

# COLONIAL COLLECTIONS COMMITTEE

## RECOMMENDATION

Object	Statue of Shiva TM-A-5950
Current owner	The State of the Netherlands
Custodian	Wereldmuseum Amsterdam (formerly National Museum of World Cultures)
Application for restitution from	The Republic of Indonesia successively represented by <i>Tim Repatriasi Koleksi Asal Indonesia di Belanda</i> <sup>1</sup> and <i>Tim Repatriasi Objek Pemajuan Kebudayaan Dan Pengembalian Cagar Budaya Yang Berada Di Luar Wilayah Republik Indonesia Ke Dalam Wilayah Republik Indonesia</i> <sup>2</sup> (each hereinafter referred to as: Tim Repatriasi)
Date of application for restitution	20 September 2023
Recommendation number	ID-2025-3
Date of recommendation	17 October 2025
The Colonial Collections Committee <sup>3</sup> consisting of	Lilian Gonçalves-Ho Kang You (chair), Laura van Broekhoven, Remco Raben, Alicia Schrikker (members)
Secretariat	Jona Mooren, Liesbeth Ouwehand

### 1. The application

On 20 September 2023 the Republic of Indonesia submitted an application to the Dutch State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science for restitution of the statue of Shiva, described in the application as

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

<sup>2</sup> *Tim Repatriasi Objek Pemajuan Kebudayaan Dan Pengembalian Cagar Budaya Yang Berada Di Luar Wilayah Republik Indonesia Ke Dalam Wilayah Republik Indonesia* consists of Fadli Zon (adviser), Endah T.D. Retnoastuti (person responsible), Ismunandar (chair), Masyitoh Annisa Ramadhani Alkatiri, Anindita Kusuma Listya, Basuki Teguh Yuwono, Agus Aris Munandar, Oman Faturrahman, Bambang Sunarto, Suryadi, Ninie Susanti, Putu Supadma Rudana (members), Raden Usman Effendi (coordinator), Anton Wibisono, Andhini Widyasari, Khanifudin Malik, Fatwa Yulianto (secretary).

<sup>3</sup> The Advisory Committee on the Restitution of Cultural Objects from a Colonial Context (in short: the Colonial Collections Committee) was established on 6 September 2022 by the Dutch State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science.

“Anusapati” with inventory number TM-A-5950 from the collection of the Dutch State, which is in the custody of Wereldmuseum Amsterdam.

## 2. The object

The statue is made of andesite and is approximately 123cm high. The statue depicts a standing figure with four arms against a background. The hands of the rear arms hold a fly switch (left) and prayer beads (right), two important attributes of the Hindu god Shiva. The right hand of the front arms rests, thumb pointing up, in the left hand in front of the chest and stomach. The richly bejewelled figure is flanked by lotus plants. The base of the statue has a border decorated with lotus flowers and beads. Part of the base and the left foot are missing.

According to the museum’s object registration the statue dates from the 13<sup>th</sup> century and originates from Candi Kidal, a temple near Malang in East Java.

## 3. The policy framework

The assessment of the application for restitution took place within the framework of the *Policy vision on collections from a colonial context* of the Dutch Minister of Education, Culture and Science.<sup>4</sup> The policy vision is based on the Council for Culture report *Colonial Collection, a Recognition of Injustice*.<sup>5</sup> Applications for restitution of a cultural object may be made by states where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule or by countries that were colonised by other powers.

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

First the Colonial Collections Committee (hereinafter referred to as: the Committee) determines whether the provenance research is sufficient.

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 a country where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule involuntarily lost possession of the cultural object whose restitution is requested and that the cultural object subsequently came into the possession of the Dutch State. 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

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<sup>4</sup> Policy vision, 29 January 2021, <https://committee.kolonialecollecties.nl/documents/2021/01/01/policy-vision-on-collections-from-a-colonial-context>

<sup>5</sup> Report of 7 October 2020, <https://www.raadvoorcultuur.nl/documenten/adviezen/2021/01/22/colonial-collection-and-a-recognition-of-injustice>

for national and regional traditions as well as for the identity of a country, people, community or individual. A colonial 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 formerly 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 such a case, whilst the Netherlands did not cause the injustice, as the current holder of the objects only it is in a position to 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 Minister of Education, Culture and Science – 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.

#### 4. The procedure

On 20 September 2023 the Republic of Indonesia submitted an application to the Dutch State Secretary for Education, Culture and Science for restitution of the statue described in section 1 above. The State Secretary requested the Committee to advise on the restitution application.

The custodian of the object commissioned research into the provenance of the object and issued an initial report with the findings on 27 June 2024. The Committee discussed both the application for restitution and the report at a meeting on 15 November 2024. At a meeting with the custodian on 17 December 2024 the Committee requested supplementary information on several points in the report. The provenance report was finalised on 13 February 2025 and an English translation of the report was shared with Tim Repatriasi. On 6 June 2025 Tim Repatriasi provided supplementary information on the statue.

After discussing the restitution application again on 17 October 2025 the Committee resolved to recommend as stated below.

#### 5. The provenance research

The provenance research was conducted by Rosalie Hans at the behest of the custodian and was recorded in the report by Tom Quist, provenance researcher at Wereldmuseum Leiden.

The provenance report forms an integral part of this recommendation (*appendix 1*). The report summarises the researcher's findings as follows.

According to the custodian's object registration the statue dates from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, originates from the Candi Kidal temple in East Java and depicts the god Shiva in the form of the Singasari king, Anusapati.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Appendix 1, p.2.

The dating of the statue to the 13<sup>th</sup> century is based on the fact that the lotus plants are depicted with bulbs, which is considered to be typical of statues of the Singasari period (1222-1292). The object registration also includes the assumption that the statue represents Anusapati, a ruler of the Singasari kingdom who died in around 1248. The theory that the statue depicts Shiva in the form of Anusapati was put forward in 1932 by Frederic Martin Schnitger (1912-1945). Schnitger saw similarities between the base of the statue and the beaded edging of the pedestals of Garuda and the lion figures along the bottom of the façade at Candi Kidal. In addition, Schnitger pointed out that according to the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Old Javanese poem Nagarakretagama there was a statue of Shiva commemorating Anusapati at Candi Kidal.<sup>7</sup>

According to Schnitger the statue was removed from the temple in 1802 by the colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831) when he visited Malang. However, the daily log of the trip, which has survived, makes no mention of either a visit to Candi Kidal or the statue.<sup>8</sup> Consequently the research was unable to confirm or disprove this theory.

The earliest colonial description of Candi Kidal is in *The History of Java* of 1817 by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1831). In the book Raffles says that he found no statues at Candi Kidal when he visited in 1815.

A different theory regarding the statue's provenance was put forward by Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, former curator of South and Southeast Asia at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam. In 2008 Lunsingh Scheurleer concluded on the basis of two drawings in the British Library that the statue belonged to a temple that is described on the drawings as Candi Lumajang.<sup>9</sup> British Indonesian historian Hadi Sidomulyo identifies the temple as Candi Gedung Putri (or Candi Ged(h)ong Putri) in the subdistrict of Candipuro.<sup>10</sup>

According to Lunsingh Scheurleer both drawings depict the statue that is the subject of this restitution application. One of the drawings, dated 19 February 1812, is believed to have been made at or near Probolinggo in East Java; the other is undated but bears the note 'Djandi, Lu Madjang'. Lunsingh Scheurleer concludes from this that the statue was moved from Candi Lumajang to Probolinggo before 19 February 1812. Candi Lumajang, as mentioned by Lunsingh Scheurleer, refers to a former temple in what is now Lumajang Regency, which borders on Probolinggo Regency in the north. The temple is believed to have been destroyed in an eruption of the nearby Semeru volcano in 1895. Statues from the temple are believed to have been moved to Probolinggo earlier in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but colonial sources do not state when this happened.<sup>11</sup>

The provenance research was also unable to confirm or disprove this theory regarding the statue's place of origin.

The supplementary information provided by Tim Repatriasi (*appendix 2*) assumes that the statue came from Candi Kidal. The document states that in addition to characteristics of the Singasari period, such as the lotus flowers, the statue bears features of the Majapahit period such as the rays that surround the attributes, also known as 'the sun of Majapahit'.

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<sup>7</sup> Appendix 1, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>8</sup> Appendix 1, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> Appendix 1, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Appendix 1, pp. 4, 5.

<sup>11</sup> Appendix 1, p. 4.

According to Tim Repatriasi the statue is a depiction of Shiva Mahadeva in the form of the deified image of King Anusapati, which was worshipped at Candi Kidal.

The pose of the statue is referred to as the samabhanga position: standing with four arms.

The statue is of a high quality and it can be assumed that the sculptor was highly skilled both at his profession and at depicting religious symbolism, and hence able to portray both the divine aspect of Shiva Mahadeva and the royal aspect of Anusapati in the same statue.<sup>12</sup>

It could not be established when and by whom the statue was transferred to the Netherlands. All that is certain is that the statue was donated in 1851 to the *Natura Artis Magistra* zoological society in Amsterdam by the former merchant captain Isaac Gerard Veening (1798-1884). How Veening had obtained the statue did not become clear. When the ethnographic collection of *Natura Artis Magistra* was transferred to the *Koloniaal Instituut* in Amsterdam in 1921 the statue was added to the collection of the *Koloniaal Museum*, now *Wereldmuseum Amsterdam*.<sup>13</sup>

As it was not possible to establish the exact provenance history of the statue whose restitution is requested, the report refers to provenance histories of other temple statues. From the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, statues in and around Hindu-Buddhist temples in Java were removed by colonial rulers and scientists such as Engelhard, Raffles and Reinwardt. It is therefore plausible that the statue of Shiva was similarly taken from a temple (or the remains of a temple) by a European collector. As a rule, this was done with no consideration for what the temple and the temple statues might mean to the local population. For example, colonial sources mention that the local population made offerings to the statues.<sup>14</sup> In this context the provenance report makes reference to the temple complex of Singasari, where local residents hid statues in the nearby forest in response to the earlier removal of statues by the Dutch colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard. The provenance report concludes: 'These and other examples show that temples and statues from the Hindu-Buddhist era continued to play a role in the daily lives of people in Java after the advent of Islam.'<sup>15</sup>

## 6. Assessment of the restitution application

### 6.1 Admissibility of the application

First of all, the Committee examined whether the application by the Republic of Indonesia was admissible. The application for restitution was submitted by a state where the Netherlands exercised colonial rule. The Committee therefore concluded that the application is admissible.

### 6.2 Policy framework

The application for restitution concerns a cultural object from a colonial context. The application therefore falls within the scope of the restitution policy, and the *Policy vision on collections from a colonial context* is applicable.

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<sup>12</sup> Appendix 2, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>13</sup> Appendix 1, pp. 5-7.

<sup>14</sup> Appendix 1, p. 5.

<sup>15</sup> 'Deze en andere voorbeelden laten zien dat tempels en beelden uit het hindoe-boeddhistische tijdperk na de komst van de islam wel degelijk een rol bleven spelen in het dagelijkse leven van de Javaanse bevolking.'  
Appendix 1, p. 5.

### 6.3 The provenance research

In order to assess the application for restitution it is important whether the provenance research is sufficient.

The Committee is of the opinion that the research was conducted properly and provides sufficient information for a recommendation to be issued. Thorough source research was undertaken, and a critical evaluation was made of the existing information.

### 6.4 Substantial assessment

Next, the Committee assessed whether it is plausible that the loss of the statue whose restitution is requested was involuntary. In this matter it considers as follows.

The provenance research first focused on what the location of origin of the statue was. To this end, attempts were made to date the statue and establish what it depicts. Although there are indications to suggest that it dates from the 13<sup>th</sup> century, and for the assumption that the statue represents the ruler Anusapati, this cannot be established with certainty.

The provenance report mentions two temple complexes from which the statue may have originated, namely Candi Kidal and Candi Lumajang, also referred to as Candi Gedung Putri.<sup>16</sup> However, the provenance research found nothing to confirm or disprove either location. Nor was it possible to establish when and under what circumstances the statue was removed. The supplementary documentation provided by Tim Repatriasi is based on the assumption that the statue came from Candi Kidal.<sup>17</sup>

Even without knowing the exact location of origin the Committee believes there is sufficient ground to make it plausible that involuntary loss of possession occurred.

It is unlikely that a temple statue such as the one that is the subject of the present restitution application did not belong to anybody: it was not what is known as 'res nullius' – ownerless property which can simply be taken into possession. In this context the Committee refers to the provenance history of similar temple statues cited in the provenance report.<sup>18</sup> European colonial administrators and scientists started removing statues from Hindu-Buddhist temples and remains of temples in Java in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, generally with no consideration for what a statue might mean to the local population. Sources mention that the local population made offerings to the statues. Furthermore local people who lived close to the Singasari temple complex tried to conceal statues from the complex from collectors by moving them to the neighbouring forest. It is clear from this that the local population was opposed to the removal of the statues. Similar reports are known to exist from the period that Java was under British rule.<sup>19</sup> This shows that temples and statues from the Hindu-Buddhist period remained spiritually and culturally important in the daily lives of the Javanese people, even after the arrival of Islam.

Although it could not be established when and by whom the statue was transferred to the Netherlands it is certain that the statue was donated to the Natura Artis Magistra zoological society in Amsterdam by the former merchant captain Isaac Gerard Veening in 1851. How Veening had obtained the statue did not become clear. There is no proof to show that Veening purchased the statue or that it was gifted to him. In light of the above facts and circumstances the Committee considers it unlikely that in this case

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<sup>16</sup> Appendix 1, p. 4, 5.

<sup>17</sup> Appendix 2, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> Appendix 1, p. 5.

<sup>19</sup> Appendix 1, p. 5.

the statue would have been relinquished voluntarily to Veening or anyone else by those who were entitled to it or at any rate those who used the temple complex.

#### Conclusion

On the foregoing grounds, as set out in the provenance report, the Committee considers it plausible that possession of the temple statue whose restitution is requested was lost involuntarily. The Committee therefore recommends unconditional restitution of the statue of Shiva.

The Committee is furthermore of the opinion that the metadata, such as archive materials, correspondence and other contextual documentation, should also be put at the disposal of the Republic of Indonesia in the context of rectifying injustice.

The Committee was asked to advise on the application of article 4.18 of the Dutch Heritage Act in the event its recommendation means that the requested object must be restituted. It is the opinion of the Committee that rectification of past injustice prevails in this case and that article 4.18 of the Heritage Act is therefore not applicable.

#### 7. The recommendation

The Committee has assessed the application for restitution and recommends that the Minister proceed with the unconditional restitution to the Republic of Indonesia of the statue of Shiva TM-A-5950 and that the metadata associated with the object be placed at the disposal of the Republic of Indonesia.

This recommendation was adopted by the Colonial Collections Committee on 17 October 2025.

Chair

Secretariat

Lilian Gonçalves-Ho Kang You

Jona Mooren, Liesbeth Ouwehand

## Appendices


1. Report on provenance research by Tom Quist based on research by Rosalie Hans, 13 February 2025, Wereldmuseum.
2. Supplementary information *The Anusapati / Shiva Mahadeva Statue from Kidal Temple*, received on 6 June 2025, Tim Repatriasi.

## Research report

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Subject: Statue of Shiva  
Date: 13 February 2025  
Author: Tom Quist, based on research by Rosalie Hans

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 <p>Photo: Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen</p>	Custodian	Stichting Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen
	Current owner	Dutch State
	Name and object number	Stone statue of the god Shiva, possibly a portrait of King Anusapati, TM-A-5950
	Material/technique	Andesite
	Dimensions	Height: approx. 123 cm

### Summary of research results

The assumption that the statue of Shiva comes from Candi Kidal, East Java, and depicts King Anusapati of Singhasari could be neither confirmed nor disproved during the investigation. The same applies to the theory that the statue was originally located at Candi Gedung Putri, East Java. Nor was it possible to determine who brought the statue to the Netherlands, or when. It is however certain that former merchant navy captain Isaac Gerard Veening gave the statue to the Natura Artis Magistra zoological society in Amsterdam in 1851, though it is not clear how Veening came into possession of it. In 1921, when the ethnology collection of Natura Artis Magistra was transferred to the Colonial Institute in Amsterdam, the statue became part of the collection of the Colonial Museum, now known as Wereldmuseum Amsterdam.

## Reconstructed provenance

1851-1921

(Koninklijk) Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra, Amsterdam

NL-AsdSAA, 395, inv.no. 104, Notulen der huishoudelijke- of bestuursvergaderingen, 19-05-1851;

NL-AsdSAA, 395, inv.no. 1879, Brief aan Isaac Gerard Veening, 24-11-1858; Brief van de directeur van het Museum van Oudheden in Leiden aan de directeur van het Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra 09-05-1859, with appendix.

1921-present

Wereldmuseum Amsterdam

NL-HaNA, 2.20.69, inv.no. 4395, Notariële akte inzake de schenking van de etnografische verzameling van het Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra aan de Vereeniging Koloniaal Instituut, 07-11-1821.

## Introduction and features of the object

In response to a request for restitution from Indonesia in September 2023<sup>1</sup> the Wereldmuseum investigated the provenance of a statue of the Hindu god Shiva (object number TM-A-5950) in February 2024. According to the current object information in The Museum System (TMS), the Wereldmuseum's collection management system, the statue dates from the 13th century (Gregorian calendar), and is believed to have stood in Candi Kidal,<sup>2</sup> a temple near Malang, East Java.<sup>3</sup> It may depict Anusapati as the Hindu god Shiva.<sup>4</sup> Anusapati (who died in circa 1248) was the second king of the Hindu-Buddhist kingdom of Singhasari (1222-1292).<sup>5</sup>

The statue depicts a standing figure with four arms. The hands of the rear arms hold a fly switch (left) and prayer beads (right), two important attributes of the god Shiva, while the right hand of the front arm, its thumb up, rests in the left hand in front of the chest/stomach. Two lotus plants stand either side of the figure, which is bedecked with jewellery. The base has an edge decorated with lotuses and pearls. Part of the base and the left foot are missing.<sup>6</sup>

The dating of the statue to the 13th century is based on the fact that the lotus plants are depicted with bulbs, which is believed to be typical of statues from the Singhasari period. The idea that it depicts Anusapati was first proposed in 1932 by later archaeologist Frederic Martin Schnitger (1912-1945).<sup>7</sup> Schnitger saw similarities between the pearls on the base of the statue and the pearl edging on the pedestals of Garuda and the lion figures at the bottom of the façade at Candi Kidal. Given the

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<sup>1</sup> Letter from the Ministry of Education, Culture and Science (OCW) to the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (National Museum of World Cultures, NMVW), I2023 051/110, 07-11-2023.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/7036994/candi-kidal.html>, accessed on 28-05-2024.

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1636722/malang.html>, accessed on 28-05-2024.

<sup>4</sup> See the sources in note 9.

<sup>5</sup> [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerajaan\\_Singhasari](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerajaan_Singhasari); <https://www.britannica.com/place/Singhasari>, accessed on 28-05-2024.

<sup>6</sup> Description of the statue in TMS, object record TM-A-5950. See the object record based on this on the Wereldmuseum collection website: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193523>, accessed on 28-05-2024; Jan Fontein, John Vrieze and Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het goddelijk gezicht van Indonesië. Meesterwerken der beeldhouwkunst 700-1600* (Zwolle 1992) 165; Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam, and its place in Javanese sculpture', *Artibus Asiae* 68 (2) (2008), 287-332, ibidem 327.

<sup>7</sup> F.M. Schnitger, 'Het portretbeeld van Anūsanātha', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 89 (1) (1932) 123-128, ibidem 124-125; <https://histanthro.org/notes/rivalries-with-fatal-consequences/>, accessed on 29-05-2024.

fact that, according to the 14th-century *kakawin* (Old Javan poem) *Nagarakretagama*,<sup>8</sup> there was a statue of Shiva commemorating Anusapati at Candi Kidal, Schnitger identified object number TM-A-5950 as the statue in question.<sup>9</sup>

### Provenance report

The investigation did not establish whether the statue of Shiva did indeed come from Candi Kidal, and depicts Anusapati. The earliest known colonial source describing the temple is *The History of Java* (1817) by Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826),<sup>10</sup> lieutenant-governor of Java during British colonial rule in the Indonesian archipelago (1811-1816).<sup>11</sup> In his book, Raffles says that he did not find any statues when he visited Candi Kidal in 1815.<sup>12</sup> The statue of Shiva described in the *Nagarakretagama* was not therefore present, according to Raffles. Schnitger maintained in 1936 that colonial administrator Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831)<sup>13</sup> had removed the statue from the temple in 1802 when he visited Malang on a trip along the coast of Java and Madura.<sup>14</sup> The daily log of this trip does not however contain any evidence that Engelhard visited Candi Kidal during his trip to Malang.<sup>15</sup>

Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer (b. 1943),<sup>16</sup> former curator of South and Southeast Asian art at the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, argued in a lengthy paper published in 2008 that the statue had another origin. Lunsingh Scheurleer concluded on the basis of two drawings in the British Library that the statue was part of a temple that she describes as Candi Lumajang. She believes the drawings depict the statue with object number TM-A-5950. One of the drawings, shown below on the left, is dated 19 February 1812 and is believed to have been made in or near the town of Probolinggo<sup>17</sup> on the northeast coast of East Java; the other, shown below on the right, is undated, but does have the inscription 'Djandi, Lu Madjang'.<sup>18</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer concluded from this that the statue was transported from Candi Lumajang to Probolinggo prior to 19 February 1812.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> [https://media.unesco.org/sites/default/files/webform/mow001/indonesia\\_nagarakretagama.pdf](https://media.unesco.org/sites/default/files/webform/mow001/indonesia_nagarakretagama.pdf), accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>9</sup> Schnitger, 'Het portretbeeld van Anūsanātha', 124-125; Fontein, Vrieze and Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Het goddelijk gezicht van Indonesië*, 165; [https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi\\_Kidal](https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Candi_Kidal), accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>10</sup> <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q130327>, accessed on 29-05-2024.

<sup>11</sup> <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 29-05-2024.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java. Volume II* (London 1817) 41, 44.

<sup>13</sup> <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/21378759>, accessed on 01-06-2024.

<sup>14</sup> F.M. Schnitger, 'De herkomst van het Krtanagara-beeld te Berlijn', *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 76 (1) (1936) 328-330, ibidem 329; National Archives (NL-HaNA), finding aid 2.21.004.19, inventory number 196, Copy of the daily journal of governor Nicolaus Engelhard's overland trip to Oosthoek, 1802 September 15 - 1802 November, fol. 1 and 12-10-1802.

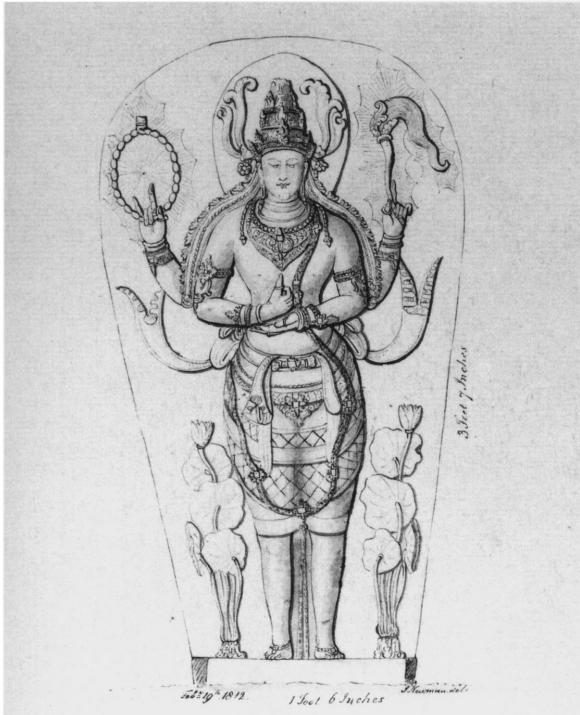
<sup>15</sup> NL-HaNA, 2.21.004.19, inv.no. 196, 12-10-1802.

<sup>16</sup> <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q111977465>, accessed on 29-05-2024.

<sup>17</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1630634/probolinggo.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>18</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum', 329-331; Mildred Archer, *British drawings in the India Office Library. Volume II: Official and Professional Artists* (London 1969) 458, 542-543.

<sup>19</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum', 330.



Left: drawing by John Newman, 19-02-1812 (Lunsingh Scheurleer source reference: *The British Library*, MacKenzie inv. WD 953, fol. 40vb [45]). Right: anonymous drawing, undated (Lunsingh Scheurleer source reference: *The British Library*, Horsfield inv. WD 958, fol. 3v [183]). Source of images: Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum', 320.

Candi Lumajang, as mentioned by Lunsingh Scheurleer, refers to a former temple in today's Lumajang district.<sup>20</sup> Lumajang borders Probolinggo district to the north<sup>21</sup> and is located east and south of Gunung Semeru,<sup>22</sup> a volcano which is also the highest mountain in Java.<sup>23</sup> Various colonial sources refer to a temple that is said to have been situated near the desas (villages) of Penanggal<sup>24</sup> and Candipuro<sup>25</sup> and to have been destroyed by the eruption of Semeru in 1895.<sup>26</sup> Statues from the temple were said to have been taken to Probolinggo earlier in the nineteenth century, but the colonial sources in question do not indicate when.<sup>27</sup> British-Indonesian historian Hadi Sidomulyo (English name: Nigel Bullough, b. 1951)<sup>28</sup> identified the temple as Candi Gedung Putri in the sub-

<sup>20</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1637089/kabupaten-lumajang.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>21</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1630633/kabupaten-probolinggo.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>22</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1627837/gunung-semeru.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>23</sup> <https://volcano.si.edu/volcano.cfm?vn=263300>, 'General Information' tab, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>24</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1631586/penanggal.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>25</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/1647370/candipuro.html>, accessed on 30-05-2024.

<sup>26</sup> R.D.M. Verbeek, *Oudheden van Java. Lijst der voornaamste overblijfselen uit den Hindoetijd op Java met eene oudheidkundige kaart*, Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Deel XLVI) (Batavia 1891) 309-310; *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera 1904* (Batavia 1906) 122; N.J. Krom, 'Eenige gegevens over de Hindoe-Oudheden van Oost-Java', *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* 72 (1) (1916) 412-459, *ibidem* 422-424; *Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden op den grondslag van Dr. R.D.M. Verbeek's Oudheden van Java (Deel 3). Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* (Batavia 1923) 92; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum', 331.

<sup>27</sup> Krom, 'Eenige gegevens over de Hindoe-Oudheden van Oost-Java', 424; *Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden*, 92; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'The well-known Javanese statue in the Tropenmuseum', 331.

<sup>28</sup> <https://viaf.org/viaf/50653686/>; <https://festival.borobudurwriters.id/bio/hadi-sidomulyo/>, both accessed on 31-05-2024; Stuart Robson, Hadi Sidomulyo, *Threads of the Unfolding Web. The Old Javanese Tantu Panggëlaran* (Singapore 2021) 325.

district of Candipuro.<sup>29</sup> The current remains of the temple, also known as Candi Ged(h)ong Putri,<sup>30</sup> are in the desa of Klopo Sawit,<sup>31</sup> close to Sumberrejo<sup>32</sup> and Candipuro desas.

The investigation did not reveal any other sources to support or disprove Lunsingh Scheurleer's theory.<sup>33</sup> Given the fact that colonial administrators like Engelhard, Raffles and Caspar Georg Carl Reinwardt (1773-1854)<sup>34</sup> removed statues from Hindu-Buddhist temples from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, it is likely that the statue of Shiva was also taken from a temple (or the remains of a temple) by a European collector.<sup>35</sup> It is also likely that this was done with no consideration of what the statue might mean to the local population. Engelhard maintained in 1811/1812, in an attempt to mask his own collecting practices, that residents showed little interest in the temples in their vicinity. At the same time, however, he admitted that they made offerings to the statues.<sup>36</sup> Similar reports are known to exist from the British colonial administration in Java.<sup>37</sup> After Engelhard had had statues removed from the temple complex of Singasari, local residents tried to conceal the remaining statues from collectors by moving them to the neighbouring forest.<sup>38</sup> These and other examples show that temples and statues from the Hindu-Buddhist era continued to play a role in the daily lives of people in Java after the advent of Islam.<sup>39</sup>

The statue of Shiva was acquired by the Natura Artis Magistra zoological society in Amsterdam in May 1851, along with five other Hindu-Buddhist statues. The statues were gifted by former merchant navy captain Isaac Gerard Veening (1798-1884),<sup>40</sup> who had served on vessels in the Indonesian archipelago during his career.<sup>41</sup> How and when Veening came into possession of the statue of Shiva is

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<sup>29</sup> Robson, Sidomulyo, *Threads of the Unfolding Web*, 119; <https://www.geonames.org/7347389/kecamatan-candipuro.html>, accessed on 31-05-2024.

<sup>30</sup> <https://www.kompasiana.com/ariespurwantiny/550b31328133115e76b1e521/situs-gedong-putri-bukti-kekuasaan-raja-wanita-di-negara-lamajang>; <https://maps.app.goo.gl/5y4fiWifWpiw13Ub8>; <https://maps.app.goo.gl/EpMKHtV3saSvjqhN6>, all accessed on 31-05-2024.

<sup>31</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/7347395/desa-klopo-sawit.html>, accessed on 31-05-2024.

<sup>32</sup> <https://www.geonames.org/7347342/sumberrejo.html>, accessed on 31-05-2024.

<sup>33</sup> It was not possible to identify relevant sources in the British Library collection, because of the short timeframe within which the investigation was conducted.

<sup>34</sup> <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/40457008>, accessed on 13-02-2025.

<sup>35</sup> Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Collecting Javanese antiquities: The appropriation of a newly discovered Hindu-Buddhist civilization', in Pieter ter Keurs (ed.), *Colonial Collections Revisited* (Leiden 2007) 71-114, *ibidem* 85-87, 89.

<sup>36</sup> NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.21.0004.21, inv.no. 165, Note from Engelhard to Lieutenant-Colonel Mackenzie concerning Prambanan and other items of an archaeological nature, 1811/1812, 'Answer to Question 1'. A transcript of this source has been published 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; Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Collecting Javanese antiquities', 74.

<sup>37</sup> 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* 358-359.

<sup>38</sup> Tiffin, 'Raffles and the Barometer of Civilisation', 357-358.

<sup>39</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer, 'Collecting Javanese antiquities', 75-83, 96; Tiffin, 'Raffles and the Barometer of Civilisation', 358-359.

<sup>40</sup> Rotterdam City Archives (NL-RtSA), finding aid 356, inv.no. 212, Alphabetical register of recruits to the National Militia, year of birth 1978, cohort 1817, 1st class <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12133/EB431F06FB744787AA5AEFCB05AB305F> (scan 42), accessed on 03-06-2024; Gelderland Provincial Archives (NL-AhGldA), finding aid 0207, inv.no. 404.03, Arnhem: Register of deaths 1884, certificate number 563, <https://permalink.geldersarchief.nl/C77C027846CC470EBE082FF2BAA84245>, accessed on 03-06-2024.

<sup>41</sup> Amsterdam City Archives (NL-AsdSAA), finding aid 395, inv.no. 104, Minutes of procedural or management meetings, 19-05-1851, <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/395/3.7/start/40/limit/10/highlight/9>, accessed on 03-06-2024; inv.no. 1879, Letter to Isaac Gerard Veening, 24-11-1858,

unclear. Research in the Natura Artis Magistra archive, which is in the stewardship of Amsterdam City Archives, yielded no additional information. The five other statues in the Wereldmuseum's collection did not provide any indication as to the origins of the statue with object number TM-A-5950.<sup>42</sup> They are statues of the bull Nandi<sup>43</sup> (the mount of the god Shiva), the goddess Durga,<sup>44</sup> the god Shiva,<sup>45</sup> the god Vishnu in the form of Narasimha<sup>46</sup> and the god Ganesha.<sup>47</sup> A study of the current object details and material properties found that the five statues date from different periods and did not originate in the same region.<sup>48</sup> The statues of Nandi and Durga probably come from Central Java and have been associated with the period of the Majapahit empire (13th-16th century)<sup>49</sup> and the Mataram or Medang kingdom (8th-11th century)<sup>50</sup> respectively. The other statues are probably East Javan in origin. Shiva and Vishnu as Narasimha are regarded as statues from the Majapahit period, while the statue of Ganesha dates from the Singhasari period. The precise geographical origins of the statues are unknown, as is how they came into Veening's possession.

Veening's gift was one of the first acquisitions for Natura Artis Magistra's new museum of ethnology.<sup>51</sup> In 1859 it turned out that the statue of Shiva had been entered into the museum's inventory under 'Z.G.J.'<sup>52</sup> no. 1, followed by the five other statues. However, 'N.A.M. 6.' is written on the back of the statue, apparently in paint. This might have happened in 1859 when the six statues were given on long-term loan to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden. The loan records in the Natura Artis Magistra archive do not tell us why the statue was returned to Amsterdam in 1865 along with the other statues.<sup>53</sup> In 1883 it was exhibited at the

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<https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/395/160.4/start/20/limit/10/highlight/4>, accessed on 03-06-2024; inv.no. 1879, Letter from the director of the Museum van Oudheden in Leiden to the director of Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra 09-05-1859, enclosure, <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/395/160.4/start/30/limit/10/highlight/2>, accessed on 03-06-2024; Royal Library (KB), Delpher, *Leeuwarder Courant*, 29-07-1851, p. 2, 'Amsterdam, den 25 Julij' section, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010583972:mpeg21:a0011>, accessed on 03-06-2024; M. Bloembergen and M. Monquil, *A fragmented Provenance Report regarding Four Buddha heads gifted by Artis in the NMVW and the social lives of Borobudur*, PPROCE provenance reports, no. 36 (2022) 15, 27-30, [https://pure.knaw.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/496432798/RAP\\_PPROCE\\_ProvenanceReport\\_36\\_ArtisBuddhaheads\\_TM\\_A\\_5945until5948\\_v10\\_v202203.pdf](https://pure.knaw.nl/ws/portalfiles/portal/496432798/RAP_PPROCE_ProvenanceReport_36_ArtisBuddhaheads_TM_A_5945until5948_v10_v202203.pdf), accessed on 03-06-2024; <https://www.marhisdata.nl/gezagvoerder&id=13028>, accessed on 03-06-2024.

<sup>42</sup> The current object numbers of these statues are TM-A-5941, TM-A-5942, TM-A-5943, TM-A-5949 and TM-A-5951. The footnotes below contain links to the object records on the Wereldmuseum's website.

<sup>43</sup> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193513>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>44</sup> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193514>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>45</sup> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193515>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>46</sup> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193521>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>47</sup> <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/193524>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>48</sup> The material properties of the five statues were examined on 10- and 11-02-2025 by Pim Westerkamp, Southeast Asia curator at the Wereldmuseum.

<sup>49</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/place/Majapahit-empire>, accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>50</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mataram\\_kingdom](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mataram_kingdom), accessed on 12-02-2025.

<sup>51</sup> Sonja Wijs, 'Een plaats voor de mens. De etnografische musea van het Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra', *Jaarboek Vereniging Vrienden Etnografica* 8 (2020) 50-73, ibidem 56-57.

<sup>52</sup> Probably an abbreviation for Zoölogisch Genootschap Java (Java Zoological Society, to indicate that the statues came from Java.

<sup>53</sup> NL-AsdSAA, 395, inv.no. 1879, 09-05-1859, enclosure, <https://archieff.amsterdam/inventarissen/scans/395/160.4/start/30/limit/10/highlight/2>, accessed on 03-06-2024; KB, Delpher, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 22-04-1866, blz. 3-5, article entitled 'Museum van Oudheden te Leiden', <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010782310:mpeg21:p005>, accessed on 12-06-2024; C. Leemans, *Beschrijving van de Indische oudheden van het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden 1885) ix. The drawing of one of the lotus plants on TM-A-5950 may date from the time of the loan. The drawing is

Internationale Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling ('International Exhibition of Colonial and Export Trade) in Amsterdam, that year's world's fair.<sup>54</sup>

When Natura Artis Magistra's ethnological collection was transferred to the Koloniaal Instituut in Amsterdam in 1921, the statue of Shiva, and the five other statues, ended up in the collection of its sister institute, the Koloniaal Museum, where it was assigned object number A-5950. After the Second World War the institute was renamed Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen (Royal Tropical Institute, KIT) and the museum became the Tropenmuseum. In 2014 KIT and the Tropenmuseum parted ways, and the museum became part of today's Wereldmuseum.<sup>55</sup>

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also marked 'Z.G.J. no. 1', and until 1904 was in the collection of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden. It is now in the Wereldmuseum's collection, under object number RV-1403-3665. See object record RV-1403-3665 in TMS, and, on the Wereldmuseum's collection website: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/705679>, accessed on 03-06-2024.

<sup>54</sup> The statue can be seen on the far left in a photograph of the exhibition, in the Wereldmuseum's collection under object number RV-A331-35, see the object record on the collection website: <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/894614>, accessed on 12-06-2024.

<sup>55</sup> NL-HaNA, finding aid 2.20.69, inv.no. 4395, Notarial deed concerning the donation of the ethnological collection of the Koninklijk Zoölogisch Genootschap Natura Artis Magistra to the Vereniging Koloniaal Instituut, 07-11-1821; TMS, object record TM-A-5950, inventory card; <https://www.kit.nl/about-us/our-history/>; <https://amsterdam.wereldmuseum.nl/nl/over-wereldmuseum-amsterdam/geschiedenis-wereldmuseum-amsterdam>, both accessed on 03-06-2024.

## **The Anusapati / Shiva Mahadeva Statue from Kidal Temple**

Form	: Statue of Shiva Mahadeva
Material	: Andesite stone
Maximum height	: 1.23 meters
Original location	: Kidal Temple
Condition	: Generally well-preserved, with minor damage on the left side of the pedestal (padmasana).



Picture 1: The statue of Shiva Mahadeva from Kidal Temple, representing the deified image of King Anusapati of Singhasari, who reigned from 1227 to 1248 CE. (Photo Source: Bernet Kempers 1959: plate 216)

Kidal Temple is located in Rejokidal Village, Malang Regency. Based on its architectural style, the temple dates back to the 13th century CE, during the Singhasari Kingdom period. According to the Pararaton manuscript, King Anusapati (also known as Anusanatha), who ruled Singhasari from 1227 to 1248 CE, was deified at Kidal Temple. The inner chamber of the temple originally housed a statue of Shiva Mahadeva, which functioned as a deified portrait of the deceased king. The statue exhibits characteristics of Singhasari art, notably the pair of ornaments emerging directly from the base on either side of the figure. In contrast, statues from the Majapahit period

typically feature lotus flowers emerging from containers such as pots or small jars (Bernet Kempers 1959: 74). Furthermore, the statue displays radiating lines from the laksana it holds, an ornamental motif that later became a hallmark of Majapahit-era statues, known as the "Majapahit rays".

Archaeological evidence, supported by the written account in the Pararaton, indicates that this statue is frequently referred to as the Anusapati Statue. Essentially, it is a representation of Shiva Mahadeva in the form of a deified royal effigy—King Anusapati—who was venerated at Kidal Temple.



Picture 2:

Detailed Depiction of Attire and Ornaments on the Shiva Mahadeva Statue from Kidal Temple. The statue of Shiva Mahadeva from Kidal Temple presents a refined and detailed representation of royal divinity, illustrating the deified image of a deceased king in the form of the god Shiva (Photo Source: Bernet Kempers 1959: plate 217)

The statue is depicted in a samabhanga posture, standing with four arms. The rear hands hold the laksana (divine attributes), while the front hands are posed in a meditative gesture: the right thumb resting on the palm of the left hand. The eyes are half-closed, indicating a serene and static expression. It is presumed that the sculptor (rupakara) was highly skilled in both stone carving and religious symbolism, successfully conveying both the divine aspect of Shiva Mahadeva and the royal persona of the deceased king in a single image.