



# Twelve Stone Sculptures from Java

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This article examines the history and provenance of a group of twelve stone sculptures from Java, six of which are currently on display in the Rijksmuseum's Asia Pavilion. All twelve are Hindu-Buddhist images from the Central Javanese period of the eighth to the tenth century AD, made famous by the great religious monuments of Borobudur and the Prambanan Plain. The sculptures were acquired in 1932 by the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst (VVAK) or 'Society of Friends of Asian Art', and were first shown to the public at the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam before being transferred to the Rijksmuseum in 1952. They have been on long-term loan to the museum since 1972.

Although many of the Javanese sculptures in the Rijksmuseum and in other museums worldwide were bought on the national or international art market, without any indication of where they were originally found, this group is exceptional. All the sculptures were obtained directly from the former Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies (Oudheidkundige Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië), which kept detailed records of its excavations and restoration work on the Hindu-Buddhist temples of Java. This information is therefore invaluable for identifying the original context and function of the sculptures. Using both

the published archaeological reports and letters contained in the VVAK archives, it is now possible to retrace the exact circumstances surrounding the acquisition of these sculptures and to reconstruct, as far as we can, their original location.<sup>1</sup>

Artefacts acquired in Indonesia during the Dutch colonial period have sometimes been the cause of heated debate, particularly in recent years, when legitimate, ethical concerns as to how objects were collected have been raised.<sup>2</sup> In order to inform this debate and do justice to the memory of the historical figures concerned – both in Indonesia and the Netherlands – it is therefore necessary to research the precise history of each object and the historical circumstances in which they were first brought to Europe. This article attempts to show the original context of each of the twelve Javanese sculptures acquired in 1932, on what criteria they were selected, and how and why they eventually came to the Rijksmuseum. It is only on the basis of careful, systematic provenance research that a fruitful discussion can be opened into the future of such artefacts, the manner of their exhibition and the role of western museums in a post-colonial era.

## The Acquisition

The twelve sculptures from Java are among many works of art acquired

as a result of a grand journey to Asia undertaken between 1930 and 1931 by H.K. Westendorp (1868-1941), the first president of the Society. This journey was first announced at the annual general meeting of the Society on Saturday, 19 April 1930, with the stated intention of acquiring outstanding examples of Asian art for the Society's forthcoming museum. Westendorp was due to leave for the Dutch East Indies at the end of that month and was to meet up with H.F.E. Visser (1890-1965), the Society's first secretary and curator, in East Asia in September.<sup>3</sup> Although we know from the diaries of Westendorp himself and from those of his wife Johanna Elisabeth (Betsy) Westendorp-Osieck (1880-1960), who travelled with him, that he did indeed meet Visser in Japan in September 1930,<sup>4</sup> no account has so far been found concerning the first part of their journey in Indonesia. The little that we do know, however, can be reconstructed from extracts in the Bulletin of the Society, at that time published each month in the *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten*. From these extracts it is clear, even before Westendorp's departure, that his main contact in Indonesia would be F.D.K. Bosch (1887-1967), the official head of the Archaeological Service of the Dutch East Indies and a corresponding member of the Society.<sup>5</sup> It was not until the November Bulletin of 1930 however, that firm news of Westendorp's visit finally reached the Vereniging in the form of a letter from Nara dated 30 September. Westendorp recounted the success of his mission in the published extract:

One of the primary aims of the journey was always to acquire a number of Hindu Javanese sculptures for our forthcoming Museum and, through the invaluable cooperation of the Archaeological Service, I have succeeded in doing this. Dr F.D.K. Bosch, the head of the Service, had the great kindness to come to Djokja [Jogjakarta] and to visit the

Prambanan complex with us ...

With Dr Bosch, I was allowed to seek out a number of examples of Hindu Javanese sculpture from Central Java, in order to make a choice from them for our museum. Among them are some very important pieces.<sup>6</sup>

Among the pieces listed in Westendorp's published report as coming from Prambanan was a large *makara* or mythical water beast described as forming 'the lower termination of a stairway'; the statue of a seated Mañjuśrī (Manjushri), a Buddhist deity or *bodhisattva*, from Candi Plaosan; and 'a very important, over-life-size Bodhisattva head' from the same site.<sup>7</sup> However, the triumphant tone of this report was not greeted with universal enthusiasm among the Society members. In particular, Theo van Erp (1874-1958), the first restorer of the Borobudur and at that time the Society's vice-chairman, read the article with horror and communicated his feelings in a letter to Visser:

This latest bull[etin] has given me cold shivers ... I consider it a tactical fault, if not to say a blunder, that the pieces were mentioned with name and origin. 'A large makara originating from Prambanan'; that is to say: 'from the Prambanan area'. I really cannot imagine B[osch] discharging a makara from the stairway of a tjandi [a Hindu-Buddhist temple] still in the process of restoration. That would indeed be a scandal and I would be the first to protest against it.

But outsiders do not know the ins and outs of the matter and may well start shouting murder and fire.

Furthermore: '... a seated Manjuṣṛi and a very important, over life-size Bodhisattwa head ... statues from Tj[andi] Plaosan'. This "seated Manjuṣṛi" should be "sitting" in one of the porch niches of Tj[andi] Plaosan and not in an Amsterdam museum', I can hear people already saying, who

hold H[indu] J[avanese] antiquities very much to heart.<sup>8</sup>

This letter reached Visser at the Kyoto Hotel in Japan, where he was then staying with Westendorp. Although Van Erp had primarily criticised the style of the report rather than the content, it is clear that Westendorp took the criticism personally. On 1 December, Visser sent a polite and diplomatic letter in return to Van Erp, emphasizing that the official transaction was entirely in order, but leaving the last word to a postscript from Westendorp, who wrote (with original emphasis):

I don't understand you well. Do you think that Bosch, in the first instance, and I too, are mad? That we would allow sculptures to leave the [Netherlands] Indies unless it was 99 7/8 per cent certain that they cannot be used for restoration? What we selected is, by human reckoning, surplus and nowhere to be fitted. Is it not then better that they come to Holland than simply lie there? Would Bosch have given us a piece from a stairwell if there was any chance that it could be used in the restoration? Do you then believe that the head was not in all seriousness matched everywhere [with the bodies of other sculptures] before it was placed at our disposal? ... After all the work that I have with such great success unselfishly accomplished, I find this letter hurtful indeed. Have some trust.<sup>9</sup>

This private correspondence is interesting to read today, as it demonstrates that many of the sensibilities and concerns that modern visitors share regarding the presence of ancient Indonesian sculptures in the Netherlands were already firmly held in the 1930s. We know that Van Erp was sufficiently reconciled to the acquisition to write a detailed article on five of the largest sculptures, when they first went on display at the Stede-

lijk Museum in 1932,<sup>10</sup> but how were these sculptures selected and where exactly did they come from?

### History of the Sculptures

The first sculpture of which we have any record is a monumental stone *makara*, depicted with its jaws opened wide to reveal a lion seated on its tongue between rows of neatly delineated teeth (fig. 1). At the top of the sculpture, beside the creature's coiled trunk, is a lotus flower, from which a twisting garland descends onto the top of the lion's head. This *makara* is probably the sculpture mentioned in the report as coming from the bottom of a stairway, but this function was later corrected by Van Erp, who correctly identified it as part of the decorative frame of a temple doorway.<sup>11</sup> However, this sculpture is listed without provenance in Van Erp's article and

Fig. 1  
Makara, c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 97 x w. 99 x d. 37 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-247;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.



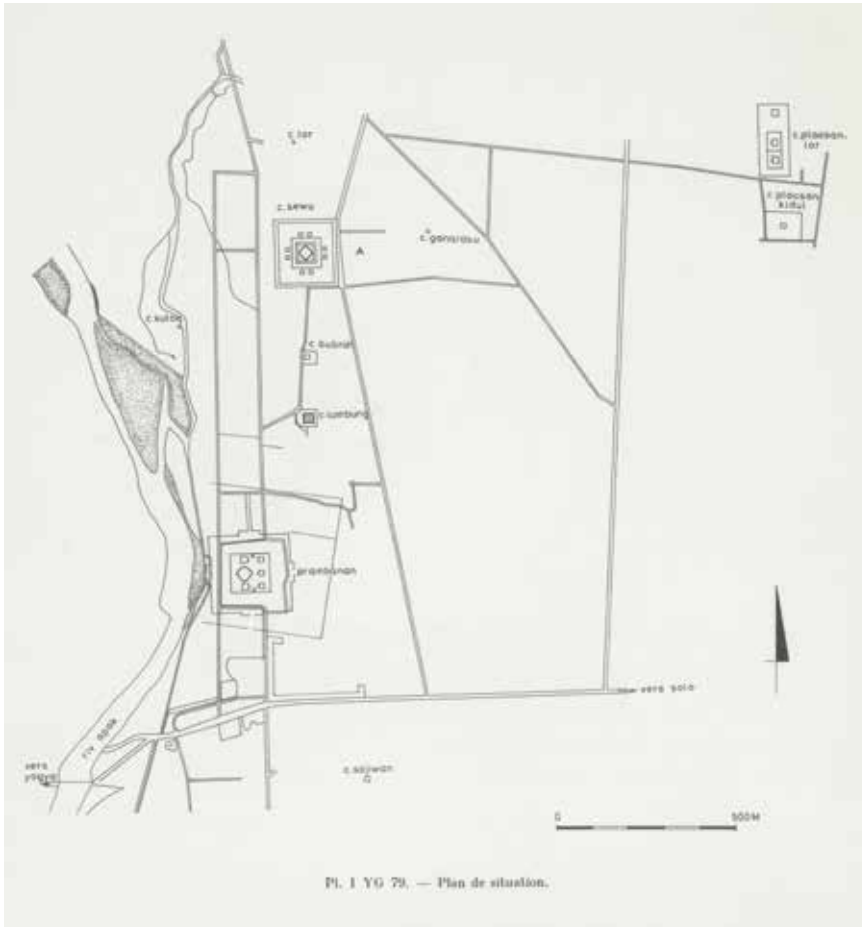


Fig. 2  
General map of the monuments of the Prambanan Plain, from Jacques Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du centre de Java*, Paris 1981, pl. 1.

> Fig. 3  
View of Candi Sewu, looking westwards along the eastern approach, 2013. Photo: William Southworth.

in the letters held by the *vṛāk*, and it is clear that the origin of the sculpture was unknown to the Archaeological Service. Nevertheless, recent art historical research by Professor Marijke Klokke of Leiden University on the temples of Central Java has revealed that the sculpture was almost certainly one of eight *makara* framing the four entrances to the main sanctuary of Candi Sewu (figs. 2 and 3).<sup>12</sup>

The first European enquiries into the ancient monuments of Java were led by the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen (Batavian Society of the Arts and Sciences), founded in 1778. At that time Candi Sewu was undoubtedly the best preserved and most accessible of all the Hindu-Buddhist temples

of Central Java. Views, plans and sections of the temple were drawn and engraved under the direction of H.C. Cornelius of the Engineering Corps in 1806-07 (fig. 4) and in a report sent in 1815 to Sir Stamford Raffles, then Lieutenant-Governor and President of the Society, Captain George Baker of the Bengal infantry extolled on its general appearance:

In the whole course of my life I have never met with such stupendous and finished specimens of human labour, and of the science and taste of 'ages long since forgot,' crowded together in so small a compass as in this little spot; which, to use a military phrase, I deem to have been the head quarters of Hinduism in Java.<sup>13</sup>

> Fig. 4  
H.C. CORNELIUS, J.A. DUBOIS, J.W.B. WARDENAAR and A.F. VAN DER GEUGTEN, *A partly idealised view of the east face of Candi Sewu*, 1806-07. Ink on paper, 52.5 x 79 cm. Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, inv. no. RV-1403-3595.

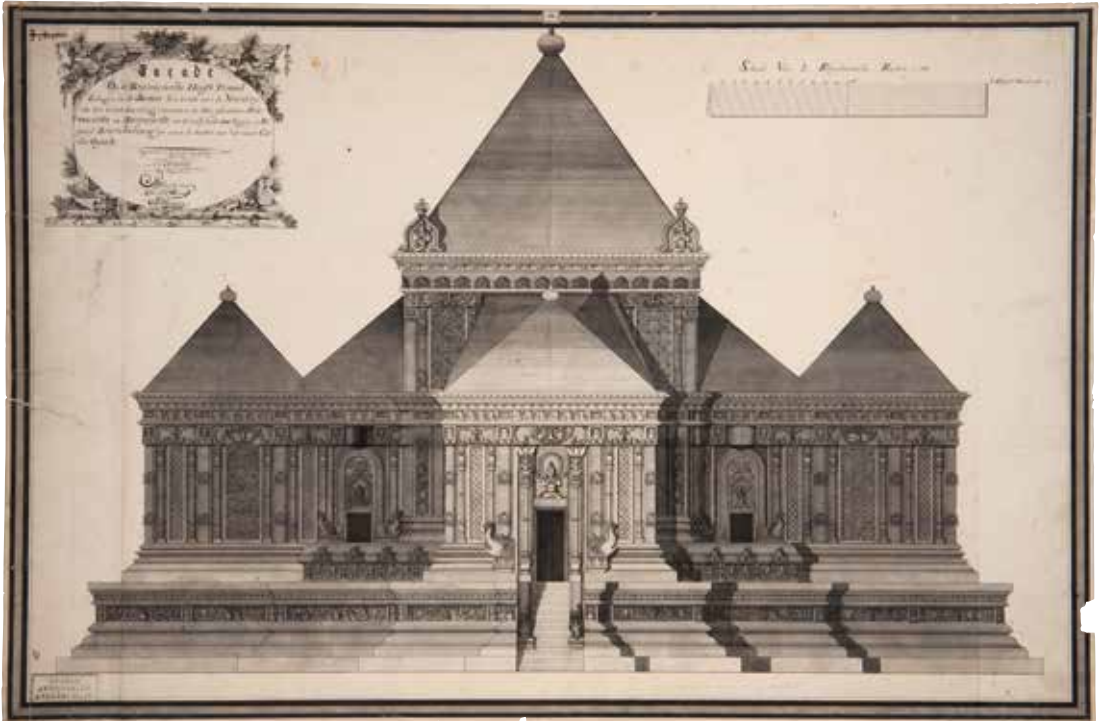




Fig. 5

Three waterspouts and a fighter between lion paws, 1856-67. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-F-2005-159-52. Photo: Isidore van Kinsbergen.



Fig. 6  
Side view of *Makara* (fig. 1).

No clear indication is given in these early reports and illustrations that a *makara* was missing from the entrance. However, the condition of the temple is believed to have suffered during the Java War against Prince Diponegoro from 1825 to 1830 and it was severely damaged by an earthquake in the 1860s.<sup>14</sup> Our first clear evidence of the history of the *makara* is provided by a photograph taken between 1863 and 1867 by the pioneer Dutch photographer Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905) and later published in a set of 322 prints under the title *Oudheden van Java* or 'Antiquities of Java'. The photograph (no. 192) shows a group of four sculptures, including two *makara*; that on the left with a man in its jaws and that on the right with a lion (fig. 5). In 2008, my predecessor Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer noticed the similarity between the *makara* standing on the right of this photograph and the previously unprovenanced *makara*

sculpture in the vvak's collection. With the help of the museum's photographers, she was able to definitively confirm this identification (fig. 6).<sup>15</sup> We know from Van Kinsbergen's published notes that this photograph was one of nine plates depicting sculptures in the garden of the former Lichte estate at 'Tandjoeng Tirta', north-east of Jogjakarta.<sup>16</sup> Van Kinsbergen visited the estate and took nine photographs of the sculptures there between July and September 1865 (nos. 191-99). Lichte himself was one of several

private landowners who had collected sculptures from temple sites in the Prambanan area during the early nineteenth century. The collection is first mentioned by visitors to Central Java in 1845, but by the time of Hoepermans's visit in 1864-67, Lichte himself had died and the estate with its collection of Javanese antiquities had come under new ownership.<sup>17</sup>

In order to help preserve the temples themselves, a new society was formed at Jogjakarta in 1885 under the title of, 'Vereeniging voor Oudheid-, Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde der Vorstenlanden te Djokjakarta' or Society for Antiquarian, Linguistic and Ethnological Research of the Principality of Jogjakarta. Although based on the Batavian Society, and under its scientific guidance, the founders of this new organization placed greater emphasis on archaeology, and were soon known simply as the 'Archeologische Vereeniging' or Archaeological

Society. Led by its first chairman J.W. IJzerman (1851-1932), then Chief Engineer of the State Railways (Hoofdingenieur der Staatsspoorwegen) stationed at Jogjakarta, one of the society's first acts was to clear five hundred cubic metres of stone debris from the interior of the main temple of Candi Loro Jonggrang, revealing the statue of Śiva (Shiva) for the first time.<sup>18</sup> After the departure of IJzerman in 1889, further clearance around the eight central buildings of Candi Loro Jonggrang was completed under the new chairman, Isaac Groneman, who together with the Society's chief photographer, the Javanese pioneer Kassian Cephas, published the first photographic survey of the temple and its relief carvings (fig. 7).<sup>19</sup> The loose sculptures collected during the clearance work were also used as the basis for a new museum. Plans for a museum building in Jogjakarta were already being

Fig. 7  
KASSIAN CEPHAS,  
Candi Loro Jonggrang,  
showing the west side  
of Candi Shiva after  
clearance, c. 1885,  
from J. Groneman,  
Tjandi Parambanan  
op Midden-Java, na de  
ontgraving, Leiden  
1893, pl. 1.







Fig. 8  
*Makara*, c. 800-900.  
 Volcanic stone,  
 h. 95 x w. 89 x d. 37 cm.  
 Amsterdam,  
 Rijksmuseum,  
 inv. no. AK-MAK-248;  
 on long-term loan  
 from the Vereniging  
 van Vrienden der  
 Aziatische Kunst.

finalized in 1894 and the museum finally opened on 18 October 1899.<sup>20</sup> Among the sculptures collected for the Jogjakarta museum was a second large *makara*, which still has the inventory number '60' painted in large numerals on the back. In contrast to the first, this *makara* faces to the left and is distinguished by the fact that the elephant's trunk is transformed into the figure of a rearing lion, while the head, upper torso and arms of a man are seen emerging with a garland from the *makara*'s jaws (fig. 8). From the published documentation on the Society's collection, we know that this *makara* was found at Candi Bubrah, immediately south of Candi Sewu, perhaps during excavation in the mid-1890s.<sup>21</sup> The sculpture would have been placed at the entrance to the temple, together with a second, more complete *makara* that remains at the site (fig. 9).

The temple, however, had collapsed in antiquity and in the early nineteenth century only the base could still be seen.<sup>22</sup>

Sculptures continued to be added to the Archaeological Society's collection following the temporary departure of Groneman in the late 1890s, but the proper documentation of new finds began to lapse during this period. A high-relief fragment of a male head, shown turning to his right to reveal a large circular ornament in his left ear (fig. 10), was added to the collection at this time under the acquisition number 240. However, despite an early photograph of the relief, no details of its original place of discovery are known. When a new Commission for Archaeological Research in Java and Madura (Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera) was established in Batavia by government decree in 1901, the Archaeological Society was disbanded and its former responsibilities for the monuments of the Prambanan area and museum in Jogjakarta were passed on to the new organization, under the leadership of Dr J.L.A. Brandes. This decision however was vehemently opposed by Groneman, who seriously doubted the ability of the Commission to run the museum properly from Batavia. In addition, he reacted strongly to comments by Brandes that appeared to criticize the Society's past work in clearing the monuments of debris, in contrast to the Commission's own restoration work at Candi Mendut, where each stone was drawn and numbered before being taken down:

We certainly did not remove or break off a single stone from any ruin, but only cleared away the immense heaps of rubble that completely covered and surrounded the ruins and filled the interiors, and the *marking or numbering* and the drawing of the stones, as has rightly occurred at Mendoet, ... was therefore out of the question.<sup>23</sup>



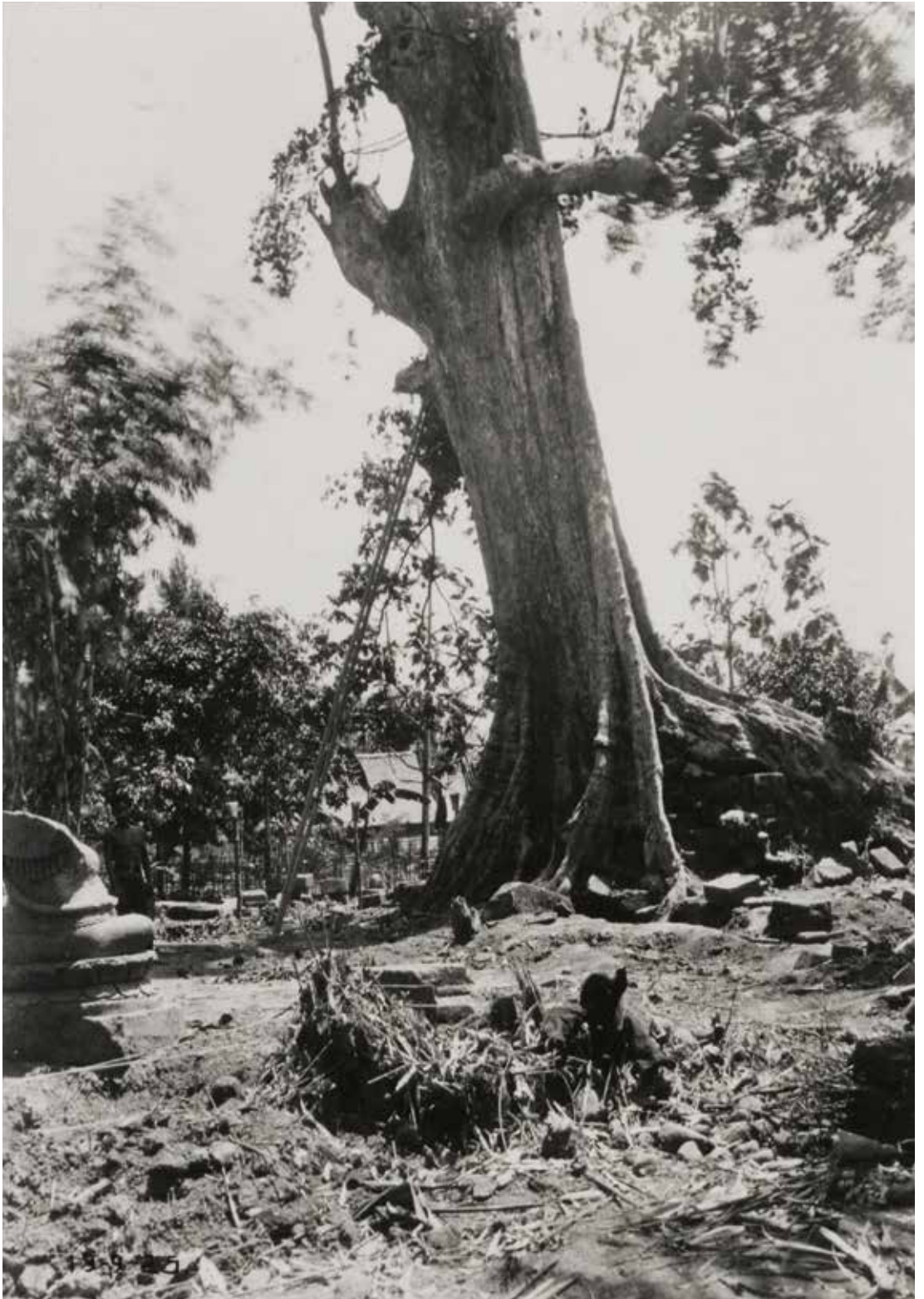
*Fig. 9*  
Makara from the right side of the entrance to Candi Bubrah, trial reconstruction on site, 2013. Photo: William Southworth.

*Fig. 10*  
Relief fragment, c. 800-900. Volcanic stone, h. 11.5 x w. 23.3 x d. 15.9 cm.

Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-235; on long-term loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.



One of the earliest tasks of the new Commission in January 1902, however, was to enhance the permanent museum in Jogjakarta by bringing together the different archaeological collections in both public and private ownership, including pieces displayed in front of the Residency building at Jogjakarta and on other private estates. Through negotiations with G.A.S. Hempenius, the then administrator of the former Lichte estate, thirty-two sculptures were brought from Tandjoeng Tirta and incorporated into the Archaeological collection in Jogjakarta.<sup>24</sup> Here they were described in detail by Jan Knebel in May 1902, including the *makara* from Candi Sewu, which was added as number 253 in the museum inventory.<sup>25</sup> Sadly however, Groneman's misgivings proved correct and after several years as an open store-room the museum at Jogjakarta was finally cancelled by the colonial government in December 1912. Dr N.J. Krom (1883-1945), then chairman of the Commission, became the first head of a newly-created Archaeological Service (Oudheidkundige Dienst) in 1913 and actively sought a new home for the collection. A total of eleven sculptures were chosen for the museum in Batavia (now the Museum Nasional Indonesia, Jakarta), while a small group were kept in the garden of the residency building at Jogjakarta. The vast majority of sculptures however were taken to Magelang, close to Borobudur, on the understanding that a new museum building would be constructed for them there. From the list of numbers included in the accompanying report, we know that the two *makara* and the relief fragment were among them.<sup>26</sup> Unfortunately, these plans likewise came to nothing and in 1915 the new head of the Service, F.D.K. Bosch, inherited the problem of what to do with the collection. A second group of seven sculptures were accepted by the Batavia Museum,<sup>27</sup>



< Fig. 11  
The site of Candi Merak before excavation in 1925. Leiden University Library, Kern Institute, inv. no. OD 7547.

but the rest of the collection returned ignominiously to Prambanan in early 1918.<sup>28</sup> Some of the sculptures were placed along the southern enclosure wall of the temple of Loro Jonggrang, where they were protected from the elements by a tin roof constructed for this purpose. However, most of the architectural pieces, including the two *makara*, could only be arrayed in the open, where their location was recorded by Martha Muusses in 1923.<sup>29</sup>

These problems of inadequate storage and the lack of a site museum were exacerbated by the fact that the 1920s formed the peak period for archaeological excavation in the Dutch East Indies and newly found sculptures rapidly began to supplement the already expanding depot. In the fourth quarter of 1925, the Oudheidkundige Dienst began work at the site of Candi Merak, located some ten kilometres

northeast of Prambanan.<sup>30</sup> Before excavation, the site consisted only of a low mound of earth-covered rubble crowned by a large tree (fig. 11), but gradually the remains of a temple began to emerge. One of the first discoveries was the upper half of a stone statue of the Hindu god Brahma, distinguished by his four faces turned towards the cardinal directions. This fragment was photographed at the site on 7 October 1925 (fig. 12).<sup>31</sup> The excavations continued during the first and second quarters of 1926, revealing the full plan of the temple complex, which consisted of a large east-facing temple placed in a square enclosure opposite a row of three smaller, west-facing shrines (fig. 13).<sup>32</sup> Among the sculptural fragments discovered at this time were the missing base, folded legs and waist of the Brahma. Although not mentioned explicitly in the final report

Fig. 12  
Head and upper torso of the Brahma in excavation at Candi Merak on 7 October 1925. Leiden University Library, Kern Institute, inv. no. OD 7815.



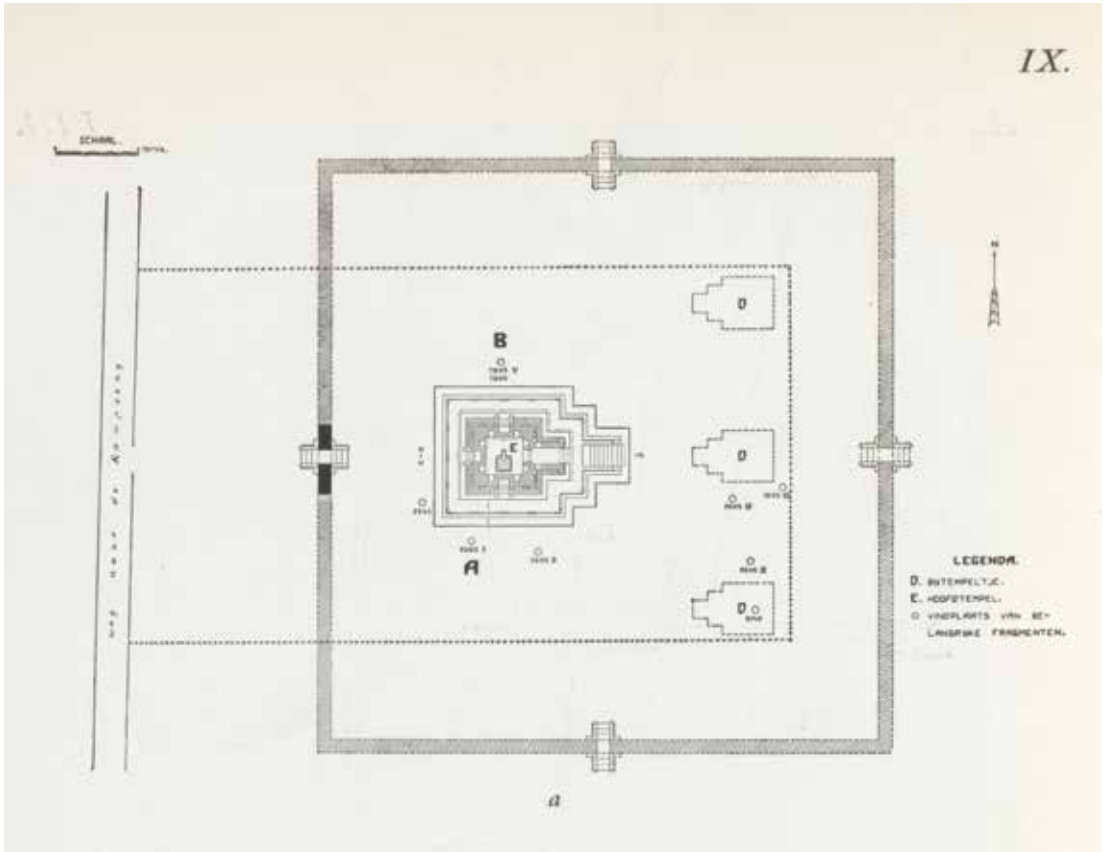


Fig. 13  
Plan of Candi Merak,  
from *Oudheidkundig  
Verslag* (1927), fig. 9.

by Perquin, the reunited statue (fig. 14) is shown together with five stone heads in a photograph taken on 18 March 1926 (fig. 15). From the references included on the published plan, we know that the Brahma was excavated directly to the south of the main, east-facing temple (fig. 13, A).

The stone head with its elaborate headdress placed immediately to the right of the Brahma in the photograph is another of the twelve sculptures later brought to the Netherlands (fig. 16). It was discovered to the north of the main sanctuary (fig. 13, B), during the first month of work at the site, and was photographed *in situ* on 29 September 1925 (fig. 17).<sup>33</sup> Although the larger statues and sculpted blocks of stone could easily be left around the temple foundations in anticipation of future restoration (fig. 18), the smaller, lighter

fragments could not be left outside because of the danger of casual theft. They were therefore initially kept in the house of the temple guard, before finally being sent to the Dutch residency in Jogjakarta.<sup>34</sup> Some sculptures were also collected from sites that could not be preserved. One example is a graceful male figure carved in high relief, his left knee bent forwards and his upper body turned slightly to his right. The head, arms and feet of this figure have all been lost, but the remains of an aureole can still be seen behind the head and a long, slender staff surmounted by a fly whisk is shown to his left (fig. 19). We know from the correspondence between Westendorp and Bosch that this sculpture was found at *desa Prambanan Kidul*, a site situated between Candi Loro Jonggrang and



*Fig. 14*  
*Brahma from*  
*Candi Merak,*  
c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 49 x w. 36 x d. 31 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-234;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.

*Fig. 15*  
Brahma statue and  
miscellaneous heads  
photographed at  
Candi Merak on  
18 March 1926.  
Leiden University  
Library, Kern Institute,  
inv. no. 00 7895.





*Fig. 16*  
Stone head from  
Candi Merak,  
c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 25.7 x w. 15.5 x  
d. 20 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-236;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.

*Fig. 17*  
Head shown in situ  
during excavation  
of Candi Merak on  
26 September 1925.  
Leiden University  
Library, Kern Institute,  
inv. no. OD 7551.



> *Fig. 19*  
Male figure in relief  
from Desa Prambanan  
Kidul, c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 97.5 x w. 40 x  
d. 28 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-233;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.



Fig. 18  
View of the west face  
of Candi Merak after  
restoration, 2015.  
Photo: Marijke  
Klokke.



Ratu Boko. A rapid investigation of this site in January 1926 revealed the remains of a temple dedicated to the Hindu god Śiva, the complex as a whole probably comprising at least three shrines.<sup>35</sup> However, the area was already in the process of being reclaimed for agriculture and only a few damaged sculptures and reliefs could be retrieved.<sup>36</sup>

Many of the largest and most impressive sculptures, however, were connected to the Archaeological Service's expanding programme of restoration. This group includes two architectural fragments from Candi Sewu: a lintel bearing a huge *kala* or monster head on the front, with two side figures shown with their hands raised together in adoration (fig. 20); and a corner fragment bearing a face on both lateral sides (fig. 21). The exact provenance of these pieces is presented in detail in a typewritten list of the sculptures sent by Bosch to Westendorp on the 21 July 1931.<sup>37</sup> The lintel is described as coming from 'one of the secondary shrines of Candi Sewu, 1st row, East no. 25',<sup>38</sup> while the corner fragment has the same general





Fig. 20  
Lintel with kala  
from Candi Sewu,  
c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 40 x w. 160 x  
d. 76 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-246;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.

provenance, but is from the '2nd row West no. 26'.<sup>39</sup> These small, subsidiary shrines can be seen in the plan of Candi Sewu, arranged in four rectangular formations surrounding the main temple (fig. 22). The first row contains 28 shrines, the second 44, the third 80 and the fourth 88; making 240 shrines in total.<sup>40</sup> In the modern plan by Jacques Dumarçay, published in 1981, each building is numbered consecutively, beginning with the central sanctuary and four porches of the main temple. It appears certain, however, that Bosch numbered the shrines in each row separately, beginning at the eastern approach and counting clockwise according to the ritual *pradakṣiṇa* or circumambulation

of the temple.<sup>41</sup> According to this system, shrine no. 25 in the first row corresponds to no. 30 on Dumarçay's plan, situated on the northeast corner facing east (fig. 22, A), while shrine no. 26 in the second row denotes Dumarçay's no. 59, on the northwest side facing west (fig. 22, B).

In the summer of 1926, the Archaeological Service carried out urgent maintenance to stabilize some of the subsidiary shrines, including nos. 24 to 27 in the first row (nos. 29 to 32 on the plan), which remain among the best-preserved today. The interior of no. 25 (30) is particularly interesting, as it features a network of small, ornamented niches cut into the surface of the walls (fig. 23). These niches were



Fig. 21  
Corner section from  
one of the subsidiary  
shrines of Candi Sewu,  
c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 24 x w. 57 x  
d. 45.5 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-244;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.

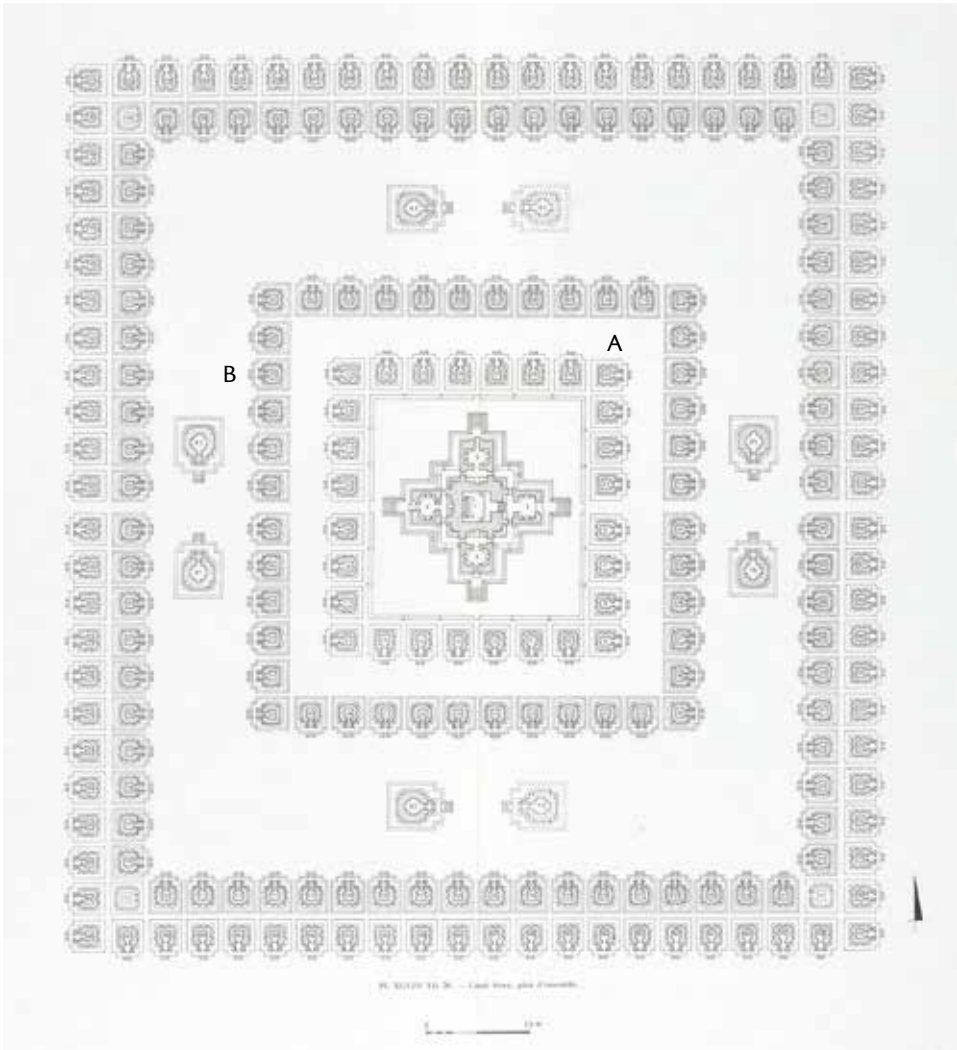


Fig. 22  
Plan of the subsidiary shrines at Candi Sewu, from Jacques Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du centre de Java*, Paris 1981, pl. 48.

Fig. 23  
Interior of subsidiary shrine no. 25 (30), first row, at Candi Sewu, 2013. Photo: William Southworth.



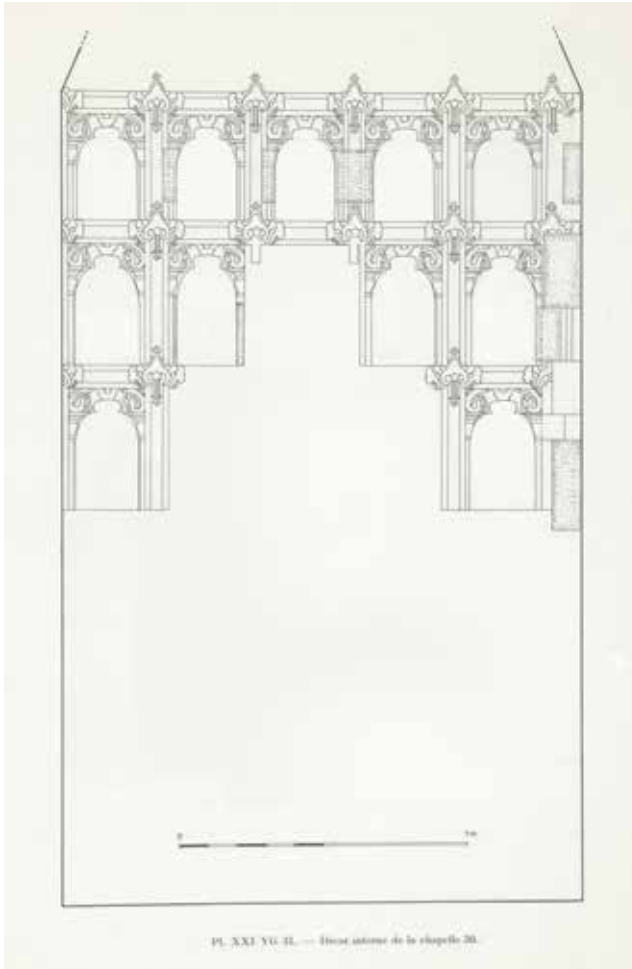


Fig. 24  
Niches on the rear wall of subsidiary shrine no. 25 (30), first row, at Candi Sewu, from Jacques Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du centre de Java*, Paris 1981, pl. 2.

probably intended for small statuettes made of bronze, depicting various aspects of the Buddha or *bodhisattvas*. An arrangement of eleven such niches appears on the wall directly opposite the entrance, outlining a free space below (fig. 24). The shape of this space suggests that it was originally occupied by a large seated statue of the Buddha, made either of bronze or stone, thus making twelve images in total. The eastern wall and entrance have partially collapsed, exposing the interior to natural sunlight, but originally this inner space would have been very dark. In order to see the images clearly, some additional source of light would have been needed and a

possible trace of this was found during restoration in 1926:

During the removal of pieces of the Eastern doorjamb of the twenty-fifth shrine of the first row, a bronze pin was found [projecting] on the inner side about 1.50 m above the floor. The pin is 19 cm long and wider at the rear end, so that it could not be pulled out of the wall. At the extended [literally 'room'] end, the pin was broken; in origin, there was probably a hook here, on which a temple lamp could be hung.<sup>42</sup>

Although restoration work has recently been resumed on some of the southern shrines of the first row, the majority of the subsidiary shrines at Candi Sewu have entirely collapsed. This is sadly the case with shrine no. 26 of the second row, where the corner fragment was found. Although it would be highly desirable to find other pieces of this relief to complete the figures, the shrine exists today only as a low mound of rubble (fig. 25).<sup>43</sup>

Much less is known about the two sculptures listed from Candi Plaosan (fig. 26). The first of these is a life-size statue of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, identified by the curious ornamental plate suspended on four ends of a decorative chain at the centre of his chest, by the half-moon ornament at the back of his neck, and by the curls of hair at the top of his headdress; all the hallmarks of a royal youth (fig. 27). The two arms are missing, but the break marks partly obscuring the chest ornament suggest that the two hands were joined at this point. A large crack runs through the neck and adjoining nimbus, and the statue was indeed sent to the Netherlands in two parts, the head being re-attached to the body in Amsterdam. In his letter to Westendorp quoted above, Van Erp associated this sculpture with the seated *bodhisattvas* taken from the porch niches of the two main buildings of Candi Plaosan Lor, some of which were part of the



*Fig. 25*  
View of subsidiary  
shrine no. 26 (59),  
second row, at  
Candi Sewu, 2013.  
Photo: William  
Southworth.



*Fig. 26*  
The main structures  
of Candi Plaosan,  
viewed from the  
southwest, 2013.  
Photo: William  
Southworth.



< Fig. 27

*Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī*,  
c. 800-900.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 138 x w. 90 x  
d. 60 cm.  
Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-240;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.

Fig. 28

Statue of the  
bodhisattva  
*Mañjuśrī*, on the  
southern row of the  
northern platform of  
Candi Plaosan, 2013.  
Photo: William  
Southworth.



former collection of the Archaeological Society.<sup>44</sup> However, although seated in a similar manner on a lotus base, these images are slightly smaller in height (1.30 to 1.34 m) and more compact in appearance, lacking the angular projections of the aureole by the knee and with different facial features and iconography. The Amsterdam example is perhaps closest in appearance to the statues placed around the raised edges of a mysterious platform located to the north of the two main buildings (fig. 28). Stone pillar bases indicate that this platform once supported wooden columns and a roof, while investigations suggest that this structure was a later addition to the temple.<sup>45</sup>

We know even less about the stone head from Candi Plaosan (fig. 29). The provenance is included in the list of sculptures compiled by Bosch, but no other details are given. It might be the head of a *bodhisattva* excavated on the southern outskirts of the temple on 12 October 1925 and later sent to Prambanan,<sup>46</sup> but no photograph of this head has yet been found to confirm (or refute) this identification.

Fig. 29

Stone head from  
Candi Plaosan,  
c. 800-930.  
Volcanic stone,  
h. 38 x w. 18 x d. 24 cm.

Amsterdam,  
Rijksmuseum,  
inv. no. AK-MAK-242;  
on long-term loan  
from the Vereniging  
van Vrienden der  
Aziatische Kunst.



At the end of the 1920s, the Archaeological Service faced a crucial point in its history. Despite the early success of the restoration of Borobudur by Van Erp between 1907 and 1911, its first director, Dr N.J. Krom, had concentrated on research rather than reconstruction. This emphasis changed when Bosch first took charge as acting director in 1915 and fresh impetus was given to full restoration projects, beginning with Candi Panataran in East Java in 1918. When this policy was questioned in the mid-1920s by more conservative architects in the Netherlands, who doubted the significance of such projects to the general population, Bosch galvanized local Javanese support, placing local dignitaries on the advisory committee and presenting the results of the Service's work to university students and teachers.<sup>47</sup> The crash of the New York stock market in October 1929

and the onset of the Great Depression, however, led to a steep decline in world commodity prices, in particular for tropical produce such as coffee, tea, sugar and rubber. This inevitably led to a drastic reduction in the income generated by the Dutch colonial administration in the East Indies. Temple restoration was not considered a priority and the Archaeological Service was therefore forced to drastically reduce its activities from 1930 onwards. In a stark assessment at the beginning of 1932, Bosch wrote:

At the Archaeological Service, all non-urgent activities, to which category belong field survey, the reconstruction of buildings and archaeological prospection among others, will be stopped. The exception constitutes the reconstruction work in the Prambanan area, which, albeit at a starkly reduced pace, will continue.<sup>48</sup>

*Fig. 30*  
Lintel with a kala face and clawed hands from Candi Loro Jonnggrang, c. 850-930. Volcanic stone, h. 45 x w. 79 x d. 62 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-245; on long-term loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.



Fig. 31

Male figure in high relief from Candi Loro Jonggrang, c. 800-930. Volcanic stone, h. 89 x w. 57 x d. 28 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. AK-MAK-241; on long-term loan from the Vereniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst.



From this and earlier reports, it is clear that the reconstruction of the temple of Candi Loro Jonggrang at Prambanan was prioritized in this period, and the two remaining sculptures from the group of twelve were clearly very carefully chosen from this site. The first is a large block of stone bearing the face of a second *kala* or monster head on one side. This *kala* (fig. 30) appears far more terrifying in aspect than the first, being carved in high relief with the addition of a lower jaw full of teeth and framed by two hunched, clawed hands on either side. The narrow shape of this stone indicates

that it was originally placed above a niche on the outside of a shrine, but the style of the *kala* is in fact quite different from those employed in the central group of shrines of Candi Loro Jonggrang. The official list of sculptures from the OD states that this stone came from 'one of the subsidiary temples of the temple complex at Prambanan', but no candidate has so far been found and it may indeed have been brought there from a neighbouring site. A similar observation can be made in regard to the last of the sculptures, depicting a divine male figure carved in high relief (fig. 31).



Similar relief carvings are found on almost all the major buildings of the central group at Candi Loro Jonggrang and a major restoration programme was initiated to place the loose relief fragments back on to the temple walls. In order to do this accurately, the reliefs were ordered according to shape and size and then compared to the varying sizes of the empty niches on each building. In the present case, however, only the right edge of the sculpture has been preserved, making it difficult to place with certainty. Moreover, the lack of any sculpted pilaster on the right side and the possible trace of a second figure on the far left are difficult to reconcile with other relief figures at the site. Both these high-relief sculptures were photographed by the Archaeological Service in 1930, the second at the village of Prambanan Kidoel.<sup>49</sup>

### **The Arrival of the Sculptures in the Netherlands**

From the accounts quoted above, it is clear that Bosch himself was personally involved in the selection of the sculptures for the VVAK, all of which were kept in storage either at the temples themselves or at the main depot in Prambanan. His main role was obviously to ensure that no sculptures intended for future restoration work would be included in the selection.<sup>50</sup> After Westendorp's return to the Netherlands, the list of sculptures from Indonesia was presented to the Society at its annual general meeting on Tuesday, 31 March 1931 and the final choice of twelve pieces was sent by letter to Bosch on 25 April.<sup>51</sup>

The importance that such a group of Central Javanese sculptures would bring to the Society's future museum displays was not lost on its members, but these final negotiations coincided with the greatest single disaster in the history of the Archaeological Service in Indonesia. On 6 May 1931, the 'Exposition coloniale internationale'

opened in the Bois de Vincennes, east of Paris, to great acclaim. The Netherlands Pavilion had been designed as a fusion of Asian and Dutch colonial architecture and housed a rich collection of artefacts from the museum of the Royal Batavian Society (now the Museum Nasional in Jakarta), including many of the most important archaeological finds from the previous thirty years. This was the first time that the Batavian Society had allowed objects in its collection to be sent abroad. However, on the night of 28 June, tragedy struck. For unknown reasons, the pavilion caught fire and burnt down entirely, destroying a large number of unique items and severely damaging many more. A new pavilion was subsequently raised in its place and re-opened on 17 August, but the lost contents proved irreplaceable.<sup>52</sup> The mood of the time was accurately reflected by the French archaeologist Henri Marchal, in a letter to Westendorp on 12 September:

The burning down of the Dutch Pavilion at the Exhibition in Paris, which was a true marvel in the opinion of everyone who had visited it, is an irreparable disaster. The reopening of a new pavilion completes a great effort on the part of your government. The Balinese dances are said to be much appreciated, but necessarily lack the depth and ambience [of the original].<sup>53</sup>

A report on the objects destroyed or damaged in the fire was prepared by Bosch and C.C.F.M. le Roux, as director and curator respectively of the Batavian Society's museum, and was published under the sad title, 'What was lost in Paris'.<sup>54</sup> At the same time, a proposal was made to forbid the future loan of objects outside the museum by statute.<sup>55</sup> It is noteworthy that Bosch makes no mention of the fire in his letter to Westendorp regarding the sculptures to be sent from the Archaeological Service to

the *VVAK*, a stoic restraint remarked on by Westendorp himself.<sup>56</sup> However, even more remarkably, the sculptures themselves were sent to Europe on 22 July, barely a month after the conflagration in Paris and only a day before the statute in Batavia was due to be presented forbidding future loans from the museum.<sup>57</sup> It is possible that Bosch was merely complying with his earlier spoken agreement, but the timing of the delivery is nevertheless remarkable. While the reasons behind Westendorp's desire to acquire the statues for the Society are self-evident, what advantage could this have been to the Archaeological Service in the Dutch East Indies?

In truth, Westendorp's request to the Archaeological Service for sculptures to be displayed in Amsterdam would undoubtedly have been seen as an opportunity. Not only would this provide a permanent home for pieces that could neither be stored properly nor used in the current restoration, they would also serve to highlight the artistic importance of Central Javanese temple architecture. Although the fire in Paris must undoubtedly have increased Bosch's anxiety regarding the wisdom and safety of sending another consignment of antiquities abroad, it nevertheless reinforced the need for a permanent collection of Central Javanese art in Europe that could represent the existing monuments without the need for further loans. Moreover, at a time of crushing financial pressure, it would also allow the work of the Archaeological Service to be seen by influential members of Dutch society, culture and administration.

In this regard, the Society did not disappoint its benefactors. At the opening of the Society's galleries in the Stedelijk Museum in Amsterdam on Saturday, 16 April 1932, the twelve sculptures from Java were featured prominently in the displays.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, in his opening speech to an

audience of international delegates that also included the Dutch Minister of Education, Arts and Sciences, Westendorp gave a glowing tribute to the help given to him by the Archaeological Service in the Dutch East Indies.<sup>59</sup> To what extent these displays and reports in Amsterdam were able to influence the cultural debate in favour of the Archaeological Service is impossible to determine. However, when financial assistance was finally granted by the Dutch government to its colonial administration in the East Indies in 1936, the agreement included a clause specifically reserving funds for the work of the Archaeological Service. In this way, the restoration programme was allowed to continue up to and beyond the struggles for Indonesian independence, culminating in the inauguration of the Śiva temple at Prambanan in 1953. Although this colonial legacy is not accepted without criticism in Indonesia, the work of Bosch, Van Erp and other Dutch pioneers is honoured at the site today, while restoration and consolidation of the temples (fig. 32) continue under the modern Archaeological Service (the Dinas Purbakala Indonesia), which celebrated its hundredth anniversary in 2013.

### Conclusion

The group of twelve sculptures from Central Java was first exhibited at the Rijksmuseum in 1952 and has been on long-term loan here since 1972. Although none of the pieces is unique, and finer examples can be seen both in museums on Java and on the temples themselves, this group nonetheless constitutes the most important collection of Central Javanese sculpture outside Indonesia.<sup>60</sup>

Although I have emphasized the overriding importance of the temple restoration programme in delimiting the selection made by F.D.K. Bosch and H.K. Westendorp in the early 1930s, it is clear that two of the



sculptures – the *makara* from Candi Sewu and Candi Bubrah – could have been used in subsequent temple reconstructions since the 1980's up to the present day. Both have been replaced by stone reproductions that copy the form but not the detail of the originals. This is obviously regrettable and was clearly not the intention of the former Oudheidkundige Dienst. It is important to note, however, that both sculptures were inherited from earlier nineteenth-century collections; the first came from the private Lichte estate near Prambanan without any recorded provenance, while the second was from the museum of the former Archaeological Society in Jogjakarta. In the second case, the provenance was not only known, but has featured prominently in all the subsequent publications on the sculpture since 1934. Its inclusion in the selection was

probably due to the poor condition of the temple, where a full reconstruction was not considered possible at that time.

Despite these specific reservations, one general conclusion of the research presented here is that the history of this group of sculptures is also implicitly a history of archaeological research on the great temple monuments of Central Java and the beginnings of a restoration programme that has continued to the present day. It remains our hope that by investigating and publishing the provenance of these sculptures, and by sharing this information with curators, historians and archaeologists in Indonesia and worldwide, at least a cognitive link between the sculptures and temples can be preserved.

*Fig. 32*  
The temple of Candi Loro Jonggrang, viewed from the northeast, 2013. Photo: William Southworth.

## NOTES

- 1 The documentary and archival evidence on which this article is based has been built up gradually over many years. Although the faults in the present article are due to the author alone, a general debt of gratitude is owed to my direct predecessor at the Rijksmuseum, Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, who has kindly shared much of her own research into the history of these sculptures.
- 2 For recent literature on this topic, see Edi Sedyawati and Pieter ter Keurs, 'Wetenschap, nieuwsgierigheid en politiek. Verzamelen in een koloniale context', in Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs (eds.), *Indonesia. De ontdekking van het verleden*, Amsterdam 2005, pp. 20-32 and Jos van Beurden, *Treasures in Trusted Hands: Negotiating the Future of Colonial Cultural Objects*, Amsterdam 2017. See also the online publication by Nataša Petrešin-Bachelez (ed.), *Decolonising Museums*, 2015 ([http://www.internationaleonline.org/bookshelves/decolonising\\_museums](http://www.internationaleonline.org/bookshelves/decolonising_museums), consulted on 8 May 2017).
- 3 'Bulletin van de Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 7 (1930), no. 5, p. 158.
- 4 See Menno Fitski, 'De Blauwe Boekjes van Mr. H.K. Westendorp', *Aziatische Kunst* 38 (2008), no. 4, pp. 39-47.
- 5 'Bulletin van de Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 7 (1930), no. 5, p. 158. Frederik David Kan Bosch was born in the Transvaal in 1887, where both his father and brother died in a British concentration camp during the Second Boer War. He completed his PhD in Leiden in 1914, before becoming acting director of the Oudheidkundige Dienst in 1915. His main academic contribution was his emphasis on 'local genius' in the art of ancient Java, rebalancing the overt Indian perspective of earlier studies by stressing the dominant role of the Javanese themselves. He remained as head of the Archaeological Service for twenty years before returning to the Netherlands in 1936. He later taught both in Utrecht and at Leiden University, where he was Professor of Indonesian (later South-east Asian) Archaeology from 1946 to 1957. See P.H. Pott, 'In Memoriam F.D.K. Bosch', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 123 (1967), pp. 409-26.
- 6 'Immers een hoofddoel van die reis was, een aantal Hindoe-Javaansche sculpturen te verkrijgen voor ons aanstaand Museum, en door de niet genoeg te waardeeren medewerking van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst ben ik daarin geslaagd. Dr. F.D.K. Bosch, Hoofd van dien Dienst, heeft de groote vriendelijkheid gehad naar Djokja te komen, en met ons het Prambanan-complex te bezoeken ... Met Dr. Bosch mocht ik een aantal stalen van Hindoe-Javaansche plastiek uit Midden-Java uitzoeken, om daaruit voor ons Museum een keuze te doen; daaronder zijn eenige zeer importante stukken.' H.K. Westendorp in 'Bulletin van de Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunst', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 7 (1930), no. 11, p. 352.
- 7 'Afkomstig van Prambanan zijn: een grote Makara – de beneden-afsluiting van een trap [en] ... een zeer belangrijke, meer dan levensgrote Bodhisattva-kop', *ibid.*, p. 352.
- 8 'Dat laatste bull[etin] (NFEV: Bulletin Ver[eniging] v[an] Vr[ienden] d[er] Az[iatische] K[unst] Nov[ember] '30) heeft mij koude rillingen bezorgd ... Ik acht het een tactische fout, om niet te zeggen een blunder, dat de stukken met naam en afkomst genoemd worden. "Een groote makara afkomstig van Prambanan"; Bedoeld zal wel zijn: "uit de Prambanan-vlakte". Ik kan toch niet aannemen dat B[osch] een trap-makara loost van de nog in restauratie zijnde tjandi. Dit zou waarlijk een schandaal wezen en ik zou de eerste zijn om daartegen in verzet te komen.  
Maar de outsiders weten niet hoe de vork in den steel zit en zullen wellicht moord en brand gaan schreeuwen.  
Voorts: "... een zittende Manjuçri en een zeer belangrijke, meer dan levensgrote Bodhisattwa kop ... beelden van Tj[andi] Plaosan". "Die 'zittende Manjuçri' hoort te 'zitten' in een der portaalnissen van Tj[andi] Plaosan en niet in een Amsterdamsch museum", hoor ik de menschen al zeggen, wien de H[indoe] J[avaanse] oudheden ter harte gaan.' Typed extract from T. van Erp (Vice Chairman) to H.F.E. Visser (Conservator), The Hague, 2 November 1930, with notes by Visser; by courtesy of Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer.
- 9 'Ik begrijp je niet goed. Denk je dat Bosch in de eerste plaats, en ook ik, gek zijn? Dat wij sculpturen waarvan het niet voor 99 7/8 % p ct vaststaat dat ze niet voor restauratie te gebruiken zijn uit Indië zouden laten gaan? Wat wij uitzochten is, naar menselijke berekening, overcompleet, nergens aan te brengen. Is het dan niet beter

- dat ze in Holland komen, dan dat ze daar maar liggen? Zou Bosch een stuk van een trapleuning hebben gegeven als er enige kans was dat die bij de restauratie zou kunnen worden gebruikt? Geloof je dan dat de kop niet zeer serieus overal gepast is vóórdat hij ons ter beschikking werd gesteld? ... Ik vind, na al het werk dat ik met zoo groot succes belangeloos deed, deze brief inderdaad grievend. Heb nu maar vertrouwen'. Letter from H.F.E. Visser to T. van Erp, Kyoto, 1 December 1930, with an addendum by H.K. Westendorp; by courtesy of Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer.
- 10 Theo van Erp, 'Hindoe-Javaansche Steenplastiek in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 11 (1934), no. 9, pp. 259-72. In order to offset any further criticism of the sending of these sculptures to the Netherlands, the seven most important pieces were listed as a 'bruikleen' or loan, on the agreement that if any of the pieces was later requested for restoration by the Archaeological Service it would be returned in exchange for another sculpture of equal quality. Sadly, this agreement did not survive the Second World War and the subsequent independence of Indonesia, but nevertheless provides an interesting model for future cooperation between western museums and heritage authorities in Southeast Asia. In this way, otherwise neglected artefacts could be legally sent on longterm loan to western museums, providing authentic and fully documented pieces for display, restoration and research, while remaining entirely the property of their country of origin.
  - 11 *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.
  - 12 Marijke Klokke and William Southworth, 'Tracing the history of *makara* АК-МАК-247 in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam', *Aziatische Kunst* 44 (2014), no. 3, pp. 16-22. Much of the following discussion on the photographic identification and later history of the *makara* has been adapted from this article, which also provided the methodological basis for examining the group as whole.
  - 13 Quoted in Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, London 1817, vol. 2, p. 15. Baker was, however, misled by his guides regarding the religious affiliation of the temple complex, which is undoubtedly Buddhist.
  - 14 Jacques Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du centre de Java*, Paris 1981, pp. 1-2.
  - 15 My sincere thanks are due to Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer and to Cécile van der Harten and Frans Pegt from the photographic department of the Rijksmuseum for providing the photographic evidence.
  - 16 Gerda Theuns-de Boer and Saskia Asser, *Isidore van Kinsbergen (1821-1905): Photo Pioneer and Theatre Maker in the Dutch East Indies*, Leiden etc. 2005, pp. 250-51.
  - 17 N.W. Hoepermans, 'Hindoe-oudheden van Java', *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1913, pp. 235-37 (written between 1864 and 1867 and published posthumously).
  - 18 *Notulen van de Algemene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1885), vol. 13, pp. 134-35. For a portrait and short summary of the life of IJzerman, see Maarten Kuitenbrouwer, *Dutch Scholarship in the Age of Empire and Beyond: KITLV – The Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies, 1851-2011*, Leiden/Boston 2014, pp. 152-55.
  - 19 Dr J. Groneman (with collotypes by Cephas), *Tjandi Parambanan op Midden-Java, na de ontgraving*, Leiden 1893.
  - 20 'Jaarverslag der Archeologische Vereeniging 1899', *Notulen van de Algemene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1901), pp. 172-76.
  - 21 Jan Knebel, 'Beschrijving van de archeologische verzameling te Djogdjakarta', *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (1902), pp. 57-58; E.F. Jochim, 'Beelden te Djokjakarta', *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (1912), p. 101. On the Society's work at Candi Bubrah, see the 'Jaarverslag der Archeologische Vereeniging' for 1897 and 1898, *Notulen van de Algemene en Bestuursvergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1901), pp. 167-71.
  - 22 *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (1910), pp. 147-52.
  - 23 'Doch wij hebben geen enkelen steen van een bouwval weggenomen of afgebroken, maar alleen de ontzaglijke puinmassa's weg te ruimen gehad, die de bouwvallen gezamenlijk bedekten en omgaven en de binnenkamers vulden, en van't merken of nomeren en in tekening brengen der steenen, zoals te Mendoet terecht geschied is, ... kon dus geen sprake zijn.' Dr J. Groneman, *De Archeologische Vereeniging te Jogjakartâ*. Semarang/Soerabaja 1902, p. 12.
  - 24 F.D.K. Bosch (ed.), 'Inventaris der Hindoe-oudheden op den grondslag van

- Dr R.D.M. Verbeek's Oudheden van Java. II. Midden-Java', *Rapporten van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst in Nederlandsch-Indië* (1915), pp. 44-45.
- 25 Jan Knebel, 'Beschrijving van de archaeologische verzameling te Djogdjakarta', *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (1902), pp. 128-29.
- 26 Nicolaas Johannes Krom, 'Oudheidkundig Verslag over het Vierde kwartaal 1912', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1912), p. 78; see also E.F. Jochim, 'Beelden te Djokjakarta', *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor oudheidkundig onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (1912), pp. 90-102.
- 27 F.D.K. Bosch, 'Oudheidkundig Verslag over het Tweede Kwartaal 1917', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1917), p. 50.
- 28 F.D.K. Bosch, 'Oudheidkundig Verslag over het Eerste Kwartaal 1918', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1918), p. 12.
- 29 Martha A. Muusses, 'De beelden te Prambanan', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1923), pp. 111, 128.
- 30 F.D.K. Bosch 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het derde en vierde kwartaal 1925', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1925), pp. 74-75.
- 31 'Lijst der fotografische opnamen in het derde en vierde kwartaal 1925', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1925), pp. 128-29; photos OD 7814, 7815.
- 32 F.D.K. Bosch 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het eerste en tweede kwartaal 1926', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1926), pp. 10-14, 17-19; P.J. Perquin, 'Tjandi Mèrak', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1927), pp. 154-88.
- 33 F.D.K. Bosch 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het derde en vierde kwartaal 1925', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1925), pp. 70-71; 'Lijst der fotografische opnamen in het derde en vierde kwartaal 1925', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1925), p. 111; photos OD 7551-7555.
- 34 P.J. Perquin, 'Tjandi Mèrak', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1927), p. 156.
- 35 F.D.K. Bosch 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het eerste en tweede kwartaal 1926', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1926), pp. 9-10. It is possible that this temple was a direct precursor of Candi Loro Jonggrang, but constructed on a more modest scale.
- 36 The style of the ornamentation and the graceful stance of these sculptures were compared to the statues of Candi Banon, now held in the Museum Nasional, Jakarta. See for example, *Versunkene Königreiche Indonesiens*, Mainz 1995, nos. 48, 49.
- 37 Amsterdam, Archives vvak, no. 329: 'Correspondentie betreffende de Hindu-Javaanse collectie van het Museum van Aziatische Kunst', no. 4 – a list of objects to be sent, signed by F.D.K. Bosch as Hoofd van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst, 21 July 1931.
- 38 No. 8, 'Een bovendorpel (kalakop met brahmanen en details geornamenteerd fries) afkomstig van een der bijtempeltjes van Tj. Sewoe, 1e reeks, Oost no. 25 h. 0.40, br. 1.60'.
- 39 No. 6, 'Een hoekpilaster-detail met twee bodhisattwa-kopies uit de nevenliggende nissen, afkomstig van een der bijtempeltjes van Tj. Sewoe, 2e reeks, West no. 26 h. 0.25, br. 0.50'.
- 40 This figure does not include the larger shrines constructed between the second and third rows, the construction of two of which (on the north and south sides) is uncertain.
- 41 I am grateful to the reviewers for pointing out that this numbering system is also in use at the site itself, where information boards have now been placed to guide visitors around the temple.
- 42 'Bij het afhalen van de stukken van den Oostelijken deurpost van het 25e tempeltje van de 1e reeks werd aan de binnenzijde ongeveer 1.50 M. boven de vloer een bronzen pen gevonden. De pen is 19 c.M. lang en aan het achterreind verbreed, zoodat ze niet uit den muur getrokken kon worden. Aan den kamerkant was de pen afgebroken; vermoedelijk was hier oorspronkelijk een haak, waaraan een tempellamp kon worden opgehangen', in 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het eerste en tweede kwartaal 1926', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1926), p. 135.
- 43 A very similar lintel and corner fragment attributed to Candi Sewu can be seen at the Musée Guimet in Paris, nos. MA 22 and MA 18 242, see A. Le Bonheur, *La sculpture indonésienne au musée Guimet*, Paris 1971, pp. 322, 326. In his note on these and the two pieces in Amsterdam, Jacques Dumarçay gives the opinion that 'Il est aussi tout à fait regrettable que des éléments architecturaux aient été prélevés sur le monument,' see Jacques Dumarçay, *Candi Sewu et l'architecture bouddhique du centre de Java*, Paris 1981, p. 2, no. 2. Although clearly valid in relation to architectural research, it should nevertheless be noted that neither of the subsidiary shrines identified here were included in the subsequent restoration. Thus, from a museological perspective (and in echo of the comments made by Westendorp to Van Erp) it is hard to see how these dislocated pieces could have been improved by another eighty years of exposure.

- 44 'Lijst der fotografische opnamen over het 1ste kwartaal 1915', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1915), no. 1, p. 11, photos OD 2106-11.
- 45 See John N. Miksic, 'Manjushri as a political symbol in Ancient Java', in Henri Chambert-Loir and Bruno Dagens (eds.), *Anamorphoses: Hommage à Jacques Dumarçay*, Paris 2006, pp. 213-14.
- 46 'Oudheidkundig verslag over het derde en vierde kwartaal 1925', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1925), p. 72.
- 47 Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, 'Conserving the Past, mobilizing the Indonesian Future: Archaeological Sites, Regime Change and Heritage Politics in Indonesia in the 1950s, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* (BKI) 167 (2011), no. 4, pp. 414-21.
- 48 'Bij den Oudheidkundigen Dienst werden alle niet urgente werkzaamheden, waartoe o.m. behooeren het bodemonderzoek, de reconstructie van bouwwerken en de oudheidkundige opnamen stopgezet. Eene uitzondering vormt de reconstructie-arbeid van het Prambanan-terrein, welke, zij het in sterk vertraagd tempo, werd voortgezet', *Uittreksel uit de Oudheidkundige Verslagen over 1931-1935*, Batavia 1938, p. 9.
- 49 'Lijst der fotografische opnamen over het 1ste kwartaal 1930', *Oudheidkundig Verslag* (1930), p. 107, photos OD 10410 and 10415.
- 50 'Bulletin van de Vereeniging van Vrienden der Aziatische Kunsten', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 8 (1931), no. 5, p. 157. The Westendorps were originally meant to be guided by Bastiaan de Haan (1889-1930), the architect in charge of the temple restoration at Prambanan, but he was too ill to join them and died in Semarang on 14 October. See Theo van Erp, 'In memoriam Bastiaan de Haan', *ibid.*, pp. 189-91.
- 51 Amsterdam, Archives vvak, no. 329, 1. Letter from [H.K. Westendorp] to F.D.K. Bosch, 25 April 1931.
- 52 Marieke Bloembergen (translated by Beverly Jackson), *Colonial Spectacles: The Netherlands and the Dutch East Indies at the World Exhibitions, 1880-1931*. Singapore 2006, pp. 302-12.
- 53 'C'est un désastre irréparable que l'incendie du pavillon Néerlandais à l'Exposition de Paris qui de l'avis de toutes personnes qui l'avaient visité était une pure merveille. La réouverture d'un nouveau pavillon témoigne d'un bel effort de la part de votre gouvernement. On dit les danses Balinaise très appréciées, mais il doit manquer le cadre et l'ambiance.' Amsterdam, Archives vvak, no. 127, 6. Letter from H. Marchal to H.K. Westendorp, Siem Reap to Amsterdam, 12 September 1931.
- 54 See F.D.K. Bosch and C.C.F.M. le Roux, 'Wat te Parijs verloren ging', *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 71 (1931), pp. 663-83.
- 55 'Dr. Bosch en Mr. Schrieke achten zulks noodig, nu het Genootschap aan den lijve heeft ondervonden, dat het onverantwoordelijk is museumstukken uit te leenen. Voor de toekomst ware statutair vast te leggen, dat museumvoorwerpen het gebouw nimmer mogen verlaten.'
- 'Dr. Bosch verklaart zich bereid de noodig geachte wijziging in de statuten te ontwerpen en op de eerstvolgende vergadering voor te brengen.' *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (1933), p. 146 (meeting of 27 July 1931).
- 56 Amsterdam, Archives vvak, no. 329, 4. List of objects to be sent, signed by Bosch on 21 July 1931.
- 57 The consignment was sent under the heading: 'Oldenbarneveldt elf kisten', *ibid.*, no. 329, 2.
- 58 H.F.E. Visser, 'Het Museum van Aziatische Kunst in het Stedelijk Museum te Amsterdam', *Maandblad voor Beeldende Kunsten* 9 (1932), no. 5, pp. 131-39, figs. 1-4.
- 59 *Ibid.*, pp. 155-58. A separate series of seven sculptures from the temple area of Candi Kalasan was also donated by the Oudheidkundige Dienst to the Tropenmuseum in 1934, including a statue of the Buddha in meditation, inv. no. TM- 859-1.
- 60 In relation to Java as a whole, the group is only surpassed by the outstanding East Javanese sculptures from Candi Singasari in the Museum Volkenkunde, inv. no. RMV 1403-1622, 1623, 1624, 1680, 1681 and 1682.

