

COLONIAL COLLECTIONS COMMITTEE

RECOMMENDATION

Objects	Statue of Brahma from the Singasari temple complex, RV-1403- 1582
Current owner	The State of the Netherlands
Custodian	Wereldmuseum Leiden (National Museum of World Cultures)
Application for restitution from	The Republic of Indonesia represented by the <i>Tim Repatriasi Koleksi Asal Indonesia di Belanda</i> team ¹
Date of application for restitution	20 September 2023
Recommendation number	ID-2023-8
Date of recommendation	28 June 2024
The Colonial Collections Committee ² consisting of	Lilian Gonçalves-Ho Kang You (chair), Laura van Broekhoven, Remco Raben, Alicia Schrikker (members)
Secretariat	Jona Mooren, Meehea Park

1. The application

On 20 September 2023 the Republic of Indonesia submitted an application to the Dutch State Secretary for Culture and Media for restitution of the statue ‘Brahma, RV-1403-1582, Collection NMVW’.

2. The object

The statue of the Hindu god Brahma is from Singasari, a Hindu-Buddhist temple complex located close to the town of Malang (East Java) which dates from the late 13th century. Possibly the most important statue of the temple complex, it is currently part of the Dutch National Art Collection in the custody of Wereldmuseum Leiden, where it is registered under inventory number RV-1403-1582.

¹ The *Tim Repatriasi Koleksi Asal Indonesia di Belanda* team consists of Nadiem Anwar Makarim, Retno Marsudi (directors), Hilmar Farid (person responsible), I Gusti Agung Wesaka Puja (chair), Bonnie Triyana (secretariat), Oman Faturrahman, Sri Margana, Junus Satrio Atmodjo, Ninie Susanti Tedjowasono, Gabriel Roosmargo Lono Lastoro Simatupang, Irmawati Marwoto, Bondan Kanumoyoso (members), Sadiah Boonstra (external adviser).

² The Advisory Committee on the Restitution of Cultural Objects from a Colonial Context (in short: Colonial Collections Committee) was established on 6 September 2022 by the Dutch State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science.

3. The policy framework

The assessment in this recommendation was made within the framework of the *Policy vision on collections from a colonial context* of the Dutch Minister of Education, Culture and Science.³ The policy vision is based on the Council for Culture report *Colonial Collection, a Recognition of Injustice*.⁴ Applications for restitution of a cultural object may be made by any State where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule for an extensive period of time.

The assessment framework set out in the Policy vision can be summarised as follows:

First the Committee determines whether the provenance research is satisfactory.

Then the Committee establishes whether involuntary loss of possession occurred. To this end it assesses whether it can be established with a reasonable degree of certainty that possession of the cultural object whose restitution is requested was involuntarily lost in a country where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule for an extensive period of time. If it is established that this is the case, the Committee will recommend unconditional restitution of the cultural object.

If it cannot be established from the provenance history whether involuntary loss of possession occurred, and to the extent that the cultural objects in question are of particular cultural, historical or religious significance for the country of origin, then the Committee will consider the interests involved, whereby the importance of restitution for the country of origin shall be weighed against other relevant interests based on reasonableness and fairness.

Relevant interests may include the cultural importance of the cultural object to the country of origin, the communities involved both in the countries of origin and in the Netherlands, the significance to the Netherlands Collection, future storage conditions and public access. Objects may be significant for national and regional traditions as well as for the identity of a country, people, community or individual. A cultural object will often be of different importance to the Netherlands than to the country of origin. Colonial cultural objects in Dutch museums may also be of special significance to Dutch citizens with roots in the countries of origin.

If the object whose restitution is requested originates from a country that was colonised by another power then the Committee will similarly consider the interests involved, thereby weighing the importance of restitution for the country of origin against other relevant interests based on reasonableness and fairness. Rectifying injustice must, however, be the starting point in this assessment. In such a case, whilst the Netherlands did not cause the injustice, as the current holder of the objects it is the only party that can rectify that injustice.

If the Committee recommends in favour of restitution to the applicant state then the transfer of title procedure for public collections shall be observed – in accordance with the Dutch Heritage Act and the *Policy vision on collections from a colonial context* of the State Secretary for Culture and Media – and the Committee's recommendation shall also be regarded as a recommendation on the indispensability and irreplaceability of the object in the sense of article 4.18 of the Dutch Heritage Act.

³ Policy vision, 29 January 2021,

<https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/documenten/kamerstukken/2021/01/29/rapportbeleidsvisie-collecties-uit-een-koloniale-context>

⁴ Report of 7 October 2020, <https://www.raadvoorcultuur.nl/documenten/adviezen/2021/01/22/colonial-collection-and-a-recognition-of-injustice>

4. The procedure

On 20 September 2023 the Republic of Indonesia submitted an application to the Dutch State Secretary for Culture and Media for the restitution of the statue of Brahma. On 7 November 2023 the State Secretary requested the Colonial Collections Committee (hereinafter referred to as: 'the Committee') to advise on the restitution application.

The custodian of the objects, Wereldmuseum Leiden (formerly the National Museum of World Cultures), researched the provenance of the object and reported its findings on 27 February 2024. The Committee discussed the provenance report at its meeting of 26 April 2024 and had no additional questions.

An English translation of the provenance report was shared with the *Tim Repatriasi Koleksi Asal Indonesia di Belanda* team (hereinafter referred to as: the Indonesian Repatriation Committee) on 18 April 2024. The Committee asked whether the Indonesian Repatriation Committee had any further questions regarding the provenance report. On 20 June 2024 the Indonesian Repatriation Committee responded that this was not the case.

On 31 May 2024 and 28 June 2024 the Committee discussed the restitution application and resolved to recommend as stated below, subject to approval of the provenance report by the Indonesian Repatriation Committee.

5. The provenance research

The provenance research was carried out by Tom Quist, who works as a provenance researcher at Wereldmuseum Leiden. The research report is attached as an appendix to this recommendation (Appendix 1).

The provenance report is an integral part of this recommendation.

The provenance research into the object drew on museum inventories, colonial government records, scientific publications and ego documents. The report contains the following findings.

The provenance report follows on from provenance research conducted into other statues whose restitution was requested previously by the Republic of Indonesia and which are also from the Singasari temple complex, namely statues depicting Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara and Ganesha. On 12 May 2023 the Committee recommended the unconditional restitution by the State Secretary of these four statues to the Republic of Indonesia.

The statue of the god Brahma is from the Singasari Hindu-Buddhist temple complex in East Java. The late 13th-century temple complex is regarded as a shrine dedicated to Kertanegara, the last ruler of the kingdom of Singasari. The only part that remains of the original structures is Candi Singasari, referred to in Dutch sources as the 'Tower Temple'.

The statue of Brahma may have been the most important statue of a temple dedicated to this god at the complex. The provenance report refers to the 1817 publication *The History of Java* in which Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1831) gives the following description of the statue: "Near the bull, and placed against a tree, is a magnificent Brahma. The four heads are perfect, except that there is a mutilation about the nose. The figure is highly ornamented, and more richly dressed than is usual."⁵ Raffles's account is accompanied by an illustration which bears many similarities to the currently

⁵ Appendix 1, p. 3

claimed statue. According to Raffles the statue was found close to another statue from the temple that had been placed against a tree. The provenance report mentions the possibility that the statues had been put there by local residents to prevent their removal by collectors.

According to the report colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831) had six other statues removed from the Singasari temple complex in 1802 and placed in the gardens of his residence in Semarang. A British report from 1814 states that following the removal of these objects by Engelhard local residents hid statues from the temple complex amongst the trees on or around the complex, to prevent them from being taken away by collectors. The provenance report states that, contrary to Engelhard's claims, the statues definitely were still important to the people of Java.⁶

The provenance research was unable to establish exactly when the statue of Brahma was removed from the temple complex. What is not in question is that the statue is from the Singasari temple, with the provenance report stating that this is confirmed by various colonial and more recent studies. It is also known that Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773- 1854), Director of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences with the colonial government in Batavia, played a leading role in having the statue shipped to the Netherlands. He visited the temple complex in January 1822 and included a brief description of it in his travel account *Reis naar het oostelijke gedeelte van den Indischen archipel, in het jaar 1821 door C.G.C. Reinwardt*.⁷ According to the provenance report it is likely that Reinwardt found the statue at the temple complex and had it transferred to Batavia. On his return voyage to the Netherlands in June 1822 Reinwardt took with him various objects from Batavia, including the statue of Brahma. Back in the Netherlands Reinwardt proposed that the statue be added to the collection of the archaeological cabinet of Leiden University, later to become the National Museum of Antiquities. In 1904 the statue was moved from the National Museum of Antiquities to the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, precursor of the Wereldmuseum Leiden.⁸

6. Assessment of the restitution application

The Committee finds that the application for restitution was submitted by a State where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule for an extensive period of time and is therefore subject to the *Policy vision on collections from a colonial context*.

On 12 May 2023 the Committee recommended in favour of the unconditional restitution by the Secretary of State of four statues which are also from the Singasari temple complex to the Republic of Indonesia.⁹

The Committee is of the opinion that the provenance research was conducted properly and provides a satisfactory basis for issuing a recommendation. Thorough source research was undertaken and a critical evaluation of the existing knowledge was made. The report provides sufficient information regarding the origins of the statue of Brahma, its removal and its transportation to the Netherlands.

Next, the Committee examined whether involuntary loss of possession occurred in the sense set out in the policy framework. To establish this, the Committee considered as follows.

It is not known who, or which institution, was the rightful owner of the Singasari temple complex. Nor was it established when the statue was removed from the complex.

⁶ Appendix 1, p. 4

⁷ Appendix 1, p. 5

⁸ Appendix 1, p. 6

⁹ <https://committee.kolonialecollecties.nl/publications/advisory-reports/2023/05/12/indonesia>

The provenance research showed that the statue came from the temple complex in Singasari, which was open to the public. The Committee deduces from this that the statues were not objects that did not belong to anyone, for example because they had been left there (what is known as *res nullius*), but that they belonged to any entity that had established this temple complex with these statues or, in the case such entity no longer existed, that the temple complex was in any case public property.

Furthermore it can be assumed based on the provenance research that Reinwardt was not the owner and was not given permission for the removal. The provenance report furthermore refers to a British report from 1814 that states that, in response to the removal of statues by Engelhard a few years previously, local residents who lived near the complex had sought to hide various statues amongst the trees on or around the complex. This shows that local people opposed the removal of the statues. According to Raffles the currently claimed statue was found close to a statue of Nandi, which had been positioned against a tree. The provenance report states that this may have been an attempt by local residents to prevent it from being removed by collectors.

Based on the above grounds, which are set out in the provenance report, the Committee is of the opinion that it has been demonstrated with a reasonable degree of certainty that the cultural object whose restitution is requested was involuntarily lost in a country where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule for an extensive period of time. In view of the foregoing the Committee recommends unconditional restitution of the statue of Brahma on the grounds of involuntary loss of possession.

The Committee was asked to advise on the application of article 4.18 of the Dutch Heritage Act should its recommendation be in favour of restitution of the requested object. It is the opinion of the Committee that rectification of past injustice prevails in this case, meaning that article 4.18 of the Heritage Act is not applicable.

7. The recommendation

The Committee has assessed the application for restitution and recommends the unconditional restitution by the Minister of the statue of Brahma from the Singasari temple complex, RV-1403- 1582, to the Republic of Indonesia.

This recommendation was adopted by the Colonial Collections Committee on 28 June 2024.

Chair

Secretariat

Lilian Gonçalves-Ho Kang You


Jona Mooren and Meehea Park

Appendix

1. Research report regarding Statue of Brahma from temple complex of Singasari (Tom Quist, 27 February 2024)

Research report

Subject: Statue of Brahma from temple complex of Singasari
Date: 27 February 2024
Author: Tom Quist

 <p>Photo: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen</p>	Custodian	Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen
	Current owner	Dutch State
	Name and object number	Brahma , RV-1403-1582
	Material/technique	Andesite
	Dimensions	Height: 212 cm Width: 87 cm Depth: 58 cm

Summary of research results

The statue of Brahma was probably removed from the Hindu-Buddhist temple complex of Singasari, East Java in 1822, on the instructions of colonial administrator Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt. That same year, Reinwardt took the statue with him when he returned to the Netherlands, where in 1823 it became part of the collection of the Museum van Oudheden (Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden. In 1904 the statue was transferred to the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum (National Museum of Ethnology), now known as Wereldmuseum Leiden.

Reconstructed provenance

≤ 1822

Singasari temple complex

C.J.C. Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden, in den jare 1819 uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden* (Amsterdam 1826) p. 31; W.H. de Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel, in het jaar 1821 door C.G.C. Reinwardt* (Amsterdam 1858) pp. 628-630.

1823-1904

Museum van Oudheden, after 1860s named Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

NL-HaNA, 2.04.01, inv.no. 4149, Besluit minister van Publiek Onderwijs, Nationale Nijverheid en Koloniën, 13-03-1823, no. 439; NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1822-1823, 'Javaansche beelden'.

1904-present

Wereldmuseum Leiden

NL-LdnRMV, Seriedossier RV-1403, 'Proces-Verbaal van Voorwerpen enz. overgenomen uit het Rijks Museum van Oudheden te

Introduction

This statue of the Hindu god Brahma is from the Singasari Hindu-Buddhist temple complex in East Java. The complex, situated close to the town of Malang, dates from the late 13th century (Gregorian calendar) and is regarded as a shrine dedicated to Kertanegara, who was the last ruler of the kingdom of Singhasari from 1268 to his death in 1292. The only part of the original structures which remains is Candi Singasari, referred to in Dutch colonial and post-colonial sources as the 'Torentempel' ('Tower Temple').¹ The statue of Brahma may have been the most important statue at a temple dedicated to this god at the complex.²

After colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831)³ visited Candi Singasari in 1802, he had six statues (of Hindu deities) removed from the temple and installed in the garden of his residence at Semarang.⁴ The statue of Brahma was not one of them. Several colonial and post-colonial studies describe the statue as part of the Singasari complex,⁵ but its provenance has never been reconstructed on the basis of archive material.

This report results from provenance research conducted in two stages. In September-October 2022 research was performed in connection with a request from Indonesia for the return of four of a total of seven statues from the temple complex Singasari which were in the collection of Wereldmuseum Leiden until the restitution to Indonesia in July 2023.⁶ The statue of Brahma was not included in this request, though it was researched. The data gathered were used to continue and complete the research that was conducted in response to the second request for restitution from Indonesia, which was made in September 2023.⁷

Provenance report

As far as is known, the first mention of the statue of Brahma in colonial sources was made by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826), in his 'History of Java' (1817). As the lieutenant-governor of Java, Raffles was the head of the British colonial administration which had brought an end to the Dutch

¹ Nandana Chutiwongs, 'Candi Singasari – A Recent Study' in Elisabeth A. Bacus, Ian C. Glover & Peter D. Sharrock (eds.), *Interpreting Southeast Asia's Past: Monument, Image and Text* (Singapore 2008) 100-121, ibidem 100-104. 'Candi Singasari' is used in reference both to the 'Tower Temple' and to the entire temple complex. To distinguish between the temple and the complex, the terms 'Candi Singasari' is used in this report to refer to the temple.

² Chutiwongs, 'Candi Singasari', 116-117; John Sijmonsbergen and Fanny Wonu Veys (eds.), *Masterpieces of Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde* (Amsterdam 2013) 97.

³ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/21378759>, accessed on 14-02-2024.

⁴ National Archives (NL-HaNA), finding aid 2.21.004.19, inventory number 196, Copy of record of journey by governor Nicolaus Engelhard to Oosthoek, 1802 September 15 - 1802 November, 12-10-1802; finding aid 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, Communication from Engelhard to lieutenant colonel Mackenzie concerning Prambanan and other subjects of an archaeological nature, 1811/1812, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'; C.J.C. Reuvs, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden, in den jare 1819 uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden* (Amsterdam 1826) 25.

⁵ Reuvs, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 31; J.L.A. Brandes, H.L. Leydie Melville, J. Knebel and G.P. Rouffaer, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentooneelen van Panataran* ('s-Gravenhage 1909) 42, 96; Jessy Blom, *The Antiquities of Singasari* (Leiden 1939) 89-90; Chutiwongs, 'Candi Singasari', 116-117; Sijmonsbergen and Veys, *Masterpieces of Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde*, 96-97.

⁶ Letter from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) to the National Museum of World Cultures (NMVW), I2022 081/110, 17-11-2022.

⁷ Letter from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science to the NMVW, I2023 051/110, 07-11-2023.

(Holland-Zeeland) presence in the Indonesian archipelago in 1811, and made way in 1816 for a national colonial administration as part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.⁸ Raffles visited Singasari in 1815, and his book *The History of Java*, published in 1817, included the following passage about the statue:

'Near the bull, and placed against a tree, is a magnificent Brahma. The four heads are perfect, except that there is a mutilation about the nose. The figure is highly ornamented, and more richly dressed than is usual'.⁹

Raffles's description was accompanied by an illustration which bears resemblance to the Brahma in Wereldmuseum Leiden's collection.



Left: Raffles, *The History of Java*. Volume II, 42, plate no. 1. Right: Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, object number RV-1403-1582.

⁸ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Indonesia/The-French-and-the-British-in-Java-1806-15>; <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Stamford-Raffles>, both accessed on 14-02-2024.

⁹ Raffles, *The History of Java*. Volume II, 42.

Three of the four heads with beards and hair piled on top of the head are clearly visible in the drawing. The damaged noses to which Raffles refers appear to be intact here, and there are no moustaches. Several of the god's attributes are however included in the illustration. In the bottom left corner is his mount, a goose, with a water jug and lotus plant above it. A water jug and lotus plant can also be discerned on the other side, along with a fly swat in one of the raised hands. The hands at the front, held in the meditation position, are holding a lotus bulb.¹⁰ In the drawing, the back section of the statue is taller than it is in reality, leaving no room for a fourth head. It is for this reason that Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793-1835)¹¹, professor of archaeology at Leiden University, and custodian of its archaeological collection, which is now the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, stated in 1826 that 'the drawing appears to have been made in great haste, or from memory'.¹²

According to Raffles the statue of Brahma was close to a statue of the bull Nandi, the mount of the god Shiva.¹³ The fact that this Nandi in the early 20th century was against a tree led the authors of a monograph on the temple complex published in 1909, following an archaeological investigation commissioned by the Dutch colonial administration, to speculate that Engelhard had intended to take it, too, to Semarang. When he found he was unable to take the statue, he had left it against the tree, was the theory.¹⁴ Another possibility is that the statue had been placed there by local residents near Singasari to prevent it from falling into the hands of European collectors. A British report of 1814 explicitly mentions local residents attempting to conceal several statues in the woods or near the temple complex, to keep them out of the hands of collectors. The report says that these attempts were a direct response to Engelhard's removal of the six statues.¹⁵ This response demonstrates that, even after the spread of Islam, these Hindu-Buddhist statues were still important to the people of Java.¹⁶ Engelhard maintained the opposite when he responded to a list of questions about temple complexes in Java from British collector lieutenant-colonel Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821)¹⁷ in 1811/1812.¹⁸ He attempted to retroactively legitimise his collecting practices by denying the importance of these and other statues to the people of Java. Archaeologist Nicolaas Johannes Krom (1883-1945)¹⁹ aptly summarised Engelhard's true intentions in a 1920 paper on Mackenzie's

¹⁰ Sijmonsbergen and Veys, *Masterpieces of Rijksmuseum Volkenkunde*, 97; Chutiwongs, 'Candi Singasari', 116-117.

¹¹ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/00690532>, accessed on 14-02-2024.

¹² Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 31 (note a, continues on 32); <https://www.rmo.nl/museumkennis/geschiedenis-en-collectie/rijksmuseum-van-oudheden>, accessed on 22-02-2024.

¹³ Raffles, *The History of Java. Volume II*, 42; <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Nandi-Hindu-mythology>, accessed on 14-02-2024. This refers to statue of Nandi which was not the one that Engelhard encountered there in 1802. That statue had already been installed in the garden of Engelhard's residence in Semarang when Raffles visited the temple complex. See: Brandes et al., *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, 27, 54.

¹⁴ Brandes et al., *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, 96.

¹⁵ Sarah Tiffin, 'Raffles and the Barometer of Civilisation. Images and Descriptions of Ruined Candis in The History of Java', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society Series 3* 18 (3) (2008) 341-360, ibidem 357. The report in question is in the British Library, and at the time of the provenance research could only be accessed in hard copy. A request for digitisation was submitted to the British Library's Digitisation Services in July 2023. No response has been received to date.

¹⁶ Tiffin, 'Raffles and the Barometer of Civilisation', 357-359.

¹⁷ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q2668210>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colin_Mackenzie, both accessed on 15-02-2024.

¹⁸ NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, 'Response to Question 1'. A transcription of this source appears in: N.J. Krom, 'Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 76 (1) (1920) 435-448, ibidem 439-443.

¹⁹ <https://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn3/krom>, accessed on 27-02-2024.

questionnaire and Engelhard's responses: 'he loved such statues, had formed a collection of them and was naturally only too pleased to make use of this favourable opportunity to add a number of fine examples to this collection'.²⁰

It cannot be said for certain when the statue of Brahma was removed from the temple complex. It is however clear that Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854)²¹ played a leading role in shipping the statue to the Netherlands. Reinwardt was director of matters concerning agriculture, arts and sciences in the colonial administration in Batavia from 1816 to 1822, and in that capacity he was involved in the collection and transportation to the Netherlands of natural history objects.²² It was clear as early as 1817 that he interpreted his remit more widely, when he had the six statues that Engelhard had installed at Semarang transported to Batavia on the *Amsterdam*. After the statues had been brought ashore in Batavia, through the mediation of governor-general Godert Alexander Gerard Philip van der Capellen (1778-1848),²³ three of them were transported to the Netherlands on another ship. All of the statues thus escaped being lost at sea, as the *Amsterdam* was wrecked off the coast of South Africa in 1817, on its way to the Netherlands.²⁴

In January 1822 Reinwardt visited the temple complex on his way to Batavia after a trip round the Moluccas and Sulawesi.²⁵ His record of this trip, which was later published in print,²⁶ includes a brief description of Singasari.²⁷ He discusses several statues, but does not mention the statue of Brahma. He does however report a collection of statues at the home of the assistant resident of Malang, D. Monnereau (†1825).²⁸ The statue of Brahma may have been there in 1822, which would mean it had been taken from the temple complex earlier. In that case, Monnereau must have given the statue to Reinwardt, as he had previously with other statues from his collection.²⁹ There is however no such attribution for the statue of Brahma. In 1826 Reuvens merely reported that Reinwardt had said that the statue was from Malang.³⁰ All in all, it would seem more likely that Reinwardt found the statue at the temple complex and decided then, or shortly after his visit, to have it transported to Batavia.

²⁰ Krom, 'Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden', 446.

²¹ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/40457008>, accessed on 15-02-2024.

²² W.H. de Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel, in het jaar 1821 door C.G.C. Reinwardt* (Amsterdam 1858) 32-36; Teunis Willem van Heiningen, *The Correspondence of Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854)* (The Hague 2011) 16-18, 22.

²³ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/42833600>, accessed on 27-02-2024.

²⁴ Noord Holland Provincial Archives (NL-HlmNHA), finding aid 529, inv.no. 22, Letters from C.G.C. Reinwardt to Martinus van Marum, 10-10-1818 and 10-01-1819, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12102/4C3E205BF3664B6887195EB87678433B> (scan numbers 204 and 235), accessed on 27-02-2024; Royal Library (KB), Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 16-05-1818, p. 2, 'Indië' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011209850:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 27-02-2024.

²⁵ De Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 626-630.

²⁶ See footnotes 21, 23 and 25.

²⁷ De Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 628-630.

²⁸ NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.10.01, inv.no. 3092, Register of East Indies officials, 1819, volume B, folio number 393, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/3092/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_3092_0212, accessed on 19-02-2024.

²⁹ This was the statue of the goddess Prajnaparamita which arrived at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1823, was transferred to the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum in 1904 and was returned to Indonesia in 1977. See Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 32 (note a), 180-184; Brandes et al., *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari*, 56-58; Wereldmuseum Leiden (NL-LdnRMV), Series dossier RV-1403, 'Official report of Items etc. acquired from the Rijks Museum van Oudheden in Leiden', 28-07-1904; Official report of transfer of Prajnaparamita statue, 29-12-1977.

³⁰ Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 31.

In June 1822, Reinwardt set sail for the Netherlands on the *Elizabeth*, and the statue of Brahma was one of the objects on board when the vessel departed Batavia.³¹ After an intermediate stop in England, Reinwardt arrived in Texel in late October.³² In March 1823 the Minister of Public Education, National Industry and the Colonies approved Reinwardt's proposal for the statue of Brahma to be added to the collection of the archaeological cabinet at Leiden University (the forerunner of the Museum of Antiquities, 1860s onwards the National Museum of Antiquities), along with several other statues from Java.³³ In 1904 the collection of Hindu-Buddhist statues was moved from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden to the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, as Wereldmuseum Leiden was then known. The statue of Brahma was assigned object number 1403-1582.³⁴

³¹ KB, Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 22-06-1822, pp. 1-2, 'Zee-tijdingen' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011070604:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 20-02-2024; NL-LdnRMV, finding aid A03, inv.no. 18, Inventory of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1822-1823, 'Javaansche beelden'.

³² KB, Delpher, *Leeuwarder Courant*, 15-10-1822, p. 1, 'Nederlanden' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010580947:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on 20-02-2024; *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 05-11-1822, p. 2, 'Nederlanden' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010517246:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 20-02-2024.

³³ NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.04.01, inv.no. 4149, Order of the Minister of Public Education, National Industry and the Colonies, 13-03-1823, no. 439, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.04.01/invnr/4149/file/NL-HaNA_2.04.01_4149_0501, accessed on 20-02-2024; NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventory of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1822-1823, 'Javaansche beelden'.

³⁴ NL-LdnRMV, Series dossier RV-1403, 'Official report of Items etc. acquired from the Rijks Museum van Oudheden in Leiden', 28-07-1904; Ger D. van Wengen, 'Indonesian collections in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden' in Reimar Schefold & Han F. Vermeulen, *Treasure Hunting? Collectors and Collections of Indonesian Artefacts* (Leiden 2002) 81-108, ibidem 87.