



**ANTIQUITATES
IAVANICAE
LEEMANSIANAE**

**JAVANESE ANTIQUITIES
IN LEIDEN
AND
CLASSIC MODERNITY**

1823-1873

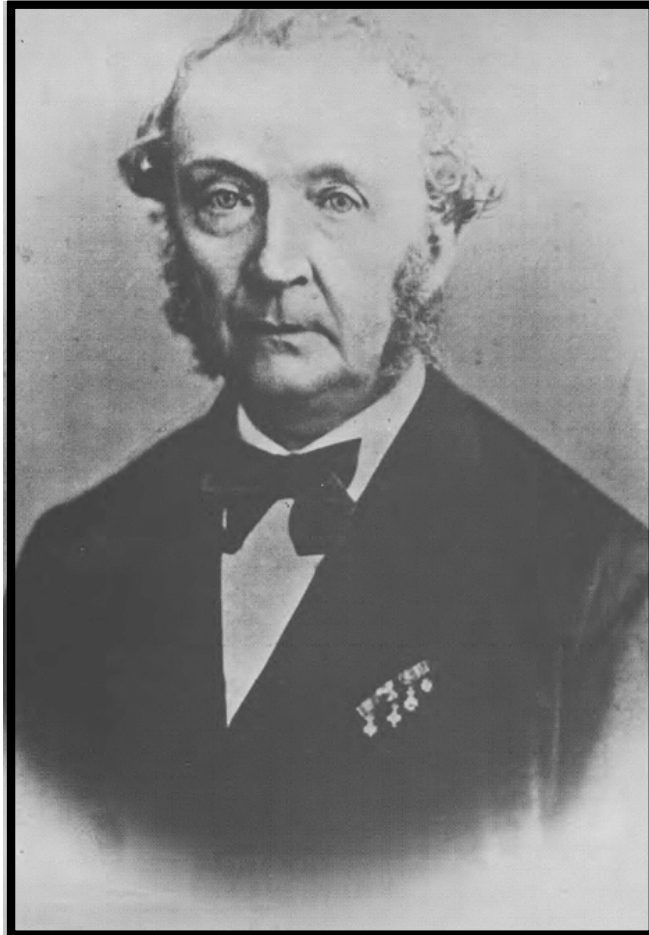
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Preface

The title of this research derives from the practices made on Java during the 19th century to incorporate Javanese flora into the European Linnaeus system. The Dutch colonizers of the Netherlands-Indies had a great interest in natural history and therefore funded botanists to find new species and conduct researches for the plantations of coffee, tea, and spices. The connection natural history had toward Javanese antiquities was two-folded. Firstly, the researches conducted by botanists lead them to paddy fields that contained antiquities. Therefore their interest in antiquities was spurred and led to some large and important collections by Reinwardt and Blume, both directors of 's Lands Plantentuin (the Botanic Gardens of Bogor). It must furthermore be noted that the Museum of Natural History in Leiden (the present-day Naturalis) had a permanent exhibition of Javanese stone statues placed in their courtyard that was brought there because of these connections. Secondly, alike natural history, archaeology as conducted in Leiden and Batavia had the purpose to catalogue the whole world and bring objects to their depots, categorizing and describing them in the same fashion as the flora categorized in the Linnaeus system. The title is therefore an allusion to such practices from natural history to Javanese ancient history research that also catalogued and incorporated Java, but then in historical narratives and colonial collections.

The gateway as shown on the cover is copied from the cover of the 1842 edition of the catalogue titled: *'Beredeneerde beschrijvingen der Asiaatische en Amerikaanse monumenten in het Museum van Oudheden'* from Leemans, the director of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, about the collection of Javanese antiquities in his museum. The gateway is a replica of a gateway that could be found in Indian temples and was placed in the Java room of the in the Museum of Antiquities on the Breestraat 18 in Leiden.



CONRADUS LEEMANS

(*1809-1893)

Museum director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden

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INTRODUCTION

Kediri, April 9 1860

"I can imagine that one would fall to his knees to worship the creator of all things, with whole heart and soul. What eminent people they must have been that would base their religion on such foundations! I am not a refined man, yet I am also a religious person and when I arrived there I felt how nature had my heart rising to God."¹

Thus ends a letter where H. A. van der Poel (1818-1874) describes the origins of his donations to Leemans: an old Hindu temple site on one of the mountains in the Kediri district in the Netherlands-Indies. Pieter ter Keurs earlier noted that the collector was caught between two concepts, that of romanticism and the rational thinking of enlightenment. One may add a third one, colonialism that subjected Asia, or the 'Orient', to European rule, which made it possible for them to describe, categorize and understand these lands in their own terms. This was a long process, which developed spatial conceptions of the Occident and the Orient. The rational discourse that followed the Enlightenment has brought colonial scholars and administrators, such as van der Poel, to the colonial territories, which became to be incorporated in spatial terms of East and West, of barbarian and civilization, of modern and pre-modern or as Goethe wrote in *Hegire* (originally in his *Westöstlicher Diwan*):

Nord und West und Süd zersplittern,
Throne bersten, Reiche zittern,
Flüchte du, im reinen Osten,
Patriarchenluft zu kosten!

Goethe informs us with two conceptions about the Orient; as a place of difference and a place of pilgrimage: where one could 'taste' the rule of despots, perhaps in the same passion the benefactor would fall to his knees and feel his heart rising

¹ RMO April 9, 1860, "Ik kan mij zeer goed verbeelden dat men hier op zijne knieën valt om den schepper aller dingen met hart en ziel te aanbidden. Wat moeten het eminente mensen geweest zijn die eene godsdienst op zulke grondslagen hebben weten op te zetten. Ik ben niet fijn maar toch geen ongelovige maar in der daad toen ik daar op die hoogte met ons zessen aankwamen de anderen bleven verre achter, toen gevoelde ik wat schoone natuur het hart tot God doet stijgen."

to God.² In terms of Saïd, the colonizers intended to possess this exotic Orient in the material and metaphysical sense of the word. This seems to be manifested within colonial collecting, where a fascination of the Orient led to possessing the Orient through its rarities and antiquities.

This thesis will be concerned with that practice of colonial collecting of Javanese antiquities, moreover, the Javanese antiquities that were brought to Leiden and became part of the collection in the National Museum of Antiquities (*'s Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*), which was a state funded collection that also unified all existing collections of Javanese antiquities in the Netherlands. This collection grew steadily over the course of the mid-19th century when Conrad Leemans (1809-1893), was museum director between 1835-1891. He had placed much work in expanding the collection of Javanese antiquities with all varieties of objects. Under his directorship, the collection grew from some twenty stone statues to mainly bronze Buddhist and Hindu images of the Buddha and other deities, ritual objects such as mirrors, vases, lamps, bells, musical instruments and to inscriptions, cattle bells. What characterizes this collection is that most objects are quite small in size. Often the images are ten to twenty centimeters in height. Exceptions are the larger stone statues of Hindu deities.

Originally they were sacred objects of worship, after the rise of Islam on Java during the 14th century they became sacred heirlooms called *pusaka* and during the colonial time they gradually became objects of art-historic and scientific value for the course of history research. This collection nowadays shapes a tangible reminder to the colonial past, because their value became more than scientific. Leemans himself ascribed a 'double interest' to these antiquities in the light of the Netherlands being a colonial power.

The contexts in which the collection of Javanese antiquities were collected and stored could explain us more about these meanings. These contexts were the 19th century romanticism, the rational of the enlightenment and colonization. The development of these concepts is inherent to one characterizing development in the 19th century, which is modernity. With modernity we understand the French Revolution as a force that gave way to far-reaching reforms to intensify the institutionalization of the state into, for example,

² Edward Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979) 167.

ministries, libraries, schools, the Rijksmuseum and the Museum of Antiquities. The French Revolution brought many changes to the Netherlands through king Louis-Napoleon. The historian Detlev Peukert has coined the 'long 19th century' from 1789 to 1914 the era of 'classic modernity' referring to the developments of institutionalizing.³ More recently, the historian Dipesh Chakrabarty discussed modernity as institutionalization in conjunction with analytical thinking about these institutions. He argued that: "Modernity in the West alludes to two separate projects that are symbiotically connected. One refers to processes of building the institutions (from parliamentary and legal institution to roads, capitalist businesses, and factories) that are invoked when we speak of modernization. The other refers to the development of a degree of reflective, judgmental thinking about these processes."⁴ Hence, through institutions, concepts from the enlightenment or colonialism became concrete policy because they were the contemporary analytical framework. In line with modernity and policy, the historian Frederick Cooper has argued that modernity is a policy with certain objectives concerning colonialism.⁵

In other words, modernity is a two-way construct of institutionalization that set out the infrastructures for analytical thinking about these institutions, which manifested itself in policy. This research will then be preoccupied with modernity, as the Museum of Antiquities that housed the collection of Javanese antiquities stood close-by the power centers that developed this institutionalization. It will pose that collecting objects became a large-scale project from national museums with set objectives, with set funds, with qualified specialists such as archaeologists and all was carried out by the scientific means to catalogue and describe. In consonance with Chakrabarty, this is modernity because it is a process where people that work at certain institutions such as the Museum of Antiquities, have a degree of reflective, judgmental thinking about these processes.⁶ It will also be concerned with infrastructures

³ Detlev Peukert, *The Weimar Republic: The Crisis of Classical Modernity* (Hill and Wang, 1993).

⁴ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The muddle of modernity" *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (2011) 669.

⁵ Frederick Cooper, *Colonialism in Question: Theory, Knowledge, History* (University of California Press 2005) 131.

⁶ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The muddle of modernity", 669.

institutionalization developed, such as social networks between private persons or impersonal institutions. This research will furthermore pose that through this infrastructure that after time manifested itself in printed journals, books and that created new meanings. These meanings were the romantic concepts of 'the Other': of despotism and exotic religions.

To understand the institutionalizing, and therefore modernity, as a cause for colonial collecting at the power centers in the Netherlands, it is necessary to ask: 'how was the practice of colonial collecting developed through modernity?' This question is concerned with institutionalization in the Netherlands and the relationship the collection held in regard to institutionalization and how the practice of colonial collecting was directed from the colonial institutions that provided the infrastructure for research and collecting. But first, what exactly was modernity in the context of colonial collecting must also be identified.

Important is the connection modernity had toward colonial collecting. Policies as carried out by the centers of power should be identified, together with the effect these policies had toward collecting of Javanese antiquities. Moreover, the influence these institutions had should be identified through the networks Leemans relied upon to expand the collection. To define these networks, we need to be concerned with the institutions as well as private collectors in the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies. We should ask: 'Who were the collectors?', 'How did the collectors relate to modernity?' and 'What were the networks Leemans relied upon?' These questions then induce to categorisation of the actors and require us to make distinction of their backgrounds, their contemporary position within the metropolitan space, social networks maintained with other collectors or colonial institutions and purposes for collecting.

In order to identify modernity within the practice of colonial collecting, it must be identified: 'Why were Javanese antiquities collected in the Netherlands-Indies and brought to the Netherlands?' and: 'How did the practice of colonial collecting of Javanese antiquities function within the Netherlands Indies?' These questions will identify the motives the Dutch private collectors had in the Netherlands-Indies and how far fletching the policies as set out by the Dutch government on the individual collecting. It will also point to the motives the

Dutch government had to collect and maintain the collection. Finally, it will also identify how the Leemans took the part of a collector and how he regarded this collection.

The first chapter on the emergence of antiquity collections in Leiden also includes a theoretical analysis of modernity because these two instances correspond to each other. The first chapter will therefore ask how the Museum of Antiquities and its collection came into existence in 1816 and how this development relates to modernity. It will also present a theoretical framework that will help this research to identify the connection between modernity and the colonial collection of Javanese antiquities.

The second chapter on the first years of Leemans as a museum director will discuss who Leemans was and what his objectives were for the museum and the collection of Javanese antiquities. Furthermore, it will investigate what the scientific area looked like concerning the research of antiquities in the Netherlands and the Netherlands-Indies and the formal and informal networks Leemans had to maintain. It will then also concern the collectors that made donations to the museum, it will ask who they were and what purposes they had to collect and why they contributed to the museum of antiquities.

The third chapter will pose a threshold concerning collecting of antiquities through changing governmental policies starting from 1843. It will discuss how Leemans developed as a museum director and continue to discuss how and why he collected Javanese antiquities. Furthermore it will identify the web of contacts Leemans maintained during this period and how this, and the scientific field of Javanese ancient history, changed. To see correspondence between government policies and further institutionalization in the scientific area with the foundation of new institutions, it will review who the benefactors were to the museum and how and why they collected for the museum. Finally, this chapter will come to a close with a re-assessment of Leemans' perspective on Javanese antiquities and its scientific field through his monumental monograph '*Boroboedoer*' and a re-assessment on modernity.

Research on this collection has not been conducted before. However, when researching colonial collections in the Netherlands, close to the power centers, one is able to more precisely determine concepts, thought constructs

and traditions through which the Netherlands colonized the Indian archipelago. Only as late as 1843 a department of archeology was founded in Batavia. However, as early as 1816 the Netherlands gained a Museum of Antiquities by royal signature. It can be identified that the state crafting in the Indian archipelago was a mirrored version of developments that had earlier taken place in the Netherlands. Therefore it is important that it should be identified what happened at the power centers in the Netherlands.

Earlier research on the collecting of Javanese antiquities has been carried out by Pauline Lunsingh-Scheurleer in a publication titled '*Colonial collections revisited*' edited by Pieter ter Keurs.⁷ Ter Keurs argued that collections 'say' more about contacts different cultures subject to colonial collecting had with European collectors than they do about the cultures themselves. Lunsingh-Scheurleer adds to this the Javanese reaction toward colonial collecting of Javanese antiquities by forging antiquities and points to the different ways these antiquities were valued, as *pusaka*, scientific and art historical objects or as lucrative business.⁸

Other research on colonial collections have been carried out by, for instance, Rudolf Effert's '*Royal Cabinets and Auxiliary Branches: Origins of the National Museum of Ethnology*', which discusses the ethnographic collections from the Netherlands-Indies in the Netherlands as collected in the Royal Cabinet of Rarities and identifies how a national museum emerged out of the private collections that were combined in the Cabinet of Rarities. Another important addition is Caroline Drieënhuizen's dissertation titled '*Koloniale collecties, Nederlands aanzien: de Europese elite van Nederlands-Indië belicht door haar verzamelingen*' concerning colonial collections as a way to research the functioning of the colonial elite in the Netherlands-Indies. She did this through identifying the status enriching possibility collecting objects had as cultural capital.

My present research will add to these earlier researches on colonial collections that colonial collecting relates to complex and altering colonial networks and mind-sets that concern collecting. Rather than seeing the

⁷ Pieter ter Keurs, *Colonial collections revisited* (Amsterdam University Press 2007).

⁸ Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities: The Appropriation of a Newly discovered Hindu-Buddhist Civilisation", in: Pieter ter Keurs (ed.), *Colonial Collections Revisited* (Leiden 2007) 71-114.

collectors separate from this larger network of formal and informal connections, this research will pose how these collections functioned within an institutionalized environment and relate to modernity.

CHAPTER I: LEIDEN AND ANTIQUITIES

Chapter introduction

This chapter will introduce the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, its collection of Javanese antiquities and its benefactors. Furthermore, it will also introduce the concept of modernity as a concept that relates to the founding of the museum and the collectors. This chapter will thus offer the theoretical points of departure, in the later chapters we shall see how institutionalization functioned and exactly what policies were ordered by the government. Because this chapter will discuss what these two inter-twined practices are and why they relate to modernity.

Modernity and the Museum of Antiquities

Modernity is defined as a slippery concept that is often used as thematic shorthand covering every change from the 18th century onward.⁹ However, modernity can be narrowed down to multiple discourses that can also be divided in different time eras. As earlier noted, the Hobsbawmian long 19th century from 1789 to 1914 has been coined the era of classic modernity, which has been discussed from various points of view: social modernity, economical modernity and scientific modernity.¹⁰ Within all these fields of modernity research Chakrabarty has identified one overarching theme: the institutionalization of society as an intertwined process of analytical thinking about the developments of institutionalization. This manifested itself through the founding of ministries, schools, hospitals or museums that were centrally regulated through policy

⁹ Chakrabarty, "The muddle of modernity," 635.

¹⁰ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 120.

making and was rooted in the idea that the state could be modelled.¹¹ A good example is the establishment of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden, which was founded with set objectives, set funds and lawfully demanded a set quality from the specialists. From this perspective, modernity has quite concrete meanings that can be narrowed down to the point where modernity is primarily policy of what is 'new'.¹²

The great novelty from the French Revolution onward, as alleged by Charles Taylor, was the institutionalizing of society in order to model the state according to a set of blue prints that were made by policy-makers.¹³ To this, it would be proficient to add professionalization of existing institutions because existing institutions such as the university were enlarged and changed. The new institutions were for example Chambers of Commerce, national archives, hospitals, ministries but also museums such as the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. In the Netherlands, the emergence of policies of modernity to institutionalize society was inherent to the influence of the French Revolution with the foundation of the Batavian Republic (1795-1806) where the Dutch modelled the state after French libertarian example and more intensively the Kingdom of the Netherlands (1806-1810) under king Louis-Napoleon (1778-1846). Some of the institutions that were established under his legislation were the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (1809), the Royal Library (1806) and the Rijksmuseum (1808). In this tradition and as a sign of renewed strength, King William I founded the Museum of Antiquities in 1818 with Reuvens as the first museum director until 1835.¹⁴ Government policy became important, because these policies were set regulations where-in these institutions operated. Set patterns, such as collecting taxes, distributing government funds or specific rules concerning, for example, colonial collecting reveal a reflective nature administrators had, as if they were looking at a blue-print of how the state should be modelled.

¹¹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 121.

¹² Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 131.

¹³ Charles Taylor, "Modern Social Imaginaries," *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002).

¹⁴ Ruurd B. Halberstma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade: The Pioneer Years of the National Museum of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden; 1818-1840* (Routledge 2003) 20.

That institutionalization became policy seems to be clear from the large number of institutions founded and expanded in the early years of the 19th century. But what made the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden especially a product of this most concrete form of modernity is its connection to the University of Leiden. Reuvens, by royal decree, became both the director of the Museum of Antiquities and professor in archaeology at the University of Leiden.¹⁵ In other words, the purpose of the museum was purely scientific and fostered empiric rationalism of scholars that would be given the opportunity to observe antique objects for research purposes. Another important indication of policy is the growing influence and interference of the state with these institutions. Hence an incorporation with the functioning of the nation-state that can be identified through the use of the word 'national' in 'National Museum of Antiquities' ('s *Rijkskabinet van Oudheden*) and in 'national collection', which refers to the collection of Javanese antiquities ('s *landsverzameling*).¹⁶ We must observe that the name 's *landsverzameling* is older than 's *Rijksmuseum* for the predicate 'national' to the museum only emerged in the second half of the 19th century.¹⁷

Furthermore, that these developments were bear French influence becomes clear through Reuvens' travels to French museums both in Paris and in the province where he would create his views on the organization of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.¹⁸ His ideal was academic competition within the Netherlands and to found multiple museums of antiquities as he saw in France and England. However, he also noted that the Netherlands was too small and lacked the required funds to have multiple museums. Therefore he actively tried to unify all collections within the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.¹⁹

These other collections were primary private collections or so-called *Kunstkammers* that were placed in two categories: *artificialia* (made by man) and *naturalia* (made by nature). The antiquities were naturally listed under *artificialia*. The rich and nobility throughout the 18th century possessed these as

¹⁵ Halberstma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade*, 2.

¹⁶ RMO May 4 1842.

¹⁷ Mirjam Hoijtink, "Een Rijksmuseum in wording. Het Archaeologisch Cabinet in Leiden onder het directoraat van Caspar Reuvens (1818-1835)", in: *De Negentiende Eeuw* 27, no. 4, (2003) 225-238.

¹⁸ Halberstma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade*, 31.

¹⁹ Halberstma, *Scholars, Travellers and Trade*, 32.

a sign of their high status rather than raising the social ladder.²⁰ For example, the largest of these collections belonged to the Dutch *stadtholders* William IV and William V. However, the nature of these collections was significantly different from that of the Museum of Antiquities. They did not hold any scientific purpose; rather, the objects were seen as rarities that shaped a mirror of the world. The unification of these collections into broader 'national' collections that were openly accessible for public and, in the instance of the Museum of Antiquities, were connected to a university was a turning point departing from these 18th century practices.

Modernity and collecting Javanese antiquities

Concerning colonial collecting before 1835 in the Netherlands-Indies, in 1823, a large donation of 40 stone statues from Java was donated by botanist C.G.C. Reinwardt (1773-1854). This donation established the department of Javanese antiquities in Leiden. Reuvens described a part of these stone objects in a catalogue from 1824 titled: *Verhandelingen over drie groote steenen beelden in den jare 1819 uit Java naar den Nederlanden overgezonden*.²¹ On Java, however, interest in Javanese antiquities was very premature around the time Reinwardt went to Java, where he was appointed as botanist but also gained a position wherein he had to take care of the known Javanese antiquities.²² Yet, there was a larger interest in natural history and in 1817 Reinwardt founded the botanical gardens in Bogor (*'s Lands Plantentuin te Buitenzorg*).²³ However, antiquities on Java were sporadically collected by civil servants as noted when he visited the estate of the assistant resident of Malang in 1821 and noticed the house was filled with 'Brahmin' statues.²⁴ The practice of colonial collecting around Reinwardt's time, which is before 1835, was incidental and not directly

²⁰ Rudolf Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches : origins of the National Museum of Ethnology, 1816-1883* (CNWS Publications 2008), 14.

²¹ Caspar Reuvens, *Verhandelingen over drie groote steenen beelden in den jare 1819 uit Java naar den Nederlanden overgezonden* (Leiden 1826).

²² Nicolaas J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst* (Nijhoff 1923), 8.

²³ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 5. Note the reference to the 'national' in the name of the Botanic Gardens.

²⁴ Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities" 75.

connected to one of these institutions (however the collectors such as Reinwardt may have been member of the Batavian Society, they were never 'sent' to collect antiquities). Pieter ter Keurs argued that the 19th century collectors were heavily influenced by other European developments such as of rationalism and romanticism. Rationalism seems to be closely connected to the emergence of scientific institutes in Europe as it relates to the scientific urge to understand the world. This caused the function of categorization and documentation colonial collecting had. Then, romanticism seemed to prevail through unplanned individual collecting, outside of an institution. This relates to the accidental nature of excavations and the circumstances that were varying and not under control the researcher.²⁵

Concerning research on Javanese ancient history in this period before 1835, there were already some researches carried out about Javanese monuments by civil servants such as C. A Lons, who firstly wrote about Javanese monuments in 1733. More extensive work on Javanese antiquities was carried out by governor of East-Java Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831). Furthermore, there was the *Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap voor Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Royal Batavian Society for Arts and Sciences), which already had published a short article on 'The natural history, antiquities, morals and customs of the Indies people' in 1778.²⁶ With the establishment of the Batavian Society incidental reports were being published by civil servants.²⁷ However, a renewed interest came with the appointment of Raffles (1781-1826) as governor-general from 1811 to 1816 and Crawfurd (1783-1868) during the British period while the Netherlands was occupied by France. The publications of *The History of Java* (1817) by Raffles and *History of the Indian Archipelago* (1820) by Crawfurd were the first major works that reached a large audience and renewed interest in Javanese antiquities.

What was a turning point both in collecting and researching Javanese antiquities, as we shall see in chapter two and chapter three, was the establishment and expansion of institutions only after the 1840s that influenced

²⁵ Ter Keurs, *Colonial collections revisited*, 5.

²⁶ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 4.

²⁷ Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*, 6.

colonial collecting of Javanese antiquities. They did so to a degree that the practice of colonial collecting changed from private undertakings to a practice that was controlled by the institutions of the Netherlands-Indies government, the Batavian Society in the Netherlands-Indies and the Ministry of Colonies, the Ministry of State and the Museum of Antiquities in the Netherlands. Moreover, active collecting of Javanese antiquities was not conducted until after the 1840s when the Batavian Society would gain a separate department of antiquities. That these institutions influenced collecting of Javanese antiquities through policy incorporates the practice of collecting into modernity. In other words, institutions that were founded with set objectives, set funds and lawfully demanded a set quality from the specialists became able to make collectors purposefully collect and donate antiquities through government policy.

The relationship of the collectors to modernity was therefore an indirect one. The historian Dipesh Chakrabarty has argued that a distinction between the institutional changes that define 'modernity' and the conception of being modern, 'modernism', became blurred. These two would not necessarily fit in a chronological order. This means that someone may have felt 'modern' without being connected to the institutions 'modernity' stood for and thus wouldn't have to imply actual forwardness or backwardness. For colonial collecting, this may have been equally true. One may collect Javanese bronzes while not being akin of an institutional research environment but still be within this space and thus feel 'modern'.²⁸

Concerning the individual networks of the collectors, an important characteristic of institutionalization was that institutions were regarded as impersonal and universal.²⁹ The scope of activity therefore changed through the emergence of the metropolitan space. Metropolitan spaces are characterised as a global network wherein colonizers worked, which stands opposite of the colonial space as coined by Edward Saïd. The differences between these two spaces consist of idioms such as modern versus pre-modern or more generally: the

²⁸ Dipesh Chakrabarty, "The muddle of modernity," *American Historical Review* 116, no. 3 (2011) 663-675.

²⁹ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 118.

'other' versus the 'same'.³⁰ The antiquities circulated within the metropolitan space beyond national borders, the ideas the collectors had were shaped by scholars from India or Germany and scholars from different institutions would meet at the cross path: a Javanese bronze object. This development is inherent to colonisation and institutionalisation and therefore an important asset of the globalizing world in the 19th century. As the cause lies within institutionalization, the emergence of these spaces is an important cause of modernity as policy. To be within the metropolitan space was a connection to institutions that existed around the world.

Chapter conclusion

Modernity relates to institutionalization because through government policy, we are able to identify a degree of reflective, judgmental thinking about the practices of regulating colonial collecting along the lines of existing scientific traditions. Modernity as a regulating policy gives the opportunity to understand it in concrete forms such as institutionalization. The effect this institutionalization had was, amongst others, the founding of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. That this museum was a novelty lay within the connection to the University of Leiden and the primary purpose of scientific research of antiquities. As a consequence, an emerging interest in Javanese ancient history came into place on Java that caused civil servants to collect Javanese antiquities. The rise of institutions furthermore created new networks that have been coined 'imaginative spaces' such as the metropolitan and the colonial space in which these collectors worked.

³⁰ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York, 1979) 49.

CHAPTER II: FROM LEIDEN TO BATAVIA

Chapter introduction

The next chapter will concern the early years (1835-1844) of Leemans as a director of the National Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. It will explain who Leemans was and what his objectives were for the museum and the collection of Javanese antiquities in particular. Furthermore, this chapter will investigate how the scientific area looked like concerning the research of antiquities. It will also address who the benefactors of the museum were and ask what purposes they had to collect and why they contributed to the museum of antiquities. This chapter will then ask how Leemans' web of contacts looked like and conclude with a commentary on the first catalogue to be published on the Javanese antiquities in 1842. Finally, this chapter will discuss how colonial collecting in this period related to modernity.

Leemans

The many stone hewers of Javanese temples were anonymous. They have filled their lives hewing stones and bringing them to the place where the *candi* was resurrected. Like their anonymity, Leemans and many other scholars worked to create the knowledge that help us understand Southeast Asia. Nevertheless, no visitor of the Borobudur knows his name. Perhaps those who are educated with the history of ancient Java or Dutch colonialism may recognize Leemans as the director of the Museum of Antiquities. Yet, there will be far less who would know the effort he had put in ancient Javanese history research, and with him, there will be many others who placed their years on the creation of a scientific tradition.

Shortly after Leemans' death in 1894, his successor Pleyte published an eulogy in the *Jaarboek* of the Royal Institution of Sciences (*Koninklijk Instituut van Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten*) titled: "*Levensbericht C. Leemans*". From the overall praise the eulogy accounts for, the reader may be

pointed to that all this work on Javanese ancient history was carried out by someone who originally was an Egyptologist and spent most of his time as a curator and museum director on this field. Moreover, Leemans has never travelled to the Indian archipelago, for he always relied on sources such as letters from collectors or scholars. However, the effort he made in the facilitating and practicing of research on Javanese antiquities was unmatched for his time.

Leemans was born on the 28th of April 1809 in Zaltbommel. His father was a physician and for this purpose the family moved to Leiden in 1821. After a while of receiving education, Leemans was recommended by his teacher to study with Reuvs; however, typhus prevented his study for a while. After he recovered, it appeared that he had forgotten all that he learned before. However, after re-mastering his abilities, he decided to study theology at the University of Leiden in 1825. Reuvs, however, recommended him to study at the Faculty of Letters, and Leemans switched to this faculty in 1828. Together with his friends, he left for the war against Belgium in 1831. There they were stationed in Tirlemont and later to Battersum. Near Battersum, they came under an overnight attack from Belgian riflemen. One of his friends died on the battlefield, but Leemans survived with an injured arm.³¹

Because of his wounds, Leemans left for Arentsburg, where Reuvs had bought an estate where he thought the forum Hadriani to be. He came under supervision of Reuvs during the excavation works. Leemans also went to Paris together with Reuvs, where they learned from the famous Champollion catalogue of Musée Charles X, the later Musée du Louvre. He completed his doctoral program on Horapolla in 1835 and continued his work at the Museum of Antiquities under Reuvs.³²

Leemans was not a pioneer in the research of ancient Javanese history. However, he came to the position of facilitating the research of Javanese antiquities. Like the stone hewer of the Borobudur, he hewed stones out of the mountain of time to recreate the ruined Candi's of Java through documenting and cataloguing central collections of Javanese antiquities. It is for a large part through his policies as a museum director and his diligence as a collector that we

³¹ Willem Pleyte, "Levensbericht C. Leemans" *Jaarboek KNAW* (1894), 5.

³² Pleyte, "Levensbericht C. Leemans" 6.

owe a well-established tradition of European research on ancient Javanese history. Leemans became a true collector in the tradition of the enlightenment, where normative descriptions of the collections from all over the world became the base of what should be considered scientific research. A wish to categorize fuelled his descriptive style.

In December 1835, Leemans was asked to continue his work as the 'first curator' - the then highest function within the museum until Leemans officially became director in 1839.³³ As a perfectionist and a hard worker, it must have been overwhelming to carry out everything exactly to his liking in his precise manner. He refused to hand out work to any of his staff members, which he argued from his belief that: "Anything I don't do myself will be done badly."³⁴ The responsibility by his succession at the National Museum of Antiquities must have struck him deeply, for he inherited an already large collection of antiquities that came from all over the world: from Italy, Greece, Egypt, the Middle-East, the America's and Asia too.

In the first months of his directorship, however, Leemans' attention seemed to lay not within the study and collecting of Javanese antiquities; rather, he wanted to reform the museum through a set of new regulations for the curators of the Museum of Antiquities and through securing government funding as well as funding from the Leiden University. To accommodate a growing collection, he also searched for a new museum building where the collection would be brought over to in 1837.

In order to create a good impression on how other museums of antiquities facilitated their collections, he would take a trip to London, where he would also have seen the Javanese antiquities brought there by Raffles. Seeing those antiquities in the famed British Museum would have given him the notion of their importance and the impression not to lag behind.³⁵ Furthermore, he justified that a national museum of antiquities should exist for scientific reasons

³³ For a complete chronology: Reuvers died in July 1835 on his return from England. Leemans immediately was assigned as the acting director and on the 16th of October he was informed that he would become first curator in December of that same year. This rather complex situation arose from financing problems. In the first months after Reuvers' death, Leemans even had to step in himself financially. RMO October 16, 1835.

³⁴ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 178

³⁵ RMO Februari 21 1835.

only. A core value in this should be that the collection should be visible for every scholar with an interest in ancient history.³⁶ This would remain an important justification for him to let Javanese antiquities be brought to the Netherlands with the result of the spacious building that could house the complete collection on the Breestraat 18.

Ancient Javanese history research between 1835-1842

Nevertheless, Leemans inherited already more than 14 years of hard work from Reuvens. Reuvens' hard work has not only manifested itself in the beginning of a vast collection; moreover, it was also visible in the connections Reuvens has laid with the Dutch colonial authorities both in the Netherlands and in the Netherlands-Indies. Reuvens had earlier cooperated with Leemans and Reinwardt to found a museum of antiquities in Batavia under the command of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. The preceding report from Reuvens to the Governor General of August 29 1832 has unfortunately been lost, but it is clear that Reuvens did have extensive influence on the development of archaeological research on Java of that time for the Governor general. In a letter from April 6 in 1835 to the Batavian Society it has been made clear that he took Reuvens' advice on the foundation of an archaeological museum seriously.

First of all, a commission was set into place that had to find archaeological objects that were circulating throughout Java. However, the retrieved objects and the effect this commission had on regulating the circulation of archaeological objects were none. The Governor General therefore came to the conclusion that from that point, the founding of an archaeological society could not come into practice as long as both the supposed funding that Reuvens recommended and the knowledge on archaeology were lacking.³⁷ However, it was no longer to Reuvens to deal with this matter, as this letter was received one month after his death. Leemans was immediately placed in the position where he could advise the Governor General on the foundation of the archaeological museum in

³⁶ RMO September 9 1836.

³⁷ RMO August 29, 1835.

Batavia. As we may expect, he took this opportunity to have a say in the matter and composed a lengthy report on archaeological research, as it should be practiced to his ideal and also pertaining to the situation on Java.

In the report, he made clear that he was not able to retrieve the original documents as composed by Reuvens and Reinwardt. In other words, he had to rely on his memory and perhaps even more to his likening, his own perspectives on the matter. He made several advices to the Governor-General, starting with: "The plan to found an archaeological society and museum that should send travellers with the purpose as to publish the antiquities that were found on the island of Java, seems to be a objective too broad and impracticable in the light of the current situation."³⁸

Leemans furthermore pushed his primary purposes forward through the advice as to "protect the existing monuments against destruction and demolition and the transfer of movable objects to Batavia."³⁹ This he counted on to be the most important objective in order to bolster a scientific base for the study of Javanese antiquities. Interestingly enough, the collection of Javanese antiquities in Leiden was not yet named as a primary objective both the government and the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences should attend to. Moreover, he informed that accurate drawings and maps of monuments would benefit the study of Javanese antiquities and that these drawings should be the main purpose for any institution that would intend to create an environment to study these "most important" antiquities.

Leemans made clear that his own collection could be enriched if the Batavian Society would produce and send more drawings. He furthermore stated that the collection in Leiden did not yet obtain any drawing that would contain information on ancient Javanese history and not its "fables". On this matter, he

³⁸ RMO July 26, 1836, "Dat het plan ter oprichting een oudheidkundig genootschap, museum, tot uitzenden van reizigers met het doel en het uitgeven van de oude monumenten op Java gevonden, voor het tegenwoordige en over het algemeen voor de beginne der missieve wat te uitgebreid en schier onuitvoerlijk zijnde, zou in zulke omstandigheden [...] doch ook tevens dat indien men het plan al niet terstond in werking kon brengen het allerwenselijkst zoude zijn dat men bij vervolg van tijd zelve steeds poogde nader te komen."

³⁹ *Ibidem*, "Het beveiligen namelijk der nog bestaande monumenten tegen alle vernieling of sloping en het overvoeren naar Batavia van alle vervoerbare voorwerpen, komt mij voor ook nu nog tot de eerste maatregelen te behooren welke in het belang der studie dienen genomen te worden en voortdurend in werking te blijven."

could already use his own experience as a young museum director. Earlier that year, he received drawings of antiquities from Limburg that had been excavated from the Zuidwillemsvaart from the adjutant engineer of *waterstaat*.⁴⁰ The earlier mentioned trip to London must have given him an impression of the importance the British Museum had laid on drawings, where they used officials that were earlier responsible for creating nautical charts now to draw antiquities. This idea is in line with the earlier practice of Nicolaus Engelhard (1761-1831) who, at the time when he was based as the governor of East Java, commissioned draughtsmen, who were earlier responsible for nautical charts, at the Marine School of Semarang to produce drawing of antiquities and monuments.⁴¹

His advice that was not followed until the 1860s was the proclamation of all archaeological monuments to be found on Java to be the government property (*landseigendom*). His argumentation lay within his frustration of individuals that would disturb information on the excavation sites and harm the antique objects from which the objects would lose a large part of their scientific value.⁴² Another frustration must lay within the size of his collection in Leiden. He argued that the collection of bronze images was "barely worth mentioning" at this stage while at the same time, there were large and small transfers of bronze images to the Netherlands from these individual practisers. Furthermore, it would be obvious to him that if the easy-to-carry objects were saved for the collection in Leiden, his museum would have been "one of the richest in Europe." He rather wanted the objects to be freely accessible to anyone in a museum of antiquities in Batavia than somewhere in a living room.

Lastly, he advised that when certain archaeological objects at the museum in Batavia could be missed there, they could be transported to the museum in Leiden, a policy that would come to use several decades later. However, he did

⁴⁰ The in 1789 founded *Bureau voor den Waterstaat* is the Dutch department for water management that includes natural and artificial features, such as excavation works.

⁴¹ Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities", 85.

⁴² RMO July 28 1836; Francis Griffith and Herbert Thompson, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* (London 1931) 3, Earlier, Leemans accidentally destroyed Egyptian papyri. His style of preserving objects must have been characterized by extreme carefulness after that accident. This notion could be understood an example of that claim.

not want to minimize the importance of the museum in Leiden, for he argued that it was a better place for Javanese antiquities than in Java since: "Over here is an abundance of scholars to visit the institution and [the objects] would become more generally and faster known, something that could not happen in the isolated territory of the museum in Batavia for in Europe, we have better means that would provide us to use the antiquities in a scientific sense, also for the large abundance of scholars that make a study out of this subject."⁴³

An interesting comparison could be made between this report and a later correspondence in 1841 with the minister of colonies where Leemans argued that private collectors fuelled his museum immensely and formed a good connection between his museum and Java. His trust concerning the cooperation between the Museum of Antiquities and the Batavian Society would later prove to be impaired as well.⁴⁴ The silent feud that will unfold itself during the course of the 19th century between the museum of antiquities in Leiden and the Batavian Society is a tragic one in the light of Leeman's goodwill to the Batavian Society at first. This matter would be pursued in the third chapter.

The benefactors between 1835-1842

In these first years between 1835-1838, Leemans' his presupposition on private collectors, however, deemed to be true, for the only addition that was made to the bronze collection was from J. C. Baud (1789-1859), who was acting Governor-General at the time and the later Minister of Colonies with whom Leemans would remain corresponding during later years, such as in 1858, where they would discuss Javanese antiquities.⁴⁵ He had sent his bronze collection

⁴³ RMO July 26 1836, "Het zoude echter in het belang der wetenschappen meer te verlangen zijn dat de voorwerpen van Javaasche oudheidkunde in het Landsmuseum in het moederland van tijd tot tijd werden overgezonden derwijl zij aldaar bij de overgroten toevloed van vreemde geleerden om die inrichting te bezoeken meer algemeen en spoedig bekend worden dan zulks in de kolonie geschieden kan en deugt men in europa beter van de middelen voorzien om van dezelve een wetenschappelijk gebruik te maken ook om het grote aantal van geleerden die dat onderwerp tot het punt hunne meer bijzondere beoefening gemaakt hebben."

⁴⁴ Hans Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden; Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen; 1778-1867* (E. J. Brill 2009), 488.

⁴⁵ NAN, *J. C. Baud: 1028*.

together with his earlier notice to the Ministry of Colonies. Baud indeed was the same person whom Leemans had corresponded with concerning the archaeological department of the Batavian Society. The bronzes were received in Leiden on September 15th and consisted of three bronze boxes and three bells that nowadays bear the tags RMV-1403-1662 to RMV-1403-1667.⁴⁶ The additional documentation sent together with the bronzes informs us that C. L. Hartmann, resident of Kedu, had sent these bronzes to Baud. Hartmann had excavated them from a ravine near desa Warve Doyjong near the Merapi Mountain after heavy rains. It is not surprising that Hartmann sent these bronzes to Baud, because since his appointment as resident of Kedu in 1832 he had done a noteworthy effort to clean and reconstruct the monuments in his residency, of which the Borobudur is the most important example.

A complete list of the benefactors is given in the appendix. Highlighted names will be discussed in the following paragraph. The decision to particularly discuss these benefactors lies within the availability of archival material and because of the exemplary nature of the benefactors through their function within the colonial system or outside. Moreover, their relationship towards the Museum of Antiquities is also taken into account.

Characteristic for this early period in archaeological research, the objects were not seen as religious objects. Rather the local population coined them to be *pusaka* of Javanese nobilities who used the bells as instruments for their gamelan play. This coincides with Lunsingh-Scheurleer's assumption that all Javanese antiquities were incorporated within the social circuit as *pusaka* for the Javanese nobility. In the times of Dutch growing colonial power these objects were important for the aristocracy to spiritually maintain themselves.⁴⁷ Concerning the age of the objects, Baud informed Leemans with reference to the story of Hutok Gede's war against the ruler of Pajang, about 500 years ago. Hutok Gede would have placed his camp at the site where the objects were found, but his sinful rule was punished by a mudslide in which the objects were therewith hidden.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ RMO September 15, 1835.

⁴⁷ Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities", 76.

⁴⁸ RMO January 29 1835.

Aside from this donation, until 1838, donations from private collectors with a romantic enthusiasm for Javanese archaeology remained non-existent. The next donation came from P.C.G. Guyot (1800-1861), whose parents were the influential Henri Daniel Guyot, who was a pioneer on education for mutes, and the extravagantly rich and famous Francina van Iddekinge from Groningen. After a military career from 1814 to 1828, he became the adjutant of the Governor-General van den Bosch. In the Netherlands-Indies, he was one of the persons who would help introduce the culture system (*cultuurstelsel*) and he took part in the Sumatra expedition of 1832, where he urged himself inside fort Katiagan, where he ended the armed clashes. After his return to the Netherlands, he remained a person who frequently brought out advice on colonial policies.⁴⁹ Guyot had a large interest in history and created a large collection of Roman antiquities, which he would later donate to the municipality of Nijmegen, the area that appealed most to him his and where the Roman objects were originally from.⁵⁰

The objects that Guyot sent to Leemans are nowadays registered as RMV-1403-1670, RMV-1403-1671, RMV-1403-1833 and RMV-1403-1834. He sent these objects because he was enthusiastic about archaeological studies and had already been corresponding with Leemans about antique objects in the collection of the museum. Therefore, he sent, as a reciprocal service, a bronze image and a bell, according to him belonging to the 'Brahmin religion'.⁵¹ During his stay on Java, he kept notes on 'Java and its inhabitants', which he also sent to Leemans. In these notes he stated that the bronzes belonged to pangeran raden adipathi Mangkunegoro II, the independent ruler of the Mangkunegaran, who residing in Surakarta.⁵² Concerning their use as pusaka, Guyot wrote that: "How much Mangkunegoro was educated in the Mohamedanian religion, he shared the superstition concerning these images that is often present in the common Javanese who belief that these objects are the remains of the earlier Brahmin

⁴⁹ Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde, 1861 M.F.A.G. Campbell (auteur): Paul Charles Guillaume Guyot, 144-151.

⁵⁰ RHC Groninger Archieven: 2513-31 *Brief van P.C.G. Guyot aan de Raad te Nijmegen betreffende de schenking van eerstgenoemdes verzameling van Romeinse antiquiteiten*.

⁵¹ Javanese antiquities were often confused for Brahmin objects. See: Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities", 75.

⁵² Later more antiquities were brought to the museum that initially belonged to Mangkunegoro IV who also made a personal donation to the museum in 1859.

religion that are transported from temple ruins. Mangkunegoro's attachment to these images and the bell, which were both brought to him by his subjects, was fairly big. It came from his notion that his ancestors, whose memory was sacred to him, had a special bond to these objects. Furthermore whatever is old is to the Javanese most precious."⁵³

Guyot noted that he travelled alongside Van den Bosch throughout Java for three years and met with Captain de Kock, whom Mangkunegoro had presented the objects to as an evidence of his loyalty during the Java War (1825-1830). Guyot later on added these objects to his ethnographic collection. As he lost a part of the collection, he decided to send these objects to the museum in Leiden.

The tendency of the documentation seems to be one that persevered during Leemans' whole career as director of the museum. It concludes that after four centuries of Islam on Java, there was nothing that remained of neither the earlier love for art nor the industry of making such objects. Guyot added that the Javanese were capable of creating a gamelan set without any difficulty, but no one would be able to create a bell or image as the ones he sent, which had "such beautiful ornaments". Furthermore, on the history of bronze objects on Java he noted that they were probably imported as the availability of materials was non-existent on the island. While many stone statues were found, the bronze objects were found in much fewer quantities, he noted.⁵⁴ It must have been valuable information for Leemans to be informed on this by someone who was specialized in agriculture on Java and would therefore have excellent knowledge on the geology of Java.

⁵³ RMO November 10 1838, "Hoezeer onderwezen in Mohamedaanse godsdienst deelde hij (Mangkoenegoro) min of meer in de bijgeloofige der beeldjes, die de gemeene Javaan nog altijd hecht aan de op Java aanwezige verblijfselen in de vroegere aldaar geheerst hebbende Braminsche godsdienst, het zij deze overblijfselen zijn tempels of tempelruinen in steen gehouwen afgodsbeelden in of bij tempels of naar plekken elders getransporteerd. Mankonegoro's gehechtheid aan dit beeld en die bel, die beide door een zijnder onderhorigen gevonden en heen gebracht waren, was vrij groot, en vloeide voort uit het denkbeeld dat zijne grootouders wier gedachtenis hem heilig was, die of dergelijke voorwerpen als betrekking hebben. Daarbij, al wat oud is, is daarom alleen aan iedere Javaan hoogst dierbaar. "

⁵⁴ RMO November 10 1838.

Another benefactor was J. A. Bagman, who was a tradesman with a function at the *Amsterdamse Wisselbank* and at his own shipyard.⁵⁵ After his death there was a public sale of 65 Javanese antiquities that were initially documented as 'Chinese antiquities' in the sales catalogue. This was such a large number that Leemans saw himself in the position to ask for funding from the King. In a letter sent to William II, he pointed out that from the different collections at the Museum of Antiquities, the collection of Javanese antiquities is one of the most important ones. He furthermore noted that the amount of bronze objects was very low but that this public sale would make a change in that.⁵⁶ Leemans furthermore asked the broker not to sell the bronzes before he was asked by the museum.⁵⁷

Another important acquisition was the stone statue from J. F. W. van Nes, who resided in the *Raad van Indië* (the Indies Council), which was the highest authority in the Netherlands-Indies government under the governor-general. Van Nes was authorized to give the statue of a standing Ganesha, originally possessed by Th. Hofland and P.W. Hofland from Pasuruan. The Hofland family became famously rich from their sugar plantations on East-Java. In Van Nes' letter to the government he expressed that since the ministry placed so much interest, he would be pleased to authorize the transfer of the statue to the ministry for the purpose of placing it in the museum collection.⁵⁸ The government operated on behalf of Leemans in this matter, for Leemans had asked the government for authorisation since he saw drawings of the statue already in May and expressed his interest to place it in the collection. However, due to changing regulations in the Netherlands-Indies, as described below, it would last until 1843 before this object arrived in Leiden.

Leemans' web of contacts

In this period, we can identify four main institutions Leemans stood in close contact to. The first is the University of Leiden, from which he not only received

⁵⁵ *Decreeten van de Provisioneele repræsentanten van het volk van Holland* 6, no. 1, ('s Lands Drukkerij 1789) 246.

⁵⁶ RMO October 16 1841.

⁵⁷ RMO October 6 1841

⁵⁸ RMO October 10 1841.

subsidy but also received the knowledge from scholars there.⁵⁹ The 'great abundance of scholars' he mentioned earlier that justified to him the existence of the collection were those scholars from the University of Leiden. The connection with the Museum of Antiquities was so close that a separate letter to the University was sent to inform them on the arrival of the objects sent from Baud in 1835.⁶⁰ Reinwardt, who was manager of the botanical gardens in its first years, became professor at the University of Leiden from 1832 to his retirement in 1845. Reinwardt was until his return the manager of the botanical gardens in Bogor, which was also closely associated with the Museum of Natural History in Leiden.

The Museum of Natural History and the botanical gardens in Bogor were the second type of institution Leemans stood in contact too, for these institutions also found and kept Javanese antiquities in their collection. After Reinwardt, C. Blume became the new manager of the botanical gardens in Bogor.⁶¹ Blume would be, just like Reinwardt, one of the benefactors of the Museum of Antiquities; however, the objects were sent to the collection after his death in 1864. It will be clear, as we shall see later, that many of the benefactors who excavated and retrieved antique objects were botanists, such as De Vries and Junghuhn. On behalf of the Museum of Natural Histories in Leiden, their director C.J. Temminck also stood in close contact to the Batavian Society. The society sent a letter to Temminck in 1838, which read that: "The museum here will be dedicated to several branches of natural history, antiquities and ethnography. The museum will especially be in service of the Museum of Natural History in Leiden."⁶²

The third institution Leemans stood in close contact to was of course the government itself: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of State, and the Ministry of Colonies. The Ministry of State made the arrangements for subsidies as granted from the court of accounts (*rekenkamer*). They also stepped in as middlemen to secure Javanese antiquities present in the Netherlands for the collection in Leiden. Furthermore, the Ministry of Colonies formed the stepping-

⁵⁹ RMO December 22 1836.

⁶⁰ RMO august 29 1835.

⁶¹ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 5.

⁶² Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 294.

stone to the government in the Netherlands-Indies and secured the transfer of Javanese antiquities in ships that belonged to the state. To return to Baud, the message concerning the arrival of his Javanese antiquities for the museum in Leiden were firstly sent to the Ministry of Colonies and then to the Ministry of State, which would inform Leemans and the University upon its arrival.⁶³

The fourth institution was the Batavian Society. As mentioned earlier, the Batavian Society received its permission to open a museum of natural histories, antiquities and ethnography in Batavia. Governor-general Van den Bosch expressed his hope that the labour from the Batavian Society in this respect would be associated to the museum in Leiden. He furthermore noted that their best interest is placed on the growth of scientific research in the Netherlands concerning ancient history of Java.⁶⁴ However, the focus of the Batavian Society did not concern research of antiquities until the arrival of Van Hoëvell, who became member of the board of administration in 1839 and later became president of the Batavian Society. Until his arrival, the Batavian Society operated mostly in the field of natural history.⁶⁵

Leemans' relation to the Ministry of State, the Ministry of Colonies and the Batavian Society determined the developments of the collection in the following years. In the autumn of 1840 Leemans returned from a trip to England and was greeted with the news that the Ministry of State had asked the Royal Institution of Sciences about the Javanese antiquities that were displayed in their gardens in the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam.⁶⁶ During Leemans' absence in England, the minister had accomplished the promise from the Institutions that the antiquities were to be moved to Leiden, as long as they were provided with documentation about their earlier place in the Trippenhuis.

In a letter from that same June, the president of the Royal Institution explained that the antiquities came from east Java to the Netherlands as early as 1820 and were described by Reuvens. He recalls the history of the Museum of Antiquities as follows: "After these statues, more 'memorials' arrived in the fatherland. A museum of archaeology in Leiden offered a good place [for

⁶³ RMO august 29 1835.

⁶⁴ RMO August 11 1835, RMO August 13 1835.

⁶⁵ Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 295.

⁶⁶ RMO October 2 1840.

antiquities], as can be seen in its present day collection that encompasses also the art from ancient Java. The three statues therefore remained alone here and are not part of any collection. Therefore the Royal Institution is required to all the scientific (*geleerde*) institutions in the fatherland, to assist them in the contributions (i.e. the statues) for creating knowledge and science (*geleerdheid*) where they would be placed best."⁶⁷

This letter therefore points to a change in the regard of the museum in Leiden. It was not considered as a place for Javanese antiquities in the 1820s, but in this moment, it was regarded as the expected place where Javanese antiquities should be brought, even if it were to reduce collections of other institutions and backed by the ministry of state as go-between. Yet, Leemans was placed at the benign of other collectors. An example of this is the stone and bronze collection of the Royal Cabinet of Rarities (*Koninklijk kabinet voor Zeldzaamheden*). The Ministry of State addressed this institution and expressed their wish to see that collection placed in the Museum of Antiquities.⁶⁸ Leemans took this opportunity to send ethnographic objects to the Cabinet of Rarities, but added that he would expect Kastele, the manager of the cabinet, to cooperate to place the antiquities in the cabinet in the museum of antiquities. In his letter, he made clear that: "I am sorry that concerning science, you have the opinion that the Javanese bronze and stone objects do not belong to the territory of ancient history. From this place it is a disadvantage for the scholars that could have been studying on the subject of ancient Javanese history more precisely."⁶⁹

⁶⁷ RMO June 5 1840, "Doch later kwamen meer andere zoodanige gedenkstukken op vaderlandsen grond aan. een museum voor archeologie te leiden opgericht bood eene geschikte gelegenheid tot plaatsing aan, en werkelijk is hetzelfde reeds in het bezit van onderscheidene gedenkstukken, ook van oud-Javaanse kunst. De drie beelden aan de derde klasse toevertrouwd hoezeer nog later een schrijven van 16 april 1822 eenige aanwinsten toezeide, zijn alleen gebleven en maken hier geen deel van eenige verzameling uit. De klasse is voor zich zelve overtuigd dat het verplicht is van alle geleerde instellingen in het vaderland, om elkander naar vermogen bij te staan in het hunne er tot bij te dragen dat de gedenkstukken van kunst en de hulpmiddelen van kennis en geleerdheid zich daar bevinden waar zij het best zullen geplaatst zijn en het meeste niet zullen kunnen aanbrengen."

⁶⁸ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 190.

⁶⁹ RMO December 10 1841, "Het spijt mij in het belang der wetenschappen dat u zich bij de bevoordeling van Javaans-Indische bronzen even zeer als stenen beelden al dan niet te het gebied der oudheidkunde behoren niet op het standpunt plaatst waaruit die sedert lang reeds [...] thans door de vorderingen der geleerden die zich met de studie onledig beschreven wordt."

Unfortunately for Leemans, the bronze and stone Javanese antiquities from the Cabinet of Rarities would remain there until the dismantling of their collection in 1883. However, in these anecdotes, we may discover that notion of the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden as the expected place for Javanese antiquities was funded by the idea that the bronze and stone objects were indeed belonging to the field of ancient history rather than that of ethnography. Leemans therein made a difference with the past objectives concerning the Javanese antiquities by making this clear categorisation. Following his logic: this placed his museum in the centre for research of Javanese antiquities and defined the relation it had to the Batavian Society. It can be expected that Leemans would have had the same words in mind as the management of the Batavian Society had sent to Temminck: the Batavian Society as a service subservient to the museum of antiquities in Leiden.

It must have been surprising to Leemans to understand that one year later, in 1842, the Netherlands-Indies government had placed restrictions on the export of Javanese antiquities. During a correspondence with the historian C.J. van der Vlis, who was an influential member of the Batavian Society, Leemans was informed that the Ministry of Colonies ordered the Netherlands-Indies government to place restrictions on the export of Javanese antiquities and that furthermore, the civil servants were to make directories on the antiquities that were present in their residencies. Furthermore, the antiquities were not to be moved from their positions where they were kept. Leemans noted that: "Anyone who means well with the practice of the history of the Indies, including myself, would find this situation undesirable."⁷⁰

The Ministry of Colonies replied that he had sent this letter to the Governor-General in the light of the transfer of the Ganesha statue from van Nes. He furthermore replied that Leemans did not understand the new regulation because to the minister, it would not lead to a decline of the growth of the collection in Leiden for he places the growth of the collection and the securing of monuments on Java equally to the growth of scientific knowledge of ancient Java

⁷⁰ RMO May 2 1842, "Ieder die het wel meent met de beoefening der Indische geschiedenis oudheidkunde zouden bovengemede aanbeveling, ook mijzelve als onwenselijk zijn gesteld."

in the Netherlands. Moreover, he explained the importance by criticizing the way anyone could 'rob' monuments from their antiquities because until that point any antiquity would be considered the possession of the first finder. He noted that the Museum of Antiquities would benefit from these practices since it fuelled the import of Javanese antiquities but that this should not be the reason to make the temples subject to destruction and plunder. An important notion was added, concerning that the governor-general should not place any obstacle to the transfer of objects to the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.⁷¹

To the Ministry of Colonies, it therefore must have meant that the export of antiquities was merely regulated by the governor-general and that the Museum of Antiquities would benefit from this as it was placed in a special position as the sole receiving end of antiquities that should be exported to the Netherlands. That would mean that Leemans would not have to be subject of any competition from other collectors and institutions within the metropolitan space.

However, Leemans was not pleased (in mild terms) with this letter. He wrote that: "The least prejudiced reading of my letter gives not in the least any assumption that - I - should consider the importance of my collection bigger than that of the plunder and destruction of the Javanese monuments and would bear the hope that the consequence would be the growth of the collection here in the Netherlands. When there would be any justice that any of these claims were to be found true, I would leave my position for I feel myself unworthy of it. And so I have placed too many expectations on the good opinion of the head of the department of colonies, so that I would see myself here to protest against such assumptions. If there would be any possibility for me to send the objects from the collection back, I would do that whole-heartedly and I rather see that happen than the growth of the collection."⁷²

⁷¹ RMO April 26 1842.

⁷² RMO May 4 1842, "Het komt mij bij de meest onbevooroordeelde herlezing van mijn schrijven over dat onderwerp u onbegrijpelijk voor hoe eenige zelfs de minste aanleiding kan gevonden om te veronderstellen dat - ik - het belang van de archeologische verzameling zouden wensen voorbij te zien, of het plunderen, vernielen van de oude overblijfselen der oude kunst op Java slechts in de verte verdedigen zonder de hoop dat een gedeelte van dien roof aan het vaderlandse museum zouden toevloeiën.

It is important to note that up to that point, Leemans had presented himself not as the classical collector, for whom the urge to 'possess' - and to do so completely - was the reason to collect. Rather he saw his position as a saviour, who secures the Javanese antiquities for destruction in the name of science. In his letter, Leemans furthermore noted that the objects that were in the Netherlands would surely have been subject to destruction and that the best and certainly the - *only* - place for the antiquities was an openly accessible national collection (*landsverzameling*). For him, this would be the way to have the objects serve the purpose of scientific research. "Or else", he concludes: "One should find a better care for those objects that are placed in the gardens of individuals in Java or put away in boxes than in an institution which is indebted to a civil servant or to the scientific audience for a useful purpose."⁷³

Within this letter, we may precisely identify the purposes he had in mind to collect Javanese antiquities here in the Netherlands. He worked for a scientific audience just as well for the colonial administrator. Moreover, he did not care for the collecting for the collection's sake, as did, for example, private collectors or the Cabinet of Rarities: he understood his position as saviour the Javanese antiquities to be kept here for later generations and researched. Of course, it can be noted that he had to use this rhetoric in order to defend himself against the minister of colonies. However, he kept his promise, as we have seen earlier, to the Cabinet of Rarities, where he indeed had sent objects to, which he thought to belong to an ethnographic museum. Furthermore, he indeed made a grand effort to make the collections at the museum open for public, through acquiring new

Wanneer met eenige recht een van beide die beschuldigingen tegen mij opgeworpen konden worden, zoude ik de wetenschappelijke betrekkingen die ik bekleed en het vertrouwen waarmee ik niet betrekken. mij nog toe vereerd zien geheel onwaardig wezen.

En ik stel te veel prijs op den goede dunk ook van het hoofd van het Departement van koloniën dan dat ik niet ten ernstige zouden protesteren tegen dergelijke ongunstige opvattingen waarmee er eenige mogelijkheid bestond om de voorwerpen die van de oude Javaanse tempels weggehaald zijn weder terug te voeren, en van dezelve behoud bij die - te zorgen zoude ik zelf aanraden dat de beelden thans in het archeologisch museum bewaard tot gebouwen waarin of zij behoren terug gebracht werden, liever te kosten van het gaan van het verrijken die verzameling."

⁷³ RMO May 4 1842, "Of men moet dat voor de beelden op Java en de tuinen van bijzondere personen geplaatste of in kisten ingepakt een betere zorg vinden, dan in eene inrichting waarbij een ambtenaar aan de hoge regering en aan het wetenschappelijk publiek verantwoordelijk is voor dezelve behorende nuttig gebruik."

exhibition spaces on Breestraat 18. Therefore, it is convincing that these statements were indeed his true purposes concerning collecting.

The catalogue of 1842

While these events took place, Leemans was working on the first to be published catalogue of 'Asian and American antiquities in Leiden'. This was the first catalogue that would include Javanese antiquities and it was distributed all over Europe from London to Moscow. On the first page, it reads: "Dedicated to the Batavian Society by the corresponding: the author." The purpose of this must have been to show the effect of the contributions made by the Batavian Society and remind them of their shared effort of scientific research. This catalogue was the second catalogue written about the collection in Leiden. Only the catalogue concerning the Egyptian antiquities was two years earlier. Leemans must have considered waiting for the objects from Bagman and the Royal Institute and the Cabinet of Rarities. The last one would explain the haste he made for receiving those antiquities.⁷⁴

In his preface, he made an interesting allusion to the colonial practice the collection was subject to: the 'double interest' the Netherlands showed for these bronze antiquities. It is possible to determine these two interests, as on the one hand, there was the ancient history of Java, and on the other there was the idea of the Dutch that took the virtue to preserve the Javanese past under the flag of colonialism and used it to educate themselves on Javanese customs in order to rule the colony. This does not undermine the scientific character Leemans valued so highly for his collection, as the scientific practice was inherent to the colonial practice at the time. To be clearer: the civil servants on Java, as mentioned earlier in his letter to the ministry of colonies, could use the information about Java's past. Moreover, without the Netherlands-Indies, the means as to have a collection of Javanese antiquities would be unlikely if not non-existent.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Conradus Leemans, *Beredeneerde beschrijving der Asiatische en Amerikaansche monumenten van het Museum van Oudheden te Leyden* (Leiden 1842), VII.

⁷⁵ Leemans, *Beredeneerde beschrijving*, VIII.

The next message from the preface may be directed toward Kastele. It concerns the divide between ethnography and antiquity, for Leemans made two distinctions clear. Firstly, he recognized that Hindu and Buddhism were almost completely absent on Java, while the population there had converted to Islam. To Leemans, this meant that inside a certain territory he could speak of a 'dead culture', which would make it an antiquity. Secondly, he notes the classification made by his teacher, Reuvens, that every object that concerns religion or burial ceremonies should be considered to be an antique object. To make the distinction clearer, he separated the Hindu and Buddhist antiquities from Mainland Southeast Asia in a separate division and made them appear after the Javanese objects. Leemans noted that the Hindu religion was still practiced on mainland Southeast Asia.

Another classification was made on the basis of (material, stone, metal, ivory and clay) but not on the basis age or location.⁷⁶ This categorization was neither disputable, nor vulnerable of interpretation, which aligns to Leemans' descriptive style. This might also emphasize the importance of a definitive and indisputable categorisation of the collection. It would be expected that scholars who carried out research on ancient Javanese history would be much more helped by a categorization based on place and date than a categorization based simply on material.

Modernity and collecting Javanese antiquities before 1844

Leemans continued managing the Museum of Antiquities in the fashion of Reuvens: he conducted travels to foreign museums in order to create impressions of how a scientific institution should function and guaranteed open access of the collection by purchasing a new building. Also continuing was the connection the museum had with the university of Leiden. Not just through its proximity but also through funds and libraries that were being shared. Together with Leemans repeatedly underscoring the importance of scientific methods, and the objective to serve the purpose of science, it can be safely concluded that the

⁷⁶ Leemans, *Beredeneerde beschrijving*, IX.

Museum of Antiquities was deeply rooted in the rational thinking of the enlightenment.

Concerning the collection of Javanese antiquities. This collection was coined a 'national' collection underscoring its broad nature and function within the nation-state. Furthermore, Leemans argued that he put effort in this collection in order to 'save' them from decay and a lack of interest on Java and bring them in an area where they could serve the purpose of science. This also meant that he purposefully kept these objects in the Museum of Antiquities and out of the Cabinet of Rarities or Natural History Museum. To 'save' Javanese antiquities meant placing them inside the scientific metropolitan space of the institutions the Museum of Antiquities was connected to. This was how the meaning of these bronzes changed into a scientific discourse that 'othered' the Javanese. The 'double interest' of this collection that Leemans noted in his catalogue has a lot to do with this, since the collection was a fruit of colonial presence in the Indies, it was a manifestation of the Dutch virtue to preserve the great past of Buddhist and Hindu empires on Java. A double interest was therefore the change of meaning these objects had from the uneducated and 'backward' Javanese to the enlightened metropolitan space of the Dutch civil servants and academics.

In the Netherlands-Indies, the borders between these spaces were blurred through the participation of the Javanese in colonial collecting, whether it was *pangeran* Mangkunegoro or the indigenous peoples that provided these bronzes and their histories. Leemans, however, stood far away from that. The spaces he worked in were institutional and impersonal. His connections to these institutions were concerned with civil servants from the Dutch and Netherlands-Indies government, the staff of the Batavian Society and other museums. Furthermore, the collectors were closely connected to these institutions because they were civil servants but also personally involved with these institutions because of their interest in ancient history. What then prevailed is the personal character the encounters between Leemans and the collectors were.

Consequently, another characteristic of the period before 1844 is that collecting antiquities on Java was a solitary activity. Collectors worked unplanned based on their fascination with ancient history and its remnants

towards accidental encounters with antiquities and their subject peers. Therefore the nature of Leemans' contacts to the collectors was informal and personal. This might be explained through the weak influence institutions had on ancient Javanese history research on Java because there was no official far-fletching policy to plan and regulate collecting Javanese antiquities. This resulted in the contrast of Leemans' impersonal and formal contacts to the institutions that were a result of policy while the personal and informal contacts to the collectors were less directly related to institutionalization.

To emphasise this, the importance of institutions and policy becomes directly clear through his networks he relied upon and how Leemans tried to present his views on the policies that were given by the government. Leemans continued advising, remarking and ask for explanatory information concerning these policies. This corresponds to Chakrabarthy's notion of modernity as a degree of analytically reviewing institutions in order to centrally regulate practices such as collecting antiquities. In the following chapter we shall see the far-fletching effect these policies had.

Chapter conclusion

From this chapter, we may conclude that with Leemans' appointment as manager the collection of the Museum of Antiquities expanded. As the collection grew steadily through his effort to create a web of connections with different institutions but also private collectors, he guaranteed to keep the collection visible for all visitors. This remained an important objective throughout these years for he saw the main purpose of the collection of Javanese antiquities as a scientific one, not one of rarities on display.

We can also conclude that in this period, the benefactors to the collection were notables who had a high social status. Their main interest lay not within the history of antiquities. They were civil servants or botanists. However, they all shared an enthusiasm for ancient Javanese histories, from Reinwardt to Hartmann, Guyot and Baud. The reasoning behind their contribution lay not within 19th century romanticism; rather, they shared an objective to make a contribution to the scientific research through 'their' antiquities.

Furthermore, Leemans became the archetypical collector that wanted to collect and describe everything. For this he heavily relied on the infrastructures that were placed by governmental institutions. He eagerly contributed by reflecting on further institutionalization and new government policies.

CHAPTER III: FROM LEIDEN TO THE BOROBUDUR

Chapter introduction

The following chapter will concern the developments that took place after the government decision of 1843. It will discuss how Leemans developed as a museum director and investigate on how and why he continued to collect Javanese antiquities. Furthermore it will identify the web of contacts Leemans had during this period and how this changed in conjunction with the scientific field on Javanese ancient history. To see correspondence between these developments it will review who the benefactors were and how and why they collected for the museum. Finally, this chapter will come to a close with a re-assessment of Leemans' perspective on Javanese antiquities and its scientific field through his monumental monograph '*Boroboedoer*'.

Leemans

Leemans' catalogue on 'Asian monuments' was not very well received. Pleyte later wrote that a museum that is interested in the history of ancient cultures, should not use a catalogue that is divided on the base of building materials. Perhaps this shows how little Leemans could specialize in these monuments, something he was able to do for the Egyptian collection as his greatest interest lay in that area.⁷⁷ Together with his friend, whom he knew from Reuven's seminars, L. J. F. Janssen he kept on working in this fashion.

⁷⁷ Pleyte, "Levensbericht C. Leemans", 11.

Leemans kept a great interest on every subject concerning antiquity, from the Scandinavian peoples to Americans and the Indians: he wanted to cover it all. Around this time, he became married and turned 50 and, as he was asked about this immense amount of work, he replied that he wanted to do more and that he wanted to specialize in each subject instead of only keeping to his monuments. But he saw it as his task to collect and preserve the antiquities that came to his collection, instead of researching them himself.⁷⁸ This can be seen in his catalogues, where he gives documentation mostly based on already existing works. Still, the impressive amount of work covering all varieties of subjects on ancient history left him well-known and in the position to be successful in managing the museum.⁷⁹

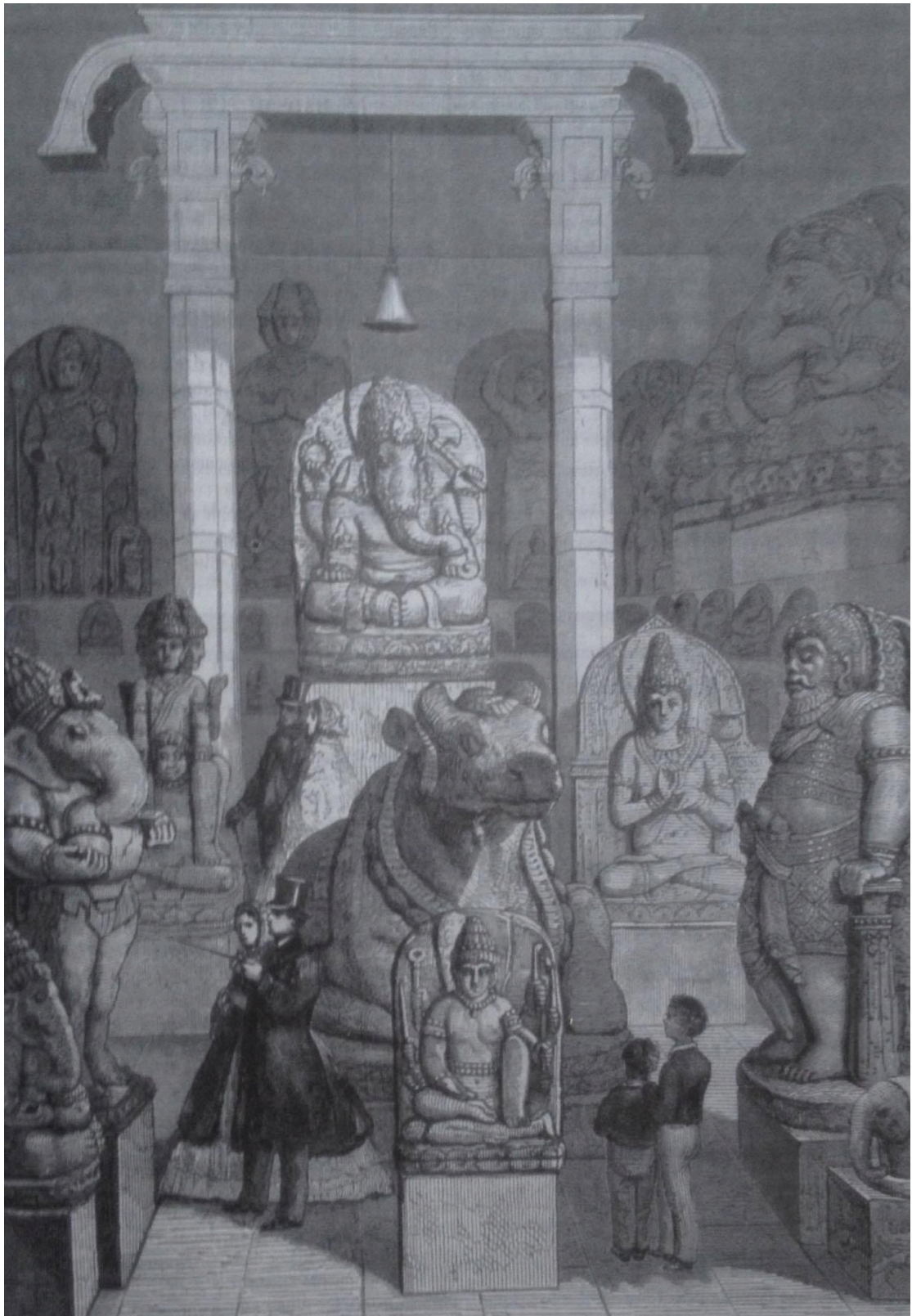
Leemans assured the public that almost the complete collection of Javanese antiquities was visible in the Java room. In 1861, a drawing of the Java room in the Museum of Antiquities was published in a French magazine, which reveals a well-stocked (if not packed) room with Javanese antiquities. Lunsingh-Scheurleer has identified the antiquities visible on the drawing.

She identifies that the stone statues, from the centre, are: Camundi, donated by Reinwardt and behind her the resting bull from candi Singosari. On the left the standing Ganesha donated by Van Nes, the seated Brahma donated by Van der Capellen. under the gateway the Ganesha donated by Domis. On the back wall are Nandishwara, donated by Engelhard, the four-headed Brahma, donated by Reinwardt and Durga-killing the-buffalo-demon, donated by Engelhard. On the right: Ganesha from candi Singosari, on the right of the gateway the Goddess of transcendental wisdom (Putri Dedes) donated by Reinwardt, on the lower right Mahakala, both from candi Singosari. In the back we also identify the smaller bronze images and a hanging bell in the gateway arch.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Pleyte, "Levensbericht C. Leemans", 12.

⁷⁹ Pleyte, "Levensbericht C. Leemans", 15.

⁸⁰ Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities", 92.



The Java room of the Museum of Antiquities.⁸¹

⁸¹ Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities", 93; *Magasin pittoresque* November 1861 (Anonymous 1861).

In the period after 1842, there was an increasing interest in Javanese ancient history development, including for Leemans, who published the monumental monograph on the Borobudur in 1873 and the second catalogue on Javanese antiquities already a few years later. Moreover, his interest in Java did not solely lay within the field of antiquities, as he also became museum director of the von Siebold Museum (after Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866), who established a Japan museum in Leiden after his several journey's to Japan). Leemans later renamed this museum the National Museum of Ethnography. He must have done so in the light of the political influence by the Dutch government on museums, organisations and the likes that promoted knowledge and admiration for the colonial presence of the Dutch in the Netherlands-Indies.⁸²

Leemans would resign in 1880 from his duty as museum director for the ethnographic museum and in 1891 from the Museum of Antiquities. His admiration for ruins and their mystery may have manifested itself in his wish to be buried on the graveyard of Warmond amongst the ruins of an old church.

Leemans' web of contacts 1842-1873

During this period, Leemans became more and more connected to the Netherlands-Indies as he expanded his area of operation to ethnography as well. In 1859, Adriaan Maarten Montijn (1792-1864), who was a descendant from the rich Montijn family that possessed high positions within the government, offered a Javanese stone statue to King Willem II as an addition to the collection of Javanese antiquities in Leiden. Leemans received the request made by the Ministry of State to visit him in Oudewater in January. He received the statue at the same time as two human skulls from Borneo that would be given to the Museum of Natural History in Leiden.⁸³ Not as expected, he also received ethnographic objects, such as clothing and weaponry, and reported these to the Ministry of State. About a month later, there came a reply that these objects

⁸² RMO November, 30 1858, These were letters Leemans received from von Siebold in 1864. They concern his ideas on creating a colonial museum that should inform the public about Dutch activities in the colonies. Leemans later took up this plan in order to advice on the establishment of the Colonial Museum in Haarlem.

⁸³ RMO January 19 1859.

should be added to the collection of the royal cabinet of rarities in The Hague. The reason the ministry gave was that a museum of ethnography did not yet exist. Leemans must have disliked this a lot, for the royal cabinet of rarities kept on denying him the Javanese antiquities that were in their possession and he had lamented these affairs as we have seen earlier in the case of Kastele who denied on donating Javanese antiquities to the museum.⁸⁴

Purely coincidental, Von Siebold as the director of the Japan museum, the then-named von Sieboldmuseum, left for Tokaido and pressed the Ministry of State to appoint a director ad interim to maintain the collection. The Ministry of State advised that Leemans should take this position next to his position at the Museum of Antiquities. Von Siebold agreed upon Leemans taking the temporary responsibility for the collection of Japanese ethnographic objects.⁸⁵ However, the affair with the ethnographic objects from Montijn that had to be placed in the Royal Cabinet of Rarities must have kept bothering him, because Leemans worked expeditiously on expanding the von Sieboldmuseum. In April, already shortly after his taking over, he requested the government to invest money in buying a new building for the museum, which he was denied of on several occasions.⁸⁶ He went as far as creating space in the attic. In 1864, however, after being denied a new building again, Leemans re-named the von Siebold Museum into the '*s Rijks Ethnographisch Museum* (National Museum of Ethnography) that created the opportunity to have a field of interest less focused on geography. Furthermore, his position became much less temporary as expected earlier, because Von Siebold moved to the German city of Würzburg after his return from Japan, and Leemans remained the director of the National Museum of Ethnography until 1880.

The occupation of both the positions of museum director for the Museum of Antiquities and the Museum of Ethnography must have given him a double mandate to interfere with collecting in the Netherlands-Indies. This manifests in a long standing wish from the Batavian Society, which was made possible under the supervision of Leemans, to send travellers throughout Java with the purpose

⁸⁴ RMO February 16 1859.

⁸⁵ RMO March 14 1859.

⁸⁶ RMO April 15 1859.

of collecting antiquities. Now, Leemans could make this task more interesting for the government to fund, as he also needed ethnographic objects from the Netherlands-Indies. Leemans closely observed three travellers that were sent under this flag: R. H. Th. Friederich (1817-1875), G.F. Wienecke (1821-1884), and J. F. G. Brumund (1814-1863).

Friederich was a linguist, who was initially sent by Van Hoëvell from the Batavian Society to research the antiquities of Bali, which was part of the idea that ancient Javanese history was preserved on Bali for it had remained a Hindu island. He also collaborated on the first catalogue of the museum of the Batavian Society but was forced to retire after illness set in.⁸⁷ In 1861 he was on leave of absence to the Netherlands and the Ministry of Colonies sent a letter to Leemans concerning his financial compensation for his work on Javanese and Sumatran manuscripts. The minister asked for advice on further funding concerning his trip to Paris and London for research purposes.⁸⁸ Leemans offered his protection to Friederich's research and discussed the earlier provisions made by J. C. Baud concerning compensations and duties, which led the ministry of colonies to believe that he should be employed by the Dutch government and sent back to the Netherlands-Indies.⁸⁹ This advice consisted of a stay of 10 years in the Netherlands-Indies, in which he would report through notes and diaries under the responsibility of the ministry.⁹⁰ Leemans took the opportunity to send military personnel from the colonial army base of Hardewijk to assist Friederich on his travels through Java and Sumatra.⁹¹ He came through decision when he learnt that Friederich would collect and publicize inscriptions from Java and Sumatra, he felt that his interference would be to the benefit of collecting and understanding of the inscriptions. His concern was the possible inaccuracy of Friederich and possibly bad circumstances that would lead to mistakes. His suggestion therefore became that military personnel should be educated at his

⁸⁷ Colonial Subjects: Essays on the Practical History of Anthropology edited by Peter Pels, Oscar Salemink 243, door henk schulte nordholt (the making of traditional bali: colonial ethnography and bureaucratic reproduction)

⁸⁸ RMO April 3 1861.

⁸⁹ RMO April 6 1861. The decision was based on the provision made by Baud concerning the *Natuurkundige Commissie*.

⁹⁰ RMO April 13 1861.

⁹¹ RMO July 26 1862.

museum in order to make paper imprints, because he assumed a lack of knowledge on Java.⁹²

The whole affair indicates that Leemans, as someone who studied Egyptian papyri, would have wanted to expand the collection of Javanese antiquities with inscriptions, if not real then with imprints. The collection already had a number of six bronze inscriptions.⁹³ His interference may also indicate one way of how the museum facilitated research on ancient Javanese history. Leemans' concern with the importance of inscriptions and his purpose to facilitate research through the museum can furthermore be illustrated from two other instances, which shows his intentions regarding inscriptions. Firstly, in 1837, Leemans assisted the French orientalist Eugène Jacquet (1811-1838) on a complete account of the known Indian and Southeast-Asian inscriptions titled *Corpus Inscriptorum Indicanum* through collecting all inscriptions that were present in the Netherlands.⁹⁴ And secondly, Leemans assisted the Ministry of Colonies in 1843 to translate an inscription from Kawi, a literary and prose language based on Old Javanese.⁹⁵

Nevertheless, up to 1867, Friederich's efforts may have seemed disappointing for he did not publicize his researches, which was part of the contract because of his lingering illness and preoccupation of a linguistic research on the languages of Lampong and Rejang. His personnel, however, successfully made a large amount of imprints from inscriptions in Kedu and publicized them in September 1867.⁹⁶

More successful was Leemans' long-lasting connection to Wienecke. Like Friederich's personnel, Wienecke was occupied as a health officer in the second class for the Netherlands-Indies army (*Oost-Indisch Leger*) but came to be part of a group with J. Semmelink, C. von Rosenberg and J. Korndöffer that would travel in order to collect ethnographic objects. Wienecke was in a position where he could afford to travel and collect on his own expense and furthermore selflessly

⁹² RMO June 24 1862.

⁹³ Currently there are 11 plates with inscriptions in the RMV-1403 collection.

⁹⁴ RMO November 24 1837.

⁹⁵ RMO Januari 2 1843.

⁹⁶ RMO December 26 1867.

donate them to various institutions in order to "increase knowledge".⁹⁷ His first contribution to the collection of ethnographic materials arrived in 1862 and would continue to 1885. For this, Leemans would show his gratitude by requesting the Dutch government to award him with honorifics in 1864. The confidence Leemans had was mutual, for Wienecke also made nine contributions to the Museum of Antiquities from 1867 to 1870.

What made Wienecke exceptional was that he was not a civil servant and therefore could collect freely but without the privilege of being part of the *Binnenlands Bestuur* (the colonial authorities). This created an interesting record on how he managed to collect antiquities received in July 1867 in Singosari. He wrote that there "[i]s a great abundance of temples in the old village of Singosari, but to my grief I have to report that there are two dangerous concurrents that make it impossible for me to collect more meaningful objects. These are the indigenous regent and the wife of the assistant-resident who was born as Boronese that prevent me to send you more antiquities and in this way harm the interest of your museum."⁹⁸ In 1868 Wienecke added that: "These indigenous peoples seem not to understand the value these objects have."⁹⁹ It may be added that the perspective from which these letters are written is that of a collector that collects for a scientific purpose. Hence Wienecke donated all his materials to the museum of antiquities and ethnography. Leemans lamented these practices of unscientific collecting as well. He wrote earlier that: "[Civil servants] move rarities from the places they spent their lives, but also resulting in the deterioration, to which the remains of earlier centuries would be exposed."¹⁰⁰

Both Friederich and Wienecke did not become the travellers that would collect Javanese antiquities to a large extent.¹⁰¹ Leemans remained heavily

⁹⁷ Effert, *Royal cabinets and auxiliary branches*, 184.

⁹⁸ RMO September 15 1867, "Ik ben ijverig te Malang bezig (waar ik sedert verblijf) om aan uw verzameling te werken. ik bevind mij hier op klassieke grond, slechts enige palen van mijn woning is het oude dorp Singosari met talloze ereplaatsen [...].

Tot mijn verdriet moet ik u meedelen dat ik hier twee gevaarlijke concurrenten heb en het mijn daarom tot nu niet gelukt is deze [unreadable] op te kopen. De inlandse regent en de vrouw van de assistent resident geborene Boronese die in Europa gaande doen [...] uw museum zal schaden. De inlandse regent alhier had [unreadable]."

⁹⁹ RMO February 6 1868, "De inlanders schijnen niet het nut van de objecten te beseffen."

¹⁰⁰ RMO April 19 1861.

¹⁰¹ However, it may be noted that Wienecke did send many ethnographic objects.

dependent on the donations made by civil servants and increasingly the Dutch government that would buy antiquities from the residencies where they would be found in. The turning point for this came in 1864 when Leemans pointed out that the Batavian Society had advised the Netherlands-Indies government to acquire Javanese antiquities for the museum in Leiden. However, the lack of funds had prevented the government from doing so and therefore Leemans made a complaint to the Ministry of Colonies in which he noted that "As the opportunity arises on Java to buy those objects that are useful for the practice of ancient history, they would deserve in every perspective a place in a collection of antiquities while they would be provided a destination for science."¹⁰²

The answer from the Minister of Colonies I. D. F. van de Putte (1822-1902) explains in a high measure the position of the government toward Javanese antiquities collecting for a national collection. He noted that to him "That desire [to raise funds] does not seem to be unfair to me. However, I do not wish to take back my word from 1863 concerning the desirability of observing appropriate frugality, especially where expenditure is concerned that is very indirectly related to our colonial interests. However, the expenses from the museum of natural history have declined. Moreover, the KITLV has moved to Leiden, which means that the collection could also serve for the benefit of the studies for prospective civil servants. I will trust that a rising expansion of the collection shall take place in the forthcoming years."¹⁰³

In this missive, the minister revealed that scientific research on Javanese history per se was not the reason for his ministry to invest in the collection.

¹⁰² RMO October 19 1864.

¹⁰³ RMO December 23 1864, "Dat verlangen komt mij niet geheel onbillijk voor. Ik wens niets terug te nemen van mijn missive 6 oktober 1863 ten aanzien van de wenselijkheid van het in acht nemen eener gepaste spaarzaamheid vooral waar het uitgaven geldt die slechts zeer indirect in verband staan met koloniale belangen.

Maar zo ik er op let dat in de laatste jaren met zeer milde hand over de Indische fondsen is beschikt ten behoeve van 's Rijksmuseum van Natuurlijke Historie acht ik het niet onbillijk dat ook een gering deel dier fondsen worden beschikbaar gesteld ten behoeve der mede te leiden gevestigde rijksverzameling voor oudheden en etnografie en wel te meerder nu de rijksinstelling KITLV mede te Leiden gevestigd en die verzamelingen dus ook kunnen strekken ten voordeele van de studiën van aanstaande Indische ambtenaren.

[...] [O]p eene doelmatige wijze naar eene trapsgewijze verrijking van 's Rijksverzamelinen van oudheden en etnografie met voorwerpen uit oost Indische bezittingen van den staat worden gestreefd."

Unlike Leemans' pursuit of a scientific expansion on our knowledge of ancient Java, the minister saw the collection as a way to educate civil servants for their purpose of joining the Dutch bureaucracy on Java. This 'direct connection to the colonial interest' was therefore the motivator to expand funding. In the following years, we can identify a notable increase of donations made by the government.

Ancient Javanese history research between 1842-1873

The scientific field on ancient Javanese history intensified in the Netherlands-Indies through a rising amount of travels and reports that were being made in order to expand the existing knowledge of ancient Javanese history for the Batavian Society. These developments had already started with the decision from 1843 made by the Netherlands-Indies government to prohibit all antiquities to be exported before approval from the Batavian Society. They enjoyed government protection more strongly.

As a result of this decision, a Department of Antiquities was founded within the Batavian Society.¹⁰⁴ This department also consisted of an already existing museum that would display the collection of Javanese antiquities, and this would become an important base that facilitated research and collecting of antiquities on Java. However, up to the presidency of Van Hoëvell (1812-1879), in 1845, the museum was treated rather as a cabinet of rarities than a scientific institution such as the museum in Leiden. Under van Hoëvell, more attention was dedicated to the corpus inscriptorium and to the collection's scientific value under the earlier named assistant-librarian Friederich, who wrote the first catalogue of the collection titled 'Beredeneerde beschrijvingen', just as Leemans had done five years earlier.¹⁰⁵

However, Leemans did not think much of the Museum of Antiquities in Batavia. He criticized the museum for the quickly paced change of its staff and the difficult climate that would make preservation of antiquities more difficult.

¹⁰⁴ Rudolf Effert, "Reuvens als Indoloog" in *Loffelijke verdiensten in de archeologie: C.J.C. Reuvens als grondlegger van de moderne Nederlandse Archaeologie*, 50.

¹⁰⁵ Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*, 11. See Krom for a detailed historiography of the Batavian Society.

Furthermore he added that the antiquities in the museum could only be of use for a small amount of scholars, unlike in Leiden. He also criticized the loss of a bronze cup with a Kawi inscription.¹⁰⁶

Another important change in the scientific field in the Netherlands-Indies that came with the appointment of van Hoëvell was his intention to re-invent the printing press for the benefit of the Batavian Society. His main purpose was to attract a larger audience than just the members of the Batavian Society, which had been reached with the journal titled *Verhandelingen* since the 1770's.¹⁰⁷ Van Hoëvell founded the journal *Tijdschrift voor Neerlands Indië* (1838-1866), which existed separately from the Batavian Society and was heavily subjected to his editorship. The Batavian Society therefore came with a new journal titled the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- land- en volkenkunde* (1853-1957). This magazine, according to Hans Groot, would also have had the function to be the counterpart of the newly founded institution *Koninklijk Instituut voor Land- Taal- en Volkenkunde* (KITLV) and its journals, which was founded in 1852.

Undoubtedly, not only the scientific field benefitted greatly from these developments; the collection of Javanese antiquities in Leiden did as well. Already in the first volume of the *Tijdschrift* there is a lengthy article from one of the main benefactors of the museum of antiquities in Leiden: Albert Wilhelm Kinder de Camarecq (1819-1885). He was resident of Bagelen, near the Diëng, from 1844 to 1854, and resident of Kedu, near the Borobudur, from 1854 to 1862. During the years of his appointment, he would donate 87 objects. Kinder de Camarecq explained in the *Tijdschrift* how he collected his Javanese antiquities and proceeded at excavation works in the article titled: 'The temple grottos of Kuto Arjo in the Bagelen residency' from 1853.¹⁰⁸ As resident he was occupied with the task to find suitable locations for coffee plantations in the Kuto Arjo district, and while looking around he noticed the irregularities in the Gunung Lawang mountain and suspected there to be a temple grotto too, as he had visited those earlier. In two days he and his people cleared the whole cliff

¹⁰⁶ Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 446.

¹⁰⁷ Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 292.

¹⁰⁸ Albert Wilhelm Kinder de Camarecq, "De tempelgrotten van Koeto Ardjo in de residentie Baglen, met een woord over haren ouderdom en hare vermoedelijke bestemming", *Tijdschrift voor Indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde* 1, no. 1 (1853), 89-116.

and discovered an entrance. He wrote: "When both doors were cleared, we cleared the cave of sand and dirt with a wildly beating heart. In the evening we had already proceeded so far that I, together with the district head of Pituro and the desa heads could see the inner parts of the temple. With certain reverence and inner shivering we ascended to the sanctuary, that for centuries had been hidden away from the eyes of man. [...] News travelled fast and soon the area filled with people. The regent of Kuto Arjo could not suppress his admiration and promised a reward for those who would find more of these monuments."¹⁰⁹

This instance explains to us the characteristics toward Javanese antiquity research in the light of the earlier named developments in the scientific field around the mid-19th century. First of all, there seems to be a broader interest in Javanese antiquities from the Javanese people, which is shown through the reaction of the amount of visitors as noted by Kinder de Camarecq and the regent who would promise a reward for finding more of those temples. Second, the Netherlands-Indies government initiated this interest through the resident. However, the government influence from Batavia was only indirectly concerned with this, because it was the resident's own initiative away from his main goal in the area that lay within agriculture. However, it was the government who funded the scientific institutions that popularized collecting and research in the first place.

An important element that the *Tijdschrift* brought was the transparency on collecting Javanese antiquities. For instance, the article by Kinder de Camarecq also describes how the temple site was excavated and which objects he retrieved from there. Thus, he wrote: "The excavation of the temple took place under my command, however we only found fragments of ritual objects even though my hope was to find stone and metal images. Nevertheless, I received a metal image as a present from the regent who had kept it as a *pusaka*."¹¹⁰ Indeed, in the list that was made by Kinder de Camarecq we may find that these objects were part of the collection he donated to the Museum of Antiquities.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Kinder de Camarecq, "De tempelgrotten van Koeto", 96.

¹¹⁰ Kinder de Camarecq, "De tempelgrotten van Koeto", 98.

¹¹¹ RMO October 24 1864. See also appendix 98 from 1864.

These practices made the collecting and researching of Javanese antiquities considerably more insightful than before. In the *Tijdschrift*, there are articles concerning reports of individual research just as well as travel journals. To combine these researches from the 1850s onward, it became possible for scholars, such as Leemans, who never had the chance to visit Java, and civil servants that worked in the field, to connect to each other. The image of this necessity can be drawn from the numerous requests made earlier by Leemans for reports made by civil servants to the Netherlands-Indies government and his wish to have more transparency in the detection of Javanese monuments and excavation works.¹¹² The purpose of van Hoëvell to reach a broader audience also indicates the growing popularization of ancient Javanese research that went hand-in-hand to this.

However, the developments of ancient Javanese history research did not all come from Java. Hans Groot pointed out the importance of a memorandum published in 1861 by Leemans and Jansen titled *'Iets over de bevordering van de kennis der Oudheden, en in het algemeen van den vroegeren beschavingstoestand onzer Oost-Indische bezittingen.'*¹¹³ The memorandum consisted of three main points: 1) complete statistics on ancient monuments present on Java, 2) active collecting for the museums of Antiquities and Ethnography in Leiden, and 3) the making of drawing of monuments and imprints of inscriptions. It may be noted that in 1862 a second memorandum was written, which was more detailed.

These points would certainly benefit the museum in Leiden and show a continuation from Leemans' earlier undertakings with Friederich, who received the task to make imprints of Javanese inscriptions and received four men personnel trained by Leemans. The memorandum was sent to governor-general Sloet van Beele, whom Leemans personally knew. He called the program "excellent" and as a sign of goodwill donated no less than 46 Javanese antiquities one year later. Interestingly, the objects concerned were offered to the Netherlands-Indies government under the condition that they would be sent to the museum in Leiden.¹¹⁴

¹¹² RMO May 4 1842.

¹¹³ Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 445.

¹¹⁴ RMO February 14 1862

The Batavian Society was not pleased and dismissed all complaints made in the memorandum and doubted the workability of the three points. Nevertheless, direct action could be noticed from the travels of Friederich, J.F.G. Brumund (1814-1863) and F. C. Wilsen (1813-1889). Concerning Brumund and Wilsen, Leemans would use their reports and drawings of the Borobudur to complete his monograph on that subject. Furthermore, the memorandum may also point to the changing position of the government, and especially the ministry of colonies in regard to the collection of Javanese antiquities in the museum of Leiden, as noted earlier when minister van der Putte increased funding to acquire antiquities from 1864 onward.

Another asset from the memorandum was the mentioning of a 'colonial' or '*Indisch*' museum. In 1864 Leemans would indeed ask the Ministry of Colonies about the plans that had been raised by von Siebold in 1858 concerning such a museum.¹¹⁵ About a year later Leemans coincidentally met Frederick van Eeden at an agricultural exhibition in Leiden. Leemans still had the possibility to found a colonial museum in mind and most likely saw his meeting with van Eeden, who was the director of the Society of Crafts and Industry, as an opportunity to establish such a museum. Leemans expressed his desire to work in mutual benefit for his Museum of Ethnography and a colonial museum.¹¹⁶ Indeed, one year later an already existing museum of crafts from the colonies would be transformed into what would become the National Colonial Museum.

The Benefactors between 1842-1873

During the second half of the 19th century, donations from private benefactors gradually increased, as can be seen in the charts in the appendix. The Netherlands-Indies government on Java employed the lion part of the benefactors, which will be shown in a scheme in the appendix. However, there were also traders that functioned as middlemen as we have seen in the second chapter. The Crone family, who held a large business imperium in Amsterdam,

¹¹⁵ RMO November 26 1864.

¹¹⁶ RMO October 8 1865.

also traded with the Netherlands-Indies and eventually opened an office in Semarang.¹¹⁷ In 1856, Leemans would receive an invitation to visit a collection of 86 metal images that Crone acquired from a business associate from Semarang.¹¹⁸ However, after Leemans visited Crone in Amsterdam, he doubted the authenticity of the bronzes to the extent that he listed them as fakes, excluding only one image.¹¹⁹

This seems to be the point of time where concerns about fakes seemed to rise in the Netherlands in on Java. In 1858, Leemans made a private correspondence to J. C. Baud concerning a meeting he had with the literary department from the University of Leiden concerning fakes.¹²⁰ Furthermore, already in 1856, there were reports about fakes that were being found in Magelang. Leemans received confidential papers from the police that traced the origins down of a collection of 55 bronze images that were sent to the Netherlands through Chinese middlemen.¹²¹ From these traders, the thread lead to a gamelan maker in the regency of Temanggung. The poor man confessed after some pressure was placed on him, showed his tools and was 'politically' punished.¹²²

These two incidents may indicate the growing popularity of Javanese bronze antiquities by 'laymen' who understood the value of these bronzes. The laymen in this case were the Chinese middlemen, the Dutch traders and the Javanese gamelan maker. Indeed, their purpose was neither scientific nor based on admiration for these bronzes; it was mere profit they sought to make out of it. Concerning Crone as an example, it took until three years before the bronzes were transferred to the museum of antiquities because of the bid Leemans brought out after he found that the bronzes were fake.¹²³

Nevertheless, the largest part of those concerned with the collecting and donating of Javanese antiquities were civil servants. An interesting instance follows the triangle between the botanist H. W. de Vriese (1806-1862), assistant-

¹¹⁷ Stadsarchief Amsterdam, *Firma H.G.Th. Crone 1790-1940*.

¹¹⁸ RMO May 20 1856.

¹¹⁹ RMO September 1857, RMO October 1 1857.

¹²⁰ NAN, *J.C. Baud 1028*. (March 21 1858)

¹²¹ RMO december 13 1856.

¹²² RMO 23 februari 1858.

¹²³ RMO 31 oktober 1857.

resident H. A. van der Poel (1818-1874) and the independent ruler of the Mangkunegaran, *Pangeran Adipati* Mangkunegoro IV (1809-1881). In 1858, de Vriese had taken up a trip through Central-Java in order to research the coffee plantations in the *Vorstenlanden*.¹²⁴ During his trip, the resident and *pangeran* Mangkunegoro IV accompanied him. They took a small detour to Candi Luko, and the *pangeran* explained to him how antiquities were discovered there. In the evening, as a souvenir to their meeting, the *pangeran* offered to him a small golden image that was sent to Leemans later together with another donation (RMV-1403-2236 and RMV-1403-2237).¹²⁵ Van der Poel made the assurance that the *pangeran* would send a letter of explication concerning his donation.

The *pangeran* sent two letters to Leemans, the first one concerned the golden image and an addition of other small objects: "[M]y request is to add these [objects] to the antiquities collected in a building in the city of Leiden, the seat of science, civilization and arts, together with some small objects also named *arca budha*. I only offer these as a proof of my interest in an institution that is generally known to be outstanding in the acquired sciences (*geestverworve*) and stands under the protection of his majesty the king. Concerning the rings and the other objects, these were together when they were found at the Merapi close to the *desa* of Temanggung. According to the honoured late mister de Winter, the inscription from the ring means *jada yangi* and would mean 'descendant of the Gods'."¹²⁶

¹²⁴ The independent kingdoms of Yogyakarta, Surakarta and the Mangkunegaran are mentioned to in the plural form of 'Vorstenlanden'.

¹²⁵ RMO May 14 1859.

¹²⁶ RMO December 23 1859, "Mijn verzoek is dat het gevoegd worde bij de oudheden verzameld zijn in een gebouw in de stad Leiden, de zetel van geleerdheid, beschaving en kunsten. en een paar kleine voorwerpen van zelve Arca Boeda geheeten (kostbaarheden uit den ouden tijd). Ik bied dat alles slechts ten geschenke aan als bewijs van mijne belangstelling in eene instelling die algemeen als uitnemend bekend staat door het bestuur dat de geestverwore heeft en onder bescherming staat van Zijne Majesteit de koning. Wat de ring met dat opschrift en de Arca Boeda betreft, die waren bij elkaar toen zij gevonden werden op eene plaats in de vlakke van de dessa Temanggoeng aan de oostelijke voet van de berg Merapi, die juist onder mijn gebied behoort. Ze zijn gevonden toen in de vlakke koffiebomen geplant werden, vier jaar geleden. Volgens 't zeggen van den heer Winter, een Javaansch taalkundige die thans overleden is, bevat het opschrift op die ring twee woorden: djada en jangi. Djada nu betekent kreits (omtrek grondgebied, denk aan bestuurlijke indelingen) en Jang, godheid, zodat beide woorden kunnen vertaald door 'bestuurd door de goden'. Of het betekent dajang, afstamming van de goden."

The *pangeran* replied to the letter of gratitude from Leemans, showing how his personal attachment to the subject of antiquities has developed. Naturally, we must understand that the Javanese, first of all, regarded the antiquities as *pusaka*. The *pangeran* however, ignores this in his letter. He wrote that: "[M]y knowledge is too small to further explain the origins of the objects. In the past I have taken up the effort to concern myself to this hobby (*liefhebberij*) from many perspectives that would improve all that what belongs to science. Also I have taken up the effort to show my service to the museum as the objects that I found seem to be rare and I would give the assurance that my desire to be of service shall be not in vain."¹²⁷

It is surprising how well informed the *pangeran* is on the scientific developments concerning Javanese antiquities, while we may remember that his predecessor only attested their value as being *pusaka*.¹²⁸ His direct involvement and interest in this may be explained through this shift of perspective. It may be possible that the environment of Van der Poel and De Vriese (who both made donations to the museum of antiquities) had developed these new values the Javanese antiquities had. Assistant-resident van der Poel became an important contributor to the Museum of Antiquities. He would not only send objects but also descriptions of temple sites, which was strongly desired by Leemans.

In one of his letters, certain romanticism may be detected in his reasoning to collect antiquities. He explains a trip through his residency of Kediri as follows. "I asked myself, which human race would be able to build something like this, for I count Kediri as a place where the earliest of civilizations flourished."¹²⁹ He furthermore replies to Leemans his request as to describe some of the monuments in Kediri, of which he gives the measurements and compares its

¹²⁷ RMO March 21 1860, "Mijn kennis is echter te gering om verder in te gaan op een verdere uitleg over de objecten. Ik heb in het verleden mij toegelegd als liefhebberij op allerlei zaken die van nut zijn en die strekken konden tot de bevordering van al wat de wetenschap behoort. Ook thans leg ik mij er steeds op toe het museum van dienst te zijn maar aangezien dergelijke zaken als die ik gevonden heb zeer zeldzaam zijn kan ik er niet voor instaan dat uit vervolg mijn verlangen om te helpen zal verwezenlijkt worden."

¹²⁸ RMO November 10, 1838.

¹²⁹ RMO April 9 1860, "Men vrage zich af welk mensenras het is geweest dat zo iets tot stand bracht. Ik bereken Kediri als de zetel der beschaving. Wel is waar zijn geene der tempel als Boro Boedoer (Magelang) te vergelijken maar het aantal oudheden en zijn verscheidenheid zijn zo groot dat mijn veronderstelling hier de zetel der beschaving is geweest niet ver van de waarheid moet zijn."

shapes to other monuments. He continues to describe this trip: "While climbing the mountain Trajak I note more temples. On all temples one have beautiful sights over the lands but one has to be diligent to follow the difficult path. In the end one will see a stone put and a sight that is one of the most remarkable I ever saw in my life. I can imagine that one would fall to his knees and in order to worship the creator of all things, with whole heart and soul. What eminent people they must have been that would base their religion on such foundations! I am not a refined man, yet I am also a religious person and when I arrived there I felt how nature had my heart rising to God."¹³⁰

In this explanation, we may identify a connection between the rationalism (the precise descriptions of Javanese temples) and romanticism (the accidental encounter with a beautiful view and the contexts that are not under control of the researcher), which Ter Keurs mentions as the characteristics of 19th century collecting.¹³¹ Like most civil servants, collecting and researching of antiquities was not their main purpose on Java. Their admiration as described by Van der Poel, made them catch their interest to take up research and collect antiquities. The collusion between the rationalism as promoted by institutions of the Batavian Society and the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden with the accidental, adventurous and mysterious search for the monuments and their meaning seems to be apparent in this letter.

Furthermore, Van der Poel explains his further intentions. He mentions his wish to have 500 guilders to be used for further research and restoration works for the monuments in his residency. He also revealed his intention to send the found antiquities to Leiden, which shows his dislike of the museum in Batavia. According to him, the objects that were kept there would be in less capable there than in Leiden.¹³²

¹³⁰ *Ibidem*, "Ik kan mij zeer goed verbeelden dat men hier op zijne knieën valt om den schepper aller dingen met hart en ziel te aanbidden. Wat moeten het eminente mensen geweest zijn die eene godsdienst op zulke grondslagen hebben weten op te zetten. Ik ben niet fijn maar toch geen ongevolige maar in der daad toen ik daar op die hoogte met ons zessen aankwamen de anderen bleven verre achter, toen gevoelde ik wat schoone natuur het hart tot God doet stijgen."

¹³¹ Ter Keurs, *Colonial collections revisited*, 5.

¹³² RMO April 9 1860.

One of the benefactors was Albertus Jacobus Duymaer van Twist (1809-1887), who was Governor-General from 1851 to 1856 and later donated his collection of Javanese antiquities to the Museum of Antiquities in 1884. Leemans wrote about this donation in his second catalogue titled: '*Beschrijving van de Indische Oudheden van het rijks Museum van oudheden te Leiden*' one year later Leemans met Duymaer van Twist at the world exhibition in Amsterdam in 1883. Duymaer van Twist decided that his collection should belong in the Museum of Antiquities. However, the former Governor-General mr. J. W. Lansberge (1830-1905) sent his collection to the Museum of Ethnography, something Leemans was displeased at because he thought that an ethnographic museum should display objects belonging to living cultures whereas his museum should display objects belonging to ancient civilisations, such as Javanese antiquities.¹³³

Maria Joanna Beck (1812-1895), the wife of Duymaer van Twist, wrote many letters to her sister in the Netherlands about their official travels throughout Java. Her letters reveal that the networks the collectors worked in was a compact one. In August they met with the Hofland family, who was earlier named in this research as the original owner of the Ganesha sent by Van Nes.¹³⁴ One month later they paid an official visit to Mangkunegoro in Surakarta as well, where the *pangeran* would present them a number of objects. Unfortunately, all presents to civil servants were seen as presents to the government. In other words, they had to pay for the presents themselves so they only kept a *klewang*.¹³⁵ Beck admired the rooms where the '*rijkssieraden*' were kept. These '*rijkssieraden*' or 'state regalia' was the term used for Javanese antiquities to show their meaning as symbols of the Mangkunegaran and with that the Netherlands-Indies.¹³⁶

When Beck and Duymaer van Twist continued their travel, they also visited various temple sites, such as the temples on the Dieng Plateau. About a year later they even met with Van der Poel, who made them attend a Tenggerese

¹³³ Conradus Leemans, *Beschrijving van de Indische Oudheden van het rijks Museum van oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden E. J. Brill 1885) IX.

¹³⁴ NAN, *Duymaer van Twist*:101, 56, Extracten van de briefwisseling tussen M.J. Duymaer van Twist-Beck aan haar zuster J.C.J.B. Cost Budde-Beck betreffende de reis naar en over Java. 1851-1855, 28.

¹³⁵ NAN, *Duymaer van Twist*:101, 56, 31.

¹³⁶ NAN, *Duymaer van Twist*:101, 56, 32.

Hindu wedding. Beck eventually went to visit a market in Pasuruan where she was amazed at the bronze figurines that were for sale there, which she thought to be antiquities.¹³⁷ She suggested bringing them to the Netherlands where she could show them to her friends in order to amaze them with the "treasures of the east".¹³⁸ This account not only gives us an interesting perspectives on the compact network of collectors (because most of them were civil servants, they probably met each other quite often), it also reveals us the meanings of Javanese antiquities from a lay-man's perspective. This was on the one hand as '*rijkssieraden*' when presented in the *kraton* of Mangkunegoro and on the other as exotic "treasures of the east" when found on a market. Both of these concepts have an identifying connotation where they symbolize a place, more precisely the Netherlands-Indies.

The 'Boroboedoer' of 1873

Leemans' attempt to expand the scientific field of Javanese ancient history found its apotheosis in his monograph titled '*Boroboedoer*', which he started with in 1860 after a request from the Ministry of Colonies.¹³⁹ As mentioned earlier, since Leemans never had the chance to visit Java his work was based on researches made by others. Notably F. C. Wilsen and J. F. G. Brumund, whom had first been appointed by the government to undertake the effort as to write a monograph but had refused to do so. Logically, after Brumund refused, the minister tried to find someone from KITLV to complete the work; according to Leemans, he himself was then the natural choice for this task.¹⁴⁰

The '*Boroboedoer*' underscores the earlier named importance of the scientific developments after 1843 such as the newly found journals of the Batavian Society and also the Netherlands' based *Tijdschrift voor Indische Land- Taal- en Volkenkunde*, where F. C. Wilsen initially published the results of his research on the Borobudur.¹⁴¹ Brumund's contribution came in 1856, where

¹³⁷ NAN, *Duymaer van Twist*:101, 56, 46.

¹³⁸ NAN, *Duymaer van Twist*:101, 56, 46.

¹³⁹ RMO June 20 1860.

¹⁴⁰ Conradus Leemans, *Boroboedoer op het eiland Java* (Leiden 1873), XXIII.

¹⁴¹F. C. Wilsen, "Boroboedoer", *Tijdschrift voor taal- land- en volkenkunde* 1, no. 1 (1853) 235-302.

Brumund offered his cooperation with Wilsen to help identify the stone sculptures of the Borobudur that was later published in the *Verhandelingen*. Therefore, the '*Boroboedoer*' was a product of the newly found journals only some ten years before. Furthermore, Leemans' membership to societies such as the KITLV and the Batavian Society had become a necessity to further expand the importance and the knowledge of his museum concerning Javanese monuments. Concerning his research, Leemans had to rely on his web of contacts with scholars, which was created almost completely out of his contacts he had made at the Batavian Society.

The '*Boroboedoer*' presents an opportunity to read the earliest sources about the Borobudur that date to 1814 and were in possession of the Museum of Antiquities.¹⁴² The earliest drawings and prints were made around the time Raffles 'discovered' the Borobudur.¹⁴³ And finally, aside from being an anthology, the monograph gives us the opportunity to read Leemans' notes added to the descriptions and reports of Brumund and Wilsen.

What follows is a very descriptive work, just as we are used from Leemans, that has been placed in six parts concerning a description of the Borobudur, the meaning and position of Borobudur among other temples, a description of the bas-reliefs, the earlier efforts to date the Borobudur, meaning of the Buddha statues, and finally a comparison between the times when the Borobudur was built and the contemporary time.

However, what seems less descriptive is his poetic preface that introduces the island of Java and its history to the reader. From this introduction we may identify further purposes concerning collecting antiquities because Leemans paints an ideal world where arts and sciences flourished but "that era of shining glory came to an end through indigenous division and rebellion that brought the enfeeblement and when the bigoted Islamic missionaries arrived [...] then the stiffening breath of a degenerate Islam exercised such deathly influence that even the traces of past greatness and glory almost disappeared completely or became unrecognizably hidden."¹⁴⁴ Here he draws our attention to the sources

¹⁴² Leemans, *Boroboedoer*, XLIII.

¹⁴³ Leemans, *Boroboedoer*, LIII.

¹⁴⁴ Leemans, *Boroboedoer*, III.

and goes on that: "the successive influence from the west [...] improved the situation. But time and pressure had rested too long; the slumbering sleep of a people neared the sleep of death and the new rulers [the Europeans] only used all around them for their own gain in riches [...] while yet almost nothing was done to wake up the people from their slumber. Still there were memories and remnants that came to us that were fit to gain our attention. The remnants of arts, in the beginning downplayed as pagan, now began to interest the more learned traveller for their gift to shed light on this glorious past of Java."¹⁴⁵

In these passages, we read about Leemans' idea of Java's 'degenerate heirs' as pointed out by Bloembergen.¹⁴⁶ We also read about his disapproval of the initial indifference of the Dutch toward the remnants of the 'glorious past'. By that, Leemans suggests that there is a task for the Netherlands within the scope of these remnants (in the original document he names all kinds of tasks in a detailed fashion), they could save Java from its 'sleep of death' (*doodslaap*) through diligent care of the learned traveller that would withdraw Java from its sleep for the glory of the past and perhaps the honour of the Netherlands as well. Indeed, these words are very different from what we are used from Leemans. However, the context must not be forgotten since the preface wanted to paint a picture of Javanese antiquities that would interest Dutch scholars and certainly the government. Perhaps Leemans thought that the rhetoric might help him to secure a better position for the Museum of Antiquities. Yet, it could be expected that Leemans would have genuinely felt this way, because it was unusual for him to engage in such an enormous work such as the '*Boroboedoer*' of more than 600 pages and the other task: the collection of Javanese antiquities in Leiden.

Modernity and collecting Javanese antiquities after 1844

As we have seen, the museums of antiquities in Batavia and Leiden were based on institutionalizing and professionalizing of ancient Javanese history research.

¹⁴⁵ Leemans, *Boroboedoer*, V.

¹⁴⁶ Marieke Bloembergen, Eickhoff, M, "A Wind of Change on Java's Ruined Temples: Archaeological Activities, Imperial Circuits and Heritage Awareness in Java and the Netherlands (1800-1850)", *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*, 128 (2013) 81-104.

To call the causal practice of colonial collecting a manifestation of this institutionalization would flatten its history. Both Chakrabarty and Cooper have underlined modernity as an intertwined process with policy-making.¹⁴⁷ The policy behind colonial collecting lay not purely in the sake of science. For the Dutch government, colonial collecting had a political goal; to make collections of use for civil servants that would go to Java. The government wanted to have knowledge about Javanese history in the Netherlands and only showed considerably more interest in the collection when the circumstances lead to the possibility of civil servants that could learn from this collection. Then, for Leemans throughout the years the image that Java once was great and could rise again through European interference became a leading force in his work. Already in 1843 he wrote on the intention that he had to 'save' Javanese antiquities, which he in 1873 emphasized once more in stronger words. The pre-occupation with the idea of the 'backwardness' and 'decay' of Java that is shown throughout the *'Boroboedoer'* and using this as reasoning to collect in order to educate the Dutch and the Javanese does not belong to the scientific field of ancient history research. It is a romantic expression of superiority claims that backed the very existence of the Netherlands-Indies.

However, these expressions are inherent to institutionalization because institutions, whether bureaucratic or scientific, lead to the emergence of categorisation and causatively to concepts of 'backwardness' and the 'white man's burden'. In this reasoning, modernity, as a policy, became a package of institutions and concepts that had a distinct political scheme that helped the Dutch to maintain their colony through education, raising awareness amongst the Dutch and finally as a 'raison d'être' for educating and bringing the Javanese back to their glorious past in a colonial future.

Answering the question how modernity relates to the collectors gives us a less concrete answer. Indeed, because of government policy civil administrators were bound to certain rules that benefitted the collections of the Batavian Society and the Museum of Antiquities. However, the way these bronzes were collected lay more within the accidental than a manifestation of planned and institutionalized history research. The connection the collectors had to the

¹⁴⁷ Cooper, *Colonialism in Question*, 131.

Batavian Society and the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden became stronger in this period than as it was in the first half of the 19th century. Through the circulation of journals, catalogues and other publications the interest in antiquities grew just as the quantity of donations made to the museum in Leiden.

An interesting comparison to the earlier period of 1835-1844 can be made through the nature of Leemans' web of contacts. As we have seen earlier, the contacts Leemans maintained to the institutions were formal and impersonal while the contacts Leemans maintained to the collectors were informal and personal, which can be taken as a sign that the metropolitan space was less well-developed in this early period. Indeed, government policy that actively supported colonial collecting after 1843 changed this. The connections Leemans had to collectors were not based on personal contacts. Moreover they were based on the Museum of Antiquities as an institution that was part of a much deeper integrated metropolitan space that was based on government policy and became a valuable and effective space of formal and informal networks between institutions and civil servants.

Furthermore, Leemans was actively cooperating in making new policies through advising institutions such as the Ministry of Colonies, Ministry of State and the Batavian Society. These policies had a large influence on colonial collecting as can be seen in the rising number of donations after the 1840s (see the charts in the appendix).

Chapter conclusion

In this third chapter we have seen how Leemans' developed his own imperium pointed towards the Netherlands-Indies through becoming also the museum director of the Museum of Ethnography. Through government policy he was able to greatly expand the collection of Javanese antiquities and maintain contacts to many scholars and collectors from Java through the Batavian Society or through his own museums.

The apotheosis of this period, the publication of the *'Boroboedoer'*, gave the opportunity for Leemans to explain his view on Javanese antiquities in detail. This view was, surprisingly, a view that cannot be seen apart from contemporary

Java and the colonial presence there. This seems surprising, because Leemans was a collector who wrote in a descriptive style rather than interpreting these descriptions.

CONCLUSION

The collection of Javanese antiquities was a result of policies that made it possible to institutionalize the Dutch state during the beginning of the 19th century and the Netherlands-Indies in the later half of the 19th century. These policies were influenced by France and, concerning the Museum of Antiquity, by museums such as the Louvre and the British Museum in England. These museums formed an important source of inspiration for Reuvens and Leemans in managing the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden.

What became clear is that in the 1840s the government actively pursued a planned and regulated collecting of Javanese antiquities that was based on institutions such as the Batavian Society, the Netherlands-Indies government, the Ministry of Colonies and the Museum of Antiquities in Leiden. As a result, we can identify an increase of donations made to the museum in Leiden after 1843 and an increasingly impersonal character these collectors had toward the museum and Leemans until from 1864 onward, the lion part of donations was made by the Dutch government. Furthermore, collecting became a less solitary practice as the scientific area and the influence from earlier named institutions expanded. When we recap our understanding of modernity in the terms of Chakrabarty and Cooper, that is: an institutionalization of society and a degree of analytical thinking about this process. Then modernity can account for the reason why the collection of Javanese antiquities came into existence.

The collectors that donated to the Museum of Antiquities were mostly civil servants and botanists. The way collectors operated can be related to Dutch developments of institutionalization and hence modernity because they became part of the metropolitan space that existed out of networks created by government policies and institutions, most notably the Ministry of Colonies, the Ministry of State, the Netherlands-Indies government and the Batavian Society.

Leemans stood at the centre of these networks through managing two museums. When these networks tightened the opportunity arose to send travellers such as Friederich and Wienecke through Java in order to collect and document antiquities. However, Leemans remained heavily dependent on private donations from civil servants. The quantity of these donations rose during the second half of the 19th century, coinciding the government interferences of 1843 and 1864.

The reason why Javanese antiquities were collected and brought to the Netherlands was two-folded. First the reason why they were collected was for the purpose of science and to conduct further research on Javanese ancient history. The researches made was based on the rational of the scientific area they were brought in that stood on the Batavian Society and the cooperation between the Museum of Antiquities, the University of Leiden and the KITLV. However, romanticism also played a role in the added meaning of collecting Javanese antiquities. This was based on a certain fascination with the Javanese Buddhist and Hindu empires. Furthermore, how these antiquities were collected was an accidental and uncontrolled process that gave way to impressions of greatness and divinity of by-gone eras, of sudden revelations of their mystery and scenic splendour. More specifically, these impressions came from encounters with mysterious *pusaka* or scenic temple sites that gave this additional meaning of greatness to old empires and the importance of Dutch interference in the Netherlands-Indies. In a 'national' Museum of Antiquities these objects functioned for the purpose of the nation-state as a 'national' collection. The practical functions Javanese antiquities had were for the purpose of scientific research to ancient Javanese history and to educate Dutch civil servants. Another function they had was that of 'othering' contemporary Java from the European scientific world that incorporated Javanese antiquities and attached different meanings to them. From *pusaka* they became objects of scientific and art-historic value.

The political scheme therefore is represented in the idea that Dutch collectors and academics who worked for the Museum of Antiquities and the Batavian Society were needed to preserve the past. It was noted more as a virtue than a duty the Dutch had in the Netherlands-Indies. Indeed, Leemans had

pointed out this 'double interest' of the collection in his catalogue of 1842. Therefore colonial collecting became a keystone that upheld the arch of the Dutch presence in the east. This was placed in the white-man's burden mentality that manifested itself in the task to restore the glorious past of Java.

APPENDIX

1.1 List of donations

Here follows a complete list of benefactors from 1823-1873. The benefactors that are named in this research are highlighted.

| Name(s) | Location number | Year(s) | Number in total | Remark |
|--------------------------|-----------------|---------|-----------------|--------|
| Reinwardt, C.G.C. | 1582-1611 | 1823 | 30 | |
| | 1615-1616 | 1824 | 2 | |
| | 2092-2093 | 1855 | 2 | |
| | | | 34 | |
| Hulst van Hoven | 1612-1614 | 1823 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Sluys, van den | 1617-1619 | 1827 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Du Bus de Ghisignies | 1620-1622 | 1827 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Smissaert | 1672-1658 | 1830 | 15 | |
| | | | 15 | |
| Baud, J.C. | 1662-1667 | 1835 | 6 | |
| | 3343-3344 | 1900 | 2 | |
| | 3322-3340 | 1900 | 19 | |
| | | | 27 | |
| Guyot, P.C.G. | 1670-1671 | 1838 | 2 | |
| Guyot, P.O.G. | 1833-1834 | 1834 | 2 | |
| | | | 4 | |
| Gevers, W.A. | 1672-1679 | 1839 | 8 | |
| | | | 8 | |
| Engelhardt | 1680-1682 | 1841 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Lucas | 1683 | 1841 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Elout, P. | 1684-1690 | 1842 | 7 | |
| | 1760 | 1843 | 1 | |
| | | | 8 | |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|-----------|------|----|------------------|
| Eerens, de | 1691-1692 | 1842 | 2 | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Bagman | 1693-1758 | 1842 | 65 | |
| | | | 65 | |
| Nes, van J. I. W. | 1759 | 1843 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Domis | 1761-1832 | 1844 | 72 | |
| | | | 72 | |
| Heyligers, G.J. | 1841-1843 | 1845 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Poel, van de, A. | 1846 | 1846 | 1 | |
| | 1853-1855 | 1847 | 3 | |
| | 2051 | 1851 | 1 | |
| | 1974-1977 | 1850 | 4 | |
| | 2656-2661 | | 6 | |
| | 2505 | | 1 | |
| | 2633-2649 | | 7 | |
| | | | 23 | |
| Leemans, J. A.A, | 1856-1857 | 1848 | 2 | |
| | 1894-1909 | 1849 | 16 | |
| | 2229-2230 | 1859 | 2 | |
| | | | 20 | |
| Leemans, C. | 2767-2777 | 1882 | 11 | |
| | 2976 | 1884 | 1 | |
| | | | 12 | |
| Capellen, van der | 1858-1861 | 1848 | 4 | Nalatensc hap |
| | 1864-1893 | 1849 | 30 | Nalatensc hap |
| | | | 34 | |
| Wilde, de, A. | 1910-1971 | 1850 | 62 | |
| | | | 62 | |
| Hartog, den, W. | 1972-1977 | 1850 | 6 | |
| | | | 6 | |
| Swawing, D. | 1978-2032 | 1851 | 56 | |
| | 2053-2055 | | 3 | |
| | 2074-2080 | | 7 | |
| | | | 66 | |
| Wijck, van der, J.C.L. | 2033-2050 | 1851 | 18 | |
| | | | 18 | |
| Tydeman | 2052 | 1853 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Willem II | 2056-2073 | 1854 | 18 | Nalatensc hap |
| | | | 18 | |

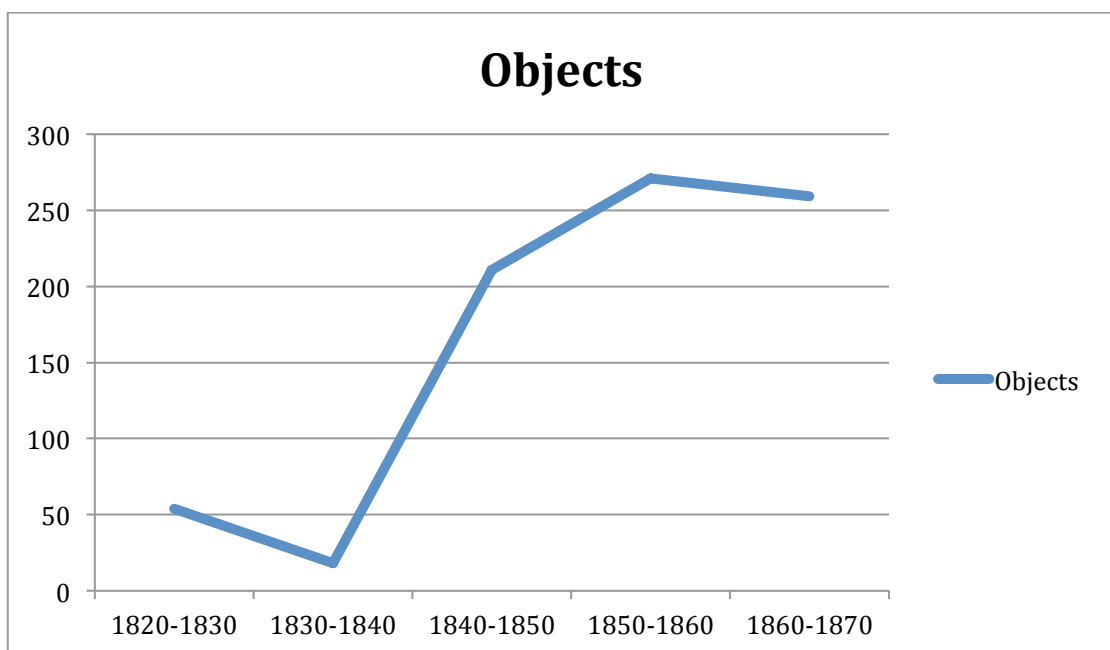
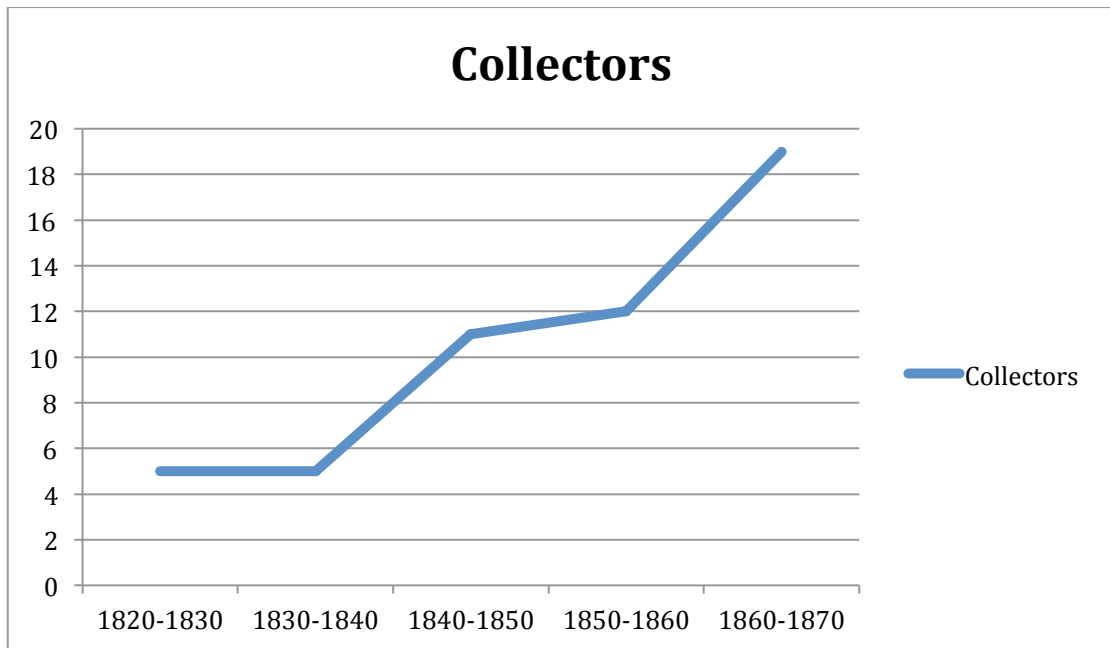
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|-------------------------------------|-----------|------|----|------------------|
| Ittersum, van, R. A. I. | 2094-2102 | 1856 | 9 | |
| | | | 9 | |
| Krajenbrink, I. A. | 2121-2135 | 1858 | 15 | |
| | | | 15 | |
| Crone, H.G. | 2136-2220 | 1859 | 85 | |
| | | | 85 | |
| Beest-Holle, van, G. | 2229-2230 | 1859 | 2 | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Montijn, M. | 2235 | 1859 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Mangkoenegara IV | 2236-2237 | 1859 | 2 | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Netscher, E. | 2241-2265 | 1860 | 25 | |
| | | | 25 | |
| Olden, van | 2266 | 1860 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Pahud, F. Th. | 2267 | 1861 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Schaap, D. F. | 2268-2310 | 1861 | 43 | |
| | | | 43 | |
| Sloet v/d Beele, L. A. J. W. | 2311-2339 | 1862 | 29 | |
| | 2566-2573 | | 8 | |
| | 2916-2923 | | 8 | |
| | | | 46 | |
| Buyskes, P. | 2358-2373 | 1864 | 16 | |
| | | | 16 | |
| Hucht, van der, G.J.L. | 2374-2378 | 1864 | 5 | |
| | | | 5 | |
| Kinder de Camarecq, A. W. | 2383-2439 | 1864 | 57 | |
| | 2445-2452 | | 8 | |
| | 2547-2564 | | 18 | |
| | 2603 | | 1 | |
| | 2653-2655 | | 3 | |
| | | | 87 | |
| Blume, C. | 2440-2444 | 1864 | 5 | Nalatensc hap |
| | | | 5 | |
| Hoffman, J. | 2453-2454 | 1865 | 2 | |
| Jansen, L. I. F. | | | - | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Hoffman, J. | 2604 | 1869 | 1 | |
| | | | 1 | |
| Hudig, D. | 2543-2546 | 1866 | 4 | |
| | | | 4 | |
| Wienecke, G.F. | 2574-2577 | 1867 | 4 | |

| | | | | |
|------------------------|-----------|------|---|--|
| | 2579 | 1868 | 1 | |
| | 2619-2622 | 1870 | 4 | |
| | | | 9 | |
| Arriëns, N.B.H.F. | 2611-2613 | 1870 | 2 | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Kock, de, F. L. W. | 2614-2616 | 1870 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |
| Eysinger, Th. H. | 2617-2618 | 1870 | 2 | |
| | | | 2 | |
| Heerdt, van, I. C. F. | 2625-2630 | 1871 | 6 | |
| | | | 6 | |
| Rosenberg, von, C.B.H. | 2650-2652 | 1872 | 3 | |
| | | | 3 | |

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¹⁴⁸ Hendrik Juynboll, *Catalogus van s'Rijks Ethnographisch Museum: Java I* (E. J. Brill 1916).

1.2 Chart of collectors and chart of objects



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