found in a Hindu temple compound it should not be brought into

a temple as flowers, which produce a white sap (milk) when broken are unsuitable to use as offerings.¹⁰⁶ The Frangipani flowers year-round. The Spaniards took the tree from Mexico to the Philippines and from there it spread to the rest of the tropics (Burkill 1966b: 1807–1809).

A4.4.1.12: *Rosa* spp.

Family: *Rosaceae*. *Mawar*, Rose. Red, white and pink roses are used in many ceremonies. It is the colour of the flower, which is important. However, a combination of red, white and pink roses are considered one flower (Figure 208). For the people in Surakarta the rose is special. When asking people there which flowers should be included in the water and flower mixture used ceremonially, *Kembang Setaman*, the rose is always mentioned first. The rose has special significance for many Muslims. According to tradition the rose was created from the drops of perspiration that fell from the Prophet's brow during his heavenly journey (Frese 1987: 359). For others, the petals of the rose represent the Faithful gathered around the Prophet (Baker 1995: 89).

Today the rose is cultivated all over the world. It is a plant, which originated in the mountain areas of central Asia and alpine Europe. Its cultivation goes back to ancient times. The Greeks, as well as the Persian and Egyptian civilizations, cultivated roses.

The rose is not a flower, which is mentioned in the early Tamil literature. However, today, Hindu deities are bathed in rose water. Guests at an Indian wedding are sprinkled with rose water from special sprinklers. Rose essence is used in perfumes and as food flavouring. Rose petals are used in desserts and jam.

A4.4.1.13: *Tabernaemontana divaricata* R.Br.

(syn. *Ervatamia coronaria* Family: *Apocynaceae*) *Mondokaki*, a double-flowered form of the Pinwheel Flower. This fragrant flower on the evergreen shrub is very similar to the *Jasminum sambac*. It is probably a native of India (Polunin 1987: 100).

As a ritual flower, the *mondokaki* conveys the meaning of white without damage, purification of all desires. The devotee is not touched by attraction, satisfaction, hate or preferences. If one does 'good', all work will be successful (E. Pilz, personal communication, 4 September 2003; 17 September 2004).

A4.4.2: The Ceremonial Flowers Available at Two of Java's Markets

A4.4.2.1: Pasar Kembang in Surakarta

A visit to Pasar Kembang, the Flower Market, in Surakarta in October 1994, a hot dry month in the wedding season, gave me the list below of seven loose flowers for a bouquet of auspicious flowers. The staff at Surakarta Tourist Office tell me that the Javanese term for these mixed varicoloured, auspicious and ceremonial flowers is *Kembang Setaman*, 'Flowers in one garden', as *satu* is one and *taman* means garden.

Kanthil kuning (*Michelia champaca*) Golden Champac

Kanthil putih (*Michelia alba*) White Champac

Mawar mérah (*Rosaceae*) red rose

106 S. Shanker, personal communication, 1989.

Mawar putih (*Rosaceae*) white rose
Mawar jambu (*Rosaceae*) pink rose
Melati (*Jasminum sambac*) Arabian Jasmine
Kenanga (*Cananga odorata*) the flower of the Perfume Tree

A4.4.2.2: Pasar Ciputat in Jakarta

In August 1995, I came across a woman in Jakarta's *Pasar Ciputat*, who sold seven sorts of mixed flowers, *campur setaman*. Other names for this bouquet of mixed, loose flowers are *kembang tujuh rupa*, flowers of seven colours, or *tujuh warna*, seven colours and when used in water *air tujuh rupa*, water with seven kinds.

The pile of her seven wilted flowers consisted of:

(*Bunga Wera* (*Hibiscus rosa sinensis*) red hibiscus
Kenanga (*Cananga odorata*) greenish-yellow flower of the Perfume Tree
Chempaka (*Michelia champaca*) Golden Champac
Mondokaki (*Tabernaemontana divaricata*) the double-flowered white Pinwheel Flower (picked as a substitute for jasmine?)
Pacar Cina (*Impatiens balsamina*) light pink, Garden Balsam
Daun pandan (*Pandanus amaryllifolius*) syn. (*Pandanus odoratus*) Screw pine
Kembang telang (*Clitoria ternatea*), the blue Butterfly Pea

A4.4.3: Offerings Consisting of Loose Flowers

As in neighbouring Hindu Bali, loose flowers are also used as offerings by the people of Java. Flower offerings are presented to the deities at the *Hindu Dharma*, Hindu Association (*Pura Mandita Seta*) in Surakarta, Central Java. The flower offerings in front of Brahma, Vishnu and Shiva, the Hindu *Trimurti*, consist of five sorts of flowers placed in a banana leaf cup or simply in an opened banana leaf wrapping (*bungkus*) in which they were bought. By offering flowers the devotee is offering himself.

The late Hindu priest, *Pinandita* Soatrisno, considers these five flowers appropriate;

Kanthil kuning (*Michelia champaca*), Golden Champac
Kenanga (*Cananga odorata*), Perfume Tree flower
Mawar mérah, red rose
Mawar putih, white rose
Melati (*Jasminum sambac*), Arabian jasmine

If seven sorts of flowers are used, these are the ones the priest considers auspicious (see Figures 209A, 209B):

Kanthil kuning (*Michelia champaca*), Golden Champac
Kanthil putih (*Michelia alba*), White Champac
Kenanga, Perfume Tree flower [dedicated to Vishnu]
Mawar mérah, red rose [dedicated to Brahma]

Mawar putih, white rose [dedicated to Shiva]
Mawar jambu, pink rose [dedicated to Semar]
Melati Arabian jasmine [dedicated to Semar]

The red, pink and white roses in this offering are considered to be one flower. So, in fact, this offering consists of five flowers as well!

The yellow-green *Kenanga* is considered black in Java and the flower of Vishnu. The red rose, *Mawar mérah* is offered to Brahma. The pink rose, *Mawar jambu*, is for Semar. *Melati*, is also considered a suitable flower offering for Semar. However, he is not 'fussy' and he accepts any flower offered to him. Holy Basil, *tlasih* (*Ocimum sanctum*), which is not included in the above offerings, when used is for Vishnu and Semar, as Semar is the Javanese Vishnu. The banana leaf wrapper, *bungkus*, (in which the flowers come wrapped from the flower market) when opened and placed before a deity, is a representation of the body that the devotee offers (Figure 213).

Each type of flower is considered to emit a subtle energy, which corresponds to one of the body's *cakra*. For instance, the pink rose stands for the heart *cakra* (E. Pilz, personal communication, 4 September 2003; 17 September 2004).

In Mankunegaran palace in Surakarta more than fifty small shallow banana leaf containers, *takir*, filled with flower offerings, are employed throughout the palace. During my visit in July 1999 there were seven sorts of flowers in the *takir*, but five in the water filled bowls (Figures 210, 211). Offerings come in uneven numbers. The same flowers as in the water-filled floating bowls, plus finely shredded pandanus leaves and flowers of the salmon-coloured/pinkish Buddha's lamp, *Nusah Indah* (*Mussaenda philippica*). *Nusa Indah* means beautiful island. English names for this plant are Virgin tree, Aurorae and Buddha's lamp (Eiseman & Eiseman 1988: 52).

While the other flowers are brought into the palace, shrubs of the *Nusa Indah* grow around the *pendopo*, the large, square and open verandah of the palace. When the 'grandmothers' and great aunts, *Para Nini*, prepare the flower offerings they always add the *Mussaenda philippica* to the banana leaf cups, *takir*. The practice of adding the *Nusa Indah* to the flowers only occurs in Mankunegaran and only when the older women, *Para Nini*, are in charge of placing the flower offerings in the palace.¹⁰⁷

In Hindu Bali, the flower offerings are placed in a beautifully folded palm-leaf container. The offering consists of finely shredded pandanus leaves surrounded by flowers of different colours. Together with lightened incense and sprinkling of holy water, they are the essential instruments for communicating with the Hindu *Trimurti*, the threefold manifestation of God. The flowers represent Shiva, the incense Brahma and the holy water Vishnu (*Have you been in Bali?:* 32–33)

In the Hindu Bali religion, all offerings have to be colour-coded. Furthermore, the numbers three and nine are sacred for the Hindu Balinese.¹⁰⁸ If it is a small offering, the colours must be the colours of Brahma, (red) Vishnu (black) and Shiva (white), the

107 Mas Demang Purwanto, personal communication, 3 September 2003.

108 The nine main temples in Bali are associated with the nine deities that preside over the eight cardinal directions and the main temple in the center. These deities are also associated with colours.

Trimurti. Otherwise, the offering must include the colours, white, black, red, yellow and green, which are the colours for the five Hindu elements. Pale blue Hydrangea flowers (*Hydrangea macrophylla*), which signify the sky, are often added to the offering.¹⁰⁹

The *canang* is a Balinese offering consisting of flowers and a betel-quid. The Balinese offerings are placed in intricate containers constructed from young coconut leaves.

A4.4.4: Water Offerings with Flowers

Offering bowls filled with flowers and water, *Kembang Setaman*, are used at *Anggara Kasih*, Tuesday *Kliwon* and *Malam Jemuwah*, Thursday evening. The flowers in the water may be five, *Kembang Liman* or, of seven sorts, *Kembang Tujuh Rupa*.

In the Solonese palaces the following five flowers (*Kembang Setaman*) are usually used in the floating bowls.¹¹⁰ It is usually the custom to use two pieces of each flower sort.

Kanthil kuning, Golden Champac

Kenanga, Perfume Tree flower

Mawar mérah, red rose

Melati, Arabian jasmine

Pandan wangi, fragrant pandanus leaves, which have been chopped up.

Finely sliced pandanus leaves (*Pandanus amaryllifolius/odorus*, Family: *Pandanaceae*) are called *Bunga rampai*. *Rampai* actually means potpourri.

At *Pura Mankunegaran*, one of the royal palaces in Surakarta, seven brass bowls containing water offerings with flowers are placed at auspicious places on the floor. Three bowls are placed in the *Pendopo Agung*, the large open pillared pavilion of the palace, at the base of three posts;¹¹¹ one at the main south-east post base, one at the main north-east post and one at the most sacred post called *Kyai Pétruk*, north of the northeast pillar. Four floating bowls are placed in the *Dalem Ageng*, the central part of the palace, with one bowl placed in front of *Petanen*, with the *Loro Blonyo*, The Inseparable Couple. One bowl is placed in front of the main middle door of the *Dalem Ageng*. Two bowls are placed in front of the two doors leading to the meditation rooms. The right is named *Senthong tengen* and is for men and the left *Senthong kiwa* for women.

A4.4.5: Life Cycle Ceremonies in Which Ritual Flower Baths Are Administered

For the people in Java, it is important to mark each new phase in life with a ceremony. This is done to ensure safety in the next phase. According to one author their purpose is purification (Sukanda-Tessier 1977: 232). It is possible that the importance of observing 'threshold' rites

109 Furthermore, there are five groups of ceremonial plants in Bali. Which plants one would use depends on if the offering is intended for gods, sages, ancestors, human beings or for nature forces (Juniartha 2004: 18).

110 Information obtained in Surakarta on 4 July 1996.

111 The spiritual strength of a pavilion dwells in the post bases (Wijaya 2003: 94).

was an inheritance of the Hindu religions that once flourished in Java (Walker 1968b: 302–303). A ritual flower bath, *Siraman*, is often administered on these occasions.

A4.4.5.1: *Sepasaran*: The baby's one-week old ceremony

When a baby is five days old (one five-day week) and given a name he receives a ceremonial bath. The ceremony is called *Sepasaran*.

A4.4.5.2: *Selapanan*: The baby's one-month ceremony

When an infant is one Javanese month old (35 days old, five times seven days) a haircutting ceremony is held. The child is also given a flower bath.

A4.4.5.3: *Pitonan (Tedhak Sitèn)*: 'Touching the ground'

There is a ceremonial bath at *Pitonan (Tedhak Sitèn)* 'touching the ground' ceremony, which takes place seven Javanese months after birth when a baby takes his first steps. Suitable flowers for the ritual bath according to *Ibu Noek Katamsi* (personal communication, 4 July 1996) are pink roses, jasmine and Perfume Tree flowers.

A4.4.5.4: *Khitanan*: Circumcision ceremony for a boy

A ceremonial bath takes place at a boy's circumcision. In Java, it occurs when he is between five and fifteen years old.¹¹²

A4.4.5.5: *Taraban*: Coming of age ceremony for a girl

A ceremony is held to mark a girl's first period. This rite is important because the innocent young woman now enters a vulnerable stage in her life filled with temptations. Included in the rite for a young princess in Yogyakarta is a ceremonial bath. Flower water over which incantations have been said is scooped over the young princess from a *klenthing*, earthenware jar (Sudiarno 2000b: 8).

A4.4.5.6: *Siraman*: Bathing ceremony before a Javanese wedding for both bride and groom at their respective homes

Before a wedding takes place a Javanese bride and groom would need a ceremonial bath. The ritual bathing ceremony, *Siraman*, takes place the day before the wedding. It is administered from a large earthenware jar, *gentong*, or an earthenware basin, *pangaron*, filled with flower water. It is essential that the vessels used should be of earthenware and that the water is drawn from seven wells.

In the bride's family, flower water, *Kembang Setaman* is poured over the bride. Seven, nine or eleven persons take part, starting with the grandmother. The father is the last person in line. Each person pours three scoops of water over her. At the conclusion, the bride's mother says a prayer and breaks an earthenware *kendi*, which contains the same flower water, which has been used in the bathing.

I asked friends which flowers were used at the ceremonial bath, *Siraman*, of the bride and groom. The following seven flowers were given:

112 Female circumcision ceremonies reportedly take place in Java's royal courts (Miksic 2004: 319).

Kanthil kuning, Golden Champac
Kanthil putih, White Champac
Kenanga, Perfume Tree flower
Mawar mérah, red rose
Mawar jambu, pink rose
Mawar putih, white rose
Melati, Arabian jasmine

In earlier times, the many preparations leading up to a wedding would culminate with the ceremonial bath on the eve of the seventh day. The wedding would take place the next day. This may have contributed to why seven flowers are used in this ceremony.

Ibu R. Rudiwan of the batik shop, ‘Siti Sendari’, in Surakarta, confirms that the *Kembang Setaman* a Solonese royal family would use is composed of the mentioned flowers.

A4.4.5.7: Foot-washing ritual undertaken by a bride for her groom in the Javanese wedding

At the *Panggih*, ritual meeting of the Javanese bride and groom, the groom will crush an egg with his right foot. The bride will then wash the groom’s right foot, then his left. The foot-washing ritual¹¹³ evinces the bride’s devotion, unconditional love and respect for her husband. The broken egg also symbolizes that the couple is ready to start a family (Fig. 212).

A4.4.5.8: The ceremonial bath at *Mitoni* (*Tingkeban*), the ceremony given for a woman in her first pregnancy is of utmost importance

To ensure an easy delivery a ceremonial bath containing seven different types of flowers is administered to a woman when she is seven months pregnant. The word *Mitoni* is a form of *pitu*, seven in Javanese. In this ceremony, seven types of flowers are used in the ceremonial water. Seven ladies—grandmothers and aunties, who have born many children, will scoop up the water, pouring seven scoops over the expectant mother’s head, stomach and feet. In this ritual, the mother-to-be is dressed in batik and woven cotton fabric, *lurik*, which is combined with seven types of upper body coverings, *kemben*, and seven blouses, *kebaya*. *Rujak*, a fruit salad made of seven kinds of crisp fruits and vegetables, is served.

A4.4.5.8.1: *Rujak*: Fruit-salad (eaten during pregnancy)

Rujak is a most important dish at the ceremony and feast given for a woman seven Javanese months pregnant with her first baby, *Mitoni*, and at consecutive pregnancies when they reach seven months. The celebration is then called *Tingkeban*. ‘*Tujuh bulan*’ is another name for this auspicious event.

113 The foot-washing ritual is called *ranupada* in a newspaper article. I have not been able to verify this word (Wahyuni 2005: 17).

Rujak should consist of seven kinds of sliced, raw and crisp, slightly sour or unripe fruits, and vegetables. A good mixture would consist of:

Bengkuan, yam bean, (jicama) (*Pachyrhizus erosus*, Family: *Leguminosae*) a juicy tuber

Nanas, pineapple (*Ananas comosus*, Family: *Bromeliaceae*) from tropical America

Mangga muda, unripe mango (*Mangifera indica*, Family: *Anacardiaceae*)

Kedondong, Spanish plum (*Spondias dulcis*, Family: *Anacardiaceae*)

Papaya, pawpaw (*Carica papaya*, Family: *Caricaceae*)

Jambu air, rose apple, water-apple (*Syzygium aqueum*, Family: *Myrtaceae*)

However, *jambu mérah*, red jambu (*Eugenia malaccensis* syn. *Syzygium malaccense*, Family: *Myrtaceae*) or *jambu bol*, Malay roseapple is a better choice

Ketimun, cucumber (*Cucumis sativus*, Family: *Cucurbitaceae*)

The fruit-salad is mixed with a spicy sauce, *bumbu*, prepared with seven ingredients:

Kacang tanah, peanut (*Arachis hypogaea*, Family: *Leguminosae*)

Cabé rawit, bird's-eye chillies (*Capsicum frutescens*, Family: *Solanaceae*)

Garam, salt

Merica, pepper

Gula mérah, 'red sugar', which is palm sugar

Asam, 'acid' tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*, Family: *Leguminosae*)

Terasi, pungent shrimp paste

A4.4.5.9: Death

According to Islamic law, a corpse must be bathed with clean water in preparation for burial. But the usual custom in Java is to also add three flowers, *kembang telon*, or roses to the water. Then when the litter is carried to the burial place, finely shredded fragrant pandanus, *pandan wangi*, yellow rice, *beras kuning*, roses and coins are scattered on the road taken by the funeral procession. An umbrella is held over the dead.

A4.4.6: Ritual Baths Before Demanding Undertakings

In the past before undertaking a strenuous exercise people prepared themselves mentally by taking a ritual bath. For instance, an audience with the Sultan required a ritual bath beforehand.

Even today ritual baths are still essential before dangerous enterprises can go ahead. An Indonesian man involved in smuggling workers from Sumatra to Malaysia would go to a *bomoh*, shaman, who would administer a bath with flowers of seven colours before he started out on a sea voyage with a new human cargo (Silverman 1996: 66).

A4.4.7: Ritual Bathings of Heirlooms

All treasured and sacred heirlooms (*pusaka*) like the *keris* are given ritual flower baths in the sacred month of *Sura*, the first month in the Javanese year. A ritual bathing ceremony, *Siraman keréta*, is conducted for the ancient royal carriage *Kanjeng Nyai Jimat* in the Yogyakarta palace.

The flower water used in all royal heirloom ceremonies is collected and taken home by those attending. It is believed that this water can heal skin disease and if applied even protect a person from evil and bad luck (Bakti 2000: 7).

A4.4.8: Flowers Used as Grave Decorations

A4.4.8.1: *Bunga Tabur*: Scattering Flowers

In Java loose flowers ‘Scattering Flowers’ *Bunga Tabur*, are strewn on graves (Figures 132, 133). A grave offering usually consists of three kinds of flowers *Kembang Telon*.

One such suitable combination is Perfume Tree flowers, *kenanga*, roses, *mawar*, and Champac, *kanthil* (Robson & Wibisono 2002: 352). In Jakarta, Arabian jasmine, *Melati*, Garden balsam *pacar air*, and shredded screwpine, *daun pandan* is a common combination of ‘Scattering Flowers’.¹¹⁴ Holy Basil (*Ocimum sanctum*) is also used to strew over graves.

A4.4.8.2: Cut flowers

One sometimes sees cut flowers like orchids, *anggrék* (*Dendrobium*) and Tuberoses, *Sedap Malam* (*Polianthes tuberosa*, Family: *Agavaceae*), placed in a vase or a *kendi* on a grave. These are modern practises.

The Tuberose is a native of Mexico but is cultivated in the Far East for perfume (Perry 1980: 14). In Indonesia, dried Tuberose flowers are also used in a Chinese type of soup with chicken and bean curd.¹¹⁵

A4.4.9: Some Flowers Encountered in Ancient Texts

It is recorded that not everybody used the river for baths in the past. It is mentioned by a 13th century Chinese visitor that the king of Srivijaya, could only bathe in rose water. Were he to bathe like ordinary people in the river, this would cause flooding of his realm (Hall 1985: 85). The kingdom of Srivijaya, of which western Java was part, flourished between the 7th and 13th century AD.

Sutasoma a long poem composed at the end of the 14th century, when the Majapahit empire stood at its zenith, features Prince Sutasoma in the garden of Ratnalaya where flowers like Arabian jasmine, *Melati*, *Pandanus*, and *Nagapuspa*, ‘Snake flower’ (*Michelia Champaca*) grew.

A4.4.10: How the People of Java Got Their Sacred Plants

The Austronesians did not use colourful flowers in their rituals. The use of *Cordyline fruticosa* leaves by the Sundanese in their harvest *Selamatan* is a good example of an

114 Other popular combinations are *Kanthil*, *Bunga Kemboja* and *Kenanga*. If these are not available *Kenanga*, *Mawar* and *Melati* are chosen. One *keranjang tabur*, transport basket for ‘Scattering Flowers’, seen in Solo in October 1994, was filled with *Kanthil*, *Mawar* and *Melati*.

115 When living in Malaysia in 1988, I encountered the Tuberose used as a ritual flower. Tuberose flowers were used by devotees at the Nine Emperor Gods Festival at the Chinese temple, Kow Ong Yah in Ampang New Village near Kuala Lumpur. The flower offerings consisted of three stalks of white long-stemmed Tuberoses. The flowers were carried by white-dressed worshipers in the temple procession, which took place on the eve of the festival.

Austronesian sacred, leafy, 'green' plant, which is still ritually used.

It is likely, that the temples in Java had gardens with flowering plants, which were grown for offerings (Miksic 1990b: 148). Some of the flowers, which are used in rituals today, are indigenous to northern India. Possibly they arrived in Java with Buddhism and with Hinduism, as they were needed in certain rituals.

In Tibetan Mahayana Buddhism seven bowls filled with water are placed as offerings on the altar in front of the main deity. Water offerings also most likely occurred in Java's Buddhist sanctuaries in the past. It was perhaps inevitable that flower offerings were also placed in the water-filled bowls. Today the rose, Islam's most loved flower, is added to the *Kembang Setaman*, flower and water mixture. The rose today takes care of three colours: red, white and pink, thus giving this lovely ritual an Islamic infusion.

A4.5: INCENSE

The term incense, which comes from Latin *incendere* (to burn), covers many types of aromatic plant substances (woods, gums, resins and spices), which produce a lingering, fragrant scent when burnt. Because of this, incense has played an important part in religious rituals all over the world since ancient times. As incense is fragrant it is pleasing to the gods and spirits but drives off the foul smelling demons. Asian societies are some of many which have relied on the smoke of incense to carry messages to the gods. Incense is also used in purification rituals (Rahim 1987: 161). Studies have confirmed that some types of incense kill germs (Perry 1980: 400–401).

The people in Java use many different types of plants as incense. A list of different kinds of incense plants used by the Sundanese is given by Sukanda-Tessier (1977: 392).

There are different types of incense. The name for incense sticks is *hio*. Gum benjamin is called *kemenyan*. When gum benjamin is crushed into powder it is called *setanggi*. *Dupa* is incense composed of several ingredients. It has a soft refined scent. *Dupa* is Sanskrit as well as Javanese for incense.

The dictionaries translate *ratus* as incense as well. *Ratus*, incense in powder form, is a mixture of many fragrant substances. *Ratus* is used at celebrations before weddings and for perfuming hair and clothes.

A4.5.1: Kinds of Incense

A4.5.1.1: *Hio*: Incense sticks, joss sticks

Today's joss¹¹⁶ sticks are often machine-made. This was not the case in earlier times. Joss sticks have to burn slowly and their curling smoke must emit a pleasant fragrance. As certain woods, like sandalwood, burn, aromatic oils are released. Sandalwood sawdust is the main ingredient in a joss stick. This sawdust as well as other types of wood dust and fragrant components like cinnamon, flower blossoms and sometimes synthetic perfumes and resins are mixed. Split bamboo sticks are dipped into water and then into the wood-dust mixture. The powder adheres to

116 Joss as a noun means a Chinese religious statue or idol. It has an early 18th century origin: from Javanese *dejos*, from obsolete Portuguese *deos*. The Portuguese *deos* comes from Latin *deus*, 'god' ('Joss' 1998)

the wet sticks. The sticks are then left to dry. Then the process is repeated. Six coatings are usually enough for the small thirty-centimetre long sticks. Thicker sticks are coated with dough made of the above ingredients (Sullivan 1985: 196–197; Gould 1974: 51–53).

The sandalwood tree *Santalum album*, of the *Santalaceae* family, is a native of Indonesia (Perry 1980: 372). When the Europeans discovered the Indonesian archipelago they learnt that the best sandalwood came from Timor. The island of Sumba supplied good quality sandalwood as well. The early European explorers knew Sumba as the Sandalwood Island (Waterson 1990: 98). However, the Indonesian sandalwood was probably a trade item with India much earlier. Proof of that is that Eastern Indonesia is mentioned in the great Indian epic *Ramayana* (Ardika & Bellwood 1991: 230). The *Ramayana* is believed to have been compiled between the fifth and third centuries BC (Irvine 1996: 16).

There are different species of sandalwood. *Santalum spicatum* and *Santalum lanceolatum* grow in Western Australia and are today exported to Southeast Asia where the wood is used in the manufacture of joss sticks. All parts of the slow-growing parasitic shrub are used. Quality depends on species and age of the shrub as well as which parts of the tree are used. The darker heartwood and the part closest to the root contain the most fragrant oil (Dymoc, Warden, & Hooper 1893: 388–392; Oates 1989: 2, 12). The oil of sandalwood has anti-bacterial and anti-inflammatory properties and is used in medicines and cosmetics.

A Chinese factory in Singapore produces their joss sticks from sawdust obtained from cinnamon wood (*Cinnamomum zeylanicum*, Family: *Lauraceae*) (*Asian Home Gourmet* n.d.: 41). The cinnamon tree is native to Sri Lanka.

Joss sticks using coconut midribs, *lidi*, instead of bamboo sticks are produced in Jedong village in the regency of Malang in East Java. To start with the sticks, which measure between 40 and 50 centimetres, are dipped in red paint. After being coated with sawdust they are dipped in caustic soda (sodium hydroxide). This process will ensure proper burning. After being dried for a day a powder made from coconut shells is applied. The sticks are then coloured black, red, green or yellow (Harsaputra 2005: 5), as for some customers the colours have meaning.

Buddhists and Chinese Indonesian followers of *Tri Dharma* (a blend of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism) use joss sticks. The lighted incense sticks (uneven numbers) are placed in an incense stick urn or holder. The three joss sticks burnt by a Buddhist signify The Three Jewels, *Tiratana*: The Buddha, (The Enlightened One), The *Dhamma* (The Doctrine) and The *Sangha* (The Order of Monks). In Taoism, the three sticks signify God, Heaven and Earth. Joss sticks used to communicate with gods have auspicious red sticks (Figure 213). Ghosts are appeased with two sticks, which have green-dyed wood (Sullivan 1985: 198). Red joss sticks are the most often used ones, however, vegetarian divinities are correctly addressed by yellow sticks, and spirits with green ones (Hoskin 2002: 26).

A4.5.1.2: *Kemenyan*: Gum benjamin

Gum Benjamin (*Styrax benzoin*) is resin obtained by first bruising the bark of a tree of the *Styracaceae* family, then at a later stage, the tree is tapped. Gum benjamin *kemenyan*, is a heated up resin. It comes in different qualities. According to one shop owner in Kuala Lumpur, who gets his supply from Sumatra, there are three grades of gum benjamin. The darker grade is the most expensive as it has a stronger smell (A. Salan, personal communication, 1988).

Kemenyan is used for spiritual things and prayers of all kinds (T. Purbaya, personal communication 28 June, 1996). For instance at prayers to commemorate a death. The Javanese hold ceremonies after a death on the first day after burial, the third, seventh, 40th, 100th and 1000th day. Incense is burnt at *Tablilan*. *Tablil*, which is an Arabic term, is a repeated recitation and chanting professing the Muslim faith.

Further, incense is used at *Solat Malam Jumat (Jemuwah)*, 'Friday Night Prayer'. *Malam Jemuwah*, the night between Thursday and Friday, starts Thursday evening at sunset. By tradition, many people use incense, after prayer as well. *Kemenyan* is used at all Javanese and Sundanese exorcism rituals. And it is used at ceremonies involving sacred heirlooms like the kris.

In Java incense is also used to purify a new home before its occupants move into it, a good idea perhaps as *Styrax benzoin* is attributed with disinfectant and deodorizing properties (Perry 1980: 400–401).

A4.5.1.3: *Setangi*: Powdered gum benjamin

Setangi,¹¹⁷ is gum benjamin (*Styrax benzoin*) in powder form. *Setangi* is Sanskrit for incense. This type of powdered incense is used for prayers (see above).

Sometimes *setangi* is used as a starch to make the accordion style folds, *wiron*, in the batik wrapping skirt *jarik* (a length of cotton cloth, that is not sewn together like a sarong skirt), which is wrapped and folded in pleats, so that they stay in place. The *wiron*, the accordion pleats, in front of the skirt, is usually folded seven times, but for a small or thin woman, nine times. According to Wilkinson (1932b: 459) *setangi* is burnt under a coop-like frame when scenting clothing.

A4.5.1.4: *Ratus*: Powder burnt to perfume *jarik* (skirting) and hair

Ratus is a powder, which is composed of many different aromatic components (flowers, seeds, barks, leaves, moss, wood, resins and gums). Sometimes up to one hundred ingredients are mentioned. The previously mentioned sandalwood (*Santalum album*, Family: *Santalaceae*) would be one of the components.

High qualities of this type of incense contain eagle-wood also called aloeswood. Eagle-wood, *gaharu (Aquilaria malaccensis)* is the diseased core of a jungle tree.¹¹⁸ It occurs sporadically in the jungles of Indonesia. It is still harvested by Malaysia's forest dwellers. Aloeswood is difficult to find and has always been worth more than gold.

117 *Istanggi* incense (Rigg 1862: 159; Eringa 1984: 695).

118 The less aromatic *Aquilaria sinensis* comes from southern China as well as Southeast Asia (Dalby 2000: 70, 165).

The Indian epic *Ramayana* mentions *gaharu* wood from eastern Indonesia (Ardika & Bellwood 1991: 230).

Ratus is used at weddings and to perfume the *jarik*, the batik wrapping, worn by the women in Java with their long blouse, *kebaya*. The clothes are laid on a special stand (*ceraka*) while being scented. The textile collection in Museum Batik in Yogyakarta is subject to this traditional fumigation practise as well (Hasani 2004: 17).

As *Ratus* produces a less heavy, more refined scent than *kemenyan* it is also used to perfume a woman's hair. A censer with a handle is held under the hair and a towel covers the woman's head like a tent.

A4.5.2: Occasions When Incense Is Used

A4.5.2.1: Life cycle rituals like the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony, the ceremony for an infant the first time he touches the ground.

A4.5.2.2: *Ruwatan*, purification ritual

At the purification ritual which is performed by Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists alike.

A4.5.2.3: Prayers involving the *keris* (double-edged dagger)

In Javanese society, the kris (spelt *keris* in Javanese) is highly regarded. A kris has often been handed down from one generation to the next. Formerly it indicated someone's social status.

The kris is a sacred weapon. It is commonly believed that an old heirloom kris is charged with supernatural forces and has the magical power to protect its owner from all kinds of dangers. However, a kris's power needs to be preserved. In the palace of Mankunegaran in Surakarta, incense (*kemenyan*) is burnt and offerings of flowers are made to the heirloom krises every *Malam Jemuwah* Thursday evening and at *Malam Slasa Kliwon*, the eve of Tuesday *Kliwon*. Outside Java's princely courts these practices are perhaps not followed so strictly.

Incense is burnt in reverence for the weapon when it is cleaned every *selapan*, thirty-five days. At the ritual cleaning of some kris, incense is burnt both before and after the weapon is pulled from its sheath. Offerings are presented to the dagger. They may consist of a white chicken, bananas, traditional cakes and five types of porridges, *jenang* (Harianto 1996: 9).

At Mankunegaran Palace in Surakarta the many krises belonging to members of the Royal Family are ritually cleaned by a specially assigned man. The krises are ritually washed with flower water, *Kembang Setaman*. There should be seven kinds of flowers in the water. After that, the blade of the sacred daggers are cleansed with limejuice and oiled with sandalwood (*cendana*) (K.R.Ay. H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999).

In Surakarta, the most important ceremony for the royal krises takes place on the eve of *Suran* (*Satu Suro*), the first day of the Javanese calendar. Then the krises, as well as other sacred heirlooms, are paraded through the streets of the city. In Surakarta, the

procession with the heirloom krises from Mankunegaran Palace starts at 7 pm and the procession with the Surakarta Palace heirlooms starts at midnight. Parades including the royal krises also take place in Yogyakarta.

A4.5.2.4: Offerings to *pusaka*, sacred heirlooms

Incense is offered to treasured heirlooms, which are considered sacred. Every *Malam Jemuwah Kliwon*, Thursday evening, which falls on *Kliwon*, and on the eve of *Slasa Kliwon*, a Tuesday that coincides with *Kliwon*, flowers, rice, areca nut and incense are offered to the regalia of Yogyakarta (Brus 1984: 69).

At Wonogiri southeast of Surakarta, in Central Java, a ceremony called *Jamasan Pusaka*, ceremonial cleaning with flower water bathing of the heirlooms, is held every year on the first day of *Sura*. The proceedings start with *kutug*, burning of incense while praying. Powdered incense, *setinggi*, is sprinkled on top of burning charcoal, in an *anglo kemenyan*. The ritual praying with incense (*kemenyan*), which precedes many rituals is called *kutug*.

Then a *Slametan*, sacred communal meal, is held. In the *Slametan* the ritual offerings consist of a rice cone, *tumpeng*, decorated with raw vegetables called *tumpeng robyong*, and various kinds of snacks bought at the market, *jajanan pasar*. Among other things, there is also red and white porridge, *jenang abang-putih*.

The spirit offerings at this ceremony are presented in small earthenware vessels. A small *kendi* is filled with water. A stopper made of a rolled-up piece of banana leaf is inserted in the vessel's neck as a plug.

A4.5.2.5: When praying to have a child

The old brass cannon in the Fatahillah square in Kota in old Jakarta is famous. It is believed that this cannon, *Si Jagur*, 'Venerable Sturdy', with its button (boss) of the breech in the form of a clenched fist can help women wishing to conceive. The clenched fist, *jagur*, is an old fertility symbol of co-habitation (*Ganesha Society* 1991: 26; Irvine 1996: 144). On Thursdays, childless women can be seen sitting astride the cannon after having burnt incense and made offerings to it.¹¹⁹ *Si Jagur's* female counterpart *Kanjeng Nyai Setomi* is in Solo at *Karaton* Surakarta (*Indonesian Heritage Society* 1999: 24).

A4.5.2.6: For granting of wishes

The row of old cannons at the residence, *Karaton* Surakarta, of the Surakarta ruler are considered *pusaka*, sacred heirlooms. It is believed that venerated heirlooms, *pusaka* have the power to bring people good luck and grant wishes, therefore people come to pray at the cannons.

Kanjeng Nyai Setomi, the cannon mentioned above, is placed in a special building in the palace compound. It is hidden behind drawn curtains as ordinary people are forbidden to see the cannon (Figure 214).

119 Cannons are known to attract fertility cults in other parts of the Malay world (Rivers 2003: 93).

The name *Setomi* comes from São Tomé (Saint Thomas) on the western coast of Central Africa. It is believed that the cannon was cast in the 13th century and arrived in Java on board a Portuguese ship.

The *Abdi Dalem Caos Dhahar*, the palace servant in charge of setting out food offerings for the spirits (or sometimes the *Abdi Dalem Pusaka*, palace servant taking care of the sacred heirlooms, takes his place), looks after all the cannons and conducts the rituals involving them. He wears a red and yellow sash. Red and yellow are the colours of *Karaton* Surakarta (Figure 215).

One of the cannons *Kyai Gringsing*¹²⁰ has the reputation of being able to grant any wish. Especially on the eve of *Jemuwah Kliwon*, (a Thursday evening that falls on *Kliwon*), which is considered a sacred day by many, people come to this cannon to pray. To make a wish one first has to ask the caretaker (*Abdi Dalem*) to feed the cannon, then a fee is paid. Then one bows and scatters flower petals around the weapon. *Kemenyan*, gum benjamin, incense is burnt. The *Abdi Dalem Caos Dhahar* then reads a *mantra*, a magic formula of sacred syllables, which is the opening key for inviting the spirit. After these formalities, you can state your wish. Some people spend the whole night praying near *Kyai Gringsing* (Hadikusumo 1994: n.p.).

A4.5.2.7: At night on a powerful man's grave to obtain his power

A man is said to be able to obtain a deceased man's power if he has the courage to spend the night at his grave whilst burning incense.

A4.5.2.8: Praying at ancestral graves

Incense is also used when praying at the grave of a revered ancestor. I was able to witness a group of women praying at the grave of *Kyai Gedhé Solo*. He is the legendary founder of Surakarta. His unmarked grave is situated in the Surakarta palace compound.

A4.5.2.9: In front of the *Loro Blonyo*, The Inseparable Couple

At Mankunegaran Palace in Surakarta, an incense burner is placed on the floor about twelve meters in front of the *Loro Blonyo*, *Dèwi Sri* and her consort Sadono. They preside in the *Dalem Ageng*, the centre of the palace (see section on *Loro Blonyo*: 3.15). Incense is burnt at *Slasa Kliwon*, Tuesday *Kliwon*, and *Jemuwah Kliwon*, Friday *Kliwon*, which are considered sacred days, as well as on all other ceremonial occasions (K.R.Ay. H. Darmawan Pontjowolo, personal communication, 1996–1999). Included in these special occasions are ritual meals *Slametan*.

A4.6: NOTES ON THE COLOUR SCHEMES

Rigg (1862: 342) states that the five colours, *panca warna*, are the colours reflected by the body of the Buddha. They are white, red, gold, blue and black. These are also the colours of the days in the Javanese five-day market week *Pasaran*.

120 *Gringsing* probably refers to a kind of metal ornament (Zoetmulder 1982a: 546).

A4.6.1: The Colours of *Pasaran*, the Javanese Five-Day Market Week

The colour of <i>Legi</i> is white	(also east)	(and Iswara)
The colour of <i>Paing</i> is red	(also south)	(and Brahma)
The colour of <i>Pon</i> is yellow	(also west)	(and Mahadeva)
The colour of <i>Wagé</i> is black, dark blue	(also north)	(and Vishnu)
All the colours combined is <i>Kliwon</i>	(also centre)	(and Shiva)

A4.6.2: *Sadulur Papat Lima Pancer*

The four siblings, brothers/sisters, which are spiritual companions through life, together form a person's personality. It is considered combined that they form a fifth (a tap root), forming a person's self.

The siblings are:

Sadulur putih, the white sibling, stands for good deeds.

Sadulur abang, the red sibling, stands for anger.

Sadulur kuning, the yellow sibling, stands for sexual activity.

Sadulur ireng, the black stands for evil deeds, and also a person's self *lima pancer*, because when the four colours are mixed one also gets the colour black.

The four siblings, who always fight amongst themselves inside a person, represent personality traits. These traits should be there in equal parts for a balanced personality. The sibling that takes over will give a person his character. If the yellow sibling takes control of a person's life it is dominated by sexual acts. When white wins a person's life is dominated by good deeds. Black is a combination of all four colours. This is a person's self; *lima pancer*.

A4.6.3: *Jenang Manca Warni*—Various Coloured Porridges Used in the *Tedhak Sitèn* Ceremony for a Javanese Prince

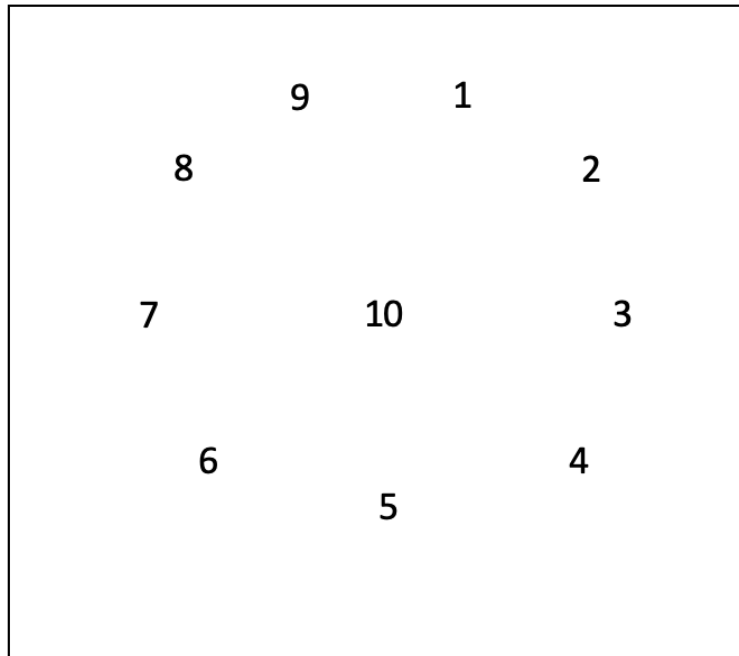


Figure 233: The ceremonial porridges as they were placed on the tray before the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony.

1. white and yellow, *putih kuning*, *Jenang sundhul langit*, ‘Reaching the sky porridge’
2. orange, (tumeric yellow) *kuning kunir*, (*oranye*), *Pon*
3. pink, *jambun*, The colour pink stands for closeness between mother and father
4. white, *putih*, *Legi* (*Jenang baro-baro* a porridge made of non glutinous white rice with grated sugared coconut in the middle)
5. black, *ireng*, *Kliwon*
6. bran coloured porridge *bekatul*, *Jenang katul* (a bran-porridge with grated coconut and palm sugar)
7. pale blue, *biru*, *Wagé*
8. red, *abang*, *Paing*
9. green, *ijo*
10. *Jenang palang*, white porridge with a red cross-bar¹²¹

The diagram shows how the porridges were placed on the tray. In earlier times the rice dishes were coloured with natural ingredients. Now, however, bright artificial colours are used to top some of the porridges (Figure 219). Coloured rice porridges were served at *Slametan* meals in East Java in 1960 (Geertz 1960: 31).

¹²¹ Horne (1974: 136) defines *jenang palang* as a red porridge decorated with a white bar across the top.

A4.6.4: Coloured *Jadah* (Glutinous Rice Cakes) Used in the *Tedhak Sitèn* Ceremony for a Javanese Prince

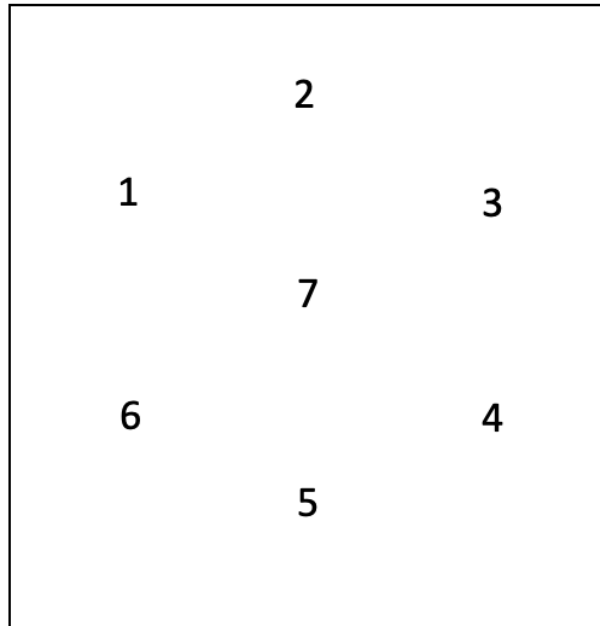


Figure 234: Coloured *jadah* (glutinous rice cakes) as they were placed on the tray before the start of the *Tedhak Sitèn* ceremony.

The *jadah* as they were placed before being set out on the runner for the prince to step on (see also Figure 219).

1. black, *ireng*, against hunger
2. orange, (tumeric yellow) *kuning kunir*, against sleepiness
3. pink, *jambun*, against fear
4. red, *abang*, against evil passions
5. green, *ijo* against frustrating desires
6. pale blue, *biru* against disease
7. white, *putih* against lust

A 7th century Chinese account from the Buddhist kingdom of Ch'ih-t'u (part of Funan) describes a ceremonial meal given by the king for a Chinese delegation. At this meal leaf-platters with cakes in four colours; yellow, white, purple and red were served (Wheatley 1961: 30).

A4.6.5: The Colours of the *Kumodowati*—Lotus Firmament in the *Pendopo* of Mankunegaran Palace

In the ceiling of the *Pendopo* of Mankunegaran is painted a diagram *Kumodowati*, Lotus firmament, in eight colours, yellow, *jené*, pale blue, *biru*, black, *cemeng*,

green, *ijem*, purple, *wungu*, red, *abrit*, orange, *kuning kunir* and white, *pethak*. The colours chosen, when the ceiling was painted, were inspired by the colours used on ancient picture scrolls, *wayang bèbèr*. The colours are there to repel specific evils and are surrounded by the attributes of eight Hindu deities and the twelve Javanese Zodiac signs. These correspond with the Western Zodiac except for Gemini, which in the Javanese Zodiac is replaced by *mimi* and *mintuna*. *Mimi* is the male horseshoe crab. He always travels on top of *mintuna*, the female horseshoe crab. In the Javanese wedding ceremony the married couple is told always to stay together like *mimi mintuna*. The Zodiacs alternate with twelve protective *Kala* masks. The colour arrangement in the centre of the ceiling is believed to predate the Hindu pantheon and the Zodiacs.

Visitors coming into the palace have to pass under the *Kumodowati* for a meeting with the ruler. By doing so they hope to have a purified heart. The colour diagram is also there to avert bad influences brought in by guests. It is hoped that only good news will arrive.¹²²

In former days only the nobility was allowed to have decorated ceilings. The *pendopo* was built in 1937 by Mankunegara VII.

Table 1: Kumodowati of Pendopo Mankunegaran

YELLOW <i>jené</i>	PALE BLUE <i>biru</i>	BLACK <i>cemeng</i>	GREEN <i>ijem</i>
PURPLE <i>wungu</i>	RED <i>abrit</i>	ORANGE <i>kuning kunir</i>	WHITE <i>pethak</i>

The colour *jené* means to protect against fatigue,
biru against sickness,
cemeng against hunger,
ijem against frustration,
wungu against wicked thoughts,
abrit against evil passions,
kuning kunir against fear,
pethak against lust.

The 12 *Kala* masks, the 8 attributes of the Hindu gods and 12 Zodiac signs surround the colour diagram.

However, the colours of the *Kumodowati* do not correspond to the usual Hindu colour system, which has the following links between the cardinal directions, colours, gods and

122 Demang Purwanto, personal communication, 15 July 1999.

their attributes:

East	White	Iswara (Shiva); <i>bajra</i> , thunderbolt
Southeast	rose pink	Maheswara; <i>dupa</i> , incense, censer
South	Red	Brahma; <i>danda</i> , club
Southwest	Orange	Rudra; <i>mungsalam</i> , mace
West	Yellow	Mahadeva (a form of Shiva); <i>nagapasa</i> serpent nose
Northwest	dark green	Sankara; <i>angkus</i> , elephant goud
North	dark blue	Vishnu; <i>cakra</i> , discus
Northeast	blue gray	Sambu; <i>trisula</i> , trident
Centre	multicolour	Shiva; lotus