

COLONIAL COLLECTIONS COMMITTEE

RECOMMENDATION

Please note this is an unauthorised translation of the original Dutch text of Recommendation I-2023-2, Kris buitgemaakt bij Klungkung

Object	Kris seized at Klungkung
Current owner	State of the Netherlands
Custodian	National Museum of World Cultures
Restitution request from	The Republic of Indonesia
Date of restitution request	1 July 2022
Recommendation number	I-2023-2
Date of recommendation	12 May 2023
Committee	mr. L.Y. Gonçalves-Ho Kang You (chair), Professor L.N.K. van Broekhoven, Professor R. Raben, Dr A.F. Schrikker (members)
Secretary	J.A. van Ooijen MA

1. The object

A kris is a dagger that is often worn as a sign of authority or dignity and which is said to have mystical powers. The investigated kris has an undulating blade with patterns in various metals (*pamor*). Precious stones have been added to the hilt ring between the blade and the hilt. The curved golden hilt is also inlaid with precious stones. The hilt and the sheath indicate Balinese provenance. The kris is currently part of the National Art Collection in the custody of the National Museum of World Cultures (hereinafter referred to as 'NMVW'), registered under inventory number RV-3600-193.

2. The policy framework

The assessment in this recommendation has been made within the framework of the *Policy Vision on Collections in a Colonial Context* of the Minister of Education, Culture and Science.¹ The policy vision is based on the *Colonial Collection and a Recognition of Injustice* report by the Council for Culture.² A restitution request may be submitted by a State where the Netherlands exercised colonial power for an extended period of time.

The assessment parameters are summarized in the Policy Vision as follows:

The Committee first establishes whether the provenance research is sufficient.

¹ Policy vision, 29 January 2021, <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2021/01/29/rapport-beleidsvisie-collecties-uit-een-koloniale-context>

² Report, 7 October 2020, [Colonial Collection and a Recognition of Injustice | Advies | Raad voor Cultuur](#)

The Committee then establishes whether an involuntary loss of possession has occurred. This entails an assessment of whether it can be established to a reasonable degree of certainty that the requested cultural object was involuntarily lost in a country where the Netherlands exercised colonial authority for an extended period of time. If it is established that this is the case, an unconditional return of the cultural object items will be recommended.

If it cannot be established on the basis of the provenance that there has been an involuntary loss of possession, and the cultural objects are of a particular cultural, historical or religious significance to the country of origin, the Committee will make a considered judgement, based on the various interests involved. The importance of restitution to the country of origin should be weighed in reasonableness and fairness against other relevant interests.

Relevant interests may include the cultural significance of the cultural object to the country of origin, the communities concerned in the countries of origin and in the Netherlands, the significance for the Collection Nederland, the future conditions in which the items would be kept, and public accessibility. Items can be of great importance to national and regional traditions and the identity of a country, people, community, or individual. The importance of a cultural object will often be different to the Netherlands than to the country of origin. For Dutch persons with roots in the countries of origin too, cultural objects in Dutch museums may have a special meaning.

If the requested item originates from a former colony of another power, the Committee also makes a considered judgment. The importance of restitution to the country of origin should be weighed in reasonableness and fairness against other relevant interests. However, the rectification of injustice will have to be the starting point in the assessment. In this case, the injustice has not been caused by the Netherlands, but the Netherlands, as the current owner of the items, is the only party capable of rectifying this injustice.

If the Committee recommends that an item or items be returned to the State requesting them, account should be taken – in accordance with the Heritage Act and the *Policy Vision on Collections in a Colonial Context* of the State Secretary for Culture and Media – of the public collections disposal procedure; the recommendation by the Committee should also be regarded as a recommendation on the indispensability and irreplaceability of the item as meant in Section 4.18 of the Heritage Act.

3. The procedure

On 1 July 2022, the Republic of Indonesia submitted a request to the State Secretary for Culture and Media for the restitution of a kris that was seized in Klungkung. On 17 November 2022, the State Secretary asked the Colonial Collections Committee (hereinafter, ‘the Committee’) to advise on the request.

The custodian of the object, the National Museum of World Cultures, has carried out a provenance investigation and issued a report on the matter on 31 October 2022. The Committee discussed the restitution request and the provenance report at its meeting of 21 December 2022. The Committee had no additional questions.

On 10 February 2023, the Committee spoke with Professor Wayne Modest, Director of Content, as a representative of the NMVW, the custodian of the collection. He stated his support for the restitution policy and his belief in the importance of working in partnership with the country from which the items originated.

On 30 January 2023, the Committee informed Dr Hilmar Farid, General Director of Cultural Affairs in Indonesia, and Mr Bonnie Triyana, the secretary of the Indonesian Repatriation Committee (hereinafter, 'the Repatriation Committee') about the progress of the procedure. An English translation of the provenance investigation was shared with the Repatriation Committee.

On 6 March 2023, the Committee spoke with Dr I Gusti Agung Wesaka Puja, the chair, a number of members, and the secretary to the Repatriation Committee. During the meeting, the subject was raised of whether there were any further questions about the request. This was not the case. The provenance investigation therefore gave no rise to any additional questions from the Repatriation Committee.

On 10 March 2023, the Committee discussed the restitution request again and decided to make the recommendations shown below.

4. The provenance research

The provenance investigation was carried out by Mr T. Quist MA, who works as a provenance researcher at the National Museum of World Cultures. The report of the investigation is appended to these recommendations (*Appendix 1*).

The contents of the report are regarded as part of this recommendation. In a summarized form, the researcher set out the following findings in the report.

The provenance research into the kris with object number RV-3600-193 in the collection of the National Museum of Ethnology, part of the National Museum of World Cultures (NMVW), has confirmed that the weapon was seized in April 1908 by the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) during a *puputan* (ritual battle to the death) in Klungkung in south-east Bali. The provenance investigation has not been able to establish whether this occurred on the battlefield or after the battle in Klungkung Palace. Nor is it clear whether the kris had been the property of Dewa Agung Jambe II, the ruler of Klungkung, or a family member. Some of the spoils of war taken by the KNIL from Klungkung were shipped to the Netherlands in November 1908. As the objects were distributed among various museums, the kris was taken in March 1909 to the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Military Academy in Breda, the collection of which was taken over by the National Museum of Ethnology in 1956.

5. Assessing the restitution request

The restitution request was submitted by a State where the Netherlands exercised colonial power for an extended period of time, and therefore the *Policy Vision on Collections in a Colonial Context* is applicable.

The Committee is of the opinion that the investigation was conducted properly and provides a sufficiently solid basis on which to make a recommendation. A thorough source investigation has been carried out and existing knowledge has been critically evaluated. The report provides sufficient information about the origins of the kris, its removal, and its transport to the Netherlands.

The Committee subsequently examined whether this involved an involuntary loss of possession as meant in the policy framework. In doing so, the Committee considered the following.

It is important to establish who the owner of the kris was and whether permission was granted for the taking or the removal of the kris.

From the report, the following has emerged about the circumstances in which the kris was taken. The kris was seized by the KNIL in Klungkung on Bali in late April 1908. The 1908 military campaign was a punitive raid against the court of Klungkung under the ruler Dewa Agung Jambe II, who had resisted the Dutch monopolization of the trade in opium and whose population had appropriated the cargo of a Chinese schooner. After KNIL troops had arrived at Klungkung Palace, a *puputan* took place in which the ruler and more than one hundred of his family members and close relatives perished. There were also around 50 injured on the Balinese side. This brought an end to the KNIL expeditions that had been taking place on Bali since 1846.

On 4 May 1908, an inventory was created of the objects that had been seized. It stated that most krisses had been seized on the battlefield. No more specific provenance details have been found in the sources consulted about this requested kris.

Some of the items seized by the KNIL from Klungkung were shipped to the Netherlands in November 1908. In March 1909, various objects that had been seized during the expedition in Klungkung were donated by the Ministry of Colonies to the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Military Academy. Among the approximately 15 objects was the kris that became part of the collection, numbered 211. The kris was subsequently re-numbered 193. The collection was taken over by the National Ethnography Museum in 1956.

In summary, it appears from the provenance investigation that the kris was seized by the KNIL during the *puputan* in Klungkung in late April 1908.

Several questions remain unanswered. Exactly who the lawful owner was remains unknown, but it is clear that the kris must have belonged to Dewa Agung Jambe II or someone close to him. Nor has it been possible to establish when or where exactly the kris was removed, be it on the battlefield or later, during the looting of Klungkung Palace. However, the possible answers to these questions are not important for the purpose of the assessment. What is clear is that the KNIL seized the kris and was not the owner.

On the basis of the aforementioned reasons, contained in the provenance report, the Committee is of the view that it can be established to a reasonable degree of certainty that the requested cultural object was involuntarily lost in a country where the Netherlands exercised colonial authority for an extended period of time. On the basis of the foregoing, the Committee recommends that the kris be unconditionally returned on account of the involuntary loss of possession.

The Committee has been asked to advise on the application of Section 4.18 of the Heritage Act if it recommends that the requested objects be returned. In the view of the Committee, the rectification of a past injustice prevails in this case and therefore Section 4.19 of the Heritage Act does not apply.

6. The recommendation

The Committee has assessed the restitution request and recommends to the State Secretary the unconditional restitution of the kris with inventory number RV-3600-193 to the Republic of Indonesia.

This recommendation was adopted by the Colonial Collections Committee on 12 May 2023.

The chairperson

The secretary

Lilian Gonçalves-Ho Kang You


Jo'anne van Ooijen

Appendix

1. Provenance report concerning kris seized during puputan in Klungkung (Bali) (T. Quist MA, 31 October 2022)

Provenance Report regarding Staatsiekris – keris (Ceremonial Kris)

Tom Quist

 <p>Photo: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Inv.no. RV-3600-193</p>	Custodian	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current possessor	Dutch State
	Inventory number	RV-3600-193
	Material/technique	Iron, nickel, wood, precious stones, gold, ivory
	Measurements	Length: 67.5 cm Length of blade: 54 cm Length of hilt: 13.5 cm Length of sheath: 54 cm

Summary of findings

The provenance investigation concerning the kris, inventory number RV-3600-193 in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, which is part of the National Museum of World Cultures (NMVW), has confirmed that the weapon was looted by the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army in April 1908 during the *puputan* (“fight to the end” ritual) in Klungkung (Bali). The provenance investigation was unable to establish whether this happened on the battlefield or afterwards in the Royal Palace of Klungkung. It was similarly not established whether the kris was the property of Dewa Agung Jambé II, the ruler of Klungkung, or someone close to him. Some of the spoils of war taken by the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army from Klungkung in November 1908 were shipped to the Netherlands. The objects were divided up between a number of museums, with the kris being transferred in March 1909 to the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Military Academy (KMA) in Breda, whose collection was taken over in 1956 by Museum Volkenkunde.

Reconstruction provenance

≤ 1908

(Relative of) Dewa Agung Jambe II, Klungkung

NL-HaNA, 2.10.52.01, inv. no. 453, mail report no. 727, copy of telegram Resident Bali and Lombok, 04-05-1908; inv. no. 610, copy of missive Resident Bali and Lombok, 29-06-1908, p. 3.

1908

Government of the Dutch East Indies, Batavia (presently Jakarta)

NL-HaNA, 2.10.36.04, inv. no. 610 "Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië," 14-11-1908, no. 7.

1909-1956

Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Military Academy, Breda

NL-LdnRMV, A16, file no. 6: "Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Ethnographische Verzameling, Register, I," 1909, p. 9; file no. 26, "Aanwinstenboek van de Ethnografische Verzameling van de Koninklijke Militaire Academie," 1949, p. 2.

1956-present

NMVW Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda. Van Indische verzameling tot Rijksmuseum Justinus van Nassau en de Vereniging voor Volkenkunde* (Breda 2011) 56-58.

Introduction and context

In December 2021, NMVW conducted provenance research into the kris with inventory number RV-3600-193 in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, followed by reporting in January 2022. The kris was selected as part of Work Package D of the Pilot Project Provenance Research on Objects of the Colonial Era (PPOCE) because the weapon was looted by the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL) during an expedition on Bali in 1908. The kris is currently part of the permanent Indonesia display in Museum Volkenkunde.

The 1908 military campaign was the result of Balinese resistance led by Dewa Agung Jambe II, the ruler of Klungkung, to the monopolisation of the opium trade by the Dutch colonial administration. A *puputan* took place after KNIL troops arrived at the Palace of Klungkung on 28 April 1908. During this "fight to the end" ritual, the ruler died along with over a hundred family members and others close to him when, bearing krisses and lances, they advanced towards Dutch gunfire. Approximately fifty Balinese were also wounded.¹ Afterwards, a few survivors were banished to Lombok.² The *puputan* in Klungkung marked the end of a long series of KNIL expeditions on Bali that had started in 1846. As far as the Dutch side was concerned, the 'pacification' of the island was deemed to be complete. There was now direct or indirect colonial administration everywhere.³

The wavy blade of the kris has *pamor* - patterns in shades of grey obtained by forging together different steel layers containing iron and nickel.⁴ There are six precious stones on the gold ring

¹ National Archives of the Netherlands (NL-HaNA), accession no. 2.10.52.01: Ministry of Colonies: Politieke Verslagen en Berichten uit de Buitengewesten, 1898-1940, inventory number 453: Bali and Lombok, 28-06-1909 no. 1, 1908-1909, mail report no. 834, "Dagboek van den Chef van den Staf van de Excursie in Zuid-Bali," p. 9.

² National Library of the Netherlands (KB), Delpher, *De locomotief*, 07-05-1908, p. 2, article "De excursie naar Bali," <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001664016:mpeg21:a00006>, consulted on 13-01-2022.

³ Piet Hagen, *Koloniale oorlogen in Indonesië. Vijf eeuwen verzet tegen vreemde overheersing* (Amsterdam 2018) 377; Francine Brinkgreve, "Vorsten van Bali en koloniaal gezag. Collectievorming en politiek," in Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs (eds.), *Indonesia. De ontdekking van het verleden* (Amsterdam 2005) 122-146, esp. 137.

⁴ Edward Frey, *The Kris: Mystic Weapon of the Malay World* (Oxford 1988) 31.

joining the blade to the hilt. The curved gold hilt is inlaid with 24 gemstones. The kris's inventory cards in the NMVW collection management system indicate that the figure on the hilt is a malignant demon (rakshasa), but according to European literature the deity Bayu is usually depicted on figurative Balinese kris hilts.⁵ Besides the hilt, the sheath is also indicative of a Balinese provenance.⁶ The ivory sheath opening transitions into a *kayu pelet* (speckled wood) sheath, which is part gilt and part silver plated on one side. A motif of flowers and tendrils can be seen at the top of the gilded section. Further research in cooperation with Indonesian kris experts could therefore focus, among other things, on identifying the figure on the hilt.



Photos: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Coll.no. RV-3600-193.

Provenance report

The kris has been part of the collection of Museum Volkenkunde since 1956. That was when the collection of the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Military Academy (KMA) in Breda was transferred to Leiden, where it was registered in the collection as series 3600. The museum in Breda continued to exist until 1993 as a subsidiary institution of Leiden as Volkenkundig Museum Justinus van Nassau.⁷

Initially the kris was given the inventory number 211 in the collection in Breda, but later this was changed to 193.⁸ The number was probably changed around 1940, when the curator and KMA

⁵ David van Duuren, *De kris. Een aardse benadering van een kosmisch symbool* (Amsterdam 1996) 84; Frey, *The Kris*, 45.

⁶ Frey, *The Kris*, 43, 45, 48 (fig. 10a), 52, fig. 9a, fig. 12a, fig. 14a, fig. 14c.

⁷ Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda. Van Indische verzameling tot Rijksmuseum Justinus van Nassau en de Vereniging voor Volkenkunde* (Breda 2011) 56-58; Wikipedia. "Volkenkundig Museum Justinus van Nassau."

https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volkenkundig_Museum_Justinus_van_Nassau, consulted on 10-01-2022.

⁸ National Museum of Ethnology (NL-LdnRMV), accession no. A16: "Justinus van Nassau" Museum of Ethnology Archives, National Museum of Ethnology, Breda Section, file number 6: "Koninklijke Militaire Academie, Ethnographische Verzameling, Register, I", 1909, p. 9.

lecturer, Jan Marginus Somer (1899-1979), compiled a new inventory of the collection.⁹ The old number was part of the numbering used by Claas Spat (1865-1931) when registering objects in collection. They are also known as the spat numbers.¹⁰ Spat was a lecturer at the KMA and keeper of the collection until into the nineteen-twenties. He started collecting ethnographic objects from the Indonesian Archipelago in 1905 to serve as examples of actual items used in the field as part of the training of non-commissioned officers taking the East Indies curriculum at the KMA.¹¹

In March 1909, a number of objects that had been looted during the Klungkung expedition were donated by the Ministry of Colonies to the KMA's Ethnographic Museum. The kris was among these fifteen objects and was given the collection number 211.¹² Johannes Diederich Eduard Schmeltz (1839-1909), Director of Museum Volkenkunde, sent the objects to Breda.¹³ In January 1909, the Ministers of the Interior and Colonies assigned Schmeltz the task of distributing the looted objects from Klungkung that were shipped to the Netherlands. He was assisted in this by Anton Willem Nieuwenhuis (1864-1953) and Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857-1936), professors at Leiden University.¹⁴ In addition to the KMA's Ethnographic Museum, other recipients of objects included the Koloniaal Museum in Haarlem (the present Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam), the Museum voor Land- en Volkenkunde in Rotterdam (the present Wereldmuseum), and the ethnographic collection of the Hoofdcursus Kampen (which merged with the KMA's collection in 1923¹⁵).¹⁶ The remaining objects were incorporated into the collection of Museum Volkenkunde.¹⁷ All the spoils of war from Klungkung that were brought to the Netherlands in 1908 have been part of the collections of NMVW and the Wereldmuseum since the merger of Museum Volkenkunde and the Tropenmuseum in 2014.

At the end of November 1908, the spoils of war from Klungkung were transported on board the steamship *Wilis* to Rotterdam, where they arrived at the end of December.¹⁸ The shipment from Batavia went ahead after the Governor-General of the Dutch East Indies decided in mid-November to allocate a part of the spoils of war from Klungkung to "eligible museums in the Netherlands," to donate a second part to the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (the present Museum Nasional Indonesia), and to sell off a third part publicly for the benefit of the Government of the Dutch East Indies.¹⁹ The decision corresponds to the division proposed by the board of the Bataviaasch Genootschap, which was asked for advice in September 1908 about the allocation of the

⁹ Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda*, 32, 43; Wikipedia. "Jan Marginus Somer." https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jan_Marginus_Somer, consulted on 11-01-2022.

¹⁰ NL-LdnRMV, A16, file no. 26: "Aanwinstenboek van de Ethnografische Verzameling van de Koninklijke Militaire Academie waarin opgenomen de verzameling van de H.C. te Kampen," 1949, p. 2; Wikidata. "Claas Spat." <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q63004149>, consulted on 11-01-2022.

¹¹ Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda*, 22, 29.

¹² NL-LdnRMV, A16, file no. 25: 'Correspondentie - nummers (rood) behorende bij het Aanwinstenboek', letter from the Director of the Rijks Ethnographic Museum, 18-03-1909 (with enclosure); file no. 26, 'Aanwinstenboek', p. 2.

¹³ In 1909, the museum was still known as Rijks Ethnographisch Museum. For reasons of clarity and consistency, this provenance report only uses the name Museum.

<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/49596645>, consulted on 12-01-2022.

¹⁴ NL-LdnRMV, accession no. A01: Correspondence archive 1867-1962, inv. no. 70: Correspondence, 1909 official, copy of letter Minister of the Interior, 19-01-1909 (with enclosures); inv. no. 232: Official Register Oct. 1908 - Jun. 1912, p. 39-41, 76;

<http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/10075365>; https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anton_Willem_Nieuwenhuis, consulted on 12-01-2022.

¹⁵ Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda*, 29.

¹⁶ NL-LdnRMV, A01, inv. no. 221: Register Nov. 1908 - Sept. 1909, pp. 242-245.

¹⁷ NL-LdnRMV, A01, inv. no. 70, letter from curators of Leiden University, 21-01-1909 (with enclosure).

¹⁸ NL-HaNA, accession no. 2.10.36.04: Ministry of Colonies, Public Report 1901-1953, inv. no. 610: 1909 Jan. 13 - 18, draft letters principal secretary Minister of Colonies, 04-01-1909; KB, Delpher, *De locomotief*, 28-11-1908, p. 6, 'Scheepsberichten' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001647073:mpeg21:a00086>, consulted on 12-01-2022; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 24-12-1908, p. 14, 'Scheepstijdingen' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010335811:mpeg21:a0166>, consulted on 12-01-2022.

¹⁹ NL-HaNA, 2.10.36.04, inv. no. 610, "Extract uit het Register der Besluiten van den Gouverneur-Generaal van Nederlandsch-Indië," 14-11-1908, no. 7.

objects.²⁰ That June, George François de Bruyn Kops (1859-1945), Resident of Bali and Lombok, had already recommended “converting the spoils of war into cash for the benefit of the public finances in so far as they have no special ethnographic, archaeological or artistic value.”²¹

From newspaper reports and correspondence between De Bruyn Kops and the Government of the Dutch East Indies, it emerged that the spoils of war from Klungkung were shipped from Bali to Batavia in May 1908 on the government steamship *Cycloop*.²² On 4 May, six days after the *puputan*, De Bruyn Kops notified the Governor-General in a telegram that the looted objects had been inventoried.²³ This inventory revealed that a number of kris sheaths were missing or had been switched.²⁴ The Resident also reported that most of the krisses had been looted on the battlefield.²⁵ The Ministry of Colonies archives consulted during the investigation provided no further details regarding the kris that found its way into the hands of the KNIL during the *puputan* in Klungkung. Newspapers in the Dutch East Indies did report the expedition and wrote about some looted krisses with gold figurative hilts set with precious stones, but these descriptions are not sufficiently detailed to enable identification of the kris with inventory number RV-3600-193.²⁶

Summarising, the provenance investigation has confirmed that the kris was looted by the KNIL during the *puputan* in Klungkung in April 1908, but it was unable to establish whether this happened on the battlefield or afterwards in the Royal Palace of Klungkung. It is similarly not clear whether the kris was the property of Dewa Agung Jambe II or someone close to him.

²⁰ *Notulen van de Algemeene en Directievergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen. Vol. XLVI, 1908* (Batavia 1908) 102; NL-HaNA, 2.10.36.04, inv. no. 610, missive Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 05-10-1908; missive Director of Education, Worship and Industry, 12-11-1908.

²¹ NL-HaNA, 2.10.36.04, inv. no. 610, missive from the first government secretary, 22-08-1908; <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/63795289>, consulted on 13-01-2022.

²² KB, Delpher, *De locomotief*, 21-05-1908, p. 2, article “De toestand in Zuid-Bali,” <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001664054:mpeg21:a00010>, consulted on 13-01-2022; *De locomotief*, 25-05-1908, p. 6, ‘Scheepsberichten’ section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=MMKB23:001664064:mpeg21:a00088>, consulted on 13-01-2022; *Beschrijving van eenige tijdens de Zuid-Bali Expedities (1906-1908) buitgemaakte vorstelijke poesaka-wapens* (unpublished typescript undated) 36. There is an analogue copy of the typescript in the office of the NMVW South and Southeast Asia curators in Leiden.

²³ NL-HaNA, 2.10.52.01, inv. no. 453, mail report no. 727, copy of telegram from the Resident of Bali and Lombok, 04-05-1908.

²⁴ *Beschrijving poesaka-wapens*, 37.

²⁵ NL-HaNA, 2.10.36.04, inv. no. 610, copy missive from the Resident of Bali and Lombok, 29-06-1908, p. 3.

²⁶ See for example, KB, Delpher, *Soerabaijasch handelsblad*, 07-05-1908, p. 5, ‘Nederlandsch-Indië’ section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011088925:mpeg21:a0032>, consulted on 13-01-2022; *Bataviaasch nieuwsblad*, 16-05-1908, p. 5, article ‘Uit Bali’, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011033811:mpeg21:a0088>, consulted on 13-01-2022.