

Chapter 2

Concept of Landscape Management at Borobudur in the 1970s

2.1 Introduction

The Borobudur Temple experienced a large-scale restoration intervention between 1907 and 1911 and again from 1973 to 1983 (UNESCO 2014). The latter intervention at Borobudur occurred at the time of the new World Heritage movement, which also saw large-scale work on the Abu Simbel Temple in Egypt (from 1959), Mohenjo-daro in Pakistan (from 1974), Venice in Italy (from 1966), Fez in Morocco (from 1976), the Kathmandu valley in Nepal (from 1979), the Acropolis in Greece (from 1977), and many others. The restoration of the Borobudur Temple, led by UNESCO, the Indonesian authorities, and international heritage conservation experts, was the first and most extensive intervention in Southeast Asia during this time period.

Inscribed in the World Heritage List in 1991, the site of the Borobudur Temple Compounds was nominated as an outstanding example of a masterpiece of Buddhist architecture and monumental arts (The Republic of Indonesia, 1990). Prior to its inscription, there was a significant attempt, in the 1970s, to preserve not only the architectural features of the temple, but also the wider surrounding landscape. Contrary to the European-dominated discourse of heritage at the time, this approach sought to define and manage the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur with community participation. The plan was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners and was entitled *Borobudur Prambanan National Archeological Parks Final Report July 1979*, hereafter referred to as the JICA Master Plan. While the JICA project was the first large-scale attempt related to the preservation of cultural heritage in the history of Japan's ODA programs, it was also an extensive cultural heritage preservation project in Indonesia, when its national legislation on the protection of cultural properties had not yet set a management system to maintain wider natural settings and landscape surrounding the country's cultural heritage properties.

The JICA plan was influenced by the Japanese cultural heritage conservation laws and practices related to artifacts, monuments, historic places, natural heritage

sites, and other forms of heritage. As the basis for their intervention, the JICA study team acknowledged the similarities with regard to landscape contexts between central Java and the cities of Nara prefecture in Japan, such as Asuka and Ikaruga, an ancient capital in the 8th century that is linked with Buddhist temples. Similarities include the natural environment, strong indigenous traditions of nature veneration, and highly developed mountain worship. Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that, in Asia, mountains play a significant role in the landscape and as such also with indigenous religious beliefs, for example as subjects of prayer or reverence. The JICA study team sought to use their knowledge of the preservation approach of historic climate linking with surrounding natural environments and cultural landscape, along with existing and living Javanese ideas of landscape, and integrate this into a management system for the wider area surrounding the Borobudur Temple.

Since there has not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of the Borobudur landscape management concept, this chapter attempts to fill this gap through a historical account and analysis of the Borobudur landscape protection plan in the 1970s. In doing so, this chapter demonstrates that, while Indonesia had followed a monument-centered heritage approach strongly influenced by the Netherlands, the concept of cultural landscape at Borobudur, in the 1970s, introduced a new approach with regard to understanding non-European heritage management discourse.

2.2 European and Asian Approaches to Heritage and Cultural Landscape

Critiques of Eurocentric notions of cultural heritage and its practices have been voiced in recent years (Butland, 2012; Byrne, 2008a, 2008b; Daly, 2012; Deegan, 2012; Gillespie, 2013; Lennon, 2012; Peleggi, 2012; Silverman & Ruggles, 2009; Smith, 2006; Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Taylor, 2012a, 2012b; Winter & Daly, 2012). Byrne (2009) asserts that the European interest resided in cultural continuity, leading to an appreciation of the material culture of past times. Lloyd (2012) argues that, in the tradition of Western philosophy, heritage was often perceived in terms of sites, monuments, and objects. Butland (2012) and Boniface (2000) argue that Western theoretical and practical understanding of heritage in the modern world can be seen as a dichotomy between the valued and the valueless and between heritage and non-heritage. Wang (2012) argues that preservation efforts came to be dominated by those with institutional access to heritage resources and who focused primarily on the restoration of ancient monuments and buildings rather than the needs of local residents.

Lloyd (2012, 140) asserts that conservation philosophy, within which heritage was perceived in terms of sites, monuments, and objects, often reflects a narrow Western concept as defined in heritage charters such as the Athens Charter and the Venice Charter. Concerns have also been expressed about the core concept of World Heritage. The idea of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) reflects a Western theoretical and practical understanding of heritage through international conventions such as the World Heritage Convention. Daly (2012) argues that these

European-developed, material-centric views of heritage were applied globally and thus often thought of as “official” heritage discourse and practice.

In recent decades, the concept of cultural heritage has shifted away from a focus on monumental and physical heritage or cultural property and now also encompasses notions of living heritage, traditional knowledge, language, cultural diversity, and performing arts (Daly, 2012; Lloyd, 2012; Winter & Daly, 2012). Peleggi (2012) argues that under the influence of the idea of cultural diversity, championed by UNESCO, the principles underlying the Venice Charter have come under review. Intangible culture has become one of the major topics for discussion within heritage studies, resulting in numerous publications and an academic journal dedicated to intangible heritage (Smith & Akagawa, 2009; Silverman & Ruggles, 2009; Daly, 2012). This builds on critiques of the material-centric view of heritage as well as Western hegemony over “official” heritage discourse and practice. Taylor (2004) argues that heritage in Asian contexts, for instance, differs from the European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage. Lloyd (2012) also stresses that heritage in Asian contexts often differs from the commonly perceived heritage forms of historic monuments and “high culture.” Taylor (2004) asserts that:

Asian cultures have a spiritual view of what is culturally valuable from the past; the past lives on in memory of people, of events and of places through time rather than concentrating on the material fabric which can change or be replaced. (p. 423)

Indeed, there are clear cases in which European and Asian ideas of heritage have clashed, such as: the 1994 Nara Document on Authenticity; the 1998 China Principles; the 2002 Shanghai Charter; the 2004 Yamato Declaration; the 2005 Hoi An Protocols; the 2005 Xi’an Declaration; and the 2007 Seoul Declaration (Fong, Winter, Rii, Khanjanusthiti, & Tandon, 2012).

The Nara Document (ICOMOS, 1994) is an important example of the aforementioned clash. It first articulated an evolving approach and a distinctively Asian perspective on authenticity, recognizing that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage are themselves culturally dependent. Paragraph 11 of the Nara Document states that:

All judgments about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgments of values and authenticity within fixed criteria. (ICOMOS, 1994, p. 3)

There are other declarations and charters articulating an evolving approach and a distinctively Asian way of achieving authenticity, recognizing that the ways and means of preserving the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent.

The value of a heritage site derives from ... the site illustrates the material production, life-style, thought, customs and traditions or social practices of a particular historical period. (Conservation Principles for Sites in China, ICOMOS, 2002, p. 71)

... affirming the significance of creativity, adaptability and the distinctiveness of peoples, places and communities as the framework in which the voices, values, traditions, languages, oral history, folk life and so on are recognized and promoted in all ... heritage practices ... (Shanghai Charter, ICOM, 2002, p. 1)

The Hoi An Protocols declared in 2001, revised periodically and published in 2009, provides another example:

The immaterial dimension of authenticity (e.g. artistic expression, values, spirit, emotional impact, religious context, historical associations ... and creative process) and sources of information about them are particularly important in regard to maintaining authenticity of cultural heritage in Asia. (Hoi An Protocols for Best Conservation Practice in Asia, UNESCO UNESCO, Bangkok, 2009, p. 12)

These Protocols clarify that an Asian understanding of heritage value includes, “for example, a continuous craft tradition handed down generation by generation, an unbroken oral tradition, a ritual of which the practice is in the hands of hereditary specialists” (Engelhardt, 2012, p. 312). The Protocols state that “Authentic cultural assets are passed through time and communities by un-interrupted transmission, evolving but retaining the essential qualities that make them authentic” (UNESCO, Bangkok, 2009, 13).

The 2005 ICOMOS Xi'an Declaration also reflects the disparities between Western and Eastern ideas. The Declaration stipulates that:

Beyond the physical and visual aspects, the setting includes interaction with the natural environment; past or present social or spiritual practices, customs, traditional knowledge, use or activities and other forms of intangible cultural heritage aspects that created and form the space as well as the current and dynamic cultural, social and economic context. (ICOMOS 2005)

These were in sharp contrast to the definition of OUV of the World Heritage Convention. These arguments clearly demonstrate that the Asian view of heritage value is different from the European view. The Asian experience has begun to significantly impact the European standard of heritage value. Introduced for the first time in 2005, Paragraph 79 of the *Operational Guidelines for Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, and its Annex 4, refers to the application of concepts of the Nara document within the definition of authenticity of World Heritage properties (UNESCO 2005).

While the debate around the idea of authenticity has been well documented (Holtorf, 2008; Lennon, 2012; Mitchell & Melnick, 2012; Peleggi, 2012; Sirisrisak & Akagawa, 2012; Taylor, 2012b), another significant point of difference between the World Heritage system and other Asian heritage perspectives can be seen in the understanding of cultural landscape.

The European term *landscape* dates back to 500 A.D. in the European region (Taylor, 2009). However, cultural landscape planning and management is a relatively new professional field of study with regard to land use and site management (UNESCO 2009). Inaba (2012) asserts that, by the late 1980s, there were international moves to bridge the gap between cultural and natural heritage. These were separately developed areas within the World Heritage system. For example, in 1992, the United Nations Environment Programme adopted the Convention on Biological Diversity. In 1995, the European Environment ministers also adopted the Pan-European Strategy for Biological and Landscape Diversity on a Europe-wide level (UNESCO 2009). Bandarin (2009, 3) argues that “the breakthrough came in 1992 at the World Heritage Committee level with the Earth Summit, the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, which influenced the heritage debate.” These events

and related debates paved the way for new thinking about people's relationships with their environment, linking culture and nature and aiding the acceptance of cultural landscape to become a category within the World Heritage List (UNESCO 2009).

In 1992, the World Heritage Committee at its 16th session in Santa Fe, USA, acknowledged that cultural landscape represents the “combined works of nature and man [*sic*]”; this is designated in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention. It adopted cultural landscape as a category on the World Heritage list through its incorporation in the *Operational Guidelines*. This Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscape with the declaration of three categories of cultural landscape of OUV (Outstanding Universal Value) for World Heritage purposes. Today, more than a hundred cultural landscapes have been inscribed in the World Heritage List. However, despite this shift, many World Heritage properties listed during the early stages of the World Heritage system, such as Borobudur, were defined by what was then the criteria of the *Operational Guidelines*. This led to the concerned Member States to the World Heritage Convention nominating the site not as a cultural landscape but as monuments or historical buildings in accordance with European ideas of heritage value.

Much like the case of the Nara, Hoi An, and Xi'an documents, which indicate differing ideas of authenticity in Asian contexts, the concept of cultural landscape also differs within Asia and between Asian and European conceptualizations.

Contrary to the European dominated discourse of heritage, an innovative approach to defining and managing this, including community participation, is available regarding the protection of the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur in Central Java. This was extensively explored in the 1970s. The plan was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners and was known as the *Borobudur Prambanan National Archeological Parks Final Report July 1979* (JICA Master Plan). This approach was influenced by Japanese cultural heritage conservation laws and practices related to artifacts, monuments, historic places, natural heritage sites, and other forms of heritage and represented a concept developed in Japan, beginning in the early 1900s.

2.3 Heritage Discourse in Japan for the Protection of Cultural Properties, Natural Monuments, and Cultural Landscape

Akagawa (2014) asserts that:

Japan is one of the countries in Asia that has been consciously working on the protection of art works and monuments under national legislation since the nineteenth century and this has been the result of its own national initiative. ... (L)aws related to the conservation of the arts and monuments have been added and amended to present and protect what authorities at that time believed constituted national culture. (p. 9)

In Japan, research on cultural landscape had already existed to some extent even before the Second World War, when pastoral landscapes were gradually disappearing

from large cities, and suburban areas, to the extent the public began to be concerned (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2003). Inaba (2012) asserts that the natural monuments and landscape protection movement began in the mid-nineteenth century following the disappearance of important celebrated trees and the necessity to keep such trees from further damage. The Agency for Cultural Affairs of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan further clarifies that:

Not only the destruction of the natural environment but also the active development of suburban areas caused continuous decrease of agricultural lands, natural sciences recognized that lands associated with agriculture, forestry and fisheries play an important role in maintaining ecosystems by providing habitats for diverse species and began to pay more attention to “cultural landscape” than ever before. Their findings in this regard included in particular the positive role of human interventions that are repeatedly made through agricultural, forestry and fishery activities on lands in light of a certain degree of disturbance to ecosystems contributing to the maintenance of diverse species and their habitats in an adequate condition and the extremely important roles of water surfaces such as rice paddies and agricultural water channels which provide passages to animals. Animals and plants of high academic value which inhabit, breed, stop over or naturally grow in such areas have been designated as Natural Monuments. (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2003, p. 3)

In 1911 a public system was adopted by the Japanese parliament for the protection of a wider setting involving cultural heritage properties. This was initiated by *the Recommendation for the Historic Sites and Natural Monuments*. Furthermore, the three categories of historic sites, including places of scenic beauty and natural monuments, coexisted as a trio and were included in the first culture/nature conservation law in Japan, in 1919, which was known as *the Law for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Places of Scenic Beauty and Natural Monuments* (Inaba, 2012).

“The destruction by fire of mural paintings in the main hall *Kondo* of the Temple *Horyu-ji* in 1949 gave impetus to the enactment of *the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties* in 1950” (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4). Since the enactment of this first comprehensive legal framework for the protection of cultural properties in Japan, the concept of heritage, definition, and categories were developed in Japanese heritage laws with a view to expanding and reinforcing the existing protection system and ensuring compliance with society’s requirements (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4).

Due to the rich and diverse cultural heritage in each local region of Japan, the expanded definition and scope of cultural heritage was explored in order to cover wider cultural elements of historic value. Hence, in 1954, the system for the designation of important intangible cultural properties and tangible folk materials was integrated into the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, with a view to documenting selected intangible cultural properties and important folk-cultural heritage (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013, 4).

The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

various activities to operate, maintain and manage these tangible elements or to pray for and celebrate an abundant harvest or a large catch of fish and other activities repeatedly carried out by the humankind upon the land through traditional industries and lives constitute the important intangible elements that compose “cultural landscape.” (p. 49)

Ito (2003) explains that “the essence of the protection of intangible cultural heritage in Japan is not only about the heritage itself but also efforts to hand intangible culture down to posterity.” Akagawa (2014) also asserts that:

Japan’s approach and conventional ‘Western’ international practice in the field of heritage conservation differed on two key issues: the concepts of and the practices related to authenticity and intangible heritage. It was in addressing these concepts, both central to its long tradition in heritage conservation, that Japan was able to institute major changes in the global heritage system. (p. 11)

Composed of various types of tangible and intangible elements, national cultural properties—including areas of historical natural feature—came to be acknowledged as important by the Japanese legislative system.

Nishimura (2005) outlines that, in the 1960s and 1970s, massive construction and large-scale developments were rife, and people began to be more aware of the loss of traditional structures and townscapes. The movement to protect a wider setting, including cultural properties, led to adopting the *Law Concerning Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Natural Features in Ancient Cities* in 1966. The Law was aimed at the conservation of entire environments inseparably united with cultural properties. Under this law, the cities of Kyoto, Nara, Kamakura, and others were designated as containing areas of historical value, serving as political or cultural centers in the history of Japan. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

although the scope of the law is limited to “Historical Natural Features” that exist around tangible cultural properties, historic sites, etc. of “Ancient Cities” designated by the national government, they contain rice paddies, farmlands and *Satoyama* areas in most case; in this regard, the Ancient Cities Preservation Law plays a significantly large role in the protection of “cultural landscape” in the “Ancient Cities” of Japan. (p. 13)

Inaba (2012) argues that from this period onward, the heritage discourse was “expanded from spot conservation to area conservation to cover the larger area including the surrounding landscape ... This became the second largest landscape protection movement after the one first seen in the early nineteenth century” (p. 118).

Adopted in 1975, the *System of Preservation Districts for Groups of Historic Buildings* was established in order to help the community’s initiative to promote preservation measures of historic landscapes of villages and towns (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2008). The emphasis was on townscape over single buildings. As Japanese people have built villages and towns at various locations on the Japanese islands, including mountainsides, riversides, basins, and seashores, and the livelihoods of people in local communities have been formed alongside the local geo-cultural features, individuals have refined the culture of their daily lives while displaying a physical and/or spiritual relationship to their natural environments and improving their lives by preserving such landscapes.

Motonaka (UNESCO, 2002) asserts that:

The Japanese Government implements the conservation of cultural landscape using two approaches. The first is the designation of the relevant land, landscape or its components as one of the several types of cultural property under domestic law. Specifically, sacred mountains with historic or academic values are to be designated as Historic Sites; mountains or terraced rice fields with artistic or scenic values are to be designated as Places of Scenic

Beauty... On the other hand, buildings and other human-made structures such as shrines or temples in the sacred mountains and works of craftsmanship of high historic/artistic value such as statues of Buddha are to be protected as Tangible Cultural Properties, whereas various forms of local customs or folk art that have been inherited through the ages can be protected as Tangible or Intangible Folk-Cultural Properties, as appropriate, as an essential source of information on the development of relevant agricultural or religious lifestyles and practices. (p. 128)

In this regard, the Japanese law for landscape protection acknowledged the linkage between cultural monuments and landscape; thus heritage value was not limited to ruined and isolated monuments preserved as heritage sites (Siririsak & Akagawa, 2012). Inaba (2012) argues that the nature of the Japanese landscape concept can be explained by the long accumulated history of the Japanese people's relationship with nature and their keen appreciation of it as an elemental part of their cultural identity. Akagawa (2014) also asserts that "the concepts of *machizukuri* (town making) and *furusato* (hometown) used by the Japanese government in utilizing heritage landscape to influence people's sense of identity" (p. 47). This understanding of cultural landscape was in direct contrast with the early World Heritage system and European ideas of heritage. These different understandings are evident in the case of the Borobudur Temple and its eventual nomination as a World Heritage site.

2.4 Context of Javanese Cultural landscape

Engelhardt et al. (2003) assert that Borobudur is the central point of a larger landscape *mandala* consisting of hills, streams, and other landscape features and made sacred by the presence of many small temples. The landscape as a whole is intended to replicate on earth the universal *mandala* of the cosmos, with Mount Merapi at its center. Engelhardt et al. (2003) further explains that:

Mandala are abstract representations of the universe understood as having both physical and metaphysical manifestation. *Mandala* are intended as aids to guide meditation on the *dharma* – or laws determining existence. Both their architectural form and the didactic sculpture of the bas-reliefs is meant to educate the student/worshipper. Therefore, not only is every Buddhist temple conceived of in the form of a *mandala*, but these same principles of architecture and land-use planning – being considered universal and absolute – were also used to construct homes, design cities, and lay out roads, canals and other works of landscape engineering. (p. 39)

According to Amin (2012), Adishakti (2015), and Rahmi (2015) natural elements such as mountains, trees, and water were and still are important symbols within Javanese belief, including an ideal worldview influencing how landscapes are made and how they manifest in their particular forms. Amin (2012) and Rahmi (2015) also outline the idea that many people's concepts of nature and the landscape in Java are an amalgam of beliefs, rituals, and myths. Indeed, Java's cultural landscape exemplifies this point: the hills contain numerous archeological sites and meditation spots still used today as part of the living cultural landscape, and these landscapes represent a particular way of living and can be viewed as an example of

a continuous living history (Amin, 2012). The 2006 UNESCO-ICOMOS Reactive Monitoring Mission Report argues that the integrity of the wider landscaping of the Borobudur Temple is of extraordinary importance because of its spiritual character, sense of sacredness, and its unity with nature typical of a Buddhist religious site (Boccardi, Brooks, & Gurung, 2006).

Sacred landscapes encompassing natural features are a deeply rooted fundamental cultural ethos, encompassing people's interaction with the landscape, which is bound by associations and belief, where the intangible assumes a greater significance than do physical manifestations (Lennon & Taylor, 2012). The Javanese notion of nature is:

... poetic expression of thinking about the unity of the cosmos and the interrelatedness of everything in it. Cosmology and mysticism are at the heart of the traditional Javanese beliefs and concepts of earth, land and landscape, which often appear in the forms of symbols and rituals shared by both *priyayi* (the nobility) and *wong cilik* (the common people). (Amin, 2012, p. 75)

Engelhardt et al. (2003) underline that:

the sacred volcano of Mt. Merapi is conceived of in local knowledge systems as the central point of a sacred and magical landscape representing the creative forces of the universe. This is the place where what is divine and eternal is revealed as human and temporal. A volcano, with its simultaneous demonstration of both destruction and creation, is an obvious revelation in the landscape of these concepts. (p. 39)

The aforementioned authors further outline the importance of reinforcement of the interpretation of the monument as part of a larger sacred landscape:

The finding is revealed in a mapping of all of the archeological remains of Buddhist and Hindu temples from the 5–10th centuries in the Kedu Valley. What emerges is a pattern of more than 40 temples or ritual sites in the catchment area between Borobudur and Mt. Merapi. These temples are located along water courses in a pattern that is reminiscent of the area around Mt. Besaki in Bali, suggesting that the ritual pattern of a cultural landscape centered on Borobudur has even more ancient pre-Buddhist roots based on indigenous philosophical traditions based on a mountain-water... Water is crucial to this landscape interpretation, because water is poured as libation to the gods; a sacred landscape must therefore have flowing water across it as a perpetual offering to the divine. (p. 39)

Kausar and Nishikawa (2012) and Lennon and Taylor (2012b) follow Amin and Engelhardt's argument by contending that the view of Borobudur as part of a wider cultural landscape is supported by long-lasting intangible cultural enactment, such as local knowledge in performing arts, rituals, crafts, and food from traditional villages. Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that a cultural landscape containing a sacred mountain should be justified not only in terms of "authenticity" but also in terms of "integrity." Tanudirjo (2013) underscores the idea that these factors engendered a feeling of ownership of the Borobudur Temple among the local people, who consider themselves the guardians of the cultural complex.

Some Javanese villagers consider each of their villages to be a complete cosmos in which people, animals, vegetation, rivers, mountains, rice fields, and spirits are inseparable elements in sustaining harmony (Priyana, 2015). These cultural landscapes, consisting of archeological remnants and their specific relationship to their

surroundings, demonstrate how the dynamic landscape of Java evoked awe in its earlier inhabitants, who regarded the mountains and rivers as the abode of supernatural powers or the spirits of their ancestors (Amin, 2012).

Acknowledging the intrinsic link between nature and culture, as well as the importance of local practices, rituals and beliefs associated with community involvement in the preservation of Borobudur's living cultural landscape, the JICA study team aimed to conceptualize the complexity of heritage values in Central Java and to draw in public perception through management of cultural and natural resources (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). Created in 1979, the JICA Master Plan attempted to forge such diverse factors into one integrated zoning system for the protection and management of Borobudur's cultural landscape, advocating it as a means of systematic land and scenery control for the overall protection and development of the areas surrounding the Borobudur Temple, which cover 114.6 km² (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

2.5 Management Concept of Landscape Protection in the JICA Master Plan

As one of the early large-scale models for the preservation of archeological monuments and natural climate of Central Java, the JICA Master Plan was created (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). This approach sought to define and manage the wider cultural landscape of Borobudur and to include community participation.

The JICA Master Plan was developed based on the two preceding studies: the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Feasibility Study (1975–76). Both studies were jointly produced by Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning, on behalf of the JICA, under the direction of a Work Supervision Committee consisting of representatives from the Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Tourism (MTCT), the Ministry of Culture, regional government, and the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM). The aim of the establishment of the JICA Master Plan was preservation of the Borobudur Temple and its surrounding environment with the idea that “archeological monuments do exist under particular historical social and natural conditions” (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 17).

2.5.1 The Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974)

At the request of Indonesian Government, the Japanese government provided technical assistance, from 1973 to 1974, with respect to the national archeological parks project at Borobudur and Prambanan, which involved tourism development in Central Java and preservation as well as improvement of cultural heritage and its surrounding environments (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979).

The first Regional Master Plan entitled “*Central Java and Yogyakarta Area Tourism Development*” was drawn up in 1974. It proposed a tourism and social development plan for Central Java (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1974). Given the overall goal, the plan focused on the preservation of the monument, identification of protective geographical scope through archeological survey, and enhancement of the community’s livelihood through tourism development. The specific aims of the first Regional Master Plan included:

1. Reviewing the feasibility study of infrastructure for tourism development of Central Java and Yogyakarta, undertaken by the Netherlands Institute of Tourism Development Consultants (TDC), from 1971 to 1972, with the technical assistance of the Netherlands Government;
2. Establishing a special tourism development area in the region and preparation of a 20-year long-term development plan and a 10-year implementation plan;
3. Studying the economic and technical feasibility of the aforementioned implementation plan.

Through this approach, the proposed plan included a broad scenery zoning diagram covering three concentric protective zones ranging from 5000 ha (for the Borobudur Temple): *zone 1* for the protection of the monuments and their immediate surroundings, defined as a “sanctuary” from the destruction of the physical environment; *zone 2* for preservation of the historical environment, primarily for the undiscovered archeological remains underground; *zone 3* for regulation of land use while controlling development in areas outside of zone 2 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1974) (Fig. 2.1). This study also attempts to establish a macro-frame for tourism development in the region, with the application of integrity for cultural heritage and surrounding natural environmental settings (Fig. 2.2).

As the Plan focused on proposing a conceptual model of the integration of different objectives, i.e., protection of monuments, enhancement of the community’s livelihood through tourism development, and natural environmental protection, the proposed concept required further study prior to implementation. For instance, the Archeological Park was still conceptual, requiring focus on its function and the networks of each facility, including the behavior of visitors, researchers, and villagers (Fig. 2.3).

The Borobudur and Prambanan archeological parks were leading projects for tourism development in Central Java and were also socially development projects based on the policy of the five-year plan. The Indonesian authorities requested that the Japanese government continue the economic and technical feasibility studies on the premise of implementation of the projects, as one of many national projects (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

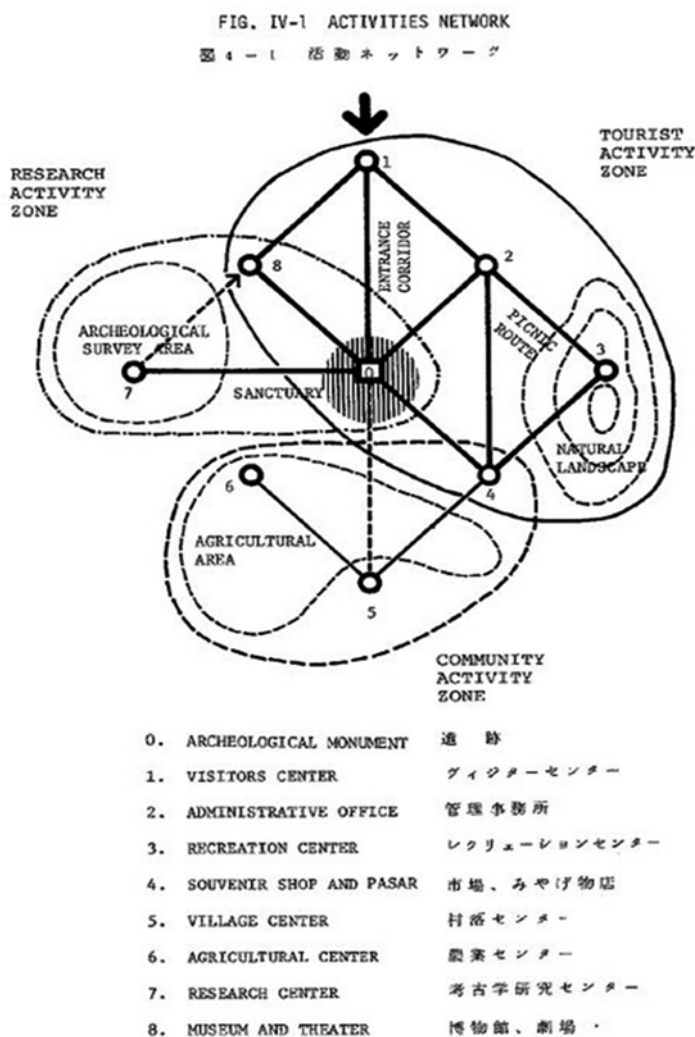


Fig. 2.3 Conceptual disposition of facilities in the Borobudur Archeological Park (source: JICA Regional Master Plan)

- Site evaluation study with computer for the purpose of determining appropriate land use;
- Design standards (technical manuals) with the intent of working on future design and engineering;
- Review of the existing master plan for the Dieng area;
- Policies for the preservation of historical relics in the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta;
- Policies for the provision of tourist accommodation facilities required for the development of archeological parks (p. 1)

During the examination of the study, between 1975 and 1976, the following works were carried out: preparatory work from January 15 to February 8 of 1975; field investigation and data collection from February 9 to March 10 of 1975; fact-finding and frame-making from March 11 to March 28 of 1975; general planning from March 29 to April 30 of 1975; revision of preparatory work based on the comments and input of the Indonesian Steering Committee on the Interim Report from June 15 to November 30 of 1975; additional field investigation and data collection from July 1 to July 15 of 1975; detailed planning and design from July 16 to September 25 of 1975; and final report work from October 1 to November 30 of 1975 (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976). In order to keep up with progress made through the study, and to reflect the Indonesian view toward the study results, six interim reports and two final reports were submitted to the Indonesian authorities throughout 1975. These reports were the outcome of seven joint meetings² between the Indonesian Steering Committee, the Japanese Work Supervision Committee, and the study team (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

Given the results of these studies, the JICA study urged the authorities to take urgent legislative action to meet the aforementioned objectives. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) requests that the President and/or the ministers implement the following items with due haste, believing them to be prerequisites for the national archeological park projects of Borobudur and Prambanan:

1. Enactment of a law concerning the preservation and development of national archeological parks;
2. Designation of the Borobudur and Prambanan areas as National Archeological Parks and establishing legal administrative procedures for regional zoning and land use regulations;
3. A detailed scientific survey for the purpose of unearthing archeological monuments before the commencement of construction work;
4. Budget measures for the project;
5. Establishment of an implementation body³ on legislation, including financial, development, and other aspects of the project.

Furthermore, with a view to coping with adverse land use changes, development activities, and changes in the price of the land during the preparatory phase of the project, the study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) proposed that all development activities leading to land use modification be halted within the proposed zoning areas during the preparatory period for the project. This was intended as a temporary measure and took into consideration sanctuary improvement (23.0 ha.), park development (85.0 ha.), and village relocation (10.5 ha.).

²First meeting on February 11 and 13 of 1975, second meeting on March 5 and 6 of 1975, third meeting on May 9 and 10 of 1975, fourth meeting on July 1, 2, and 10 of 1975, fifth meeting on September 29 and October 4 of 1975, sixth meeting from October 26 to November 8 of 1975, seventh meeting on December 22 and 24 of 1975 (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976).

³The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976) notes that 'A Park Authority will be established by Presidential order for the execution of the project. A special Council to be established by the final decision making body is to support the activities of the Park Authority. Certain subordinate organizations to the Park Authority in the different stages of the Project should also be provided' (p. x).

Keeping in mind the religious meaning and historical climate of the areas, and the fact that the monuments of Borobudur and Prambanan were created by Hindu and Mahayana Buddhist craftsmen, the study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) divided areas, including the historical remains, into three categories:

1. Archeological remains and nearby surroundings
Including the Candi, the gardens formed by cathedral placement, and the immediate vicinity, this is an archeological sanctuary with a recognizably religious atmosphere. This area is to be the core of the archeological park.
2. Archeological domain
This is the area which may have once been a cultural center, and even now there are numerous clusters of relics there. In the Borobudur case, this is set as having a radius of about 2.5 km as proposed by the Consultative Committee for the Restoration of Candi Borobudur.
3. Archeological ecosphere
This area, extending to a radius of approximately 30 km from the monuments, is the environmental sphere of the area's ecological range and encompasses the edges of the panoramic view. The preservation of this setting is essential to the historic and archeological climate of the area.

Based on the above understanding, the team set a hypothetical model in order to develop a conceptual zoning plan. This model was founded upon the background of ecological, archeological, visual, social, psychological and religious factors and was established as a guideline, or as planological system components, in order to determine actual solutions (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976). The conceptual zoning plan was introduced in terms of three categorized functions—archeological preservation, park development, and village improvement within four zones (Fig. 2.4).

The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) describes zone classification as following:

- Archeological Monument Special Preservation Zones (category 1)
Public acquisition of the land around the archeological monuments, the making of environmental improvements therein, and control not only of the monuments but also of cultural assets on the basis of the Cultural Assets Protection regulation⁴.
- Voluntary Control Zone (category 2)
These zones will be appropriately developed on the basis of voluntary control on the part of the development entities.
- Land use Zoning Regulation (Zone 3)
In this zone, which encompasses the villages outside of the special development zones, the environment will be maintained through the use of zoning regulation.
- Scenic Conservation Zone (Zone 4)
In this zone, which represents the remainder of the park-designated area, the scenery will be maintained through scenic regulation.

⁴The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1976) refers to the Monument Act for the permanent protection of historical monuments.

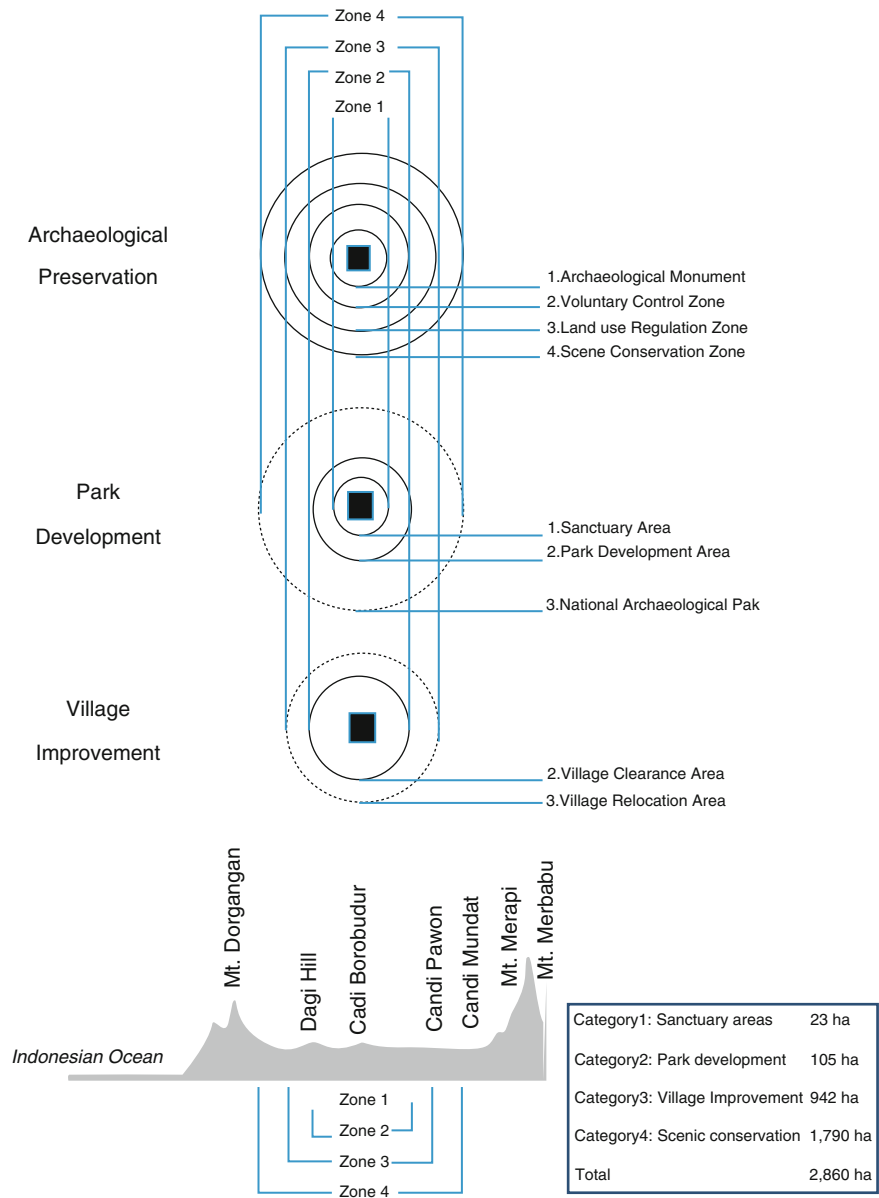


Fig. 2.4 Three categorized functions with four conceptual zoning systems at Borobudur area (source: 1974 JICA Project Feasibility Study)

In determining the geographical zoning setting, the Study made visual analysis to find optimum boundaries; analysis of physical distance from the historical monuments; analysis of visibility of the historical remains; and qualitative analysis of the view of the monuments (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976, 23). The Study (1976, 23) explains that this is to secure an adequate space proportion to the size and height considering the particular volume and form of the archeological remains.

The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also focused on the natural environment and the landscape surrounding the monument (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) clarifying that:

Archeological remains do not exist independently, but rather in the context of historical, social and natural conditions, and only on the basis of an integrated awareness of these conditions can understand their essential value. It is therefore important that there be not only provision of facilities to help in understanding and appreciating such conditions but also measures for the maintenance and preservation of the natural environment of the remains and of the surrounding land. (p. 26)

For the first time within the two aforementioned studies (the 1973 Regional Master Plan Study and 1976 Project Feasibility Study), the significance of environmental control not only for the archeological remains themselves but also for the surrounding area were attended to equally. The Project Feasibility Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) henceforth identifies the following categorized main scenic components for preservation:

1. Volcanic mountain landscape
Prominent among the landscape factors of the area are Merapi, Merbabu, Sambing, and other active volcanoes exceeding 3000 m.
2. Agricultural landscape
Located respectively in the Kedu Basin and the Kewu Plain, Borobudur and Prambanan have such beautiful scenery that these are sometimes referred to as the garden of Java.
3. Village landscape
The village structure of this region is a series of hamlets geographically located nearly equidistantly from one another. The bulk of these villages is heavily wooded, giving the appearance of woods or groves standing in attractive contrast to the surrounding fields and paddies.
4. Archeological landscape
The most distinctive element of the Borobudur and Prambanan areas is the vast number of historic remains there. Set against a natural background, these archeological remains evoke a vivid sense of history stretching back over the millennia. This archeological landscape lays the very foundations for park development, and it is vital that the plan be formulated and implemented with attention to the area. (p. 22)

In addition, the following studies were carried out in order to analyze the visual structure of the various landscape elements constituting the environment of the

monuments; this was done in order to preserve distinctive resources in the historic climate and utilize them for the visual experience of visitors (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976).

- Extraction of mountainous skylines which form the visual edges of the parks.
- Regional thorough section study to analyze the parks' visual positions.
- Detailed study of archeological landscape features and impact area in order to determine the scope of the sanctuaries. (p. 22)

Working through these studies, the 1976 Feasibility Study proposed, qualitatively and quantitatively, the visual identities of the national archeological park and its surrounding areas. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) emphasizes that

The new development must be planned in such a way as not to give rise to any environmental destruction, taking into careful account the existing ecological system and particularly the agricultural ecological system and the regional social structure as well as the preservation of the archeological climate. (p. 30)

Developed from the 1974 Regional Master Plan Study, the 1976 Project Feasibility Study focused on the preservation of both historical monuments and their surrounding environment. With a view to ensuring this concept, the 1976 study urges authorities to set a legal framework for regulating developmental activities in each categorized area in order to preserve the environment of the archeological parks and to deter urbanization within set zoning areas (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976):

- Agricultural fields
In areas where the land title designation is that of “agricultural fields,” all development activities, except those for agricultural production, are to be prohibited in order to prevent urban sprawl.
- Residential areas
In areas designated as residential, all commercial and industrial activities, except those neighborhood service facilities specified by the land use plan, are to be prohibited. Conversion to agricultural land shall be permitted.
- Community facility areas
General development activities not requiring large-scale landscaping shall be permitted within this area. Examples include public service facilities, commercial facilities, and small-scale industrial activities.
- Road areas
The area for the rights of way for roads, provided for under the plan, shall be reserved under law.
- River areas
The major river areas, as well as riverbank greenery areas, are to be designated as natural conservation areas and development activities will be therein prohibited. (p. 30)

The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also asserts that:

Because these land use regulations may restrict the private rights of residents within the target area, the plan shall be formulated with the popular participation of residents, including holding of preliminary hearings and other means to obtain popular understanding and cooperation. (p. 30)

This is also the first time that the study notes the importance of community involvement in environment preservation. In this regard, the study urges authorities to attend to and modify the law not only for the preservation of historical monuments but also for the appropriate use of agricultural land and the levy of customs, which are directly associated with community life (Rahmi, 2015). The Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) notes that:

The target area is currently under the jurisdiction of the old *Adat* (Customs) Law regarding land use. In formulating the land use plan, it is important that consideration be given to compatibility within the *Adat* Law and the Agrarian Law. (p. 30)

The study further stresses the importance of long-term improvement of the rural village infrastructure and the importance of identifying components for immediate development. The study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also clarifies that:

It is imperative that the area be promoted, even as productive agricultural land use is protected, as a model area for rural community development in Central Java to advance modernization in parallel with park development. (p. 60)

Given these conditions and approaches, the 1976 Project Feasibility Study refers to the Japanese legislative system as one of the legislative models for the Indonesian authorities, stating:

Based upon the Japanese *Law Concerning Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals*, the Council for Historical Features in Ancient Capitals, located within the Prime Minister's Office, surveys and deliberates important matters relating to the protection of historical features, as well as giving opinions when the Prime Minister designates or alters historical features and conservation areas, decides or alters plans for the protection of historical features, or takes such other actions. (p. 80)

Referring to the Japanese *Law for the Preservation of Historical Features in Ancient Capitals*, this study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) proposed that Indonesia pursue a broad scenery-zoning diagram with a community-involved approach, covering the geographical scope of "mountainous skylines which form the visual edges from the Borobudur Park" (p. 22).

2.5.3 JICA Master Plan (1978–1979)

Following the Regional Master Plan Study of 1973–1974, and the Project Feasibility Study of 1975–1976, the JICA Master Plan was jointly produced in 1979 by the Pacific Consultants International and Japan City Planning, on behalf of the JICA. This was under the direction of a Work Supervision Committee consisting of

representatives from the Indonesian Ministry of Transportation, Communication and Tourism (MTCT), the Ministry of Culture, regional government and the University of Gadjah Mada (UGM). The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) clarifies that:

the goals of this project are (i) the permanent preservation of a common cultural legacy of all mankind, (ii) formation of a symbol of national unity, and (iii) construction of national archeological parks. Through achievement of this significant project it will be possible to revive at this beautiful spot, “the garden of Java”, after a period of more than a thousand years a symbolic monument of Indonesia’s long history as an eternal message to future generations. (p. 9)

The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) also explains that:

The Borobudur and Prambanan monuments are located at the Kedu Basin and the Kewu Plain, Java’s most plentiful grain producing area, on the skirts of the volcanic Mt. Merapi. One of the most beautiful locations in Java, this area has long been known as ‘Java’s garden’... This historical climate and the Javan scenery are largely man-made products which change with the times. Nor are the natural conditions surrounding them absolute and eternal. Rather they are bound to change as the times require. Our obligation is therefore to devise means of maintaining the historical climate with as few restrictions as possible on people’s lives so that in the future as well visitors will be as impressed with it as we are now. Maintenance of the historical climate does not mean leaving things just as they are. Rather, it will be necessary to add a new lustre to environmental elements and life styles, which have been formed in harmony with and making use of nature, in the context of efforts to modernize villages in the area. (p. 9)

Buddhist philosophy was a central component of landscape management in the JICA Master Plan. Borobudur’s shape combines the idea of a Buddhist Stupa with the concept of Meru—the holy world mountain—a representative symbol (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979). The vertical division of the Borobudur Temple into a base, body, and superstructure perfectly accords with the concept of the Universe in Buddhist cosmology. This represents the seat of the gods using a mandala, the geometrically designed ritual incorporated into the JICA Master Plan as a symbolic expression of the three spheres: *Kamadhatu*—desires; *rupadhatu*—meditation; and *arupadhatu*—formlessness or emptiness. This was used for both plans as well as the three-dimensional form of temple and shrine architecture; each different architectural aspect was designed as a partial world and was devoted to the god designated to it (Fig. 2.5).

Accordingly, the extremely diverse architectural expression can be considered symbolic of a total world made up of different aspects; this is achieved by merging the aspects into one another in order to form a harmonious entity. The JICA Plan clarifies that they “have incorporated this cosmographic arrangement in our planning of the zoning system” (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, 8). The JICA Master Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) emphasizes that:

It is self-evident that these monuments should be preserved as a part of historical climate formed by them and the surrounding natural environment in order to maintain their true value... and they are bound to change as the times require. (p. 9)

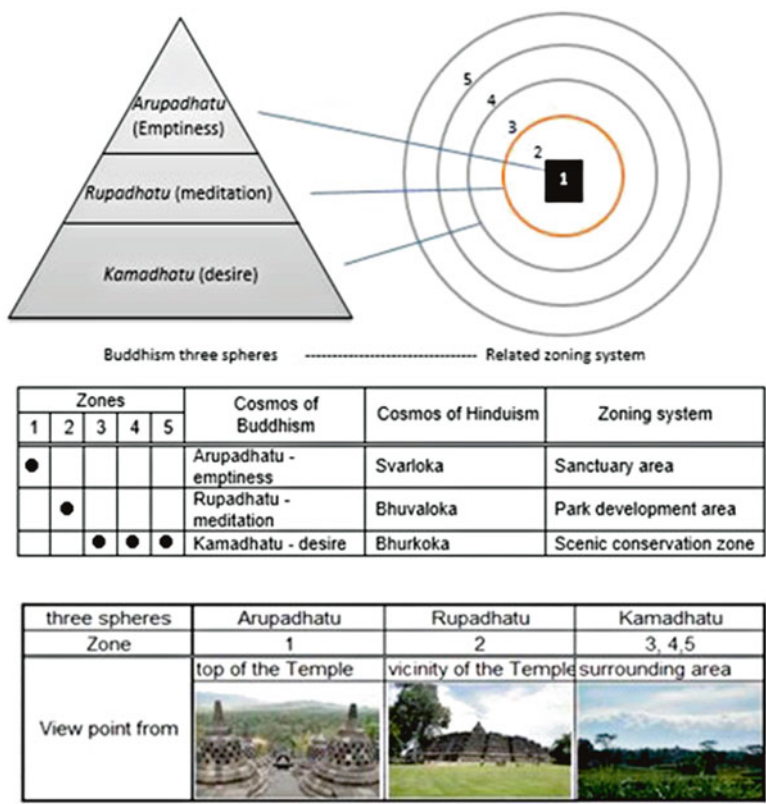


Fig. 2.5 Buddhism world incorporated in three spheres and its integration within zoning system for the management of Borobudur landscape (source: Nagaoka)

This demonstrates that the JICA Plan was respectful of environmental elements as well as people’s lifestyles, which were considered harmonious with nature. The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) further underscores that:

... conservation of the area’s value cannot be achieved merely by planning efforts and administrative compulsion. Indispensable is the understanding and participation of the people living there, for they are proud of their traditions and surroundings and have an active interest in maintaining their value. (p. 9)

One of the inventive approaches of the JICA Master Plan was accounting for diverse factors such as nature, culture, and these factors’ interactions with communities. The plan synthesized these into one integrated zoning system as a means of systematic land and scenery control for the overall development and management of the surrounding areas at the Borobudur Temple, covering 114.6 km² (Fig. 2.6). Hence, the JICA Plan called for the establishment of a zoning system consisting of five types of circular preservation zones with the center at the main Temple, in order to manage and maintain its surroundings and to control development in a systematic

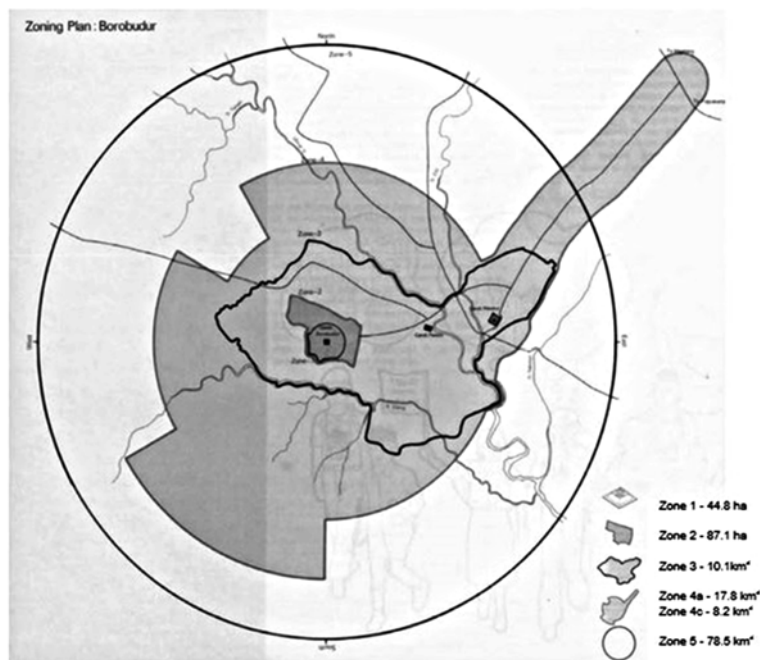


Fig. 2.6 Integrated zoning system (source: JICA Master Plan 1979, 19)

manner. The Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) proposed a five-part integrated zoning system with the following respective purposes:

zone 1 for protection and prevention of destruction of the physical environment; zone 2 for provision of park facilities for the convenience of visitors and preservation of the historical environment; zone 3 for regulation of land use around the parks and preservation of the environment while controlling development in areas surrounding the parks; zone 4 for maintenance of the historical scenery and prevention of destruction of the scenery; zone 5 for undertaking archeological surveys over a wide area and prevention of destruction of undiscovered archeological monuments. (p. 19)

2.6 Evolution of the Zoning Concept and Geographical Scope from 1974 Regional Study, 1976 Feasibility Study to 1979 JICA Master Plan

The zoning structure of the JICA Plans from 1974 to 1979 was gradually developed. It involved a triplex arrangement in the first 1974 Regional Master Plan Study, which evolved to a quadruple organization in the 1976 Project Feasibility Study. This ended as a quintuple structure in the 1979 JICA Master Plan (Fig. 2.7).

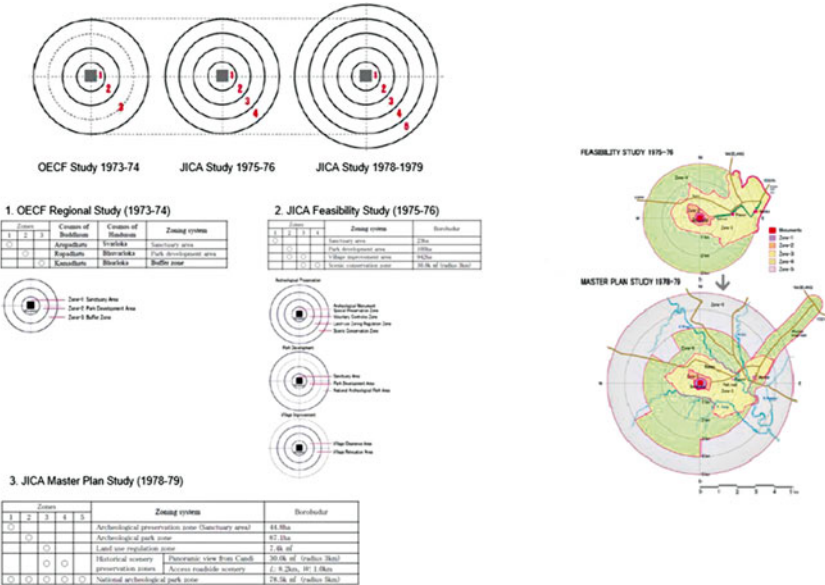


Fig. 2.7 Development of zoning system from a series of JICA documents concerning *Special Measures for the Preservation of Historical Natural Features* (source: Japan International Cooperation Agency and Yasutaka Nagai (2013))

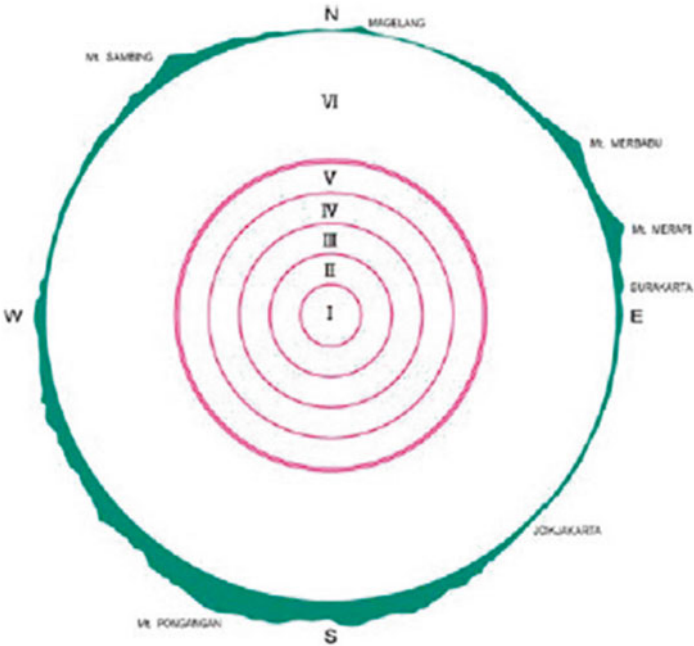


Fig. 2.8 Six integrated zoning plan in Nagai's unpublished notes (source: Nagai 2013, 46)

Yasutaka Nagai, who led the JICA study team as its planning coordinator from 1973 to 1980 (2013), explained in his unpublished personal notes that:

The rudimentary zoning concept was set during the JICA team's third mission to Indonesia in October 1978, which is based on the results of the 1974 Regional Master Plan Study and the 1976 Project Feasibility Study. It required a time-consuming 'trial and error' process. The distinction and function of the first three-zonal system in the 1974 Regional Plan was a conceptual basis and was not clear, but the 1976 Feasibility Study made clear each role and boundaries of four zones – the fourth zone is to ensure historic scenery value. Eventually the 1979 JICA Plan succeeded in adding the fifth element outside of the fourth scenic preservation zone – a protective zone of unexcavated monuments and remains in order not to damage such undiscovered cultural properties underground from the development activity. Although we did not include the sixth zone, it is obvious that the final zone covers whole five zones is the Kedu Basin in Central Java. (p. 47) (Fig. 2.8)

2.7 Derivation of the Legislative Aspect of the JICA Zoning Concept from the 1966 Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law

The JICA Plan (1979) states that the idea of the five integrated zoning systems in the JICA Master Plan stems from the approach of *Japanese Law in Ancient Cities*. Enacted in 1966, this Japanese law (Agency for Cultural Affairs, 2013) was made in order to ensure the preservation of the overall specific areas called “Ancient Cities.” This had the intention of conserving the entire environment, which was recognized as inseparable from cultural properties. The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) explains that:

Although the scope of the law is limited to “Historical Natural Features” that exist around tangible cultural properties, historic sites, etc. of “Ancient Cities” designated by the national government, they contain rice paddies, farmlands, and *Satoyama* areas in most case; in this regard, the Ancient Cities Preservation Law plays a significantly large role in the protection of “cultural landscape” in the “Ancient Cities” of Japan and therefore is expected to provide the basis for future discussion for a wider framework of the protection of “cultural landscape.” (p. 13)

The Agency for Cultural Affairs (2003) also clarifies that:

In order to ensure the protection of “cultural landscape” of high value, it is necessary, for example, through the relevant local governments' ordinances to set up overall conservation measures covering the surrounding agriculture, forestry and fishery areas under the soft control measures based upon the notification/registration system. (p. 55)

According to this Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, any development activities—such as the construction of new buildings and other structures in historic preservation areas—are subject to permission from prefectural governors as well as the authorities. The JICA Plan (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979) clearly states the same idea as the Ancient Cities Preservation Law was adopted for the preservation of historical monuments and scenery surrounding

cultural properties of Borobudur. During my interview on 23 July 2013, Yasutaka Nagai reconfirmed that the JICA study team had adopted the approach of the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law for the preservation of the wider Borobudur scenery and in particular for the management of historical scenery and the panoramic preservation of the scenery around monuments and roadside scenery. The Feasibility Study (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1976) also states that the zoning plan and its management at Borobudur referred to the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law (Fig. 2.9). This paper argues that the management of the cultural landscape at Borobudur, proposed by the JICA Plan, which was referred to the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, was integrated into the larger landscape administration context.

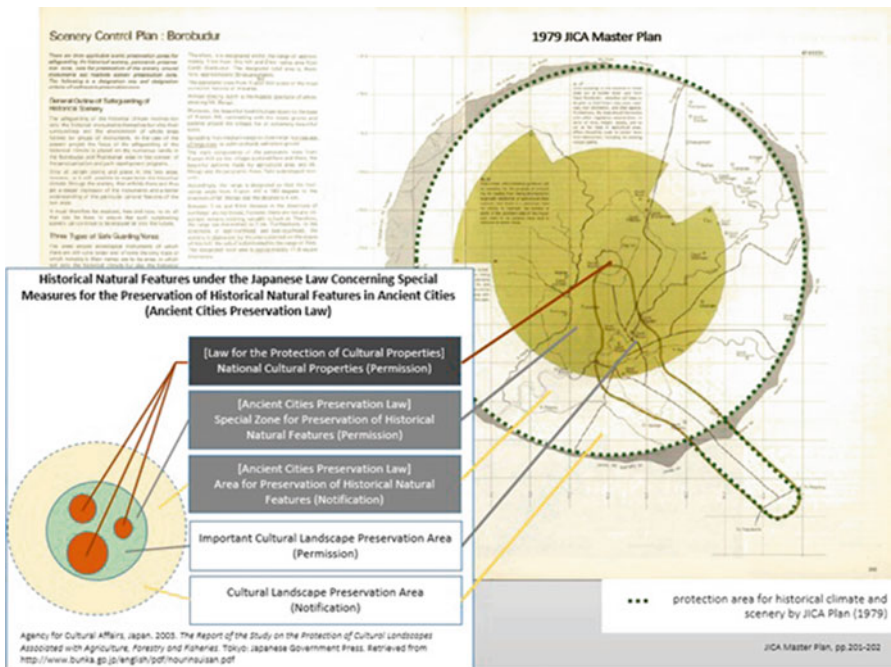


Fig. 2.9 The Borobudur integrated zoning system stemmed from the approach of the *Japanese Laws on Cultural Properties Protection and Ancient Cities Preservation* (source: Nagaoka's original diagram with information from Japan International Cooperation Agency and Agency for Cultural Affairs, Japan, 200)

2.8 Influence of Japanese Cultural Perception Approach in the JICA Master Plan

Yasutaka Nagai had perceived a requirement to establish a landscaping concept for the preservation of the Borobudur area when he first visited Borobudur in 1973 (Nagai, 1977). Nagai was impressed by the similarities between the Japanese and Javanese beliefs and rituals as well as the myths of Central Java (Figure 2.10).

similarities	Okuasuka, Nara in Japan	Kedu Basin, Central Java in Indonesia
landscape Scenic beauty natural environment mountain villages		
terraced paddy fields rice fields livelihood		
historical recourses ancient sites monumental pavement archaeological sites		
mountain worship mountain asceticism religious building/structure		
religious event local beliefs religious ritual worship		

Fig. 2.10 Similarities between Nara in Japan and Central Java in Indonesia (photo source: Cultural landscape of Okuasuka, retrieved from <http://www.asukamura.jp/bunkatekikeikan/imgs/pamphlet.pdf> and Borobudur pictures taken by Nagaoka)

During my interview on 10 October 2013, one similarity Nagai noted was the terminology perception of *Mahoroba* (an archaic Japanese word), which is introduced in the *Kojiki*, one of the two primary sources for *Shinto*, the Japanese national religion. *Mahoroba* means a far-off land surrounded by mountains and full of [bliss](#), [peace](#), tranquility, and harmony. Nagai argues that the features of the natural climate of the Kedu Basin in Central Java are similar to one of Japan’s geographical characteristics, the “Akitsushima Yamato type.” Higuchi (1975) categorized Japan’s landscape into seven geographical features.

Nagai further argued that the concept of *Mahoroba* in Japanese can be equated with *kejawen* in Javanese. The term *kejawen* embodies not only the geographical climate but also the cultural climate, including the long-held practices, rituals, and beliefs of the Javanese people. The living Borobudur landscape in Central Java can be understood in terms of the *kejawen* philosophy, which is linked to nature worship, mountain asceticism, and the Buddhism and Hinduism incorporated into local beliefs (Fig. 2.11). Motonaka (UNESCO 2002) asserts that:

The Japanese view of nature worship which holds that deities dwell in natural objects throughout the universe has been at the foundation of religious beliefs since ancient times. Thus mountains, islands, forests, trees, ponds, swamps and other such elements of nature

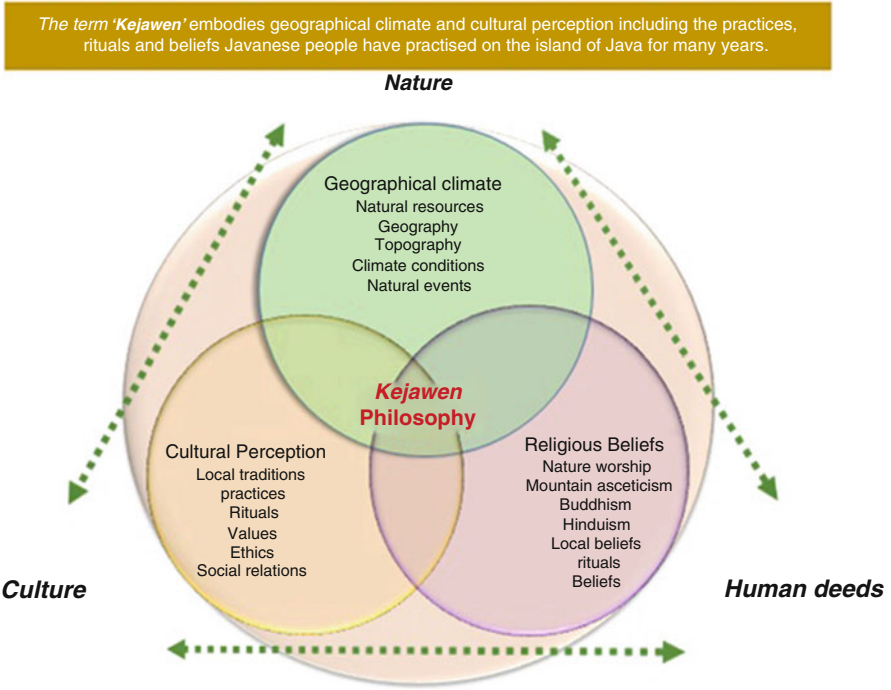


Fig. 2.11 Cultural landscape and sustainable development interfaces based on Kejawen philosophy (source: Nagaoka)

are considered to be sacred objects or places where deities dwell; rivers and seas are viewed as holy entrances which lead to the paradise where deities dwell. Among these sacred places, mountains have been closely associated with the world after death, and there is a belief that the soul of a dead person climbs a mountain on its way up to heaven. At the same time, mountains have been thought to be divine homes where gods of wealth and agriculture dwell, probably because they are the places closest to heaven – places to which the gods could easily descend. (p. 28)

Having observed the natural climate and cultural values in Central Java, Nagai was convinced that the varieties in Javanese character and philosophy contributed to the maintenance of the unique nature–culture landscape in Central Java. He became convinced that local communities should play a major role in the landscape management process and incorporated this idea into a landscape management approach, with community participation as the heart of the JICA Master Plan (Nagai, 1977).

2.9 Scholars' Criticisms of the JICA Master Plan and Counterarguments from Nagai

It has been argued that some of the conflicts surrounding Borobudur stemmed from the planning process itself, specifically the approach proposed by the JICA team and taken on by the authorities. Several scholars have offered criticisms of the procedure concerning the creation phase of the JICA Master Plan. Wall and Black (2004) argue that:

the master plan was prepared without the knowledge or input of local people ... A top-down approach to planning was adopted in which government officials and international consultants imposed what they considered best on an unsuspecting local population. Furthermore, the planners, who lived in very different circumstances, tried to anticipate the needs of local people rather than to consult with them about their hopes and fears. As a consequence, the spiritual value of the monuments to local people was underestimated for they and their families had grown up in the shadows of the monuments and had a close affinity with them... it is suggested that heritage professionals have been slow to learn from the rural development community concerning the merits of public participation, equitable resource distribution and local involvement in decision making and in the distribution of benefits. (p. 438)

Additionally, Hampton (2005) underlines this position by asserting that “a management plan was jointly formulated by the Gadjah Mada University and JCIP (Japan City Planning) consultants without local consultation” (p. 739). Kausar & Nishikawa (2012) also asserts that:

The Master Plan, drafted without residents' knowledge, outlines village improvement policies – policies which concentrated largely on the process of removing people and their homes which were clustered near the monument ... A zoning plan insisted on the need for the move and for subsequent controls to be placed on the development outside the park as well ... there was a general misunderstanding, reinforced by the presence of the Japanese

experts, that this project was a private venture and that businessmen stood to benefit from great profits at the villagers' expense. This reason indicates that somehow in the process of park development, there was lack of communication between villagers and people in the project, hence this misunderstanding occurred ... The author's survey also found a lack of local government's participation in the process of recreation park development. (pages 53-55)

Taylor (2004) also asserts:

Site planning is a process often not well understood in heritage management and calls for expertise able to respond to the *genius loci* of a site or place as well as an understanding of cultural heritage management issues. Many sites around Asia, for example Borobudur quoted above, are compromised by poor site planning where such ancillary facilities as car parks, visitor centers and facilities are sited incorrectly and where visual and physical intrusion from adjacent land uses may be abrupt and distracting to the setting and enjoyment of the heritage place (p. 429).

Nagai explained, during my aforementioned interview, that the JICA team had been strictly instructed by the authorities not to interact with local communities, especially during field surveys. The reasons given for this position are unknown. Given this state of affairs, the JICA team was obliged to discuss their draft plans only with the Indonesian counterpart team members, most of whom were from the UGM and were not locals. These Indonesian team members were then left to communicate issues raised in the JICA Plan to the local people in the Borobudur area. Nagai (1977) outlines that, from 1973 to 1976, there were four field surveys, ten comprehensive discussions with their Indonesian counterparts, and nine interim report submissions to the Indonesian authorities. In addition, according to the JICA Master Plan (1979), there were six joint meetings with the Indonesian government and five field surveys between 1978 and 1979. A number of revisions of the draft plan were prepared after the receipt of comments and issues raised by the Indonesian counterparts, who had received feedback on the draft plan from the local Borobudur community. Kompas, a national newspaper which includes a local edition for each region of the country, reports (1979a and 1979b) that there were community consultation meetings on the subject provided by the authorities in March and October of 1979.

According to Kompas (1979), Dr. Haryati Soebadio, Director General of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture, and Dr. Achmad Tirtosudiro, Director General of Tourism at the Ministry of Communications and Chair of the Indonesian Steering Committee of the JICA Master Plan, explained the draft JICA Master Plan and the planned regulations to the locals and received a number of questions from community members. Nagai further argues that the JICA Plan was based on results from two research projects conducted by the Research Center of Architecture at the UGM in 1973 and 1977–1978. This process consisted of a series of in-depth community meetings with the goal of evaluating the status of the community environment in order to define the socio-economy of all twenty villages at Borobudur in the context of the project and to review the plans prepared earlier by the JICA team. In this

regard, Nagai emphasizes that the JICA Plan indeed adopted a community-based approach to its work. Iwasaki (2009) clarifies that:

It is important to know that JICA study 1973–1974, 1975–1976 and 1978–1979 have been carried out with consultation to and coordination with the Consultative Committee of UNESCO for restoration project implemented since 1973 and completed in 1983. Besides, the series of JICA study had been well integrated with the studies of socio-economic, community and village improvement, mostly done by University of Gajah Mada commissioned by governments off and on since 1973 to 1979. Therefore, JICA Master Plan 1979 is a product of consolidated and integrated wisdom given by all concerned government decision makers, notable archeologists, intellectuals, professionals and community members. (p. 5)

2.10 Japanese Heritage Practitioners to Support the Landscape Concept in the JICA Master Plan

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the CC members were unanimous in supporting Chihara's initiative and the landscape protection concept aspect of the JICA Master Plan. Dr. Masaru Sekino, a Japanese Steering Committee member of the JICA study team, played a supporting role to Nagai and Chihara. When visiting Indonesia between 24 January and 4 February 1979, he met Achmad Tirtosudiro. Sekino (1979) claimed that zoning was the most pivotal principle for long-term preservation of historical monuments and landscape. Sekino further referred to an example adopted in Japan, the Heijo Palace in Nara, the imperial palace during most of the Nara period (710–784 A.D.), showcasing how historical monuments could be legally protected and noting the requirement of and commitment to a long term process. This site, with a 1 km² protection zone, took more than 50 years to be officially recognized as a national historical site; this finally happened in 1952. Sekino (1979) further suggested that the Indonesian authorities adopt a zoning system for the protection of historical monuments and landscape, of which designation should be achieved as clearly and as early as possible.

The JICA Master Plan referred to *kejawen* philosophy, proposed by Nagai and CC's recommendations and initiated by Chihara, along with support of Sekino. These were based on Japanese-influenced landscape concepts and legislation and attempted to introduce a management system to maintain the wider landscape of Central Java surrounding the Borobudur Temple. The JICA Master Plan, adopted by the Indonesian authorities in 1979, encompassed diverse features with the historic and natural environment surrounding Borobudur. The JICA Plan clarifies that "It is our duty now in the latter part of the twentieth century to ensure that these landscapes continue to be passed on to future generations" (Japan International Cooperation Agency, 1979, p. 10). In April 1980, the Indonesian government agreed to implement the JICA Master Plan through a financial loan known as the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF), along with the Japanese government.

2.11 Conclusion

Considering the diverse and living cultural landscape of Borobudur, the JICA Master Plan, based on the results of preliminary studies—the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Regional Feasibility Study (1975–1976)—attempted to conceptualize the complexity of heritage values and to draw public involvement through management of cultural and natural resources, considering that both are reciprocally integral elements in terms of heritage value. This was attempted in the 1970s and sought to acknowledge the intrinsic link between nature and culture as well as the importance of local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement in the preservation of Borobudur’s cultural landscape (Nagaoka 2015b). I assert that the JICA Plan attempted to introduce an innovative concept of heritage value that differed from the then current material-centric concept; it emphasized tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture and gave heritage a function and meaning for the community.

The JICA Plan also proposed to protect a wider historical climate and the natural environment surrounding the Borobudur Temple. By adopting the Japanese Ancient Cities Preservation Law, I argue that the JICA Plan introduced the concept of an integrated zoning system for the preservation of historical monuments and the scenery around cultural properties.

Although a number of scholars have critiqued the procedure concerning the creation phase of the JICA Master Plan, the majority of their critiques of the JICA Plan center on the idea that the plan was created without the knowledge of the nature of Java’s unique culture and was done so in a hasty manner, without the input of local people and with a top-down approach to planning. These critiques believe that relevant government officials and international consultants imposed what they considered best in order to preserve the area. I assert that these researchers have not studied the three-consecutive series of JICA Plans in the 1970s, nor have they reached out to any of the Japanese planners involved in the creation process of the JICA Plan. Therefore, their critiques are flawed. In contrast, I argue that the proposal of the JICA Plan adopted a community-based approach to its work despite restricted conditions. The plan took place over seven years, between 1973 and 1979, before reaching a final proposal. Meanwhile, a series of missions to the site were executed, and they proceeded along with a number of consultation processes between the committee members of Japan and Indonesia. In addition, a number of revisions of the draft plans were recurrently prepared after the receipt of comments and issues raised by Indonesian counterparts who had received feedback on the draft plan from the local community at Borobudur.

Recognizing that working with communities enables identification of a broader range of heritage values, which had previously been undermined by official policies, the JICA Master Plan precociously attempted to help develop this approach in the 1970s. The JICA Master Plan attempted to introduce an innovative concept of heritage value, emphasizing tangible and intangible heritage as integral aspects of culture and giving heritage a function and a meaning for the community. I thus

assert that the JICA Plan explored a pioneering heritage management approach in the 1970s: the concept of cultural heritage was to move away from the focus on monumental and physical heritage or cultural property and to conceptualize heritage by widening landscaping as an integral part of heritage value representing the combined work of nature and man. In order to realize this concept and approach, the JICA Plan urged that the government and communities ought to have a joint stake in creating a new concept of heritage value, including listening to others in order to maintain a meaningful future for the region.

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