Section 9 Cultural aspects

Chapter 25 Place Names and Cultural Heritage in an Archipelagic Country

Multamia RMT Lauder and Allan F Lauder

25.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the issue of the relationship between toponymy and cultural heritage in the context of an Asian archipelagic nation. The chapter is divided into two parts.

Part one describes key features of cultural heritage and the links with toponymical studies and also provides geographical, historical, linguistic and cultural information on insular Southeast Asia with a focus on Indonesia. There we find a high level of diversity in terms of language, culture and ideology. This has affected the development and use of toponyms in the country.

Part two gives a description of a number of place names. These examples represent place names for natural features, man-made features and administrative features. They all can be seen to possess cultural heritage status in some way. Different types of data are needed to properly understand their meaning.

25.2 Background

Cultural Heritage and Toponymy

Interest in the relationship between cultural heritage and toponymy has grown in UNGEGN since its establishment in 1960. In 2002, a working group was established to address the promotion and use of indigenous, minority and regional language names. In 2012, this working group was changed to a working group for the issue of geographical names as cultural heritage (Kerfoot, 2015, Watt, 2015). Contributions to the discussion of culture in UNGEGN are to be found in various documents resulting from the ten UNGEGN Conferences from 1967 to 2012 and other publications including Kadmon (2000), UNGEGN (2006) and Helleland (2006). The field of toponymy has experienced a major transformation over the course of the last 20 years. A variety of new thematic concerns have been explored, and there is now a far greater recognition that toponymical research should be firmly grounded in an explicit engagement with critical theories of space, place, and landscape (Rose-Redwood et al., 2010: 458).

Culture covers a wide range of phenomena. In cultural anthropology two aspects of culture are distinguished. The first is ways of thinking, ideas and values. The second is behaviors, practices and skills (Eller, 2016: 21, Haviland et al., 2011: 27). The 'classic' qualities of culture are that it is learned, not innate; it is a set of norms shared by a community or group; it is a system we use to structure the world and give meaning to it; its parts function together as an integrated whole; it helps us to adapt to the world and thrive; it is in a state of constant change (Nanda and Warms, 2012). Culture can also be defined in terms of its mobility, its ability to move into new geographical or social spaces; is produced through human cognition and action in specific locations.

Place names are names that reflect language-users' perception of and relation with their environment. Place names are 'cultural artifacts' produced by complex interactions between mind, culture and environment (Taylor, 2016: 70). Most place names also have a historical dimension. They were coined at some time in the past and reflect the geographical, cultural, cognitive and attitudinal aspects of human life at a former point of time.

Cultural heritage is the cultural legacy of past generations. This can include tangible products of heritage such as built structures, tools and fabricated items. It can also include intangible heritage such as folklore, oral history, traditions, language, and indigenous knowledge. Natural heritage, meanwhile refers to works of nature with cultural value, with which humans interact meaningfully. Cultural heritage is a product of human action or cognition which is thought worthy of preservation for the benefit of others and of future generations.

The rationale behind the idea that cultural heritage has value and is worth preserving is based in the idea that previous generations have produced ideas, knowledge, traditions, artifacts and built structures that have value for us as cultural achievements. Heritage helps us to learn from the past by appreciating the development of civilization, of science, of technology and of literature and the arts. Heritage preservation is about remembering, understanding and admiring. Three reasons have been put forward for the link between geographical names and a nation's cultural heritage. First, geographical names provide information about natural and cultural conditions at the time they were coined and thus represent a memory of places, and this can act as historical documentation. Second, they are part of the local language and history. Third, they represent a link between communities and their environment (Helleland, 2006: 121).

The study of cultural heritage is highly multi-disciplinary. Dealing with tangible cultural heritage, such as the discovery and preservation of cultural artefacts, buildings and sites is the business of archaeology, history, heritage management, and heritage tourism. Intangible cultural heritage, such as oral traditions and

endangered indigenous languages, can be studied by analyzing inscriptions or written historical sources. Natural heritage meanwhile is studied in geography, ecology, geo-diversity and eco-tourism. Cultural heritage also involves the study of law with respect to the establishment and enforcement of rights, and of conflict studies and criminology for the illegal trading and destruction of cultural heritage.

UNESCO has played an important role in the definition of what cultural heritage is and how it should be preserved. The 2003 UNESCO Convention on the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICHC) has been seen as a significant departure from previous conventions as the intangible aspects of cultural heritage are given precedence over its physical manifestations such as movable cultural property, monuments and sites (Blake, 2009: 45-46). It has also offered some protection for the endangered languages of small indigenous communities and their oral traditions, arts, social practices and traditions. All of these are part of their intangible cultural heritage and relevant to toponymy (Marrie, 2009: 169-170).

25.3 History of Indonesia as an Archipelagic and Multicultural Nation

The peopling of the archipelago, the arrival of modern day humans, got underway 50,000 years ago. The descendants of these early people are today mostly found in the east of the country. However, the majority of today's population are descended from a group of people known as the Austronesians, whose homeland was in Taiwan around 5,000 years ago (Bellwood et al., 2006). They possessed seafaring skills that allowed them to move from island to island and they spread throughout the region. These peoples spoke an ancestral

form of the many languages spoken today. As many as 719 languages have been attested in Indonesia and about two thirds of all of these share a common ancestral language and belong to the Austronesian language family, the remainder being part of the Papuan language family (Lauder and Lauder, 2015).

The history of East and Southeast Asia shows that people were travelling by sea for exploration, for trade and diplomacy as far back as the Greco-Roman period when spices and other goods were shipped as far as the present day Middle East. The different routes were part of the Sea Spice Route or Maritime Silk Road which existed in parallel with the Silk Road. The early Indonesians were engaged in trade and were part of the maritime spice trade routes that linked China, Southeast Asia, India, Africa, and the Middle East. Cosmopolitan settlements sprung up around the coastal areas of the South China Sea, Java Sea and Malacca Strait. These coastal ports were the hubs of the trade networks connecting islands and continents from as early as the first century. Over time, the region submitted to the unifying force of a series of kingdoms.

Among these kingdoms were the Hindu-Buddhist Srivijaya (600-1290 AD) which controlled the trading routes of the Malacca Strait and Java Sea and the Majapahit kingdom which was founded in Java and lasted from the late 13th century to around 1500 and territory extended from the southern Malay Peninsula, to Borneo, Sumatra and Bali.

The Indonesian archipelago was open to the inflows of new cultural influences. These were brought by the foreigners who stayed in coastal ports, and over time they were adopted, and spread. But they were also absorbed, nurtured and transformed through contacts with existing local cultures. This process, when seen over

centuries, resulted in complex layers of different cultures. The result was often hybrid, recognizable but unique. In addition, it led to the blurring of cultural and geographic boundaries.

With the arrival of the Europeans in the 16th century, the existing shipping networks decreased in importance as the Portuguese and Dutch took over the trading routes, monopolizing the profits from the sale of spices and other products to Europe. As a result, the previously prosperous coastal towns become impoverished and the Indonesians lost their memory of being sea-going people (Tanudirjo, 2006). From the 17th until the 20th century the influence of the Dutch - first as trading company, later as colonial power, increased. During their hegemony, the upper echelons of society were schooled in Dutch and traces of Dutch can be found in place names. During WWII, the Japanese took over the country. The Japanese did not leave much of a trace linguistically. Today, global English dominates and is permeating many aspects of modern life, including place names.

Since its independence in 1945, the country has a language policy that promotes a single unifying language, the national language Indonesian (Bahasa Indonesia) but which also supports the maintenance and preservation of the regional indigenous languages. While the worldwide trend for indigenous languages is the existential threat from globalization and modernity, leading to loss of speakers of small languages, local languages in Indonesia still form part of the tapestry of diversity that exists alongside the national language and foreign languages. The language situation plays an important part in the unique situation for place names in the country.

25.4 Place Names

This section provides a number of examples of significant Indonesian place names. Examples for three types of geographical names are given: Names of natural features, built features and administrative areas. All of these can be said to represent Indonesian cultural heritage. In the case of Borobudur, this is also a heritage site recognized by UNESCO.

All of them have names that were coined at some point in the past and which may have experienced changes over time. In order to study such names in a nation with a complex culture that has been built in layers from influences from different cultures and languages, the methodology must first of all consider historical sources. The field of historical geography lies at the intersection of geography and history. It studies the way geographical phenomena have changed over time. A proper understanding of historical geography is best based on a review of earlier sources Starting point usually is the physical environment, as created by geology, botany and climate, influenced by social, cultural, and technological factors as well as by people's personalities and individual choices.

Their study requires careful consideration of historical, geographic, political, and cultural dimensions. It is necessary to consider the textual sources that may be available. In this case, they include texts in classical Javanese, classical Chinese, old Portuguese and old Dutch, as well as texts in a number of other foreign languages, including English and indigenous languages such as Sundanese, Balinese, and Malay. These need to be investigated in order to identify and then describe and explain the different toponyms which are the object of the study.

The methodology for a multidisciplinary study of toponymical cultural heritage based on various written sources might consider the following:

1. Identify references to old maps, manuscripts and stone inscriptions, history, folk tales, myths, in the search for new data;

2. Explore descriptions of historical activities in old manuscripts and stone inscriptions and use these to clarify and expand on existing descriptions;

3. Interpret and explain activities and affairs based on the textual and archaeological data, in particular attempting to throw light on the network and finding out how they bind together different geographical and political centers into a larger civilizational entity; and make connections between these findings and the meaning.

Written sources from the past include inscriptions on stone or other material, and manuscripts or codex. These may contain place names and descriptions of them, information on where they were located and on activities or events that occurred there in the past. Place names in manuscripts may refer to places that still exist or whose location still can be traced. They may also include places where the area has changed leaving little physical evidence of that place in the present, and thus provide clues for academic work to rediscover those places.

There are relatively few authoritative toponymical studies in Indonesia. However, one important example of the study of place names in ancient Javanese inscriptions is the monumental onomastics directory of Javanese epigraphy by the Frenchman Louis-Charles Damais. This systematically presents in its 1025 pages the findings of a study that took about 11 years (1955-1966) on anthroponyms and toponyms for geographical features, building names or administrative areas (Damais, 1970).

Textual evidence can often be profitably augmented or verified by ~~site~~ visits to historical or archaeological sites. Some examples of place name studies in Indonesia are given here.

25.5 Geographical Names for Natural Features

Gunung Krakatau / Krakatoa Mountain

The name Krakatoa is known around the world due to the massive volcanic eruption in 1883 (Winchester, 2003). The island and the volcano on it are situated in the Sunda Strait between Java and Sumatra. The earliest mention of it is in an old Javanese manuscript Pustaka Raja, The Book of Kings, which describes a volcanic eruption on a Mount Batuwara in 416 AD, which is almost certainly a reference to Krakatoa. Other eruptions took place in 535 AD and 1620.

Since 1927, a new volcano has become active and a volcanic cone has been growing. This is known as Anak Krakatoa, lit. Child of Krakatoa.

Although there are earlier descriptions of an island in

Figure 25-1 Anak Krakatau

the Sunda Strait with a "pointed mountain," the earliest mention of Krakatoa by name in the western world was on a 1611 map by Lucas Janszoon Waghenaer, who labeled the island "Pulo Carcata" (*pulo* is the Sundanese word for "island"). The first known appearance of the spelling *Krakatau* was by Wouter Schouten, who passed by "the high tree-covered island of Krakatau" in October 1658 (Winchester, 2003: 27). Krakatau could have its origins in Sanskrit *karka* or *karkata* or *karkataka*, meaning "lobster" or "crab". *Rakata* also means "crab" in old Javanese. This is considered the most likely origin. The Smithsonian Institution's Global Volcanism Program cites the local name, *Krakatau,* as the correct name, but says that *Krakatoa* is often employed. While *Krakatoa* is more common in the English-speaking world, *Krakatau* tends to be favored by geologists.

Pulau Onrust/ Onrust Island

Onrust Island is one of a chain of 110 islands called the Thousand Islands (Kepulauan Seribu) which stretch 45 km north from the West Jakarta Bay into the Java Sea. Onrust Island is 3,5 km² in size and is located 14 km from the Jakarta coast. It is important historically and culturally because it played an important role for the Dutch as part of their defenses of the city of Batavia (now Jakarta). The Dutch East India Company got permission in 1610 from the Prince of Jayakarta to build a naval base there. Its later Malay name Pulau Kapal (Ship Island) was given because of this function; it appeared for the first time alongside the name Onrust ("unrest"), given by the Dutch, on a 1761 chart of Batavia Bay by Gerrit de Haan.

After being destroyed by the British in the Napoleonic wars, the Dutch rebuilt Onrust Island as a place where

Figure 25-2 Model of Shipyard on Onrust Island

ships owned by the Dutch East Indies Government and private sector could be repaired. Because of the eruption of Krakatoa in 1883 and the construction of a new port in Tanjung Priok in Batavia, larger and better equipped for ship repair and ship building, Onrust Island went into decline.

After this, it was used as a quarantine station and as a hospital for sufferers of tuberculosis (TB). Between 1911 and 1933, it was also used to quarantine people who planned to go to Mecca to perform their Hajj. In 1972, when Ali Sadikin was Governor of Jakarta, the island was identified as a protected historical site. Indonesians continue to name the island Onrust to remind us of its cultural and historical value.

Figure 25-3 Old Fort on Onrust Island

25.6 Geographical Names for Built Features

Jalan Malioboro / Malioboro Street

Malioboro, is a street in Yogyakarta, an area with the status of a Special Province, which is situated in central

Java. Its special status rests on it being to this day the seat of the Mataram Sultanate where the present Sultan also holds the position of Provincial Governor.

There are a number of hypotheses about the origins of the name Malioboro. The first of these is that it derives from the name of John Churchill, First Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), whose victories in Europe on behalf of the joint British/Dutch forces against the French were thus commemorated. Carey (2015) dismisses this. He points out that Malioboro is a main thoroughfare used for ceremonial processions by the royal family on special days. On such occasions, Malioboro Street is decorated with flower garlands according to the traditions of the royal house. Carey claims that Malioboro is most likely to have derived from the Sanskrit word *mâlyabhârin* which means 'decorated with flower garlands'.

Another theory of the etymology of Malioboro can be found in Suratminto (2016). Mataram was an agrarian kingdom. The population were not expert in trade. The Sultan, concerned that his people should not fall behind the times, encouraged them to embrace the practice of trading. The Indonesian word 'berdagang' (trade) is 'boro' in Javanese. The Sultan gave the following instruction in Javanese to his people, *'sira kabèh sing manggon nèng kéné **maliha boro** ing pasar gedhé iki kang **bèr ing raharja.'*** which can be translated as 'all of you staying here, shift from farming to trading in this large market full of benefits'. In this way, the Sultan's use of the word '*maliha boro' means* 'shift from farming to trading' and this word experienced a sound change to become 'malioboro'. The street took this name as it was a busy main road on either side of which were shops and traders. In addition, traditional markets nearby Malioboro were widely known and still are in operation to this day. The biggest of these, Pasar Beringharjo

(Beringharjo Market) also takes its name from something said by the Sultan '*bèr ing raharja*' which means 'full of prosperity' (penuh dengan kesejahteran).

Figure 25-4 Malioboro Street (with the street name sign also in Javanese script)

Candi Borobudur / Borobudur Temple

Candi Borobudur (Borobudur Temple) is a 9th-century Mahayana Buddhist temple in Magelang, Central Java, Indonesia, as well as the world's largest Buddhist temple. Built during the reign of the Sailendra Dynasty, the temple was designed in Javanese Buddhist architecture, which blends the Indonesian indigenous cult of ancestor worship and the Buddhist concept of attaining Nirvana. The monument is both a shrine to the Lord Buddha and a place for Buddhist pilgrimage. Borobudur has the largest and most complete ensemble of Buddhist reliefs in the world. The monument was listed as a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

The Borobudur temple was mentioned in the *Karangtengah* inscription dated 824 and *Tri Tepusan* inscription, dated 842. The only old Javanese manuscript that refers to a monument called *Budur* as a holy

Buddhist sanctuary is *Nagarakertagama*, written by Mpu Prapanca, a Buddhist scholar of the Majapahit court, in 1365 (Moens, 1951: 326-386). In the form of a poetic eulogy for the monarch Hayam Wuruk, it provides an excellent description of palaces and temples and ceremonial observances.

Borobudur is Indonesia's single most visited tourist attraction. However, Borobudur is still used for religious ceremonies. Once a year, Buddhists in Indonesia celebrate Vesak at the monument.

The origins of the name *Borobudur,* however, are unclear. The original names of most ancient Indonesian temples are no longer known (Soekmono, 1976: 13, 2005). The name Borobudur first appears as 'Boro Bodo' in a manuscript map of Java by J.A. Dubois (Kaart van eiland Java, 1811. Manuscript, ARA, MIKO 73); this map was later engraved and printed for Sir Thomas Raffles' book on Javanese history published in 1817 (Raffles, 1965) in which he likewise refers to the 'Ruins of Boro Bodo'. There are no older documents suggesting the same name (Soekmono, 1976: 13).

Another possible etymology suggests that *Borobudur* is a corrupted simplified local Javanese pronunciation of *Biara Beduhur* written in Sanskrit as *Vihara Buddha Uhr*. The term *Buddha-Uhr* could mean "the city of Buddhas", while another possible term *Beduhur* is probably an Old Javanese term, still surviving today in Balinese, referring to "a high place". The morphology is constructed from the stem *dhuhur* or *luhur* (high). This would mean that Borobudur means vihara (meeting place of monks) of the Buddha located on a high place or on a hill.

Figure 25-5 Borobudur temple

25.7 Geographical Names for Administrative Features

Kota Cirebon / Cirebon City

Cirebon is a port city located on the north coast of Java nearly 300 km east of Jakarta. The city today has a population of around 300,000 people who are made up of Javanese, Sundanese and Chinese ethnolinguistic groups. It is also the seat of an Islamic Sultanate that goes back to the 15th century. There are in fact two palaces (*keraton*) today. These are the Keraton Kasepuhan Cirebon and Keraton Kanoman Cirebon. Cirebon has a long history of being a major port and center for trade, shipping and the spread of Islam in Java.

We know from archaeological evidence from a sunken ship, that the name Cirebon goes back to at least the tenth century. The names *Cĕrbon* and *Charabao* appear on fourteenth century maps written in Javanese and on fifteenth century maps in Latin. We can conclude that these place names were known at that time as far away as Europe and that *Cirebon* was also an international harbor during the period from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries (Ricklefs, 2001: 104). During Cirebon's golden age, in the fifteenth century, it was one

Figure 25-6 Keraton Kasepuhan

Figure 25-7 Inside the Keraton Kasepuhan Cirebon

of the most important ports of call on the sea routes for the spice trade and maritime Silk Road.

Some work has been done to determine the etymology and the meaning of the place name Cirebon. The name appears with variant spellings in a number of old manuscripts. There is more than one explanation of its origins and we present some of them here. The toponym Cirebon village *(Dukuh Cirebon)* appears in the text *Babad Tanah Sunda* (1447). Also, the name appears with the variant spelling *Cheroboam* in a Portuguese text by Tomé Pires called *Summa Oriental* (1513–1515) (Pires and Rodrigues, 1990). In the text *Sejarah Cirebon*, it is explained that the meaning of the village named *Cairebonan* is derived from *cai/air rebon* or shrimp paste broth, possibly referring to a cooked dish consisting of small shrimp (*rebon*) boiled in a broth and concentrated (*air rebon yang diberi bumbu petis*). The name *Cirebon* appears in the manuscript *Carita Purwaka* (1720 M)[1] which suggests that the name evolved through a process of sound change from *Carbon* and then *Caruban*. An

example of a Chinese exonym for Cirebon can be found in the book *Shun-fêng hsiang-sung* (A good wind as a companion) which describes sea voyages between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries from China to *Shun-t'a* (Sunda) with one going via *Che-li-wen* (Cirebon).

Kota Jakarta / The City of Jakarta

The city of Jakarta is the country's Special Capital Region and is the country's political, economic and cultural center. It is located on the northwest coast of Java Island. It has, over the years, had a number of names, namely *Sunda Kelapa*, *Jayakarta* and *Batavia*.

Its original name was *Sunda Kalapa*. The etymology of this name comes from the Malay word for coconut 'kelapa'. The area was a major port in the kingdom of Sunda Pajajaran where the area's name took after the coconut trees that lined the shore. Tomé Pires called it *Cunda Calapa* or *Sunda Kalapa* and wrote in 1515 that 'the Port of Kalapa belongs to the Sunda kingdom'. In 1527, Sunda Kalapa was captured by troops of the Demak Sultanate and the port fell under its ruler. Sunda Kelapa was renamed Jayakarta meaning 'victory' or 'absolute wellbeing'. The city name is recorded in numerous documents with variation in spelling: *Jayakarta*, *Jaketra*, *Jakerta*, and *Jakarta*.

The Netherlands recognized the economic potential of trade through Jayakarta, in particular its trade in pepper and other spices which they wanted to gain a monopoly on. In 1602, the ruler of Jayakarta, Prince Wijayakrama encouraged international trading activities. He gave the British and the Dutch permission to establish a trading station on the west bank of the Ciliwung River estuary. Many Chinese merchants built houses around the fort. Jayakarta developed into a busy port city.

Figure 25-8 Jakarta today

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[1] This date comes from the appendix in *Pelabuhan Muara Jati Cirebon*.

The Dutch were determined to dominate the trade and eventually, Jayakarta fell into the hands of the Dutch

Figure 25-9 Portrait of Jan Pieterszoon Coen, founder of the city of Batavia

East India company (VOC). When the Dutch Governor General J. Coen (see figure 25-9) was in charge of the city, on 30th May 1619, he ordered the construction of a fort and a new urban area which he first wanted to name Hoorn, after his home town in the Netherlands. The board of the VOC, called the Council of Seventeen 'De Heeren Zeventien' which sat in Amsterdam, however renamed Jayakarta Batavia, after the ancestors of all the Dutch, the ancient Germanic tribe of the Batavi. In the 18th century the city was described as beautiful and became known as 'The Queen of the East' or, because of

its many canals dug by the Dutch, 'The Venice of the East' Venetië in het Oosten'.

During the Japanese occupation in WWII, the name Batavia was changed back to Jayakarta or Jakarta through a Government News Announcement of the Japanese Military Government Kang Po No. 9 December 8, 1942 (Ruchiat, 2011). Up till the present, Jakarta has been the name of Indonesia's capital.

25.8 Conclusion

It can be seen from the few examples of toponyms given in this chapter that cultural heritage is not a monolithic concept. While Borobudur is recognized as a world cultural heritage site, the natural feature Krakatoa is not. However, it has made a strong impression on the minds of all who know the story of its great eruption and the effect on people still resonates today. In the sense that cultural heritage can include landscapes that interact

Figure 25-10 Former Town Hall (Stadhuis) of Batavia/Jakarta

with human perceptions, Krakatoa certainly qualifies.

The names of built features such as Malioboro Street and Borobudur both have complex histories involving different cultures and languages, but Malioboro, a street name in Yogyakarta, is fascinating because of the different possible hypotheses about its origin.

Names of administrative features are especially shaped by the periods of history that they were found in and in the kinds of data used to understand them. Archaeological evidence is strengthened greatly by the existence of textual evidence from different countries including travel journals and reports.

This chapter has focused on cultural heritage from a historical, geographical perspective, and drawn its data from archaeological or textual sources. However, in Indonesia there is another large repository of examples that there was no space to mention, that of the creation of place names for natural features from many of the country's 719 indigenous regional languages. Many of these are of value because they encapsulate local cultures and world views but many are endangered and as such also in need of protection. They are important for toponymy because they provide a huge source of local names for natural geographical features. The method of studying the larger ones can turn to textual sources, but the majority of those languages with less than a million speakers are oral languages without a script and so the only way to study the toponyms in them is to do anthropological, linguistic, or ethnographic field work.

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