

1970年代以降のボロブドゥールにおける遺跡周辺の景観整備の変遷と維持について

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LANDSCAPES MANAGEMENT AT BOROBUDUR, INDONESIA SINCE THE 1970S

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1. Introduction

Beginning in the late 1980s and early 1990s, a global heritage discourse of an enlarged value system emerged. This discourse embraced issues such as cultural landscape and settings, living history, intangible values, vernacular heritage, and urban landscapes with community involvement. The early 1990s saw a move against the European-dominated discourse of heritage as well as the concept of authenticity in the World Heritage system and other European-oriented classifications. The Asian experience in heritage discourse has begun to have a significant impact on the European standard. For example, the 1994 Nara document articulated a developing Asian approach to authenticity, recognizing ways and means to preserve cultural heritage with community participation and various interpretations of heritage, many of which were contrasted to those existing in Europe. Additionally, in the 1990s, there began to be recognition of the concept of cultural landscape, which differed according to Asian and European conceptualizations of the idea. These different ideas are evident in the case of the Borobudur Temple and its 1991 nomination into the World Heritage List.

The heritage management approach at Borobudur, in the 1970s and 1980s, was not necessarily contrary to European concepts. Rather, intricate factors became entangled in the creation and execution of the Borobudur heritage management; this involved a local value-based approach influenced by the concept of Japanese historical natural feature management, during the post-colonial period, with a conservation ethic

strongly influenced by more than three and half centuries of Dutch colonization. Without thorough research into this historical account, and an analysis of the facts, a misleading interpretation of heritage management concepts at Borobudur would occur in the JICA Master Plan, which was proposed in the 1970s.

2. Research question and objective

Considering on-going international debates on European and Asian approaches to heritage discourse, preceding heritage studies on Borobudur management as well as my experience in Indonesia between 2008 and 2014, the main research question I seek to answer through this paper is the following:

How the management of the Borobudur historical monument, and its landscape, has developed since the 1970s, reaching current exclusive national legislative framework.

Contrary to the monument centric approach, the concept of the JICA Master Plan, published in 1979, attempts to preserve cultural landscape with community participation as the landscape with natural systems has formed a distinctive character and has impacted the interaction between individuals and their environment for some time. This concept sharply contrasts with that of the European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage.

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*]', designated in Article 1 of the World Heritage Convention. This Convention became the first international legal instrument to recognize and protect cultural landscape as a category on the World Heritage list through its incorporation in the Operational Guidelines (OGs) to the World Heritage Convention. Prior to this movement, the JICA Master Plan proposed a re-conceptualization of heritage, with the idea of returning to local understanding and moving away from Eurocentric notions of cultural heritage. The Plan helped to expand the definition of heritage value from the monument to the wider landscape in Central Java, including the intrinsic linkage between nature and culture as well as local practices, rituals, and beliefs associated with community involvement (Nagaoka 2015, 237). The JICA Plan also aimed to refine the definition of cultural heritage in Indonesia as the Plan developed the concept emphasizing tangible and intangible heritage as an integral part of culture, giving heritage a function and meaning for the community (Japan International Cooperation Agency 1979, 5).

In order to answer the above research question, the following objectives need to be addressed:

1. To elucidate a chronological account of the evolution of the Borobudur management plan and its system in the 1970s and 1980s through a detailed study of the JICA Plan, relating three other JICA Plan documents;
2. To examine how the 1931 *Monument Act* and the World Heritage system have influenced the management concepts and practices at Borobudur in the 1980s and 1990s, the time of the site's nomination for the inscription on the World Heritage List in 1991 and the country's heritage discourse from the 1990s onwards; and,
3. To identify the similarities and differences between the JICA Master Plan and the newly adopted Borobudur Presidential Regulation in 2014 and the country's first Spatial Plan at Borobudur, on which work began in 2007.

3. Research methodology

This research builds on both an extensive literature review and quantitative data analysis for the identification of factors and elements affecting the country's policy on heritage management.

With respect to the literature review, the research consists of five aspects: firstly, previous and on-going theoretical discussions and debates around the ideas of European theoretical and practical understanding of heritage will be examined. These can be found in numerous scientific publications and academic journals. Secondly, the research reviews the Asian perceptions of heritage, which 'may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture' (ICOMOS 1994), while examining the Japanese national legislation on the protection of cultural properties: this was developed in the nineteenth century. Thirdly, the research examines the historical account of Indonesian heritage discourse as well as a series of related documents and plans for the preservation of the Borobudur Temple and its landscape, created during the 1970s. An example of such documents includes contracts between the Governments of Indonesia and Japan, the Borobudur Park management authorities, and the international campaign for the safeguarding of Borobudur (Safeguarding Borobudur Project), unpublished documents from Japanese specialists involved in the Safeguarding Borobudur Project and the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s. Archives are stored at the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo; this archive contains vast documentation concerning both projects. Fourth, this research looks at a number of UNESCO's documents regarding the protection and management of the World Heritage Convention in order to identify existing inconsistencies. Lastly, it examines extensive documentation generated both at the international level and under the World Heritage system; this documentation mostly comes from the World Heritage Committee, the Advisory Bodies, the World Heritage Centre,

the UNESCO office in Jakarta. This applies at the national level, under the Indonesian authorities (in particular the Presidential Decree), including Indonesia's national laws and charters and any official and unpublished documents concerning the Borobudur Temple management.

With regard to the quantitative data analysis, semi-structured questionnaires were distributed to the local community of Borobudur. Additionally, one-to-one interviews with key experts in Indonesia and Japan, as well as representatives of the local community at Borobudur, who were involved in the planning and implementing phases of the JICA Master Plan, were used in order to support and clarify secondary data collected throughout this research. Contextual research emphasises understanding the point of view of local villagers regarding their social, cultural, economic and political environment. Recognition of this study as a contextual one is essential in carrying out its first objective: investigating a shift in heritage and landscape management, at Borobudur, from a community point of view. Consequently, the integrated approach embraced in this study enables the community's view about the current heritage discourse at Borobudur to be presented.

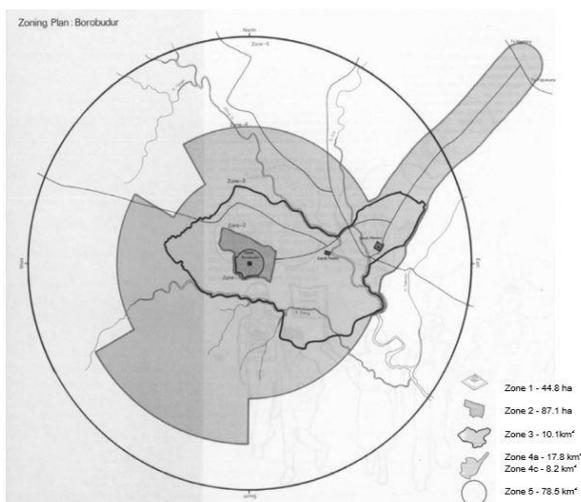


Figure 1. Integrated zoning system (source: JICA Master Plan)

4. Significance of study

There are a plethora of existing studies on the Borobudur Temple; these focus on restoration, archaeology, architecture, conservation, art history, tourism and development, and the impact on local people as a result of the conservation intervention at the Borobudur Temple in the 20th century (Errington, 1993; Chihara, 1986; Fatimah & Kanki, 2012; Kausar, 2010; Soekmono, 1976 and 1983; Tanudirjo, 2013; Wall & Black 2004; Yasuda et al., 2010). However, there has not yet been a detailed study concerning the progression of landscape management at Borobudur. This study attempts to fill this gap through a historical account and analysis of the Borobudur landscape plan and its implementation since the 1970s.

Meanwhile, a number of scholars have offered criticisms of the process involved in the creation of the JICA Master Plan. Their principle critique is that the Plan adopted a top-down approach without knowledge of the area's values and culture and without the input of the local population. However, these studies did not thoroughly examine the four consecutive collections of Borobudur management plan documents – these were essential not only to the JICA Master Plan (1978-1979) but also to the contiguous three JICA study reports concerning a wider area management at Borobudur: the Regional Master Plan Study (1973–1974) and the Project Feasibility Study (1975–1976), as well as the implementation document entitled the Updated Former Plans and Schematic Design for Borobudur and Prambanan National Archeological Parks Project (1981-1983). Furthermore, although their critiques speak to the research results regarding restricting the community's voices with regard to the JICA Master Plan, none of these have reached the major players in the JICA Master Plan study team members or the Indonesian government officials who created and executed the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s and 1980s. This research has primarily drawn on four series of documents and plans for the preservation of the Borobudur landscape created and implemented

during the 1970s and 1980s.

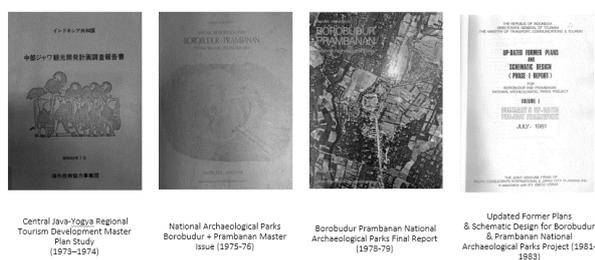


Figure 1. A series of JICA Studies (Source: PT Taman Wisata)

This study also draws on a sequence of one-to-one interviews with key Indonesian and Japanese experts involved in the planning and implementing process of the JICA Master Plan. Moreover, the study examined documents from Japanese specialists involved in the Safeguarding Borobudur Project and the JICA Master Plan in the 1970s. After these individuals' passing in 1997 and 2001 respectively, the families of Dr Daigoro Chihara and Dr Masaru Sekino, who both led the JICA Study Team in the 1970s, donated their personal archives to the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties in Tokyo. This archive contains their entire documentation concerning both projects, including personal communication memos, unpublished reports, draft restoration plans, meeting minutes, correspondence with the Indonesian authorities and UNESCO, and references, photos and scientific papers delivered at a number of international symposia in the 1970s and 1980s. The study also introduces the unpublished personal document of Yasutaka Nagai, who led the JICA study team as its planning coordinator from 1973 to 1980, with a view to clarifying how the concept of an integrated zoning system was created and evolved throughout the four subsequent JICA Plans in the 1970s.

The study aims to contribute to the growing literature base looking to critique management concepts and practices surrounding spatial zoning approaches at Borobudur proposed by the JICA Plan, while providing a holistically detailed historical account of the evolution of the

Borobudur management plan since the 1970s. While documentation of the cultural landscape approach in the Southeast Asian World Heritage setting has received a lot of attention recently, there has not been a lot of research into the World Heritage sites in the region in order to clarify how different cultural locations might shed light on improved management. This work aims to provide useful empirical material about the way in which World Heritage properties might be managed.

5. Dissertation structure

This paper will be presented in seven chapters. The first chapter provides background, research questions and objectives, research methodology, significance of the study and structure of dissertation. The second chapter includes a general introduction to Borobudur and its surrounding areas, including historical setting, geographical features, its discovery in the 1900s and restoration movements in the 20th century A.D. The chapter will also include an overview of academic Borobudur studies conducted since the 19th century and information about the current condition of the Borobudur Temple. The third chapter introduces a heritage management discourse of Borobudur in the 1970s. The three JICA Plans were consecutively created from 1973 to 1979, and this research clarifies the differences between the European and Asian theoretical and practical understanding of heritage, in particular regarding cultural landscape. This chapter also clarifies how the comprehensive legal framework in Japan, which aims to protect cultural properties and their wider settings, was developed through Japanese heritage laws. This Japanese heritage discourse has influenced the concept of the JICA Plan, which aimed to expand and reinforce the existing protection system at Borobudur and correspond to the society's requirements. The fourth chapter provides a historical account of the implementation phase of the JICA Master Plan in the 1980s. This chapter analyzes ways in which the JICA Plan attempted to explore and refine heritage value and its

management, promoting recognition of buffer zones as a tool not only to protect the property of historical monuments but also to interpret the values of the surrounding areas and strengthen the bond between people and heritage. This chapter also clarifies how the early World Heritage system has influenced the concepts, practices, and legislative measures of Indonesia's heritage management at Borobudur. The fifth chapter discusses current heritage discourse in Indonesia approximately 35 years after the Park Project completion, which saw a change in the definition of "heritage value" as well as adoption of a wider cultural landscape concept with regard to Borobudur. This chapter attempts to elucidate the similarities and differences between the JICA Master Plan and the country's Spatial Plan at Borobudur. It will also attempt to identify the geographical change of land use within zone 3 of the JICA Master Plan, which measures approximately 10 Square kilometers (1,000 ha.); this is achieved by comparing data from the 1979 JICA Plan to the survey results carried out by UNESCO in 2009. The sixth chapter clarifies how a move of community-driven heritage management in the beginning of the 21st century was reinforced and promoted by the Indonesian authorities; this was vital to the JICA Master Plan. Community-driven tourism initiative has been in place since the 1990s, with local businesses using natural and cultural resources and authorities in the 21st century trying to include community members in heritage management. To explore the natural catastrophic disaster at Borobudur in 2010, analysis of semi-structured questionnaires was employed in 2012 and 2013 within the local community at Borobudur; this chapter aims to elucidate the notion that these factors contributed to an increased awareness of, and pride in, the environmental setting and culture, helping to promote community participation in heritage management and strengthening the bond between heritage and people. A fundamental power shift from the authority-driven heritage

discourse to community-participation, with regard to wider landscape preservation, was recommended in the JICA Master Plan in 1979. The final chapter in this paper concludes with recommendations of the development of wider landscape protection with community-involved initiatives in heritage management for future action, thus helping to enhance community representation in the region and meeting the obligations of the national government with regard to heritage management, as stipulated in Article 5 of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972).

6. Conclusion

The paper concludes that an important milestone in the Indonesian heritage discourse was the introduction of the Borobudur management plan to Indonesia in the 1970s; this concept was developed by Japanese heritage practitioners. Acknowledging the similarities in landscape contexts between central Java and the Nara prefecture in Japan, members of the JICA study team sought to use their knowledge of the preservation approach of historic climate linking with heritage and its surrounding cultural landscape, along with existing and living Javanese ideas of landscape, and to incorporate this concept into a management system for the wider area of Central Java. This JICA Master Plan attempted to preserve not only the architectural features of the temples but also wider landscape surrounding the temples; community participation was key to the plan. The study also asserts that the JICA Master Plan explored a pioneering and integrated approach to buffer zones, evolving from a pure layer of geographical protection around a monument to a much wider concept inclusive of the holistic contribution of educational, social, and economic development. The plan was particularly important

to the newly adopted National Spatial Plan at Borobudur within the new Presidential Regulation in 2014. However, the JICA Plan was not realized because the authorities had to follow the then World Heritage system at the time of the site's nomination for inscription into the World Heritage List in 1991.

The study explores the shift in Indonesia's heritage management discourse at Borobudur, from an authority-driven monument-centric approach to a community-based approach for wider landscape preservation from the late 1990s until the early 21st century. Rich natural and traditional resources were utilized, as were authorities' initiatives toward community participation in heritage management in the early 21st century; looking at the natural disaster at Borobudur occurring in 2010, community-driven heritage management was explored, with the resulting wider cultural landscape protection at Borobudur, which was reinforced and promoted by the Indonesian authorities and community members. The study concludes that the Indonesian heritage discourse has currently evolved exclusively away from both colonial conservation ethic, which is strongly influenced by the Netherlands, and the Japanese heritage discourse.

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