

COLONIAL COLLECTIONS COMMITTEE

RECOMMENDATION

Objects	Two statues from the Singasari temple complex: Bhairava, RV-1403- 1680 and Nandi, RV-1403- 1682
Current owner	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-2023-6
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 ‘Bhairawa, RV-1403-1680, Collection NMVW’ and ‘Nandi, RV-1403-1682, Collection NMVW’.

2. The objects

The two stone statues whose restitution is requested depict the Hindu gods Bhairava and Nandi. The statues are from Singasari, a Hindu-Buddhist temple complex located close to the town of Malang (East Java) which dates from the late 13th century. They are currently part of the Dutch National Art Collection in the custody of Wereldmuseum Leiden, where they are registered under inventory numbers RV-1403-1680 (Bhairava) and RV-1403-1682 (Nandi).

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 States 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 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 basic premise in this assessment. In this 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 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 two statues from the Singasari temple complex. 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), conducted research into the provenance of the objects and issued a report with its findings on 31 October 2022 relating to the application for restitution of four other statues. The Committee discussed the provenance report at its meeting of 24 November 2023 and had no additional questions.

An English translation of this provenance research report was shared with the Tim Repatriasi Koleksi Asal Indonesia di Belanda (hereinafter referred to as: the Indonesian Repatriation Committee). On 9 November 2023 the Committee asked the Indonesian Repatriation Committee if it had any further questions regarding the provenance report. On 26 January 2024 the Indonesian Repatriation Committee replied that it had no additional questions.

On 15 December 2023 and 28 June 2024 the Committee discussed the restitution application and resolved to recommend as stated below.

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 research into the two statues whose restitution is requested is part of the provenance research conducted into four other statues whose restitution was requested previously and which are also from the Singasari temple complex, namely statues depicting Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara and Ganesha. The provenance of the statues registered under inventory numbers RV-1403-1680 (Bhairava) and RV-1403-1682 (Nandi) corresponds to the provenance of these four other statues that were the subject of the earlier application. On 12 May 2023 the Committee recommended to the State Secretary the unconditional restitution of these four statues to the Republic of Indonesia. The statues Bhairava and Nandi were at the time not on the list of objects whose restitution was requested.

The provenance report is an integral part of this recommendation.

The findings of the researcher set out in the report can be summarised as follows.

The statues of Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi are from the Singasari Hindu-Buddhist temple complex (East Java). After stumbling across the temple complex in 1802 colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard had the six statues removed and placed in the gardens of his residence in Semarang. The provenance research was unable to establish in which year this happened. When Engelhard relinquished the statues to the colonial government in Batavia in 1817, Durga, Mahakala and Nandishvara were installed in 's Lands Plantentuin at Buitenzorg (Bogor), currently known as Kebun Raya Bogor (Bogor Botanical Gardens). Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi were shipped to the Netherlands in 1819 and installed in the gardens of the Koninkrijk-Nederlandsche Instituut in Amsterdam. The three statues that had stayed behind in Buitenzorg were shipped to the Netherlands in 1827-1828 and ended up in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities in

Leiden, where they were joined by the three statues from the gardens of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut in 1841. In 1904 the National Museum of Antiquities transferred the six statues to Museum Volkenkunde, which since 2014 has been part of the Wereldmuseum, formerly the National Museum of World Cultures (NMVW).

6. Assessment of the restitution application

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*.

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 was made of the existing knowledge. The report provides sufficient information regarding the origins of the statues, their removal and their transfer 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 important to establish who owned the temple complex and whether permission was given for the objects to be taken or removed.

Engelhard was shown the Singasari temple complex in 1802. When asked, Engelhard later stated that he “*niet [...] kunnen achterhalen of de tempel nog werd gebruikt door de lokale bevolking*” [“[...] been unable to ascertain whether the temple was still used by the local population”]. The sources did not reveal what efforts were made to establish this. What is clear is that Engelhard removed the statues from the temple complex. Although he recorded that the statues “*door het vorig Gouvernement als een particulier Eigendom mij zijn toegekend*” [were awarded to me as private property by the former government] the report does not contain any further evidence to support this statement. Several questions remain unanswered, including who, or which institution, was the rightful owner. Nor was it discovered exactly when the statues were removed.

However the possible answers to these questions are immaterial to the assessment.

This is because the provenance research shows that the statues were located in 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, e.g. because they had been left there (what is known as 'res nullius') but that they belonged to any entity that built this temple complex with these statues or, in the case that entity no longer existed, that the temple complex was in any case public property. Furthermore as indicated above it can be assumed based on the provenance research that Engelhard was not the owner and was not given permission to remove them. He kept the statues in his own garden for a while before handing them over to the colonial government, after which they were shipped to the Netherlands. In the Netherlands the statues were part of other collections before being reunited in 1904 in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, now part of the Wereldmuseum, formerly the National Museum of World Cultures.

Based on 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 objects whose restitution is requested were 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 statues 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 in the event its recommendation is for restitution of the requested objects. 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 two statues from the Singasari temple complex, Bhairava, RV-1403- 1680 and Nandi, RV-1403-1682, 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 statues from the Singasari temple complex (T. Quist, 31 October 2022)

Research report

Subject: Statues from Singasari temple complex
Date: 31 October 2022
Author: Tom Quist

	Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current owner	Dutch state
	Name and object number	Durga, RV-1403-1622
	Material/technique	Andesite
	Dimensions	Height: 175 cm Width: 130 cm Depth: 80 cm

	Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current owner	Dutch state
	Name and object number	Mahakala, RV-1403-1623
	Material/technique	Andesite
	Dimensions	Height: 175 cm Width: 86 cm Depth: 56 cm




Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
Current owner	Dutch state
Name and object number	Nandishvara, RV-1403-1624
Material/technique	Andesite
Dimensions	Height: 174 cm Width: 93 cm Depth: 50 cm



Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
Current owner	Dutch state
Name and object number	Bhairava, RV-1403-1680
Material/technique	Stone
Dimensions	Height: 162 cm Width: 101 cm Depth: 59 cm



Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
Current owner	Dutch state
Name and object number	Ganesha, RV-1403-1681
Material/technique	Andesite
Dimensions	Height: 154 cm Width: 105 cm Depth: 72 cm

	Collection	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current owner	Dutch state
	Name and object number	Nandi , RV-1403-1682
	Material/technique	Stone
	Dimensions	Height: 113 cm Width: 195 cm Depth: 120 cm

Summary of research results

The statues of Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi come from the Singasari Hindu-Buddhist temple complex (East Java). After colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard came across the temple complex in 1802, he had the six statues removed and placed in the garden of his residence in Semarang. The provenance research was unable to establish when this occurred. When Engelhard handed the statues over to the colonial government in Batavia in 1817, Durga, Mahakala and Nandishvara were installed in 's Lands Plantentuin at Buitenzorg (now Kebun Raya Bogor). Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi were shipped to the Netherlands in 1819 and placed in the garden of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut (forerunner of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences) in Amsterdam. The three statues left behind at Buitenzorg were brought to the Netherlands in 1827-1828, ending up in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities, where they were joined by the three from the garden of the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut in 1841. In 1904 the National Museum of Antiquities handed the six statues over to Museum Volkenkunde, which has been part of the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (National Museum of World Cultures, NMVW) since 2014.

Reconstructed provenance

Durga, Mahakala and Nandishvara, RV-1403-1622 to 1624

< 1808

Singasari temple complex

NL-HaNA, 2.21.004.19, inv.no. 196, Kopie dagregister van de landreis van gouverneur Nicolaus Engelhard naar de Oosthoek, 1802 september 15 - 1802 november, 12-10-1802.

≤ 1808-1817

'De Vrijheid' garden, Semarang

NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, Minuut-bericht van Engelhard aan de luitenant-kolonel Mackenzie over Prambanan en andere onderwerpen van archeologische aard, 1811/1812, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'.

1817-1827

's Lands Plantentuin, Buitenzorg (Bogor)

NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.nos. 582 en 599, Besluiten minister van Marine en Koloniën, 16-10-1827 en 06-02-1828, nos. 69 and 105; NL-HlmNHA, 529, inv.no. 22, Brieven van C.G.C. Reinwardt aan Martinus van Marum, 10-10-1818 and 10-01-1819.

1827/1828-1904

National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.nos. 586 and 610, Besluiten minister van Marine en Koloniën, 08-11-1827 and 27-03-1828, nos. 71 and 89; NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1827-1828.

1904-present

NMVW Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

NL-LdnRMV, Seriedossier RV-1403, 'Proces-Verbaal van Voorwerpen enz. overgenomen uit het Rijks Museum van Oudheden te Leiden', 28-07-1904.

Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi, RV-1403-1680 t/m 1682

< 1808

Singasari temple complex

NL-HaNA, 2.21.004.19, inv.no. 196, Kopie dagregister van de landreis van gouverneur Nicolaus Engelhard naar de Oosthoek, 1802 september 15 - 1802 november, 12-10-1802.

≤ 1808-1817

'De Vrijheid' garden, Semarang

NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, Minuut-bericht van Engelhard aan de luitenant-kolonel Mackenzie over Prambanan en andere onderwerpen van archeologische aard, 1811/1812, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'.

1817-1819

Government of the Dutch East Indies, Batavia (Jakarta)

NL-HlmNHA, 529, inv.no. 22, Brieven van C.G.C. Reinwardt aan Martinus van Marum, 10-10-1818 and 10-01-1819.

1820-1841

Garden of Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut, Amsterdam

NL-HaNA, 2.04.01, inv.nos. 4099-4100, Besluiten minister van Publiek Onderwijs, Nationale Nijverheid en Koloniën, 02-09-1820 and 14-09-1820, nos. 1288 and 1337c.

1841-1904

National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden

NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1841.

1904-present

NMVW Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

NL-LdnRMV, Seriedossier RV-1403, 'Proces-Verbaal van Voorwerpen enz. overgenomen uit het Rijks Museum van Oudheden te Leiden', 28-07-1904.

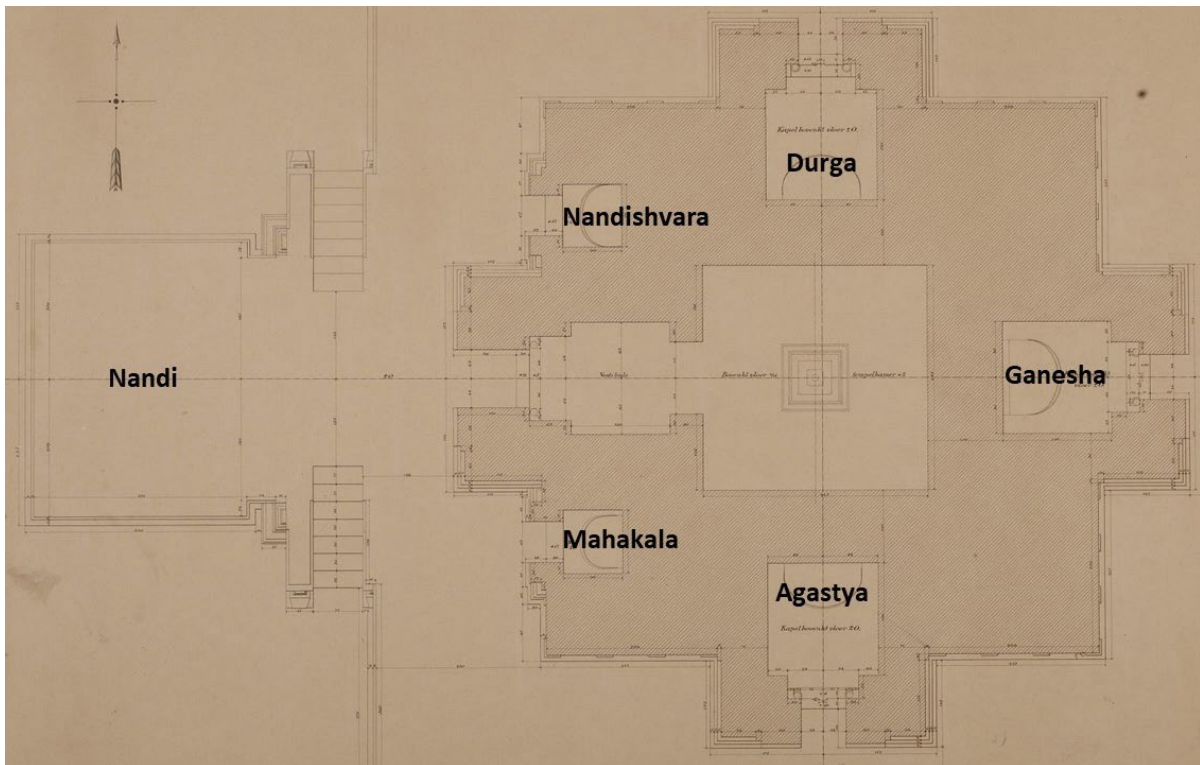
Introduction

In September and October 2022 NMVW performed provenance research on six statues that came from the Singasari Hindu-Buddhist temple complex (East Java) and have been part of the collection of Museum Volkenkunde since 1904. The temple complex, located close to the town of Malang, dates from the late 13th century and is regarded as a shrine dedicated to Kertanegara, the last ruler of the kingdom of Singhasari, who reigned from 1268 until his death in 1292. The only remaining part of the original structures is Candi Singasari, referred to in Dutch colonial and post-colonial sources as the 'Tower Temple'.¹

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.

The six statues with object numbers RV-1403-1622 to 1624 and 1680 to 1682 depict the Hindu gods Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi. Five of the statues can be linked to Candi Singasari: Durga and Ganesha stood in the northern and eastern niches, Mahakala and Nandishvara flanked the temple's western entrance, and Nandi stood in front of the western entrance. Only the damaged statue of Agastya in the southern niche survived *in situ*.

The precise location of Bhairava is unknown. The statue of Brahma (object number RV-1403-1582), which has been in the care of Museum Volkenkunde since 1904, also came from this temple complex. The same applies to the statue of the goddess Prajnaparamita that Museum Volkenkunde handed over to Indonesia in 1977, which has been in the collection of Museum Nasional Indonesia since.²



Positions of the statues in Candi Singasari. Map: Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, obj.no. RV-6196-4c.

Since Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831)³, colonial administrator and collector of Javanese antiquities, became the first European to visit Candi Singasari shortly after 1800, the temple and the surrounding complex have been a subject of interest for archaeologists, historians and other academics.⁴ The six statues have been described in several studies, though no reconstruction of their provenance based on archive research has ever been made before. The present study by NMVW thus focused on tracing and interpreting primary sources that document transfers of ownership of the six statues.

² Chutiwongs, 'Candi Singasari', 106-111, 115-117; Museum Volkenkunde (NL-LdnRMV), Seriedossier RV-1403, Proces-verbaal van overdracht Prajnaparamita-beeld, 29-12-1977;

<http://masterpieces.asemus.museum/masterpiece/detail.nhn?objectId=12147>, accessed on 17-10-2022.

³ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/21378759>, accessed on 14-10-2022;

⁴ Roy Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard and Thomas Stamford Raffles. Brethren in Javanese Antiquities', *Indonesia* 101 (April 2016) 39-66, *ibidem* 39, 41.

Provenance report

In 1802 Nicolaus Engelhard, governor of Java's Northeast Coast – a region administered from Semarang, that encompassed the present-day Indonesian provinces of Central and East Java and the Special Region of Yogyakarta⁵ – travelled eastwards along the coast of Java and Madura. The daily log of the trip kept by a clerk after the governor's departure from Semarang, which is currently in the National Archives of the Netherlands, describes how on 12 October Engelhard proceeded into the interior from Pasuruan for a trip to Malang, stopping on the way at a temple: 'His Excellency [Engelhard] took a detour to see [the temple] and found there several statues, including a female figure with an elephant's trunk, two female figures, the same riding a cow and, outside the temple, an ox of considerable size resembling the God so venerated by the Egyptians, Apis; in general all the statues were worth seeing, and had sustained little damage, so that one could still examine everything clearly'.⁶ The log refers here to Ganesha ('a female figure with an elephant's trunk'), Durga ('the same riding a cow') and Nandi ('an ox of considerable size'). Since the other 'two female figures' are mentioned as a pair, they are in all likelihood Mahakala and Nandishvara. Interestingly, the five statues in the temple were all regarded as female figures, while in fact Durga is the only goddess among them.

Previous studies have assumed that Engelhard did not come across Candi Singasari until 1803 or 1804. The evidence cited for this is in the form of two letters of 1827 in the collections of Leiden University Libraries and the National Archives of the Netherlands. In the former Engelhard refers to 'a Temple discovered in 1803, in the wilderness of Malang'⁷ and in the latter governor-general Leonard Pierre Joseph du Bus de Gisignies (1780-1849)⁸ reports 'a Temple discovered in the Malang district in 1804, under the administration of Mr N. Engelhard, as Governor of Java's Northeast Coast [...]'.⁹ The description of Candi Singasari and the statues in the log confirms, however, that Engelhard already knew of the temple's existence in 1802.

It is not known when Engelhard ordered the statues mentioned in the log to be removed from Candi Singasari. Since the visit to the temple on 12 October 1802 is described in the account of the trip as a stop on the way to Malang, it is likely that he left the statues in place on that occasion. At some later point, and at any rate before the end of his term as governor in 1808,¹⁰ Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Ganesha and Nandi were transferred to Semarang, along with the statue of Bhairava, which is not mentioned in the log. Engelhard's responses to a list of questions about Javan antiquities from British lieutenant-colonel and collector of antiquities Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821)¹¹ in 1811/1812 explain why he had the statues transported to Semarang. In the note which, like the log, is kept in the National Archives of the Netherlands,¹² Engelhard explains that he had been

⁵ <https://voc-kenniscentrum.nl/gewest-java.html>; <https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jawa>, both accessed on 17-10-2022.

⁶ National Archives of the Netherlands (NL-HaNA), finding aid 2.21.004.19, inventory number 196, Kopie dagregister van de landreis van gouverneur Nicolaus Engelhard naar de Oosthoek, 1802 september 15 - 1802 november, fol. 1 and 12-10-1802.

⁷ Leiden University Libraries (UBL), Bibliotheca Publica Latina collection (BPL) 885, Brief van N. Engelhard aan Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvens (1793-1835), 28-02-1827.

⁸ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/25031827>, accessed on 17-10-2022.

⁹ NL-HaNA, archieftoegang 2.10.01, inv.no. 599, Besluit minister van Marine en Koloniën, 06-02-1828, no. 105, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/599/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_599_0260, accessed on 19-10-2022.

¹⁰ Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard and Thomas Stamford Raffles', 60-61.

unable to ascertain whether the temple was still used by the local population. Furthermore, 'when work commenced to remove one of the same from the niches it was so damaged that it was deemed not worth the costs of transport, which probably gave reason to abandon said plan'.¹³ This refers to Agastya in the southern niches at Candi Singasari. Engelhard suggests that this statue was already damaged and that it was therefore decided that the other statues should be taken, but it is also possible that the damage occurred during the attempt to remove all of the statues from the temple. All things considered, his account appears to conceal the fact that, as an admirer of Javanese antiquities, he must have regarded this above all as an opportunity to expand his collection.¹⁴ Equally remarkable is his assertion that the statues 'were awarded to me as private Property by the former Government'.¹⁵ It is unclear whether, as previous researchers have also wondered, he was referring to the central colonial government in Batavia or the government of Java's Northeast Coast.¹⁶ If it were the latter, this would mean that Engelhard had awarded himself ownership.

In Semarang Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi were installed in the 'De Vrijheid' garden, part of Engelhard's residence.¹⁷ The six statues remained there until 1817. In August of that year, an inspection mission to Java led by governor-general Godert Alexander Gerard Philip van der Capellen (1778-1848) called at Semarang.¹⁸ The company consisted of several high-ranking colonial administrators, including Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854).¹⁹ As Director of Agriculture, Arts and Sciences with the government in Batavia, one of Reinwardt's responsibilities was to collect natural-history objects and send them to the Netherlands.²⁰ He in fact interpreted this responsibility more broadly to include Javanese antiquities, too, as evidenced by the fact that in October 1817 he had the six statues from Candi Singasari transported from Semarang to Batavia on the *Amsterdam*.²¹ Engelhard would later state that the statues were 'proffered by me to the Government, and given free of charge'.²²

¹¹ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q2668210>; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colin_Mackenzie, both accessed on 19-10-2022.

¹² NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, Minuut-bericht van Engelhard aan de luitenant-kolonel Mackenzie over Prambanan en andere onderwerpen van archeologische aard, 1811/1812, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'. A transcription of this source can be found in: N.J. Krom, 'Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 76 (1) (1920) 435-448.

¹³ NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'.

¹⁴ Krom, 'Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden', 446.

¹⁵ NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'.

¹⁶ Krom, 'Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden', 448; Jordaan, 'Nicolaus Engelhard and Thomas Stamford Raffles', 43.

¹⁷ NL-HaNA, 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, 'Antwoord op Vraag 1'; C.J.C. Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden, in den jare 1819 uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden* (Amsterdam 1826) 25; J.L.A. Brandes, H.L. Leydie Melville, J. Knebel and G.P. Rouffaer, *Beschrijving van Tjandi Singasari en de wolkentooneelen van Panataran* (The Hague 1909) 54.

¹⁸ Royal Library (KB), Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 26-07-1817 and 16-08-1817, p. 1, 'Batavia' column, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011000599:mpeg21:p001> and <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011000605:mpeg21:p001>, both accessed on 25-10-2022; <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/42833600>, accessed on 25-10-2022.

¹⁹ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/40457008>, accessed on 25-10-2022.

²⁰ W.H. de Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel, in het jaar 1821 door C.G.C. Reinwardt* (Amsterdam 1858) 32-34.

Correspondence from Reinwardt in the Archive of the province of North Holland reveals that after arrival in Batavia he actually wanted to leave the statues onboard the *Amsterdam* to be shipped on to the Netherlands. When it turned out that governor-general Van der Capellen wished to install some of them at Buitenzorg (Bogor), the six statues were nevertheless unloaded, 'which in retrospect is fortunate, otherwise they would have been lost with the ship'.²³ Reinwardt was referring here to the fact that the *Amsterdam* was wrecked off the coast of South Africa in December 1817.²⁴ The intervention by governor-general Van der Capellen led to Durga, Mahakala and Nandishvara being installed in 's Lands Plantentuin at Buitenzorg, originally established by Reinwardt and currently known as Kebun Raya Bogor.²⁵ Bhairava,²⁶ Ganesha and Nandi remained in Batavia and were loaded onboard the *Prins Frederik* in February 1819 and shipped to the Netherlands.²⁷ During an intermediate stop in England, the statues were transferred to the cargo vessel *Flora*, which arrived at Texel in July 1820.²⁸ Two months later the Minister of Public Education, National Industry and Colonies approved a request from the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut in Amsterdam, forerunner of the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, for the statues to be installed in the garden of the institute.²⁹ The research which the institute subsequently commissioned from Caspar Jacob Christiaan Reuvs (1793-1835),³⁰ a professor of archaeology at Leiden University and director of the National Museum of Antiquities, resulted in an 1826 publication entitled

²¹ Noord-Hollands Archief (NL-HlmNHA), archieftoegang 529, inv.no. 22, Brieven van C.G.C. Reinwardt aan Martinus van Marum, 10-10-1818 and 10-01-1819, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12102/4C3E205BF3664B6887195EB87678433B>, accessed on 25-10-2022; KB, Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 25-10-1817, p. 1, 'Batavia' column, 'Zee-tijdingen', <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011000582:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on 25-10-2022.

²² UBL, BPL 885, Letter from Engelhard to Reuvs, 28-02-1827.

²³ NL-HlmNHA, 529, inv.no. 22, Letter from Reinwardt to Van Marum, 10-01-1819, <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12102/4C3E205BF3664B6887195EB87678433B>, accessed on 26-10-2022. ²⁴ KB, Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 16-05-1818, p. 2, 'Indië' column, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011209850:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 26-10-2022.

²⁵ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.nos. 582 en 599, Besluiten minister van Marine en Koloniën, 16-10-1827 and 06-02-1828, nos. 69 and 105, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invr/582/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_582_0273 and https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invr/599/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_599_0260, both accessed on 26-10-2022; Teunis Willem van Heiningen, *The Correspondence of Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854)* (The Hague 2011) 19; https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kebun_Raya_Bogor, accessed on 26-10-2022.

²⁶ The file in the National Archives of the Netherlands in the note below repeatedly states that the Durga was one of the three statues transferred. In the Netherlands, however, it was found that the Bhairava, not the Durga, had been loaded onto the ship. See: Reuvs, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 22, 24.

²⁷ NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.04.01, inv.no. 4100, Besluit minister van Publiek Onderwijs, Nationale Nijverheid en Koloniën, 14-09-1820, no. 1337c, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.04.01/invr/4100/file/NL-HaNA_2.04.01_4100_0024, accessed on 26-10-2022; KB, Delpher, *Bataviasche Courant*, 20-02-1819, p. 1, 'Batavia' column, 'Zee-tijdingen', <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:011209891:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on 26-10-2022.

²⁸ NL-HaNA, 2.04.01, inv.nos. 4099-4100, Besluiten minister van Publiek Onderwijs, Nationale Nijverheid en Koloniën, 02-09-1820 and 14-09-1820, nos. 1288 and 1337c, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.04.01/invr/4099/file/NL-HaNA_2.04.01_4099_0521 and https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.04.01/invr/4100/file/NL-HaNA_2.04.01_4100_0018, both accessed on 26-10-2022; KB, Delpher, *Middelburgsche Courant*, 03-08-1820, p. 2, 'Zeetydingen' column, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010268476:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 26-10-2022.

²⁹ NL-HaNA, 2.04.01, inv.no. 4099, Besluit minister van Publiek Onderwijs, Nationale Nijverheid en Koloniën, 02-09-1820, no. 1288, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.04.01/invr/4099/file/NL-HaNA_2.04.01_4099_0520, accessed on 26-10-2022; <https://actorenregister.nationaalarchief.nl/actor->

*Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden, in den jare 1819 uit Java naar de Nederlanden overgezonden.*³¹

When Engelhard received a copy of the publication in February 1827, he wrote to Reuvens from Buitenzorg saying he would ensure that the three statues at 's Lands Plantentuin were 'also sent to Europe at an opportune moment'.³² At that point, Engelhard had been an ordinary citizen for several years, though he was still part of the colonial political elite, and corresponded with high-ranking officials like governor-general Du Bus de Gisignies.³³ Despite a lack of written evidence, it seems likely that Engelhard used his network to arrange for Durga, Mahakala and Nandishvara to be transported to the Netherlands. He soon achieved his goal, as in July 1827 governor-general Du Bus de Gisignies informed the Minister of Navy and Colonies that Durga had been loaded onboard the *De Zeeuw*.³⁴ By the time the *De Zeeuw* arrived in Vlissingen in October 1827, Mahakala and Nandishvara were onboard the *Waterloo* in Batavia.³⁵ They arrived in the Netherlands in January 1828.³⁶

In the meantime, Durga had already been donated to the National Museum of Antiquities. The Ministry of the Interior's Department of Education, Arts and Sciences had in October 1827 sought Reuven's advice as to what should be done with the statue, an opportunity which the professor and director seized upon to secure Durga for the museum in Leiden.³⁷ Reuvens stated that, since he had been out of the country at the time, he had missed the opportunity to obtain Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi in 1820, but that the Javanese antiquities that had subsequently been sent to the Netherlands had been assigned to the National Museum of Antiquities.³⁸ He was referring, among other things, to a statue of Brahma that had probably been taken from Singasari when Reinwardt visited the temple complex in 1822, and which would be transferred to Museum Volkenkunde in 1904 (object number RV-1403-1582).³⁹ Once the Ministry of the Interior expressed its support for Reuven's

[organisatie/koninklijk-nederlandsch-instituut-van-wetenschappen-letterkunde-en-schoone](https://www.organisatie/koninklijk-nederlandsch-instituut-van-wetenschappen-letterkunde-en-schoone), accessed on 26-10-2022.

³⁰ <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/00690532>, accessed on 27-10-2022.

³¹ Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, iv-v; <https://www.rmo.nl/organisatie/wie-zijn-wij/>, accessed on 27-10-2022.

³² UBL, BPL 885, Letter from Engelhard to Reuvens, 28-02-1827.

³³ http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nbnw/#source=8&page=246&accessor=accessor_index, accessed on 27-10-2022. For Engelhard's correspondence with Du Bus de Gisignies, see: NL-HaNA, 2.21.004.19, inv.nos. 288 and 290.

³⁴ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.no. 582, Besluit minister van Marine en Koloniën, 16-10-1827, no. 69, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/582/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_582_0273, accessed on 27-10-2022.

³⁵ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.no. 599, Besluit minister van Marine en Koloniën, 06-02-1828, no. 105, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/599/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_599_0260, accessed on 27-10-2022; KB, Delpher, *Middelburgsche Courant*, 11-10-1827, p. 2, 'Zee-tijdingen' column, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010269598:mpeg21:p002>, accessed on 27-10-2022.

³⁶ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.no. 596, Besluit minister van Marine en Koloniën, 18-01-1828, no. 87, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/596/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_596_0499, accessed on 27-10-2022; KB, Delpher, *Opregte Haarlemsche Courant*, 08-01-1828, p. 1, 'Nederlanden' column, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010518535:mpeg21:p001>, accessed on 27-10-2022.

³⁷ Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (NL-LdnRMO), correspondence archive, old inv.no. 17.01.02/03, Brief van de administrateur voor het Onderwijs, de Kunsten en Wetenschappen aan Reuvens, 25-10-1827, no. 32, <http://archieven.rmo.nl/uploads/r/null/3/6/36d637d47c1389040c993847a64d50c36ea9030fed0086c26bffa5a409e8e0b4/066.pdf>, accessed on 28-10-2022.

³⁸ NL-LdnRMO, old inv.no. 17.01.01/02, Minuut-brief van Reuvens aan de administrateur voor het Onderwijs, de Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 31-10-1827, n. 1,

proposal, the Minister of Navy and Colonies and the king gave their consent, and Durga was transferred to Leiden.⁴⁰ In April 1828 the museum also took receipt of Mahakala and Nandishvara, the decision-making as to their destination having taken place in the same manner.⁴¹

In March 1841 the Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut gave Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi to the National Museum of Antiquities.⁴² The institute thought Leiden a more suitable location for the statues, since various Javanese antiquities had been gathered there in the meantime. After the Minister of the Interior had approved the request, the statues were transported to Leiden and entered in the collection inventory.⁴³ In 1904 Durga, Mahakala, Nandishvara, Bhairava, Ganesha and Nandi were moved to 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, as Museum Volkenkunde was known at the time. A special committee set up to examine the position of the museum of ethnology had concluded in its report that the collection of Javanese antiquities should be moved there from the National Museum of Antiquities, and the Minister of the Interior adopted the recommendation.⁴⁴

<http://archieven.rmo.nl/uploads/r/null/e/7/e73a4e0993ae09a9780d099953ff725e109567f0abe3dd3d35dc27df4a2b4676/004.pdf>, accessed on 28-10-2022.

³⁹ NL-LdnRMV, finding aid A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1822-1823; Reuvens, *Verhandeling over drie groote steenen beelden*, 31; De Vriese, *Reis naar het oostelijk gedeelte van den Indischen archipel*, 628-630.

⁴⁰ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.nos. 586-587, Besluiten minister van Marine en Koloniën, 08-11-1827 and 13-11-1827, nos. 71 and 82, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/586/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_586_0224 and https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/587/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_587_0297, accessed on 28-10-2022.

⁴¹ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.no. 599, Besluit minister van Marine en Koloniën, 06-02-1828, no. 105, https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/2.10.01/invnr/599/file/NL-HaNA_2.10.01_599_0257, accessed on 28-10-2022; NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, 1828. ⁴² NL-LdnRMO, old inv.no. 17.01.01/07, Brieven van directeur Leemans aan de minister van Binnenlandse Zaken en de secretaris der derde klasse van het Koninklijk-Nederlandsche Instituut, 17-03-1841, nos. 11 and 12, <http://archieven.rmo.nl/uploads/r/null/d/0/d0517086f54b1d54f6b7ab3e36706e0d09a50fcd32eb91f13faf9f530186095a/009.pdf>, accessed on 28-10-2022.

⁴³ NL-LdnRMO, old inv.no. 17.01.02/08, Brieven van de minister van Binnenlandse Zaken aan directeur Leemans, 02-10-1840 (with enclosure) and 19-11-1840, nos. 135 and 124, <http://archieven.rmo.nl/uploads/r/null/8/6/866da2569b00ddf20ee30f59fa8f5154ac08893e380c724be3423e851bd860ca/071.pdf>, accessed on 28-10-2022; NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.no. 18, Inventaris van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, June 1841.

⁴⁴ NL-LdnRMV, Seriedossier RV-1403, 'Proces-Verbaal van Voorwerpen enz. overgenomen uit het Rijks Museum van Oudheden te 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.