

THE LOST GATEKEEPER STATUES OF CANDI PRAMBANAN

A GLIMPSE OF THE VOC BEGINNINGS OF JAVANESE ARCHAEOLOGY



Photo credit: Mark Long

Roy Jordaan

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The Lost Gatekeepers Statues of Candi Prambanan: A Glimpse of the VOC Beginnings of Javanese Archaeology*

Roy Jordaan

INTRODUCTION

This essay is about the *dvārapālas* of Candi Prambanan, more specifically the stone statues of eight kneeling temple guardians that once stood, in pairs, at the four gateways in the third wall formerly enclosing the whole Śaiva temple complex.¹ Actually, the earlier presence and the loss of these gatekeeper statues are virtually unknown now, even among archaeologists and art historians. But this is hardly surprising in view of their long-time disappearance from the scene—literally and figuratively. Removed from the site well before the first systematic surveys and the excavation of the temple complex in the second half of the nineteenth century, and also overlooked in the brief and rather vague descriptions of Prambanan by eighteenth-century European visitors, the statues' erstwhile presence was bound to be forgotten.

The primary aim of this paper is to put the matter straight by demonstrating their former existence, mainly on the basis of a detailed re-examination of two reports dating from the period of the United East Indies Company (VOC, 1662–1799). At a later stage new evidence will be adduced from a third VOC report and from the captions to two old drawings of Javanese antiquities, supplemented by evidence from two Javanese literary texts. The second objective is to determine how the statues may have disappeared from

* Thanks are due to Mark Long for persuading me to make C.F. Reimer's forgotten reports on the eight gatekeeper statues of Candi Prambanan available to the general public through an English translation and detailed review, and also, with Jeff van Exel, for editing the essay that grew out of my initial translation attempts. I am also grateful to Andrea Acri, Fransje Brinkgreve, Peter Carey, Jaap Erkelens, Annabel Teh Gallop, Alexandra Green, Siebolt Kok, Willem van der Molen, Jeffrey Sundberg, Roger Tol, and Leendert de Vink for their comments and/or other forms of support.

This paper is dedicated to the memory of Hans Borkent with whom I spent several formative years as fellow students in Cultural Anthropology and Non-western Sociology at Leiden University and as house mates in a college dormitory at 99 Witte Singel in Leiden. Not a few of my later publications are adorned with maps, drawings and cover illustrations that bear witness to Hans' talents as a graphic artist.

¹ In this article the current Indonesian name Candi Prambanan is used, and only occasionally alternated with the name Loro Jonggrang ('Slender Maiden'), which actually refers to the statue of Durgā Ma-hiṣāsura-mardīnī enshrined in the northern temple chamber of the Śiva temple. The original Old Javanese name of the temple complex is still unknown and remains a topic of speculation (see Griffiths 2011).

the temple site and also from the archaeological record. This investigation will take us to the end of the VOC period in which among some prominent VOC officials we can discern a budding interest in the vestiges of Java's Hindu-Buddhist past. The third goal is to contribute to the search for the gatekeeper statues' present whereabouts, if their recovery is at all possible. In the course of the discussion I shall touch upon the implications of some of my findings for current art-historical thinking about statues of kneeling *dvārapālas* in Central Java, and about the early beginnings of Javanese archaeology.

TWO EARLY VOC TRAVEL REPORTS ON PRAMBANAN RECONSIDERED

The first known extant report on Prambanan was made by Cornelius Antonie Lons, who in July 1733 travelled to the royal court of Pakubuwana II in the retinue of Frederik Julius Coyett, VOC Commander of the Northeastern coast of Java. Two weeks after their arrival at the Javanese court, the Javanese monarch granted Lons permission to make a sightseeing tour through the heartland of Mataram in the company of two other VOC employees and escorted by three Javanese high-ranking officials acting as their guides. The trip on horseback lasted from 11 to 18 August and took the party from Kartasura, where the (third) Javanese capital was located, to various historical places in the western part of the realm, such as 'Kotto Gedee' (Kota Gede), 'Magiri' (Imagiri) and the remains of the two earlier royal courts, namely Karta and Plèrèd. Later, after the 'regal bifurcation' of Java in 1755, these would become part of the realm of Mataram centred in Ngajogjakarta or Jogjakarta.² Some of these places were known to the Dutch from previous, mid-seventeenth century VOC embassies to Mataram, among others by Rijklof van Goens in the years 1648–1654, and this may have inspired Lons' sightseeing tour.³

2 The regal bifurcation concerns the division in 1755 of the realm of Mataram into two separate principalities. One part remained under the authority of the Susuhunan, from then on residing in Surakarta (Solo), the other part was henceforth ruled by dynasts who styled themselves with the title of Sultan and resided in Jogjakarta. Before the division, the VOC used to refer to the paramount ruler of Mataram as *Keyzer* (Emperor) and continued using this designation for the Susuhunan; 'Sultan' became the accepted title for the ruler of Jogjakarta—not the other way around as stated by K. Zandvliet (1991:79), who may have been misled by the survey map drawn by H.C. Cornelius [see Fig. 2] wherein Candi Prambanan and the market place and tollgate of Prambanan are wrongly reckoned to belong to 'the land of the Keyzer', whereas Candi Lumbung, Sewu and other temples are considered part of 'the land of the Sultan'. For more information on the historical background of the regal bifurcation, see Ricklefs 1974.

3 Van Goens paid five official visits to Mataram, generally designated in Dutch as *hofreizen* or *gezantschapsreizen* (literally, 'court journeys'). His extensive notices, letters, and two travel accounts, *Corte Beschrijvinge* (from 1656) and *Javaense Reyse* (from 1666), have been the subject of several scholarly studies such as those by Ottow (1954), de Graaf (1956), and de Wever (1996). Regrettably, van Goens hardly mentioned anything about temples and statues.



Fig. 1: Map of Central Java showing the old main roads between Mataram and the north coast of Java. Map credit Mark Long.

What interests us here is Lons' report on his visit to temple ruins, dating from Java's pre-Islamic past, near the marketplace and tollgate Prambanan—variously spelled as 'Brambana', 'Brambanan(g)', and 'Parambanam'. In his well-known account, which is here paraphrased and rendered into English, Lons relates that in the nearby 'forest' (*bos*), on the right side of the village market, the party saw various ancient remains from heathen times, 'among other things various large and at least 70 small chapels or shrines (*kleene capellen*), each made of solid mountain rocks and constructed in pyramidal shape'. Climbing the highest building, three temple chambers—also designated as chapels (*capellen*)—were detected. From Lons' description it becomes unmistakably clear that he saw the statue of Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī in the first temple chamber he entered, followed by that of

Gaṇeśa in the next, while the third chamber seemingly ‘contained nothing else but heavy square stones lying haphazardly on top of each other’. ‘The other large chapels were so densely covered with trees and thickets that they sooner resembled mountains than chapels’. Because of the dense overgrowth the party was prevented from seeing what statues or relics these other chambers contained. Continuing, Lons wrote: ‘Next we inspected various small chapels indistinguishable in shape, appearance (*fatsoen*) and height, similar as that which is found in Salatiga; also 8 very large statues, [each] hewn from a single block of stone, placed in pairs in special places and facing each other. One [bending] his right knee, the other, facing him, bending his left knee; [each] holding a club in the right hand, in the other a snake twisted around their bodies’.

Commenting on Lons’ rather terse description, C. Leemans said that we need not doubt which temple group Lons had visited in Prambanan, namely Candi Loro Jonggrang (more commonly known as Candi Prambanan). He also expressed the opinion that Lons subsequently must have visited another temple group, which he identified as Candi Sewu. Because of the impact Leemans’ article was to have on the subsequent scholarly discussion about the kneeling *dvārapālas*, his interpretation needs to be quoted in some detail. Leemans (1885:12) begins with a general topographic description:

Arriving in Prambanan from Surakarta one finds at a short distance, about five minutes away, to the right side of the road, the ruins of the temples that are now known by the name of Candi Loro Jonggrang; six minutes further north are those of Candi Lumbung; a few minutes later those of Candi Asu, and finally another few minutes to the East, hence a quarter of an hour from the market of Prambanan, the famous [temple] group of Candi Sewu, the beautiful temple with about 300 subsidiary temples and chapels [...].

Relying on Lons’ description of the statues in the chambers of the highest building and comparing it with the reports of later travellers, Leemans is convinced that Lons had visited the main temple of Loro Jonggrang. Continuing, he writes:

Regarding the various large and as many as 70 small chapels, Lons must have meant some of those belonging to the neighbouring groups, although it is somewhat surprising that he did not separately mention the beautiful main temple of Candi Sewu, which still towers over everything around. Or, must we assume that due to the overgrowth of trees and thickets, he did not visit the latter [building] no more than the other ‘large chapels that sooner resembled mountains than chapels’. We are tempted to assume this where he reports on the chapels indistinguishable in shape, appearance and size, resembling those of Salatiga, but especially because of the 8 large statues, positioned in pairs in different places, facing each other with either the right or the left leg bended, and holding a club in the right hand and in the left hand a snake twisting itself around their bodies. Clearly, this refers to the subsidiary temples and the eight temple-guardian statues at the four entrances of the temple complex of Candi Sewu.

Which buildings near Salatiga Lons refers to in clarifying his description, cannot definitely be determined. However, by comparing the plans and drawings from the Museum of Antiquities [in Leiden] relating to Candi Sewu with those of the seven temples on Mount Ungaran, I noticed a great similarity in layout and form between the subsidiary temples of the first group with some of the latter.

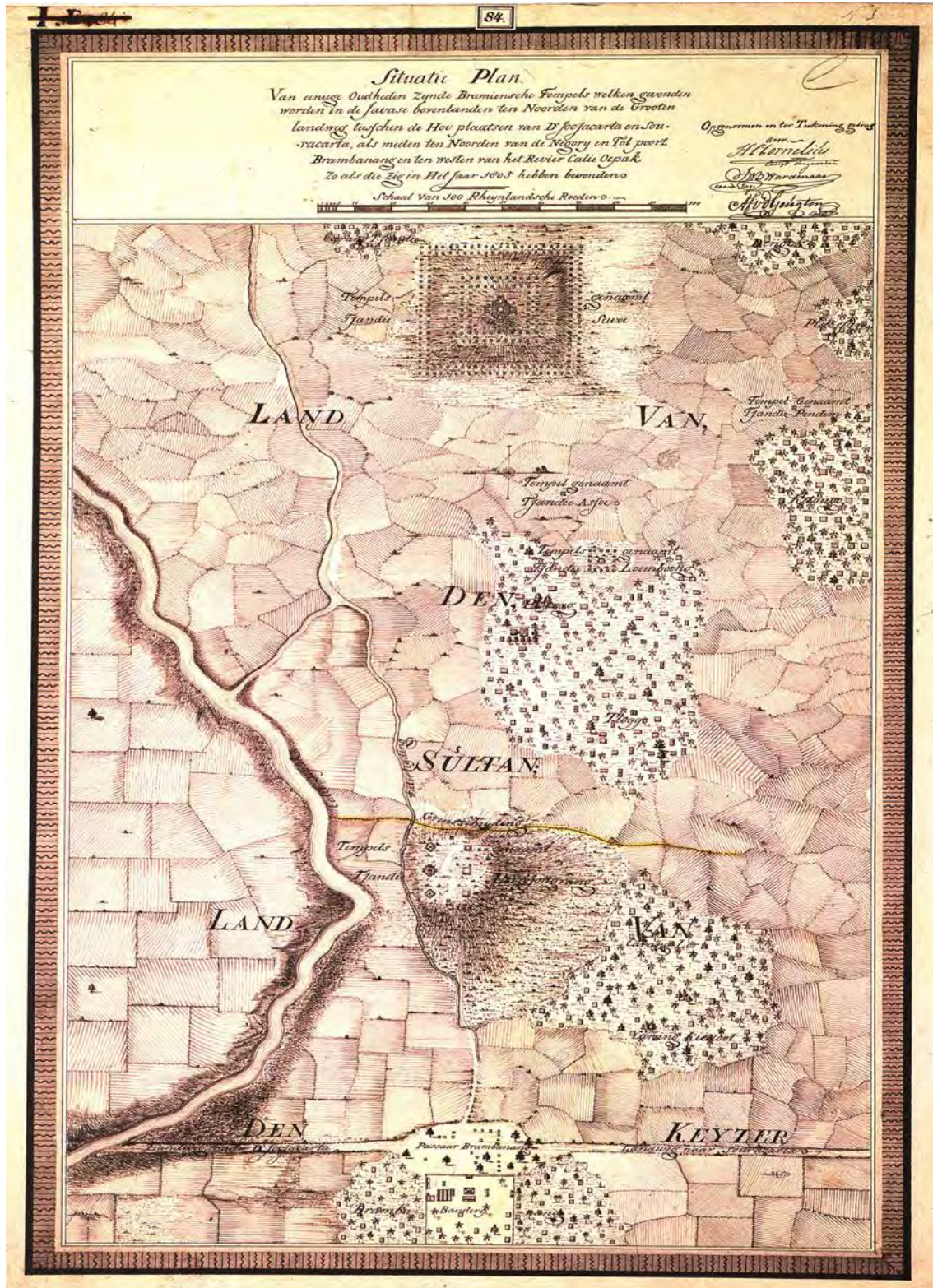


Fig. 2: Survey map of the Prambanan area by H.C. Cornelius, J.W.B. Wardenaar, A. van der Geugten (dated to 1805), showing the location of the tollgate (*bandar*), south of the main road, and those of the temples Loro Jonggrang, Lumbung, Asu, and Sewu. Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, RMV 1403-3593 (A326-023).

As we shall see, Leemans' reading of the early description of the temple ruins penned down by Lons greatly influenced the thinking of later scholars with respect to the interpretation of another travel account, by Carl Friedrich Reimer. He too was a VOC employee on an official mission to central Java. Reimer had visited Prambanan in 1791 on his way from the newly built court of Pakubuwana IV at Surakarta (Solo) to the court of his rival, Sultan Mangkubumi, in Jogjakarta, i.e. Mataram proper. He left two separate accounts of his inspection of Prambanan.⁴ It is relevant to note that the author who submitted Reimer's report for publication in *Bijdragen* of 1902, H.D.H. Bosboom, apparently had overlooked Leemans' article of 1855 in the same journal on the earlier visit by Lons.⁵ However, he would make up for this oversight in the next *Bijdragen* issue of 1903, focussing on the question of the temple-guardian statues of Prambanan. In Bosboom's first article, Reimer's visit to Prambanan is presented in rather great detail. For the sake of further analysis, I have added numbers in square brackets to divide Reimer's description into meaningful segments. I shall use the enumerated details for separate summaries of his two accounts and also for the re-evaluation of Leeman's interpretation of Lons' earlier report.

Before proceeding, it may be useful to dwell briefly on the different professional backgrounds of Lons and Reimer. Whereas Lons was a junior merchant (*onderkoopman*) and legal expert (*fiscaal*), Reimer was employed by the VOC in various capacities. Enlisted in 1767 as a common soldier, Reimer was at first posted in Colombo, Ceylon. There he was successively appointed as surgeon's assistant (*onderchirurgijn*), and surveyor (*landmeter*) with the rank of Ensign-Engineer. Before his transfer to Batavia in 1785, he held the position of Master Builder and Supervisor of Public Works (an occupation then known as *fabriek*) in Colombo, with the rank of Lieutenant-Engineer. In 1789 he was assigned to a Dutch Military Commission with the rank of Major to assist in the inspection of VOC fortresses and defence works in southern India and Ceylon, and thereafter in Malacca, and in various places in the Dutch East Indies. On completion of this assignment, Reimer stayed on in Batavia, where he became the Director of the Fortifications and also Inspector of Waterworks for Batavia and surroundings, with the rank of Colonel-Engineer. He died in 1796.⁶

4 In the years between the visits of Lons and Reimer, several other VOC officials passed through the village of Prambanan by the main road, but left poor accounts of their visits to the nearby temple site. For instance, Elso Sterrenberg reporting that the statues he saw there in 1744 were made of metal (instead of stone). Governor-General Gustaaf van Imhoff's account of his brief visit in 1746 also hardly offers any useful information. What can be deduced from his report are the relatively short distance between the marketplace and the Prambanan temple ruins, and the accessibility of three of the four chambers of the main temple. But the inspection of these chambers remained superficial. He merely repeated Sterrenberg's opinion that the (as yet unidentified) statue of Durgā Mahiṣāsuramardini was made of metal (van Imhoff 1853:407; Krom 1923a, I: 4). Although I have consulted several VOC reports by Sterrenberg in the Dutch National Archives, I did not yet succeed in tracking down the account of his visit to Candi Prambanan.

5 This oversight is understandable given that H.D.H. Bosboom was not an academic, but a retired Lieutenant-Colonel in the colonial Dutch Indies army and former Head of the Topographical Service. It was only after his retirement and return to Holland that Bosboom could pursue his personal interest in certain historical subjects (see van Gent 1929).

6 For further details on Reimer's remarkable career and work, see Bosboom (1902:581), Stibbe (1919:580), Zandvliet (1987), and van Gerven (2002). De Loos-Haaxman (1941:146) and Lunsingh Scheurleer (2007:75) mention only Reimer's role as a scenic painter, with de Loos-Haaxman suspecting that he was better educated than most soldiers of his days. Heeren (1951:674) calls Reimer a German fortress expert and

Reimer's excursion to Prambanan took place in 1791 within the framework of the official visit of the Military Commission to the Dutch fortresses in central Java and to the royal courts in Surakarta and Jogjakarta. Phrased in the third person plural ('they', 'the gentlemen'), Reimer's report on his visit to Prambanan bears witness to his technical background and South Indian experiences.

On the 29th September [1791] in the afternoon the gentlemen left Solo, arriving in Prambanan at about eight o'clock in the evening. The following day, at daybreak, they saw the main parts of the famous remains of the ancient court of the Brahmanical rulers and priesthood in Java. The party left on horseback to have a closer look at these remains. The first site appeared to consist of [1] a surprisingly large group of partly damaged buildings, occupying a large square area, [2] forming one whole or one large temple. The whole comprised [3] two perimeters (*omtrekken*); the outer area [4] being surrounded by a moderately high wall and containing [5] many small chapels close to each other and connected with the [surrounding] wall. [6] Stately gates were found in the middle of each side [of the wall]; [7] on either side [of the gates] were giant-like statues, hewn from one [block of] stone, facing each other, kneeling on one knee, their bodies being coarse and fat in proportions; having curled head hair, a cruel countenance and fangs protruding from the mouth; carrying a club in one hand, and a snake in the other; having a cord over their shoulders indicating their Brahmanic background, and wearing a cloth in a similar way as do the inhabitants of the coastal areas of Malabar and Coromandel. The second perimeter [8] was enclosed by much higher walls and contains larger buildings, [9] forming the real or main temple; [10] which in the middle was adorned with a pyramidal roof, the top of which was largely in ruins. All these buildings were made of well-chiselled stones; it is not possible to say whether chalk or cement had been used in the construction, or clamping bolts of lead or iron. The execution was done in a way fully consonant with the fashion of the peoples inhabiting the coast of Coromandel and the northern part of Ceylon. Decorations, cornices, and so forth: [11] the statues of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, the goddess Pārvatī, and so forth, are executed exactly in the same shape and with the same attributes as shown and venerated to this day in the earlier mentioned island [...]. A little further to the West, on either side of the main road, one finds two other splendid buildings [12], displaying the same workmanship as in the large temple [discussed above], but consisting of one main building each. Allegedly, in the nearby range of high hills stood the palace of the kings of old [13], the remains of which can still be seen.

Summarizing:

rightly lists him among the forgotten pioneers of Indonesian archaeology—along with C.A. Lons and F. van Boeckholtz, amongst others. According to van Gerven (2002:37), Reimer very likely had a technical background, but as a foreigner—a German from Königsberg, in eastern Prussia—in line with the VOC's recruitment policy, he enlisted as a common soldier. Evidently, Reimer made the most of his education and of his artistic talents, but also of his personal relationship with some of his superiors, especially Governor-General G.W. Alting.

In van Gelder's (1997) treatise on German nationals in the service of the VOC it is claimed that of the nearly one million persons involved during the period 1602–1795, about half were foreigners, among whom Germans formed by far the largest group. Van Gelder criticizes the persistent belief that most of these foreign nationals were poor and uneducated soldiers of fortune (1997:12–4). Reimer's case, not mentioned by van Gelder, could have supported the latter's view.

1. The large group of ruined buildings covered a vast square area
2. The ruins seemed to form one whole or one large temple [complex]
3. Two separate areas or perimeters were distinguished
4. The other area being formed [=enclosed] by a wall of moderate height
5. Inside [i.e. the outer area] were found many small temples
6. In the middle of the sides of the [surrounding] wall were stately gateways
7. Large gatekeeper statues, carved in the round, stood on either side of the gates
8. The other perimeter was enclosed by a much higher wall and containing several larger buildings
9. The larger buildings formed the real or main temple
10. The main temple building had a pyramidal-shaped roof
11. Some statues and their Hindu religious background were identified
12. Further to the West, two other temple structures were found along the main road
13. Oral tradition about the ruins of a former palace on a nearby range of hills

Several years later, probably in 1795, Reimer drafted another account of his trip to Prambanan. The two accounts and many of his other notices somehow ended up among the papers of the Governor-General Mr. Willem Arnold Alting, only to be discovered in 1900 after Alting's papers were donated to the Dutch National Archives in The Hague (see Bosboom 1902:581, 589). Considering the slightly different perspective and a few notable omissions and mistakes,⁷ I believe that Reimer's second account was recorded from memory, without recourse to the first report. Although the second account obviously shows many overlaps with the first, it also offers some interesting new details. But the overlaps, too, are extremely valuable because the observations are somewhat differently worded and thus can be profitably used for internal comparison and for verification of the earlier readings by Bosboom. Reimer's second account runs as follows:

The little we were able to see during our hasty visit mainly consists herein:

[1, 2 & 4] that the large building as a whole [complex] covers a spacious long square, surrounded by a moderately high wall, inside which [4 & 5] various small temples or chapels were built. [These] were distributed at equal distance from each other, having their entrances inside [= facing inwards] and arched cupolas rising above the said wall. [The cupolas] are all pyramidal just as most Indian, Javanese or so-called gothic vaults or arches.⁸ [3 & 8] Inside these chapels several, usually damaged, stone statues of vari-

7 Possibly these mistakes and omissions were partly due to the illness that befell Reimer in 1795 and caused his death in January 1796. Bosboom (1902:590, fn. 1) said he felt emotionally affected to see Reimer's formerly neat handwriting suddenly turning feeble and ugly in his last letter. Van Gerven (2002:54) suggests that this letter, dated 16 January 1796, was written in another hand and that Reimer had dictated it. Whatever was the case, the connection with Reimer's faltering health remains the same.

8 According to Bosboom (1902:586, fn. 2), the expression 'so-called gothic arches' should be understood in a derogative sense, reflecting gothic architecture's falling out of favour during the 18th century. In my opinion, a similar current opinion may have inspired Reimer's association of the gatekeepers' curly hair with their alleged 'Egyptian' ancestry; an idea that he may have picked up from *Asiatick Researches*, a journal which he refers to in some of his other notices. The third volume of the journal he refers to has a long

ous idols could still be seen. Within this surrounding wall but wholly separated from it, one finds at least one large, and rather wide and elevated building, if not a few less grand temples, which for want of time we could not inspect, but which are also difficult to climb because of the great mounds of loose stones surrounding them.

[3, 5, 6 & 7] The aforementioned outer surrounding wall has wide entrances in the middle of each side. On the outside of two or three [entrances] are placed two giant statues kneeling on one knee, armed with snakes and clubs; curly hair, presumably the result of their Egyptian ancestry, broad and round faces, and big wide eyes and with fangs protruding from their mouths. (I also believe, but not for certain, that these statues had been provided with the brahmanical cord). Among the heathens of Hindustan [=India] and even among the Singalese, it was very common to adorn the entrances of their temples with similar frightening statues. Common people generally called these statues goblins, giants or magicians, but according to the ancient and fabulous history of Brahmins they should really be regarded as protectors of these sacred places. These giant statues were apparently made from a common variety of grey granite. Although of more than average life-size, usually fat, with heavy limbs, each was hewn from one piece [of stone]. The other objects from this building [complex] were made out of stones carved from dark grey solid lava, which one finds everywhere in the mountains; large and small fragments are mainly found in river beds and tributaries. These [stones] were mostly used in the arches of the surrounding wall and largely without chalk or cement, while the stones of the vertical walls were fitted together by dovetails only. Although it may be surmised from several crevices and holes that at least a part had been held together with iron joints that eroded in the course of time. Vaults consist of stones chiselled in the ordinary way in order to close the arches.

After elaborating on the growth of roots and plants in joints, Reimer continues:

Because of this [process] the shape of the upper parts of the main temple is almost impossible to guess. Even though it is clear that [the temple] formerly was much higher than it is today, we cannot say with certainty whether [9] the pyramidal roof was exactly built in the same fashion as the majority of the temples along the Coromandel Coast or differently, in a special style. A closer examination of the shape of the fallen stones as well as of the mouldings and ornamentation [10] could help to clarify this matter. The building style of the lower levels of this temple structure, which seem to have been coated with chalk, is exactly similar to those found along the afore-mentioned coast; the same holds for several broken stones with inscriptions in the Tamil language that lay scattered about. Their contents might help to clarify the completely unknown times or historical data in Javanese history, if someone with the necessary skills would have the opportunity to investigate and describe this very interesting area and the antiquities built thereon and copy [= translate] the [said] inscriptions.

Reimer mentions that this investigation has so far not been begun, and continues with the following information:

essay on Egypt and Ethiopia as represented in the ancient books of the Hindus. This essay was commented upon by Sir William Jones, who himself contributed two separate essays to said volume, one entitled 'On the borderers, mountaineers and islanders of Asia', the other 'The origin and families of nations'.

[12] Several hundred strides (*schreeden*) away from this large temple [complex] one finds two other temples on either side of the main road that appear to stand on their own; the lower storey or perhaps storeys are largely intact; for reasons already stated, the pyramidal roofs are damaged and partly collapsed.

Next, Reimer states that the temples were held in veneration in spite of the people's adherence to Islam, and continues:

[13] Not far away from these temples is a hill of moderate height, extending itself over a terrain of flat fields, which is now covered with thickets and trees. The people assured me that the rulers who once held sway over the area had their palace built on this [hill]. The remains [of this palace] and many more temples, buildings, water conduits, and other interesting remnants can still be found [there].

Again summarizing, on the basis of enumerated details that match those of the first summary:

1, 2 & 4. 'The large building as a whole' = an ensemble covering a large square area enclosed by a moderately high wall.

4 & 5. Inside [this area] are found various small temples distributed at equal distances from each other and having their entrances on the inner side [= facing the centre] with pyramidal roofs rising above the said wall. Some of these temples or chapels contained stone statues of divinities that were mostly damaged.

3 & 8. 'Inside the surrounding wall [but] wholly separated from it' is found at least one large, meaning broad and tall, building and perhaps several temples less tall, which because of time constraints could not be closely examined; apart from the fact that they [= the buildings] were difficult to climb because of the great mounds of loose stones surrounding them.

3, 5, 6 & 7. 'The above-mentioned exterior wall has gateways in each of the sides' and 'outside two or three [of these entrances] are found two giant statues, kneeling, etc.' The description of the giant statues reminds one of the lost *dvārapālas* as Reimer explicitly mentions their fearsome and protective function. But while the erstwhile presence of the temple-guardian statues is thus reconfirmed in Reimer's second account, it is difficult to say what their actual total number was. Assuming that the first account is about gateways on each of the four sides there would have been eight in total (as in Lons' report), whereas in his second account Reimer refers to two or three entrances each having a pair of temple guardians, so either four or six. Presumably, he had overlooked the entrance facing the Opak River, if that entrance still existed at the time and was not washed away by the encroaching river. In my opinion, Reimer's reference to an exterior wall implies an interior wall of a nature not explicitly described in the second report, except that it enclosed an area containing great heaps of stones and tall temple structures.

9. Pyramidal character of the main temple is compared to Indian temples found along the south-eastern coast of the Indian Subcontinent.

10. Rather terse description of the outer decoration of the main temples. The lower part of these structures seemed to have been plastered with chalk. While Reimer did not again

mention the statues of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Pārvatī, an evident lapse of his memory, he now did recall having seen several scattered broken stones bearing inscriptions, allegedly in Tamil language. He advocated their further inspection for the reconstruction of Java's distant past.

12. Another lapse of memory may play a part in Reimer's observation with respect to the two temples he passed after visiting Loro Jonggrang. Whereas in the first report they were located 'a little further to the West, on either side of the main road', he now estimates their distance from Loro Jonggrang at 'a few hundred strides (*schreeden*)'.

13. Nearby was a range of moderately high hills now covered with dense vegetation and trees, but said to be the location of a former palace and of the ruins of other temples, buildings, and water conduits.

In his brief discussion of Reimer's report, Bosboom admits that he was not absolutely sure whether the description relates to Prambanan proper or to Candi Sewu. Two current beliefs were bothering him in this matter, first that the name 'Brambanan(g)' and Prambanan had occasionally also been applied to Candi Sewu, and second that the greater parts of the ruins of Prambanan proper, Loro Jonggrang, had lain buried in the past. Nevertheless, Bosboom thought it more likely that Reimer had visited Candi Prambanan rather than Sewu, because he simply could not have missed seeing the ruins of the Prambanan temple complex when travelling from Solo to Prambanan along the main road, whereas those at Candi Sewu cannot be sighted from the main road.⁹ Although the statement that 'the party left on horseback to have a closer look at these remains' could suggest that the ruins were not close to the main road, the fact that 'the main parts of the famous remains' were detected right at daybreak made Bosboom opt for Prambanan proper. Reimer's party almost certainly had spent the night in the guesthouse (*pasanggrahan*) attached to the Prambanan tollgate (*bandar*), located near the main road, on the southern side and directly opposite the Prambanan temple complex [see Fig. 1]. In January 1812, Colin Mackenzie also visited the temple site on foot at daybreak while waiting for the breakfast that was being prepared by the Chinese tollgatekeeper.¹⁰

In support of his identification Bosboom cites Reimer's other statement that 'a little further to the West, on either side of the main road, one finds two other splendid buildings, displaying the same workmanship as in the large temple [complex of Prambanan], but consisting of one main building each', which he identified as Candi Sari and Candi Kalasan. This, he argued, would allow for the conclusion that Reimer had indeed visited Prambanan proper and not Candi Sewu, which lies at a distance of about a quarter of an hour away off the main road. This argument, however, becomes somewhat problematic when we take account of Reimer's second report in which the distance from Loro Jonggrang to the two buildings in question is estimated at a 'few hundred strides', which

9 If the Sewu temples were visible at all, we may add. From contemporary reports by N. Engelhard and H.C. Cornelius, we know that the temples in the Prambanan area were covered by lush vegetation hiding them from view (see the main text).

10 Mackenzie 1814:1. As Peter Carey observed, 'the early morning visit (after staying in the house of the local Bandar) was de rigueur for visiting dignitaries' (personal communication 10/1/2011). Governors-General van Imhoff and Daendels were among Dutch dignitaries adhering to the same practice.

cannot be reconciled with the actual distance from the Prambanan temple complex to Candi Sari and Candi Kalasan, which is nearly 2.6 kilometres.¹¹ So either Reimer's later statement is incorrect (presumably due to a lapse of memory)¹² or the distance concerns two other temple structures nearby, now lost.

In closing his analysis, Bosboom says he wants to leave to experts the actual investigation of the temple ruins and the determination of the system of temples, walls and gates, but calls their special attention to statements that he 'deemed were not devoid of importance', namely that the exterior wall surrounding the complex was of moderate height and that each side had 'stately gateways', whereas the inner enclosure with the larger temple buildings was surrounded by a much higher wall.

The next year, following a hint from R.D.M. Verbeek,¹³ who had pointed to Lons' earlier report on Prambanan, Bosboom published a short notice on the temple-guardian statues of Prambanan. What interested him in particular was the unresolved question of whether 'the eight giant statues' described by Lons were part of the Prambanan temple complex or of Candi Sewu. As Bosboom observes, the answer to this question depends largely on the interpretation of the sentence immediately following Lons' description of the main temple of Candi Prambanan and the natural overgrowth that prevented inspection of the last temple chamber. The sentence in question reads as follows:

Next we inspected various small chapels indistinguishable in shape, appearance, and size, similar as that which is found in Salatiga; also eight huge statues... etc. (*Nog bezagen wij diverse capelletjes zonder onderscheijde van gedaante, fatsoen en groote als hetgeene dat op Salatiga gevonden wert, ook 8 seer grote beelden... etc.*).

Although Leemans did not explicitly offer a gloss of the opening word himself, it is clear that he interpreted the word *nog* to mean 'next' in the sense of 'subsequently' or 'thereafter', when he said that after inspecting Loro Jonggrang's main chambers, Lons must have visited the subsidiary shrines of another temple group, presumably those of Candi Sewu

11 The distance between Prambanan and Sewu is 917.4 metres and that between Prambanan and Lum-bung 478.8 metres. I wish to thank Mark Long for drawing my attention to the distance problem and for providing me with his calculations of the exact distances on the basis of the online program <http://movable-type.co.uk/scripts/latlong.html> (accessed 8/3/2013).

12 Checking the original manuscript in the Dutch National Archives, I could not find any flaws in Bosboom's transcription of Reimer's text in Old Dutch. Although expressing the distance in *schreeden* ('strides') is unmistakable, I believe that Reimer intended using another unit of measurement, namely *roede*. The so-called *Rijnlandsche roede*, which is the equivalent of 3.76 metres, was the most common Dutch measure for distances on land in the East Indies (another current measure being *paal*, which is about 1500 metres). This is borne out by Reimer's other texts and plans, and contemporary cartographic drawings of the Prambanan area by H.C. Cornelius and his associates reproduced in this paper as Fig. 2 (see Knaap 2007:394). Ironically, this survey map shows how easy it is to make simple mistakes, even for professional cartographers in their own field of expertise: the legend says that the Prambanan temples are located to the west of the River Opak, whereas they are actually located to the east of this river. Another error, already mentioned, is the mixing up of the territorial assignments; 'the land of the Keyzer' actually is that of the Sultan and vice versa.

13 R.D.M. Verbeek was the author of the first reference book on Javanese antiquities, listing the major remains from Hindu-Buddhist times along with an archaeological map (Verbeek 1891; see also Krom 1923a, I:27).

(see Leemans 1885:13). If this reading is correct, it follows that the statues of the temple guardians did not belong to Candi Prambanan.

Deploing the uncertainties in the reports of both Lons and Reimer regarding the sites visited by them, Bosboom, for his part, did not want to exclude the possibility that Lons' visit had gone beyond the Prambanan temple complex. Nevertheless, he thought it 'very likely' that Candi Prambanan once also had its own temple guardians, claiming that this could be inferred from the reports of both Reimer and Lons (Bosboom 1903:282).

In my opinion, Bosboom was too quick in conceding the possibility that Lons' visit extended beyond Prambanan proper. My reading of the original report and the sentence just quoted is that Lons had first visited the central courtyard and thereafter returned to the outer courtyard for a closer inspection of the subsidiary temples located there. It may be recalled that Lons, after seeing the statues of Durgā and Gaṇeśa in their respective chambers in the main temple building, reports to have been unable to inspect the other temple chambers because of their ruined condition and coverage with trees and dense vegetation (designated as *bos*, meaning 'wood' or 'forest'). This statement is immediately followed by the sentence *Nog bezagen wij diverse capelletjes... etc.*, in which the inconspicuous word *nog* should have been interpreted as referring to something taking place 'there and then', directly or at the same present moment.¹⁴ Hence, my alternative reading of the sentence as: 'Furthermore, we inspected various small chapels... etc.', or simply as: 'We also inspected various small chapels... etc.' Clearly, in this alternative reading the temporal and physical transitions receive far less emphasis than in Leemans' reading of the sentence for which there is no justification.¹⁵ My reading is thus not only less forced, but it also helps to solve the puzzle that confused Leemans, namely why Lons had not left us a description of Candi Sewu's main temple building. Indeed, it is doubtful that he had seen anything of the latter complex, because if he had he must have passed Candi Lumbung first (also according to Leemans' information, see page 4). Candi Lumbung comprises

14 The Dutch word *nog* has various synonyms such as *voorts*, *verder*, *ook*, *bovendien* ('next, additionally, also, furthermore'), but Leemans's implicit reading of the word as 'subsequently' is not self-evident. In a compendium of historical dictionaries of the Dutch language, the word *nog* is defined as follows: 'at the present moment or at a moment conceived as such' (*als op het tegenwoordig of op een als tegenwoordig gedacht oogenblik*; see <http://gtb.inl.nl>; accessed 26/12/2012). My interpretation of something taking place 'then and there', on the same temple site, accords better with the definition's emphasis on the present tense than Leemans' 'subsequently', which refers to a happening at later moment and at a different temple site besides. The latter would have been worded in Dutch as *vervolgens* ('subsequently' or 'thereupon') or *daarna* ('after that'). Bosch (1938:5) glossed *nog* as *voorts*, but also in the sense of 'thereupon' or 'after that'. Thanks are due to Dr Leendert de Vink, a Dutch historical linguist, for directing me to the website of the Integrated Language Desk (GTB, *Geïntegreerde Taal Bank*) of the Instituut voor Nederlandse Lexicologie.

15 Aside from this, Leemans does not explain how Lons would have bridged the distance from Loro Jonggrang to Candi Sewu. Most eighteenth-century visitors to the Central Javanese court(s) were envoys or ambassadors who travelled in carriages and made regular stops on the way such as at the tollgate annex guesthouse at Prambanan. Those few who visited the temples usually crossed the road on foot (e.g. Roth-enbühler) or in a palanquin (e.g. Mackenzie). What Lons exactly did is not reported in his diary. However, from two earlier sentences—not quoted or discussed by Leemans—it becomes apparent that Lons and his companions had stopped at the tollgate of Prambanan immediately before their visit to the temple ruins. Given that Lons expressed his satisfaction over the way they were received by the servant of the absent Chinese tollgate farmer, it is quite possible that the party had dismounted and left their horses in the care of the said servant. They would have crossed the road to Loro Jonggrang on foot or in palanquins. Consequently, what had happened 'next' becomes much less evident than Leemans wants us to believe.

one main temple building and a total number of sixteen subsidiary shrines, and until the mid-nineteenth century endowed with two giant guardian statues. However, on the intermediate temple complex Lons reported nothing at all.

Another disputable element of Leemans' interpretation is his wish to link the 'various small chapels' with Sewu rather than with Candi Prambanan in spite of the fact that Lons himself referred to 'no less than 70 chapels' in the very first sentence devoted to that temple complex, leaving no doubt that they belong to the Loro Jonggrang group.¹⁶ While Leemans, in line with Brumund's findings of 1853, later seems willing to accept the possibility that the layout of Candi Prambanan was modelled on Candi Sewu's plan, he nevertheless boldly declares that the total number of subsidiary shrines in the latter complex was greater—basing himself on the small and varying numbers (ranging from two to twelve) mentioned in the early nineteenth-century reports on Prambanan by Cornelius, Raffles, Brumund and Valck. We now know that the total number of subsidiary shrines in the second perimeter far exceeds the 70 reported by Lons, and probably amounts to 224. It seems to me that Leemans needed a greater number of subsidiary shrines at Candi Sewu precisely for the purpose of linking up with the eight giant statues of temple guardians still found at this temple site, because at the time of his writing the kneeling *dvārapālās* at Candi Prambanan (and at Candi Lumbung) had already been removed from the site. Still, it is of interest to note that at the end of his article Leemans himself, on the basis of similarities he perceived in the design and execution of the two temple complexes, ventures to suggest that Candi Prambanan, just as Candi Sewu, had its kneeling temple-guardian statues near the entrances.¹⁷

Lons' description of the Prambanan temple site is obviously much poorer and less systematic than Reimer's. While most of the enumerated details in the summaries of Reimer's accounts fit Candi Prambanan and Candi Sewu alike, two important features correspond with Candi Prambanan only: an inner courtyard enclosed by a high wall and containing several large buildings, and the Hindu religious background of the statues. Thanks to his systematic description, Reimer's movements from the outer into the inner area of Candi Prambanan can be reconstructed with a fair degree of accuracy. In my opinion, he must have entered the complex from the side where the old road connecting Loro Jonggrang with Ratu Boko was located. This entrance was close to the marketplace, not far from the Opak River. Here he readily distinguished the two areas defined by separate walls. The outer area had a moderately low wall and many small temples. Considering that the latter most likely means rows of collapsed subsidiary temples (*candi perwara*), it is understandable that they were thought to run into or connect with the surrounding wall. Giant statues were found on either side of impressive gates in the middle section of the first wall. Undoubtedly, they should be identified as the kneeling *dvārapālās* that are the subject of this paper. After inspection of the outer area, Reimer must have penetrated further into the Loro Jonggrang temple complex. Probably, in view of his reference to the high wall and a number of large buildings found there, he went as far as the inner or central courtyard (representing the 'second' perimeter). The innermost wall surrounding

16 Krom (1923a, I:3) arrived at the same conclusion.

17 In English translation, the relevant sentence reads: 'If statues of kneeling giants or temple guardians such as those of Candi Sewu were added to all this at the entrances, one would get a fairly complete idea of the plan of the temple group [of Candi Prambanan]' (Leemans 1855:25).

the central courtyard certainly can rightly be described as high and strong.¹⁸ Candi Sewu, on the other hand, has a low and rather thin inner wall surrounding one temple building only, the central shrine of the complex. That Reimer had visited Candi Prambanan rather than Candi Sewu finds strong support in the reported presence of statues of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Pārvatī. Given his frequent comparisons with the situation he knew first-hand from his long stay in southern India and Sri Lanka, it would be wrong to assume that he might have been mistaken in his identification of these statues. Indeed, Reimer himself states that he does not doubt the statues' Brahmanic religious background.

Reimer's second account is even more precise on his movements at the Prambanan temple site: mentally entering from the outer area and going as far as the central courtyard and then returning to the outer area. The latter part of the account is consonant with Lons' description of the small chapels that were identical in size and form. What remains to be resolved is the problem of their resemblance to either 'that' [building] or 'those' [buildings] found in Salatiga. Leemans opted for the latter reading (viz. 'similar to those') because he presumed the resemblance to relate to the Śaiva temples of Gedong Songo on Mount Ungaran near Salatiga. This interpretation, however, is untenable as Lons' comparison is with a single temple structure (*als hetgeene dat*, i.e. 'as that which'), not with an ensemble of different temples. Besides, the Gedong Songo temples on Mount Ungaran were not yet known to the Dutch.¹⁹ Krom (1923a, I:4) suggests that it concerned a temple near Salatiga itself, known among VOC officials as 'Tjandi'. Many years later, De Graaf (1958) had this 'Tjandi' connected with a temple located on a river island near Salatiga. In the mid-eighteenth century this temple was torn down by the VOC to supply the stones for the construction of a Dutch fortress, itself no longer in existence. The only surviving descriptive element relating to the lost temple's architecture is the designation 'a lofty building' (*een verheven gebouw*). Leemans' misguided translation aside, the striking resemblance he perceived between the plan and form of the Gedong Songo temples with those of the subsidiary temples of Candi Sewu applies as much, if not more so, to those of Candi Prambanan. The subsidiary temples (*candi perwara*) of Candi Prambanan have steep pyramidal-shaped roofs whereas those of Candi Sewu are somewhat lower and wider and are topped with large bell-shaped finials, resembling stūpas.²⁰

18 This wall, several metres high, is almost two metres thick, which, according to Krom, made it wide enough not only for a balustrade, but also for a passageway around the terrace. *Rampart* was the word used for it by Scheltema (1912:80). As Bosboom recognized, the walls in particular are crucial for deciding which of the two temple complexes is described in Reimer's report, Prambanan or Sewu. Leemans (1855:25) mentions several early visitors who commented on the walls and their function in the overall plan of the Prambanan temple complex. Brumund, for instance, suggested that the subsidiary temples at Prambanan were once enclosed by one or more surrounding walls (1853:54). This idea accords with the report by Valck (1840:180), who discerned the remnants of three surrounding walls. The latter also mentions three large and solid gates giving access to the complex, alluding to the possibility that the gates were once adorned with sculpted reliefs, as were the temples. Earlier, Mackenzie had distinguished 'two stone walls in squares, inclosing the whole and each other' (1814:7).

19 The discovery of the Gedong Songo temples is credited to G.A. Loten, in 1740. The first brief reference is by Raffles. See Krom 1923, I:219, 224.

20 From Reimer's report it can be inferred that in the second half of the eighteenth century not all of Candi Prambanan's subsidiary temples had collapsed. Raffles' *History of Java*, 1817, vol. 2, opposite p. 16, shows a reproduction of Cornelius' drawing of one of these subsidiary temples. Had Leemans compared that drawing with the ruins of the Śaiva shrines of Gedong Songo on Mount Ungaran, he would have

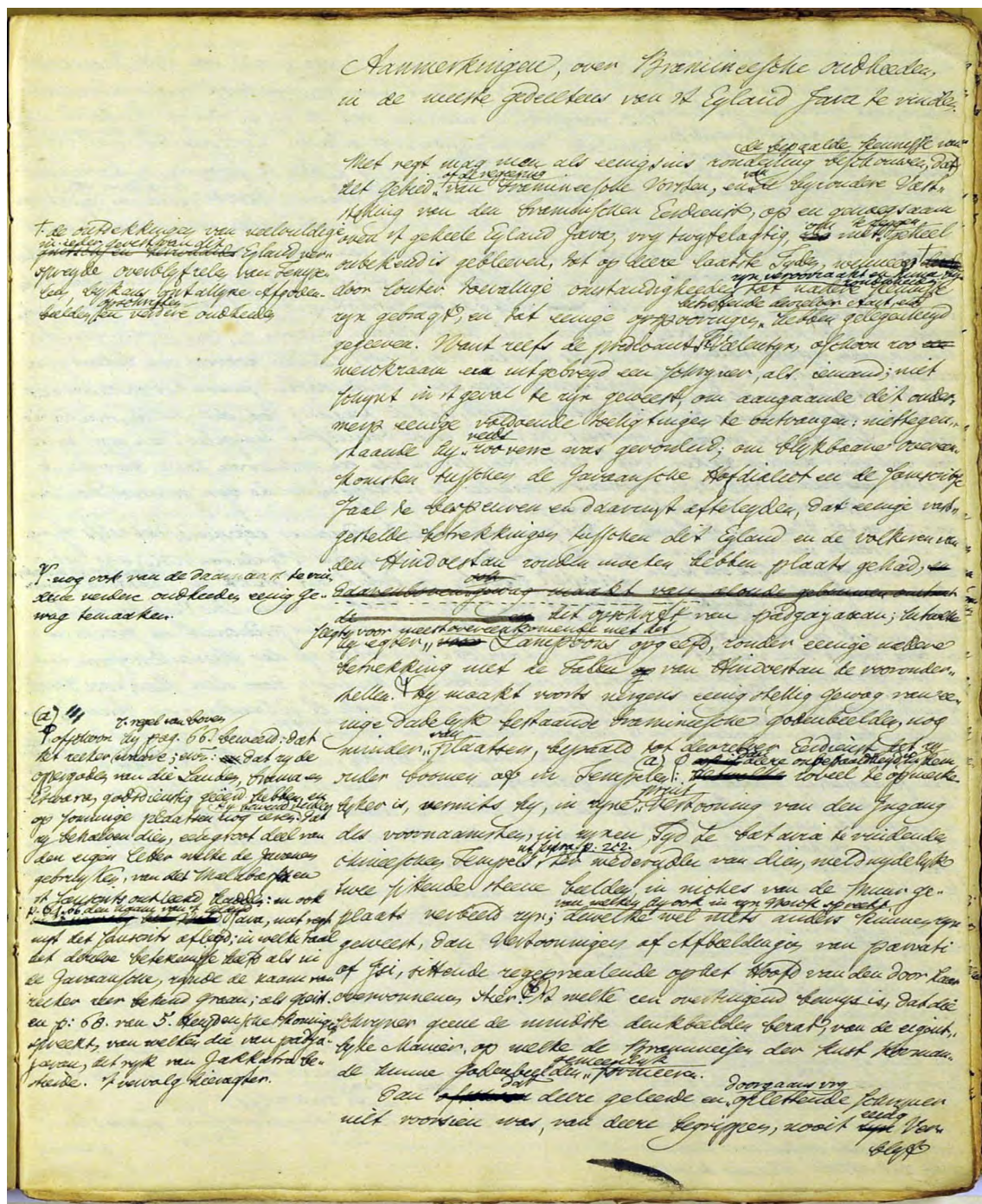


Fig. 3: Digital scan of the front page of C.F. Reimer's treatise on Brahmin antiquities in the island of Java.

Nationaal Archief, inventarisnummer 1.10.03, bestanddeel 77.

detected as many resemblances as he found to the subsidiary temples of Candi Sewu. Presumably he refrained from doing so precisely because of the presence of temple guardian statues at Candi Sewu and their absence at Candi Prambanan.

The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that the kneeling *dvārapālas* independently described by Reimer and Lons were part of Prambanan proper. Considering that the reports by both VOC employees only detail Candi Prambanan and do not yield any information on the neighbouring temple complexes, those reports do not allow for inferences about *dvārapālas* at Candi Sewu. Although their long-time presence at this Buddhist temple site need not be doubted, this can only be demonstrated on the basis of much more recent reports—Cornelius' 1805 survey map [Fig. 2] being the earliest testimony to date.²¹

More indirect evidence on the erstwhile presence of gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan will be provided below, in the context of discussing their disappearance from the archaeological record, if indeed they were entered in this record at all.

THE PRAMBANAN DVĀRAPĀLAS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL LITERATURE

One of the major, if not decisive reasons why the existence of gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan was never seriously contemplated, is N.J. Krom's (1923a) unsatisfactory handling of the documentary evidence in his now classical study *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche kunst*.²² In his overview of the preceding archaeological and art-historical research, Krom presents a rather negative picture of the interest among early travellers in the antiquities of Java, adding apologetically that the promotion of such interest was not really compatible with what he called 'the system' of the United East Indies Company (VOC), meaning the commercial objectives and policy of this trading company. True, he says, perhaps there were exceptions, but no evidence of this came down to us in reports from almost two centuries since the founding of the Company.²³

21 Nicolaus Engelhard may have been the first European to explore the temple complex of Candi Sewu, in 1802, but this depends on the acceptance of Krom's two corrections regarding the cardinal directions in Engelhard's defective retrospective account (see footnote 37, below). In my opinion, this is one correction too many and, consequently, we cannot exclude the possibility that the two gatekeeper statues Engelhard reports to have seen at the four entrances actually were those of Loro Jonggrang. The brief description of his visit to the temples of Kalasan, Sari and Prambanan was part of Engelhard's answers to a questionnaire that Mackenzie had sent him, presumably in 1811. The questionnaire and Engelhard's letter is preserved in the Dutch National Archives in The Hague (catalogued, respectively, as 2.21.004.19, bestanddeel no. 272, and 2.21.004.21 bestanddeel no. 165).

22 In the first chapter Krom gives an overview of the preceding art-historical research. No earlier appraisal of Reimer's report is known to me, except for J.L.A. Brandes' brief comments in a personal letter to H.D.H. Bosboom (dated 22/10/1902), written in reply to the receipt of an off-print of the author's first article (H-1720, KITLV Collectie J.L.A. Brandes, Copieboek IIIa, p.3). In Brandes' opinion, Reimer's report should be connected with Candi Sewu rather than with Candi Prambanan, mistakenly stating that the latter temple complex lacked the gates and squares mentioned by Reimer. Using the temple-guardian statues as distinguishing feature, it seemed to him that Reimer must have confused elements of Candi Sewu with some of Candi Prambanan's. Nevertheless, Brandes announced that he would consider this question anew on his next visit to Prambanan. Regrettably, his premature death in 1905 prevented further discussion and possible reconsideration of this matter.

23 It is doubtful whether Krom's survey of the extant VOC reports in Dutch archives was adequate to support this disheartening claim, but replication of Krom's just mentioned research goes beyond the scope of the present paper. So as to show that the Company's objectives and policy were not necessarily incompatible with VOC officials' acquisition of ethnographic and naturalist knowledge, in India, the In-

As was already noted, the first extant report on Candi Prambanan known to twentieth-century historians is that of C.A. Lons from 1733. ‘This being the oldest report it also was one of the most elaborate’, alleges Krom (1923a, I:4). However, while the report moderately details the overall itinerary in central Java, its description of Prambanan is less comprehensive —as we saw in the previous comparison of Lons’ report with Reimer’s.²⁴

Oddly enough, the name Reimer hardly figures in Krom’s historical overview. In one place only is Reimer listed among the few persons in the late-eighteenth century leaving us ‘short notices in the field of archaeology’, along with J.G. Loten in 1740, A. van Rijck in 1785, and F. van Boeckholtz in 1790.²⁵ The years given for Reimer’s alleged short notices by Krom are 1788, 1791 and 1795, but except for the year 1788 these documents are actually part of one and the same extensive collection of notices and papers by Reimer that entered the Dutch National Archives in 1900, from the estate of W.A. Alting, former VOC Governor General of the East Indies.²⁶ Whether Krom had actually seen what he had written

do-Malaysian archipelago and elsewhere, it may suffice to mention the names of Nicolaas Witsen, Philipus Baldeus, Abraham Rogerius, Rijklof van Goens, Georg Eberhard Rumphius, and François Valentijn.

As regards Java, Krom fails to consider the political context. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, the Dutch presence was mainly felt in the coastal areas. Excursions into the interior were largely confined to a few military expeditions and irregular ambassadorial visits (*hofreizen*) to the court of Mataram. These official visits, amounting to about sixty over the period 1614–1802, usually travelled the same route on the eastern sides of the mountains Ungaran, Merbabu and Merapi and were always accompanied by Javanese escorts, thus limiting independent observational opportunities for the Dutch envoys. Furthermore, VOC instructions emphasized the recording of ‘useful’ information such as on forestry, agricultural production, population density, dynastical relations. Within this context, the gathering of archaeological and art-historical information was not to be expected from envoys and therefore occurred only haphazardly (see de Wever 1996).

²⁴ Actually, Reimer also left a lengthy description of parts of Jogjakarta, such as the lost ‘Water Castle’ to which Bosboom (1902b) devoted a separate article in the journal of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (TBG).

²⁵ See Krom 1923a, I:5. Krom gives no precise references. J.G. Loten, the later Governor of Ceylon, but still a *fiscaal* in 1740, visited the temples of Gedong Songo on Mount Ungaran but is said to have left us no description. Adriaan van Rijck from 1772 held the position of commander at Pasuruan (de Haan 1935:506, fn. 1). His short notices are about the Tenggerese people living on Mount Bromo in eastern Java, not about archaeology as such (van Rijck 1785). A preliminary discussion of François van Boeckholtz and his brief, incomplete notices and their significance for central Javanese archaeology, is offered below (see footnotes 30 and 31).

Apparently, Krom did not know of F.J. Rothenbühler, a VOC official who in 1788 accompanied Jan Greeve, Governor of Java’s North-East Coast, on his first visit to the courts of Surakarta and Jogjakarta and left a short description of Prambanan. In 1879, Rothenbühler’s manuscript was donated to the Bataviaasch Genootschap but never published, largely because its secretary W.F. Groeneveldt deemed it ‘worthless’, alleging that Rothenbühler’s description of Prambanan hardly differed from ‘the present situation’, that is to say Groeneveldt’s, almost a century later. I have no idea of what has happened to the manuscript, a copy of which was circulated among the board members of the Batavian Society (see *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1879/9:51 and 84). Fortunately, what appears to be a summary of the party’s visit to Prambanan survived; it was included as an endnote in the publication of Rothenbühler’s report of another court visit in 1791, now in the company of Governor P.G. Overstraten (Rothenbühler 1882:357–359). This endnote shows that Groeneveldt had been wrong in his assessment and that Rothenbühler’s description of the ruins of Prambanan does refer to art-historical features that were no longer in evidence in Groeneveldt’s time (see the main text).

²⁶ C.F. Reimer’s papers in the Dutch National Archives in The Hague are kept in the so-called archive section (*archiefblok*) named ‘Collectie Alting’, which is subsumed under the entry code 1.10.03. Part (*be-*

in these notices is doubtful; his wording in a later reference to Reimer would suggest that this was not the case. The statement in question runs as follows: ‘There exists a letter from Reimer dating from 1788 concerning five drawings [of statues] made by van Boeckholtz. From this discussion, which seems to be fairly extensive, it may perhaps still be deduced what statues are meant’.²⁷ Almost certainly this information was obtained from C.O. Blagden with whom Krom had corresponded in connection with the description of van Boeckholtz’s notices in the Mackenzie Collection in the British Library. Blagden’s (1916:103) terse description reads as follows:

Batavia, 4 February 1788. Letter from C.F. Reimer to an unnamed clergyman discussing drawings made by Van Boekholtz²⁸ [...] of 5 images found in Java. The writer compares them with images he has observed on the Coromandel Coast and discusses them in considerable detail. [...] Pencilled notes and corrections have been added, apparently in Mackenzie’s hand.

Reimer’s diverse notices in the Dutch National Archives did not yield a copy of said letter, but it revealed the existence of an unfinished manuscript of about sixteen pages bearing the title *Aanmerkingen, over Bramineesche oudheden, in de meeste gedeelten van ’t Eyland Java te vinden* (‘Notes on Brahmin antiquities found in most parts of the island of Java’), probably dating from 1795. In this folio Reimer not only reflects on his previous visit to Prambanan, but also on what he had learned in the meantime of other archaeological remains in Java relating to the ancient kingdoms of Pajajaran and Majapahit. Amazingly, given his technical background and demanding job, Reimer in this essay also appears knowledgeable about recent developments in the field of ethnography and Sanskrit studies, referring to the pioneering work of scholars such as Carl Niebuhr, Sir William Jones, William Marsden, and even quoting from the third volume of the English journal *Asiatick Researches* published in Calcutta in 1792.²⁹ Reimer’s wide and up-to-date reading could explain his unease about the ignorance about Indian religions that he found among members of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, including the aforementioned unnamed clergyman, to be identified as Johannes Hooyman, a Lutheran minister who acted as sec-

standdeel) 76 comprises diverse notices originally designated as *Papieren van wijlen den Collonel Reimer, ’t 1ste deel*, while part 77 is designated as *Schriftuuren en papieren van den Collonel Reimer, het 2de deel*, (i.e. Part 2.). The latter includes the essay on Brahmin antiquities as well as the retrospective report of 1795 about his visit to Prambanan discussed in the present paper. The original report of 1791 is found among a diverse collection of notices, inventory number 87, designated as *Missiven van den ingenieur C.F. Reimer*. Additionally, there is a set of papers, inventory number 86, designated as *Verhandeling over gezondheidstoestand van Batavia*, comprising notices dealing with the health situation and waterworks in Batavia and environs.

27 See Krom 1923b:30. Personal inspection of said letter in the British Library (MSS. Eur Mack Priv 28:176–190) reveals that Reimer did not venture any specific identification of the gods and goddesses depicted in van Boeckholtz’s drawings, but his detailed descriptions enable me to propose the following tentative identifications—drawings nos 3 and 4 concern Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī (at Prambanan better known as Loro Jonggrang); no. 5 concerns Agastya; no. 2 Gaṇeśa.

28 In VOC reports the name is variously spelled as van Boeckholtz, Boeckholz, Boekhold, and Boeckholt(t) (see also footnote 31, below).

29 For further information on the work of C. Niebuhr and Sir William Jones, and on their contribution to the development of Ethnography and Ethnology as scientific fields of study, see Vermeulen 2008.

retary to the learned Society, and François van Boeckholtz.³⁰ On the basis of a superficial and incomplete legend of Loro Jonggrang (without the map) that had been found among Mackenzie's papers, Krom called van Boeckholtz 'the first surveyor of Prambanan'. But perhaps this title should now be shared with Reimer.³¹

Bosboom's review articles in *Bijdragen*, of Reimer's descriptions of ancient Javanese structures in and around Jogjakarta, must have escaped Krom's otherwise keen attention, as his bibliographic notes in his aforementioned study lacks any references to Bosboom's publications. On the other hand, Krom's earlier inventory of Hindu antiquities did include a reference to Bosboom's first article on Reimer's travel account in the annotated list of the general literature on Candi Prambanan.³² The brief remark accompanying this entry reads: 'Contains the diary by Carl Friedrich Reimer, who gives a description not of Candi Prambanan, as Bosboom believes, but of Candi Sewu'.³³ Thus, without proper

30 At the time, François van Boeckholtz was the VOC's Second Resident at Surakarta. Earlier as a Lieutenant he was stationed in Salatiga, where he started making drawings of Hindu antiquities 'although ignorant in archaeology' (de Haan 1935:503). These may have been the drawings that Reimer commented on in 1788. As chance would have it, van Boeckholtz as Second Resident of Surakarta, later would have to escort Reimer and the other members of the Military Commission from Semarang to south central Java and facilitate their official reception at Surakarta (see NA 1.10.03, Collection Alting, inventory number 87). It could not be established whether van Boeckholtz also escorted this company during the second stretch of their journey to Jogjakarta. On the border of the two Javanese realms, close to the Loro Jonggrang temple complex, the delegation was awaited by the First Resident of Jogjakarta, W.H. van IJsseldijk. Nor can we tell whether Reimer and van Boeckholtz met again on the Commission's return trip to Semarang. We may assume, however, that they would have had enough to talk about. Excerpts of various notices (but not on archaeology in a strict sense) by van Boeckholtz can be found in the early issues of the Proceedings of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (Boeckholtz 1814, 1816). He is the author of a comprehensive, if unfinished manuscript on the island of Java entitled *Beschrijving van het Eyland Groot Java* (KITLV holding DH457). A copy and an English translation as *Historical Account of the Island of Great Java* were prepared for Colin Mackenzie in 1814 (see MSS. Eur Mack Priv 16). Conceivably, van Boeckholtz's unpublished work inspired the studies by Raffles (1817) and Crawford (1820), in addition to William Marsden's *History of Sumatra* (1783) and other influences (see Bastin 2004:11, 31).

31 The decision on this question also depends on the identification of the draughtsman and the dating of thirteen drawings of Prambanan described in the catalogue of the fine-art gallery (Chong 1997), discussed in the main text. The catalogue informs that the drawings were attributed to François van Boeckholtz by Annabel Teh Gallop of the British Library. In this connection, I wish to remind the reader of the 25 plates that were once part of van Boeckholtz's unpublished manuscript *Beschrijving van het Eyland Groot Java*, but were said to have disappeared without a trace (Heeren 1951:675). Some of van Boeckholtz's drawings, originals and copies, ended up in the Mackenzie and the Raffles Collections, partly in the British Library and partly the British Museum. Comparison of the handwriting of the captions with the handwritings of van Boeckholtz, Engelhard, and Cornelius (or members of his team) respectively, could yield further clues as to the identity of the draughtsman of the catalogue drawings. My own comparisons lead me to support Gallop's suggestion that the handwriting in the caption of drawing no. 1 is that of van Boeckholtz.

32 The second part of this inventory actually was published in the *Reports of the Archaeological Service* by F.D.K. Bosch (R.O.D. 1915). Barely a few months earlier had he entered the Service as an assistant archaeologist, soon to become deputy head in connection with Krom's furlough in the Netherlands. Hence, it is more likely that the statement quoted was Krom's. If not, there is no doubt that it reflected his opinion and that of other colonial Dutch archaeologists working in Java (see, for instance, Bosch 1938:5).

33 R.O.D. 1915:57. Krom's dismissal is perplexing not so much for his rash association of the said gatekeeper statues with Candi Sewu's as his ignoring of Reimer's explicit reference, in his first travel account, to the statues of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Pārvatī, which is impossible to reconcile with an identification of the temple complex as Candi Sewu.

discussion and sound arguments, Bosboom's article was relegated to oblivion, as were the gatekeeper statues of Candi Prambanan.³⁴

Because of this offhand dismissal of Bosboom's reading of Reimer's travel accounts and also because he followed Leemans' flawed interpretation of Lons' report, Krom would help to perpetuate the rather exaggerated picture of the poor visibility and inaccessibility of significant architectural parts of the Loro Jonggrang temple complex. Highlighting the site's cover of fallen stones and dense overgrowth of thickets and trees, he too easily ignores the fact that in the eighteenth century many parts of the complex were still discernible and/or accessible such as three of the four temple chambers of the main temple, the rows of collapsed subsidiary temples, and the various walls dividing the complex into distinct perimeters or compounds. Perusal of other VOC reports could have made Krom change his mind about the conditions supposedly prevailing in the Loro Jonggrang temple complex during the eighteenth century.³⁵

In Krom's view there also was little room for statuary other than those IJzerman had excavated in Candi Prambanan's central courtyard. Accepting Leemans' interpretation of Lons' report, in his classic study he had associated the giant kneeling statues with Candi Sewu, merely because 'it was not difficult to recognize in them the temple guardians of Sewu' (Krom 1923a, I:3). In my alternative reading presented above, Lons' visit did not extend beyond Prambanan proper. If correct, this would imply that the eight temple-guardian statues he reported to have seen were those of Loro Jonggrang. Consequently, we owe the discovery by Europeans of the other set of eight temple guardians at Candi Sewu not to him, but to Nicolaus Engelhard or, more likely, to H.C. Cornelius.

Nicolaus Engelhard had visited the temples of Prambanan, Kalasan and Sari in 1802, when he was in Jogjakarta for an official visit as the new VOC Governor of Java's North-East Coast, stationed in Semarang.³⁶ To facilitate his inspection, Engelhard had some of the temple ruins cleared of trees and thickets, but his description of the temples

34 Because of his authority in the field, Krom's opinion about Reimer's description was never called into question. In van Heeren's (1951) review article about the 'forgotten pioneers of Indonesian archaeology', both Lons' and Reimer's descriptions of the 'conspicuous temple-guardians' were as a matter of course assumed to relate to those of Candi Sewu.

35 See, for instance, Johannes Siberg's official diary (*dagregister*) on his visit to the Jogjakarta court in 1781 (NA 2.21.004.19, inv. Nr. 169). The entry on 26 July refers to his brief visit to unnamed temples not far from Prambanan (presumably Candi Kalasan and Candi Sari) that were erected in pre-Islamic times, but were still visible in full state and even contained statues (*oude tempels met beeldwerk voorzien presumptief nog van de heidenen opgebouwd doch welke tempels nog in hunne volle postuur te vinden zijn*). Elsewhere, Krom himself had quoted Nicolaus Engelhard to the effect that during the latter's visit to Prambanan, in 1802, he 'found most of the temples there in very good condition' (see Krom 1919: 385–386, n. 5, 1920:439).

36 Nicolaus Engelhard, whose name is often misspelled as Nicolaas Engelhard(t), was both a nephew and a son-in-law of Governor-General W.A. Alting (see de Haan 1901). In the same year, 1802, Engelhard also visited eastern Java (NA, inventarisnummer 2.21.004.19, bestanddeel 196). During this overland journey he, among other things, visited Candi Singosari, near Malang, and made a drawing of the interior of the temple ruins of Macanputih, near Banyuwangi, on the eastern tip of Java (Nationaal Archief-MIKO III.G 1.11). Though Engelhard was an amateur draughtsman, the drawing in question is definitely better than the unsigned drawing of the temple-guardian statues near the ruins of an unnamed temple at Prambanan (see main text), which, following Gallop, I ascribe to van Boeckholtz. In 1805, Engelhard ordered H.J. Wardenaar, brother of the cartographer J.W.B. Wardenaar, to make drawings of other East Javanese temple ruins and landscapes (de Haan 1935:661; Nationaal Archief-MIKO III.G.1.1-G1.32). In 1815, the latter [J.W.B.]

he saw at Prambanan is, in my opinion, too defective to arrive—as Krom did—at their definite identification as belonging to Candi Sewu.³⁷ This much is certain, though, that on his return to his office he instructed Lieutenant H.C. Cornelius, who taught mathematics at the ‘Marine School’ in Semarang, to draw maps of Prambanan and environs.³⁸ Cornelius and his team of draughtsmen made the first extant cartographic map of the Prambanan area, dated to 1805 [Fig. 2], and a separate plan of Candi Sewu.³⁹ Some of these

Wardenaar, then in British service, made maps and drawings of Probolinggo and of Majapahit (de Haan 1935:662).

37 To render the identification of the temple complex as Candi Sewu plausible, Krom had to propose two corrections in the cardinal directions as specified by Engelhard, in which the presence of the gatekeeper statues at Candi Sewu plays a decisive role. To quote Krom (1920:445): ‘Although a mistake seems to have been made with respect to the cardinal directions—instead of “West” and “North” we need to read “North” and “East”—we can be sure which [temples] were meant. The one with the giants at the four entrances is Candi Sewu’. Additionally, Krom ventured the implausible supposition that Engelhard had not seen anything of Loro Jonggrang at all, and that this was the reason why the temple complex was not included in Cornelius’ cartographic assignment. In view of the report by Colin Mackenzie about the graffiti left behind by Dutch engineers at Loro Jonggrang (see main text), the latter claim is no longer tenable. Besides, the ‘Temple Tjandie Lorro Jonggrang’ is included in Cornelius’ plan of the Prambanan and Kalasan area in the Raffles Collection. This plan, with legend and other explanatory words in English, was dated to the year 1807 by Cornelius himself (British Museum 1939, 0311, 0.6.28). As is clear from this plan and from the earlier map reproduced in this essay (Fig. 2 above), Engelhard could not have visited Candi Sewu without taking the footpath that passed Loro Jonggrang and Asu.

38 The ‘Artillery and Marine School’ in Semarang (usually shortened to ‘Marine School’) was founded in 1785 by Johannes Siberg, VOC Governor-Director of the Northeast Coast of Java (de Haan 1895:617). Hermanus Christiaan Cornelius was a Lieutenant-Engineer and teacher of mathematics at this school (KITLV-H989). For his cartographic assignment in Prambanan he was assisted by J.W.B. Wardenaar and A.F. van der Geugten. Teachers at the Marine School along with their pupils planned their reconnaissance and field trips for the dry season (May to November), while the wet season was used for working out the details of the drawings (Zandvliet 1991:80). In 1807, Engelhard had Cornelius promoted to the rank of Captain. Later on, Mackenzie would also employ Cornelius (by then promoted to the rank of Major by the former French-Dutch Governor-General Herman Willem Daendels) for other cartographic and drawing assignments, but then as a civilian (in spite of Mackenzie’s reference to him as ‘Major’).

Considering the location of the gatekeeper statues at the entrances of the third surrounding wall, the question whether Cornelius also had a separate plan made of the Prambanan temple complex (as distinct from the plan of the central courtyard only), deserves further research despite Krom’s negative assessment of this possibility (see Krom 1920:441). In his discussion of Nicolaus Engelhard’s collection of archaeological drawings, W.F. Stutterheim (1939) offers some promising leads, especially where he refers to the survey of the temples of Kalasan, Sari and Prambanan by Cornelius, Wardenaar and van Geugten. This, he reports, was set out in eleven plates in a separate cover, along with ‘an explication of the plan of the Loro Jonggrang and Lumbung group’ and ‘ground plans of Loro Jonggrang and Lumbung’ (Stutterheim 1939: 174–175, ad 2 and 3; see also *Notulen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 1878/79:151). The present whereabouts of these drawings, if still in existence, is unknown. Stutterheim’s article, published only a year before the outbreak of the Second World, states that the drawings were kept in a chest at the office of the Dutch-Indies Archaeological Service. In May-June 2012, I spent two days in Jakarta trying to locate the said drawings in the collections of the Pusat Perpustakaan Nasional and the Arsip Nasional. Future searches in the widely dispersed archives of the Indonesian Archaeological Service may be more successful.

39 See Knaap (2007:394) for the reproduction of the plan of the Sewu temple complex. Comparison of the two maps suggests that the plan of the temple complex of Candi Sewu, although bearing a later date, probably had already been available in draft in 1805 and projected into the survey map (*situatie plan*) of the Prambanan area. This helps to explain why Candi Sewu is represented in far greater detail in the survey map, but evidently on a wrong scale. So, at variance with actual facts, the size of the main temple of Candi Sewu in the survey map is larger than the Śiva temple of Candi Prambanan.

maps and sketches were acquired by Colonel Colin Mackenzie and Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles during the British Interregnum (1811–1816) and used to adorn the latter's *History of Java*. One of Cornelius' sketches reproduced here [Fig. 4] shows top-hatted Dutch engineers surveying a ruined temple, while a small army of Javanese workers is engaged in clearing the temple of vegetation and rubble. The sketch reproduced in Raffles' *History of Java* is the adapted version of William Daniell's from which, as Sarah Tiffin (2009:548) correctly observed, the depiction of European gentlemen and the scenes of industry were deliberately removed. Daniell's image retains just the three seated Javanese spectators in the right foreground and has four other Javanese figures added who likewise show little interaction with the remains. The figures are thus reduced to 'picturesque appendages' to the landscape in accordance with the British artistic conventions of the period. I shall return to this matter later.



Fig. 4: H.C. Cornelius, *View of the ruins of a Bramin temple at Brambanang as formd [formed] in the jaar [year] 1807*. © The Trustees of the British Museum (Raffles Collection, 1939,0311,0.6.30).

As can be inferred from their reports, the British entered the Loro Jonggrang temple complex from the southern side, just as their VOC predecessors had done. Captain George Baker, for instance, had first visited Candi Sajiwan (named 'Chandi Kobon Dalam'), located on a hill within about one hundred yards to the southeast of the Bandar's house, near to which he saw two gigantic stone statues (*rèchas*) of kneeling temple guardians. In the abstract of his report that was inserted in Raffles' *History of Java*, these statues were designated as 'warders', 'janitors', 'porters', and 'watchmen'. Contiguous with Baker's description of the two porters are the comments of the Sepoy, the British Indian soldier, who had escorted Baker during his temple visit:

The Sepoy who attended me, and who had resided two years among the Bramins at Benares, and, of a corps of upwards of eight hundred Sepoys, was acknowledged to be the best acquainted with such subjects, informed me that similar figures were common guardians of the entrance to the temples of India, and seemed perfectly well acquainted with the history, purpose, and distinctive accompaniments; but he was lost in surprise at the number, magnitude, and superior execution of those at Brambanan, to which he said India could in no respect furnish a parallel.⁴⁰

Considering that the pair of *dvārapāla* at Candi Sajiwan was the subject immediately preceding the Sepoy's remarks, it could be argued that his surprise at 'the number' and quality 'of those at Brambanan' really regarded the Prambanan temple complex and not some other site.⁴¹ If not, we cannot explain why Baker fails to mention any of the six to eight kneeling *dvārapālas* reported there by Reimer only ten years earlier. Or, do we have to assume that they were no longer *in situ*?

This assumption may also apply to the silence of his compatriot Mackenzie with respect to the guardians of Candi Prambanan. In his *Narrative*, Mackenzie only reports on the find of one of the two kneeling *dvārapālas* at Candi Sajiwan, two at Candi Lum-bung, and of the eight kneeling *dvārapālas* of Candi Sewu. His 'desultory remarks' on the temples of the Loro Jonggrang group focus on the walls, the distinct enclosures, and the statuary in the chambers of the main temple building. It should be pointed out, however, that the absence of any references in Mackenzie's report to one or more kneeling *dvārapālas* at Candi Prambanan is at odds with the entries for two sketches of a kneeling *dvārapāla* in his account book relating to antiquities and costumes of Java [MSS. Eur. D562-3, book 19]. These entries read, respectively, 'Gigantic statue—two of which semblance stand at each of the four avenues leading up to the great central temple of Chandi Siva (or Siwa) near Prambana—19 January 1812', and 'Gigantic statue at the above avenues'. This information tallies with the slovenly handwritten captions to two rough sketches of the side and the front of a kneeling temple guardian. The caption of the first reads: 'Gigantic statue—Two at each of the 4 avenues leading up to the grand central temple of Chandi Siva near Prambana' (WD 953f. 29a and f.29b). However, for some reason, the final versions of these sketches have a less specific caption, namely 'Drawing of a gigantic warder of the temple at Prambana' (WD 954, f.29 and f.30).⁴² The duplicate drawings in

40 Cited in Raffles 1817, II:9–10.

41 This argument was put forward to me in a personal communication by Mark Long, in an email of 15 April 2012.

42 See also Mildred Archer (1969, II:541), who gives a slightly different, but in essence the same reading of the original captions. In her own descriptions to these drawings, however, she has arbitrarily changed 'Chanda/Chandi Siva' into Chandi Sewu, as did Howes (2010:197, fig. 6.3).

In Mackenzie's memory and retrospective account, some things seem to have gone wrong in India. For instance, in a drawing of an Indian temple that shows surveyors dressed in Dutch rather than British military uniforms. According to Howes (2010:160), the mistake very likely was made by an Indian artist who had been instructed to use as his model H.C. Cornelius' painting of the clearing of the temple at Prambanan. But he neglected to replace the Dutch uniforms by British ones. Presumably he was not sufficiently familiar with either. Mackenzie failed to notice the mistake. In my opinion, a similar error from a lapse of memory could have been made with regard to the 1809 sketch of the 'gigantic statue' at the Śiva temple of Prambanan. This sketch was copied by John Newman in 1812, but given a less specific caption.

the Raffles Collection of the British Museum have no captions at all. Later, I shall return to the reliability of the British reporting.

As for John Crawfurd, who claimed to be the first Westerner to discover two kneeling *dvārapālas* at Candi Plaosan (named 'Pluosan'), it is not immediately clear from his writings whether he had seen any temple-guardian statues at Candi Loro Jonggrang, largely because of the ambiguity in some of his observations on the temples in the Prambanan area. For instance, where he states that the brief description of the Sewu temple group, including the temple-guardian statues at the four entrances, 'may serve for all others' and that 'this, with very little variety, is a description of all temples of this class' (Crawfurd 1920:196-197). Additionally, the caption to Plate 25 in the second volume of his *History of the Indian Archipelago* reads: 'one of the gigantic statues representing a warder from the temples of Brambanan' [see Fig. 5, below], which parallels the captions to Plate 27 and Plate 30. The former reads 'Mahadewa from the temples of Brambanan' and the latter 'Vishnu from the temples of Brambanan', leaving no doubt about their origin from Candi Loro Jonggrang.



Fig. 5: Warder from the temples of Prambanan. Source: Crawfurd, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, II: Plate 25.

Verbeek, in his inventory of Javanese antiquities, indiscriminately changed this caption into ‘*Plaat 25, Rakshasa van Tjandi Sewu*’, even though the illustration of the kneeling *dvārapāla* does not entirely resemble the Sewu temple guardians.⁴³ Considering Crawford’s claim to the discovery of the *dvārapālas* at the Plaosan temple complex, he may have ordered a drawing of a temple guardian from this site, but the warder depicted in Plate 25 bears even less likeness to the guardian statues of Plaosan than those of Sewu. The provenance of the warder in Plate 25 thus remains to be established, if it is an authentic representation and not another fanciful artistic composition by a British professional draughtsman or engraver. Some of them, like James Mitton and aforementioned William Daniell, are known to have wilfully changed sketches and drawings of Javanese archaeological remains and objects in order to meet the British public taste and the then current artistic norms of ‘picturesque beauty’, as Sarah Tiffin’s articles have convincingly demonstrated.⁴⁴

Anyway, ever since Krom’s endorsement of Leemans’ interpretation of Lons’ report, the eight temple-guardian statues described were invariably associated with Candi Sewu. It was not long before Th. van Erp (1923:501) first entertained the idea of a special connection between the Central-Javanese Buddhist monuments and the giant statues of kneeling *dvārapālas*. After consulting the Indologist Ph. Vogel on this matter, van Erp was even inclined to believe that it concerned a typically Javanese tradition. Krom (1923a, I:118), however, had earlier observed that temple guardians, then commonly referred to as *rākṣasas* (Sanskrit, ‘guard’, ‘protector’) could be found both at Buddhist and Śaivite sanctuaries.

Today, the discussion on the kneeling Central-Javanese temple-guardian statues is generally confined to those enumerated by J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in the context of her article on the only extant kneeling temple-guardian statue of Borobudur. Her overview is phrased as follows:

If we look around for other *dvārapālas* from the Central Javanese period we come to the strange conclusion that there are, in fact, very few with which the Barabudur image can be compared. This paucity is in striking contrast to the abundance of guardian figures belonging to the Eastern Javanese period. Apart from the *dvārapāla* from Barabudur there are four which once protected the monastery of Kalasan, two of which are still

43 See Verbeek 1891:187. Something similar happened with the caption in an article by Junghuhn (1844) reading *wachter bij Prambanan*, which Verbeek had changed into *rakshasa Sewu* (see *ibid.*); correctly in this case. In the second volume of his *History of Java*, Raffles (1817) likewise included drawings of kneeling temple-guardian statues in the plate with the caption ‘From the subjects in stone found in the central districts of Java’, without indicating to which the temple group they belonged. The temple-guardian statue no. 5, unaccounted for, can be identified as one from Candi Kalasan. The second specimen no. 7, being depicted from the side reveals few iconological clues; hence its provenance is not directly clear. However, comparison with a sketch in the Mackenzie Collection suggests that it is almost identical to the temple guardians of ‘Chanda/chandi Siva’, except for the flower bud that adorns the foot stone of Raffles’ temple guardian. As the original sketch is dated to the year 1807, it was probably drawn by H.C. Cornelius, and in 1812 copied by Newman, who may have added the flower bud.

44 See Tiffin 2008, 2009. This, I hasten to add, was not solely a British practice. Some Dutch draughtsmen and artists, such as Cornelius, Mieling, and Sieburgh, are known to have occasionally changed things at will. For the low appraisals of the archaeological and aesthetic value of H.C. Cornelius’ work, see e.g. Krom (1919: 387–388) and J.F. Stutterheim (1933).

at Jogya, while the other two were recently brought to Jakarta. Then there are the eight well-known images at Candi Sewu, four more at Plaosan, two at Candi Sajiwan, one of which was possibly taken to Klatèn, while the two at Candi Lumbung have long disappeared.⁴⁵

Aside from substituting *dvārapāla* for *rākṣasa* as a more precise designation for door- or gatekeeper statues (Sanskrit, *dvāra* = entrance/door/gate; *pāla* = guard or watchman),⁴⁶ the main purpose of van Lohuizen-de Leeuw was to determine on the basis of art-historical criteria the chronological order in which the kneeling *dvārapālas* were made. The chronology supposedly corresponds with their enumeration in the quotation, with the *dvārapāla* of Barabudur representing the oldest type and Sajiwan's being the youngest. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw thought she could discern 'a very slight increase in the tendency towards aggressiveness, for the *upavīta* which the images now wear, depicts a snake. In addition there are armlets and a diadem formed by snakes, while the hair falls down in numerous wild curls'.⁴⁷ One wonders where exactly in this chronology van Lohuizen-de Leeuw would have inserted the kneeling Prambanan *dvārapālas* had she known of their former presence at the temple site. Considering that the arms of the Prambanan *dvārapālas* were holding snakes and clubs, and that their hair was curly, she would probably have put them very close in time to the temple guardians of Candi Sewu. Yet, the appraisal of, and the importance she accorded to these stylistic elements still remain to be validated on the basis of other criteria for the dating of the temples in question. Baker, Groneman, and Knebel, for instance, have each attributed a good or peaceful character to some of the Central-Javanese Buddhist temple guardians.⁴⁸

45 Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981:17. In the endnotes accompanying this statement, she lists some of the older literature, mostly Dutch, wherein these statues are discussed or shown in photographs (1981:22–23, endnotes 17–22). Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's list is not complete, however. For instance, Münnich (1845:179–180) reports on two big guardian statues at Randu Gunting and one on a hill 'behind' Candi Kali Bening (= Candi Kalasan), the former holding their octagonal clubs pointing downwards (see Anonymous 1860:222). Krom (1923a, I:269) mentions the removal of the statues from Randu Gunting but without recording their new whereabouts. Presumably the statues were moved to Jogjakarta to adorn some private or public building, such as Gedung Agung, the former Dutch Residency House. Neither do I have any idea of what happened to three big '*rākshasas*' found near the villages of Gupala and Cabahan, which in 1871 were nearly totally covered with a layer of sand from Mount Merapi (see Verbeek 1891: 191, no. 368).

46 Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (1981:21–222, endnote 4) was dissatisfied with the designation '*rākshasa*' for the kneeling temple-guardian statues because she thought it applies especially to the later Indo-Javanese guardians who take on the appearance of a *rākshasa*, i.e. a demon-protector. She preferred to use the word *dvārapāla* 'as this gives a more accurate description of the function of these statues and other similar figures'. With the latter she probably meant the guardian images that are depicted in relief or in paint near doorways (see van Bemmelen 1994). In the catalogue of the Indonesian National Library (Perpustakaan Nasional), the kneeling gatekeeper statues in the drawings in the Mackenzie Collection are now designated as *arca pengawal*, to be glossed as 'guard, sentry or watchman statues'.

47 Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1981:18; see also van Erp 1923:500.

48 Groneman 1899:17; Knebel 1902:76. The deterring nature of some of the Buddhist temple-guardian statues would deny the claim of the University of Michigan's Museum of Art that the horrific nature of two (wooden) *dvārapāla* figures in their collection, with accession numbers 1980/2-290/1, 'implies that this [figure] and its mate were made for a Shaiva temple, one dedicated to the god Shiva' (<http://www.umma.umich.edu>, accessed May 2011).

Helena van Bommel, the author of a monograph on *dvārapālas* in Indonesia, including other types of temple guardians, was particularly struck (as van Erp was earlier) by the apparent association of the kneeling *dvārapālas* with Buddhist temple complexes.⁴⁹ Discussing the kneeling *dvārapālas* from central Java, including those no longer *in situ* and whose original temple complex is now unknown, van Bommel (1994:71) states:

It is possible that non-Buddhist complexes were among them—in 1840 AD guardians at Candi Prambanan are mentioned (van Lohuizen, 1982) but not described—but this is not likely in comparison with the control group of *in situ* figures. The examples named do not fall outside the control group qua identifying features.

Regrettably, this statement is rather problematic. To begin with, neither the reference to van Lohuizen-de Leeuw 1982 nor her previous article quoted above yields any information about guardians at Candi Prambanan. So far I have been unable to find out which report of 1840 van Bommel might be referring to. Possibly she confused van Hoëvell's report on his visit to Borobudur (who saw the unique *dvārapāla* statue of Borobudur still *in situ* in 1840) with a reference to the kneeling *dvārapāla* statue (classified as number 116) displayed 'on the terrain of Candi Prambanan'.⁵⁰ This inaccuracy aside, after comparison with the control group of *in situ* figures, I fail to understand how kneeling *dvārapāla* statues can be excluded from further consideration, while with regard to identifying features they are said not to fall outside this latter group. Indeed, representing a test case for van Bommel's hypothetical association of the kneeling *dvārapālas* with Buddhist structures, the reported former presence of kneeling *dvārapāla* statues at Candi Prambanan should, in my opinion, have deserved further investigation—also into old inventories of the Dutch Indies Archaeological Service such as those by Verbeek, Knebel, Jochim, and Muusses.⁵¹

49 Examples of other types of guardian figures are those depicted on panels or in shallow niches, or carved in high relief near the entrances of temples.

For the assumed special connection between kneeling temple-guardian statues and Buddhist temple complexes, see van Bommel 1994:6–7, 23. In his review of van Bommel's book, archaeologist John Miksic (2000:324) concurs with the idea of this special connection, when he writes as follows:

An interesting difference marks the treatment of *dvarapala* in Buddhist as distinguished from Hindu architecture in Indonesia. In Javanese Śaivite complexes of AD 730–1300, *dvarapala* are always found in the form of pairs of standing figures in high relief set in niches beside the entrance to the main shrine. In Buddhist complexes, kneeling *dvarapala* in the round (rather than standing figures in relief) were placed at the entrances to compounds [...].

50 Van Bommel does not explain what is meant here by 'on the terrain of Candi Prambanan'. I have never seen any kneeling guardian statue at the Loro Jonggrang temple site, nor in the regional field office and/or museum of the Indonesian Archaeological Service.

51 Inspection of the early inventories of Central Javanese Hindu-Buddhist antiquities by Verbeek, Knebel, Jochim, Krom, and Muusses, could have made van Bommel aware of the existence and present whereabouts of some additional kneeling *dvārapālas* no longer found *in situ*, such as the Gedung Agung specimens. Possibly, she could have prevented other flaws in her research as well. For instance, unlike what she suggests (1994:65), the four Kalasan temple guardians are not found together in the Museum Sono Budoyo in Jogjakarta; two were removed from Jogjakarta to Batavia and now adorn the premises of the Presidential Palace in Jakarta.

However, if one follows her bibliography, van Bommel seems to have based her research mostly on late-twentieth century publications. The earlier articles by Leemans, Bosboom and Groneman are not listed even though the latter two authors used the term *tempelwachter* in the titles of the articles.

More recently, the present author hinted at the possibility that Lons' vague description of the giant gatekeeper statues relate to those lost at Candi Prambanan rather than those still found at Candi Sewu. In support of Bosboom's hypothesis about their erstwhile presence at Candi Prambanan he called attention to the reference of 'fierce doorkeepers' in the *Śivagr̥ha* inscription of 856, which was edited and translated by J.G. de Casparis.⁵² It must be conceded, however, that the evidence is not conclusive, as the designation 'fierce doorkeepers' could also relate to the statues found on either side of the ante-chamber of Loro Jonggrang's main temple chamber. Krom (1923a, I:474) argued that the two statues should be identified as Nandīśvara and Mahākāla, acting as guardians of Śiva's room, in accordance with the 12th-century Old Javanese text *Smaradahana*.

Finally, two Indonesian scholars briefly mentioned a few kneeling doorkeepers allegedly hailing 'from Lara Jonggrang' or 'from Prambanan': Supratikno Rahardjo did so regarding one unidentified temple-guardian statue in the city of Jogjakarta, and Aboe Bakar regarding two distinct unidentified pairs in the city of Surakarta.⁵³ Regrettably, Rahardjo's enumeration, which lists 'Lara Jonggrang' as a site of provenance, is not backed up by a discussion of the presumed corresponding specimen. The only statue of a kneeling *dvārapāla* unaccounted for in his study, concerns the statue that is located in front of Gedung Agung in Jogjakarta, formerly the Dutch Residency House there, but nowadays functioning as the official residence of the President of the Indonesian Republic in that city (hence its alternative name, Istana Kepresidenan Jogjakarta).⁵⁴ That statue closely resembles the temple-guardian statues of Candi Sewu. Considering that this group of eight is complete, Rahardjo (1986:30) frankly admits 'that precisely herein lies the problem' (*di sinilah sebenarnya persoalan justru muncul*). Noticing that the redundant statue is slightly smaller and also of somewhat inferior quality than those of the Sewu group, he ventures the suggestion that it concerns 'only an imitation by a modern artist' (*hasil tiruan saja oleh seniman modern*), but fails to explain the reason or motives for the creation of this work of art, and the presumed date of its carving. Later I shall return to this ad hoc explanation.

More than once, in his report Aboe Bakar states that statues of kneeling *dvārapālas* are only found at Buddhist temple sites. He even arbitrarily imposes a Buddhist religious background in his inventory of specimens now found in Surakarta whose provenance can no longer be ascertained, such as those of Gapura Gladag and Mandungan. However,

52 See Jordaan 1996:13; de Casparis 1956:322.

53 The original reports by Supratikno Rahardjo (1986) and Aboe Bakar (1990) proved hard to get, but microfilms are now available through the KITLV library in Leiden. I wish to thank Dr Roger Tol of KITLV Jakarta for his help in tracing and salvaging the moth- and termite-eaten manuscript of Abu Bakar's report from the library of the Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia in Surakarta, and for passing on the information about Aboe Bakar's premature death.

54 In various internet websites, Gedung Agung is often translated as 'Great House' or 'Big House', but in my view it can better be glossed as 'House of the Great', a dwelling of prominent or powerful people, which accords with its historical background.

according to several of his key informants (designated as tokoh *seseputuh kraton*, ‘respected older courtiers’) attached to the royal court of Surakarta, the two pairs of temple guardians, pairs which differ from each other in size and appearance, originated from ‘the Prambanan area’. But others believed that the statues originated from ‘the Boyolali area’. The two distinct pairs of statues were initially all kept in the grounds of the royal palace until the larger pair at the entrance (about 181 cm high) was moved to Gapura Gladag on the occasion of the 64th birthday of the ruler Pakubuwana X, while the other pair (about 135 cm high) was simultaneously moved to the vacated places somewhere inside the palace. As far as I can deduce from his report, Aboe Bakar purposely limited his research to the kneeling temple guardians in the residency of Surakarta. He did not attempt an iconographic comparison of the unidentified Gapura Gladag and Mandungan statues with those of unknown provenance in Jogjakarta featuring in Supratikno Rahardjo’s report though he did have access to an earlier version of the latter’s illustrated report. Presumably it was because he gave more credence to the stories attributing to the unidentified Surakarta statues a Boyolali provenance than a Prambanan, in spite of the fact that on the basis of his own criteria only very few sites in the Boyolali area seem eligible for housing such statues, the temples being either Hindu or too small (see Degroot 2009:309–315).

The most likely explanation for the presence of the kneeling *dvārapālas* in the two separate urban localities will be offered further below, when we will look into the phenomenon that A. Bernet Kempers (1978:30–36) designated as ‘statues adrift’ (*beelden op drift*). The present section closes with the general observation that the erstwhile presence of kneeling *dvārapālas* at Candi Prambanan went nearly unnoticed among archaeologists and art historians.

NEW EVIDENCE EXTRACTED FROM OLD DUTCH AND JAVANESE SOURCES

Above we had the discussion of Reimer’s report followed by a review of other early European descriptions of the temple site either failing to mention or ambiguous about the presence of giant gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan. In this comparison the quality of Reimer’s account was never seriously challenged but the fact that he appears to be the only witness to report explicitly on these gatekeeper statues, requires us to explain this discrepancy, which could even cause some readers to doubt Reimer’s reliability regarding this particular point. However, thanks to the discovery of new evidence this problem can now be settled conclusively in Reimer’s favour. The evidence consists of information provided by a third VOC report, the captions to two Dutch drawings from the late eighteenth century, and two Javanese literary texts.

The first piece of evidence is found in one of the endnotes in a special publication of F.J. Rothenbühler’s account of his visit to the court of Jogjakarta in 1791, in the company of P.G. van Overstraten, then Governor of Java’s Northeast Coast. The court visit took place in connection with the demise of Sultan Hamengku Buwana I and the inauguration of his successor. The extensive account of the court visit was in 1882 published in the journal *Tijdschrift van het Bataviaasch Genootschap*. In this account Rothenbühler remarked that van Overstraten’s party ‘had passed the ruins of Prambanan without taking a closer look at these’, but the editors had the inspiration to attach to this remark Rothenbühler’s

brief description of an earlier visit to Prambanan, in 1788, in the company of the previous Governor, Jan Greeve.⁵⁵ Here in English translation, is his brief description:

Around half past four in the afternoon the party left for Prambanan in carriages, whence the party marched some distance to inspect a large number of remains of heathen temples. Some completely in ruins, but others displayed themselves very well, containing various idols that one assumes had been made by Brahmins, since both the temples and the statues closely resemble those still found today on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar. However, the most surprising thing about these temples, often octagonal, some with a depth of 30 to 40 feet and a circumference (*omtrek*) of 15 to 20 feet, was that no remains of chalk whatsoever could be detected. The buildings were completely made of very large stones cut into various shapes fitted together in such a neat way that had there been no trees and bushes grown over and into [the crevices] in the course of time, these buildings probably would be able to remain standing for many years without any dislocation, except for the damage caused by earthquakes that hit Java from time to time. At some distance from one of these temples were the remains of a surrounding wall consisting of a ring of small chapels facing each other in pairs, which were all decorated with various sculptures and nicely chiselled stones. Apart from this, there were two other walls already in ruins. At the entrance of the outer wall were two colossal statues that faced each other in a squatting position.

According to the Javanese, the whole area [...] was covered with thousands of similar remains, stating that these once formed a single city with the name Brambanan; the residence of the former Javanese monarchs. Little else can the Javanese tell about this, whereas their stories are mixed up with such fantastic fables that these are not worth recounting. This was later confirmed when the Honorable Governor [Van Overstraten] obtained a manuscript from Prime Minister Danuredja that purports to describe the history of Brambanan but which upon translation was found to be so fabulous and incredible as to exceed all imagination.

Although several details in the description are enigmatic, we need not, in my opinion, doubt that the temple ruins visited by Rothenbühler were those of Loro Jonggrang. The first argument to support this identification is the information that the party had travelled to Prambanan in carriages. We do not know exactly whence they came; either from Jogjakarta on the return journey to Semarang, or heading for Jogjakarta from a place east of Prambanan, such as Tangkisan, which was another familiar stopping-place on the way from Surakarta to Jogjakarta. Anyway, travelling in carriages to Prambanan would imply a stop at the tollgate of that name, located, as already noted, on the main road, with suitable facilities for leaving the carriages and horses, and for spending the night in the guest house (*pasanggrahan*) attached to the tollgate. The party was said to have covered on foot the relatively short distance from Prambanan to the ruins. The reason for Rothenbühler

55 See Rothenbühler, who reports that 'they [the members van Governor Overstraten's party] arrived at Brambanan around eight o'clock, but rather than staying here went straight to Tangkisan, where they arrived around half past nine'. To this factual observation the editors of TBG had an endnote attached that contains Rothenbühler's brief account of his earlier visit to Candi Prambanan, in 1788 (Rothenbühler 1882:341, 357, n. 7). Without access to the original official diary, however, we cannot determine when the temple visit took place (that is, on the way to or from Jogjakarta) or check the transcription for possible clarification of the question what circumference was meant by Rothenbühler.

to use the verb ‘marching’ instead of walking must be sought in the fact that the party had set out rather late in the afternoon, around half past four. Assuming that the journey from either Jogjakarta or Tangkisan to Prambanan had taken an hour or more, this would have left little time for sightseeing before nightfall (at six). Walking, even ‘marching’ the greater distance to Candi Sewu (if known at all) would have been very difficult, if not impossible.

The description of the temple site itself adds further support to the hypothesis that it concerns Candi Prambanan, particularly the presence of three separate walls. The description of the first wall reminds us of the wall surrounding the inner courtyard whose four entrances are topped with gate-like structures that resemble chapels with niches on either side. The octagonal appearance of the temples should, in my opinion, be connected with the main temples in the central courtyard, each in the form of a Greek cross that could leave the (false) impression of being eight-sided, i.e., four straight sides and four oblique intermediate sides. Presumably, the depth of 30 to 40 feet concerns the temple chambers, but I cannot explain Rothenbühler’s use of the term ‘circumference’ (of what?). Brief and poor as the description of the temple site is, it does report the presence at the entrance(s) in the outer wall of two statues of giants facing each other in a squatting position.



Fig. 6: ‘Overblijfsels der Braminsche oud-heede op de Javas Noord Oost Kust’, by François van Boeckholtz. 1939,0311,0.7.4. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

The first drawing [see Fig. 6], by François van Boeckholtz, is found in the Raffles Collection of the British Museum in London. Raffles may have acquired the drawing either from van Boeckholtz himself or, what seems more likely, indirectly through Colin Mackenzie and Nicolaus Engelhard. The manuscript version of Mackenzie’s Narrative included in the Min-to-Raffles Collection of the British Library (MSS. Eur F 148/47) has a footnote acknowledging Mackenzie’s indebtedness to Engelhard for giving him access to drawings by van Boeckholtz of Javanese antiquities, and also for allowing him to copy these drawings. Some plate numbers of the relevant drawings by van Boeckholtz in the Raffles Collection correspond with the numbers and captions mentioned in Mackenzie’s manuscripts, but which no longer contain these drawings themselves. The approximate English translation of the Dutch caption to Fig. 6 is as follows:

Remains of Brahmin antiquities on Java's Northeast Coast. These and the statue depicted here seem to represent giants [such as those] placed at the temple entrances by Brahmins and similar to the eight specimens found at Prambanan. Hewn from a single [block of] stone and of surprising size, [these statues] are found at the four entrances of the temples that are facing the cardinal points.



Fig. 7: 'Overblijfsels der Braminsche oud-heede op de Javas Noord Oost Kust', by François van Boeckholtz. 1939,0311,0.7.13. © The Trustees of the British Museum.

What needs explanation is that in mentioning Java's Northeast Coast, van Boeckholtz refers to the territory that in 1748 came under the administrative sway of a VOC Governor, in Semarang. The sentence should not be construed to mean that the antiquities in question were located in the coastal areas. Further, the temple guardian statue in the drawing is said to be similar to or to resemble (thus not to be identical with) those found at Prambanan. One notable difference is the downward-pointing club. However, with the specification 'at Prambanan' van Boeckholtz unmistakably refers to Candi Prambanan as is evident from the caption of another drawing, number 14 [Fig. 7], from the same sketchbook and kept in the same folder, that refers to the statue 'Embo Lorro Djongrang' at Prambanan, which is the local name for the goddess Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardini.⁵⁶ The approximate English translation of the Dutch caption to Fig. 7 is as follows:

Remains of Brahmin antiquities on Java's North East Coast; this statue, completely undamaged, is found at Brambanan in one of the partly caved-in temple [chambers]. It is more than life-sized, carefully hewn from one [block of] stone. The Javanese refer to this statue as Embo Lorro Djongrang.

⁵⁶ The drawing of 'Embo Lorro Djongrang', but without caption and jotted notes, resembles one of the illustrations 'From subjects in stone collected in different parts of Java', in Raffles 1817 opposite page 54, namely the top left drawing (with the goddess in front of a square back slab and wherein the attribute of the conch shell is misrepresented as a bird on a string). Raffles wrongly assumed that 'Embo Lorro Djongrang' was used as the common name for representations of Durgā Mahiṣāsura-mardini throughout the island of Java instead of for the statue in the Śiva temple of Prambanan only.

The notes scribbled in the right margin, in a different hand that could not be deciphered completely, refer to two similar drawings previously sent by van Boeckholtz to the Batavian Society [of Arts and Sciences]. It is further stated that these drawings had been shown to one ‘Mr. Reimer’, who undoubtedly should be identified as Carl Friedrich Reimer. It may be recalled that his name was also mentioned in connection with a letter of 4 February 1788, now in the Mackenzie Collection (see Fig. 3), in which he discussed a set of five earlier drawings by van Boeckholtz. The notes, in Dutch, were presumably scribbled down by J. Hooyer, the clergyman who acted as secretary of the Batavian Society.⁵⁷

Let us now turn to the next drawing, Fig. 8, to adduce more new evidence about the gatekeeper statues of Candi Prambanan. The drawing is reproduced in an illustrated catalogue of a London fine-art gallery (Chong 1997), offering for sale thirteen late-eighteenth-century archaeological drawings of temple sites in central Java. The catalogue gives the following information about the collection of drawings:

Numbered from 1 to 13, the first five drawings are watercolours of temples, while the remaining eight are studies in brown wash of sculptures. Illustrated [in the catalogue] are drawings No. 1, a view of Candi Sewu, showing ruins of the temple with the two statues of monstrous guardian figures in the foreground; and No. 3, showing a temple which can be identified as Candi Sari from its regular fenestration and the ornamental doorway.

Disappointingly, the extensive annotations in Dutch yielded no secrets, turning out to be repetitions of the fact that the drawings are ‘temples and sculptures found at Brambanan’ [*sic*]. However, comparison with a volume of drawings in the British Library, Oriental and India Office Collections [Mackenzie Collection, WD 995] indicate that the present drawings may be attributable to François van Boeckholtz. Six of our studies depicting Hindu deities are identical to the examples in British Drawings in the India Office Library (page 551), and could be prototypes for them. [...] François van Boeckholtz was one of the early pioneers of Prambanan investigation, and had evinced curiosity about Javanese archaeology as early as 1785, whilst a young lieutenant at Salahtiga [*sic*, Salatiga]. From 1792 onwards, he contributed four articles to the journal of the Batavia Society [of Arts and Sciences] (the first learned society in Asia, founded in 1778). We also know from contemporary Dutch sources that he was Second Resident of Solo [Surakarta], and had made drawings of sites in Prambanan.⁵⁸

Although the extensive Dutch annotations were said to yield no secrets, a closer look at the caption to Drawing No. 1 [= Fig. 8] reveals that it contains information that actually belies the catalogue’s identification of the temple as Candi Sewu. Being quite specific, the information allows for an alternative identification of the depicted temple as Candi Prambanan.

⁵⁷ The notes themselves are of little interest today. What can be deduced from them is that Reimer had ventured the suggestion that the goddess in the drawing represented ‘the daughter of the Sun, according to the Brahmin religion’. She was said to resemble the goddesses depicted in the earlier drawings by van Boeckholtz and to be comparable to deities still venerated in the Coromandel Coast, Ceylon, and Siam. From this it was concluded that ‘possibly the Siamese religion as well as many other [creeds] among the inhabitants from India up to China, dating from times immemorial, were introduced by Brahmins’.

⁵⁸ Chong 1997: n.p.; ad 5 (‘Thirteen drawings of Prambanan c. 1794’.).

Literally, the original Dutch annotation reads as follows:

Afteekening van een gedeelte der ruines van een der hoofd tempels te Brambanan – A.B. twee reusen van een colossale gedaanten aan het begin der vier hoofdingangen voor deese tempel na de vier winden geplaatst en ook in volle gedaante en geheel onbeschadigt staande zijnde deese meede eve als de andere beelde uit een steen gehouwen. – C. Opgang na een gedeelte des voortempel daar zich nog een vrouwbeeld in een kapelletje bevint, onder no. 6 zijnde dit beeld hier bijgevoegt.⁵⁹

In approximate English translation:

Sketch of a part of the ruins of one of the main temples at Brambanan – A.B. two giants of colossal form at the beginning of the four main entrances of this temple [complex] oriented to the four directions, also in state and wholly undamaged, each of these statues being hewn from one [block of] stone. – C. ascent to a section of the temple where a statue of a female in a chapel can still be found; the enclosed [drawing] No. 6 provides a sketch of this statue.

According to the catalogue, the deity represented in drawing No. 6 is ‘Durga slaying the buffalo demon’; a piece of information that cannot be reconciled with the identification of the temple as Candi Sewu. In my opinion, the caption more plausibly refers to Candi Prambanan given that this is the only other temple complex in the area with four main entrances oriented to the four cardinal points. Both the presence of the statue of Durgā Mahiṣāsūramardīnī and the information about the separate temple chamber (‘chapel’) wherein the statue was found, support this alternative identification. In line with this, I think that the caption’s opening statement bears only on the inner courtyard of Candi Prambanan, where the Śiva temple represents the main shrine of a group of eight large temples. That opening statement says that the sketch offers a view of ‘a part of the ruins of one of the main temples at Brambanan’. The caption adds that there were two ‘giants’ at the beginning of the four main entrances, thus yielding a total number of eight temple-guardian statues, which accords with Reimer’s findings of Reimer in 1791.

Similar defective information is provided in the captions to the few archaeological drawings of Central Javanese temple-guardian statues in the collection of the Ethnological Museum (RMV) in Leiden. See, for instance, Figs. 9a and 9b below. For want of useful additional information, comparable with the reference in van Boeckholtz’s drawing (see Fig. 8, above) to the statue of ‘Embo Loro Jonggrang’, neither of the two drawings can be confidently linked with Candi Prambanan. Nor can the statue depicted in Fig. 9b be identified as one of the gatekeepers of Candi Sewu, as did J.F. Stutterheim (1939:97–98) in his rash comparison of the drawing with the photographs by van Kinsbergen reproduced in Figs. 11a and 11b below.

Nearly identical drawings of A326-027, if not copies, were found in the Raffles Collection in the British Museum, each with an English caption that reads ‘Figurative

59 The Dutch language of the caption may be useful for the identification of the draughtsman of the unsigned drawing, as is the case with the handwriting (see note 31). In my opinion, both the language and the handwriting suggest that van Boeckholtz was the amateur draughtsman.

shape of the images of giants which are to be found before the temples at Brambanang' (Raffles Collection 1939.0311.07, 1939.0311.07.1a, 1939.0311.07.1b). In a fourth, variant drawing (1939.0311.07.2) the giant is also holding the club in his right hand but not above or on top of the knee of his bended right leg. In this drawing, the giant has his left leg bended. Furthermore, unlike the other drawings, he is not holding a snake. Considering the close similarity of the Leiden drawing with the drawings in the Raffles Collection, I think that the present dating of around 1900 accorded to the drawing A 326-027 by the Museum of Ethnology should be changed to around 1800.



Fig. 9a: 'Aldus vertoonen zich de Reusen zoo als welke aan de ingang welke aan de ingang der hoofdtempel staan'. © Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, RMV 1403-3606 (A 326-009).



Fig. 9b: 'Afbeelding der grote reus die zich bevindt voor den tempel van Brambanang'. © Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, RMV 1403-3605 (A 326-027).

Fig. 10 below offers 'a view of two statues of giants'. In view of the caption's additional information about 'the quarter of an hour' distance from [the tollgate] Prambanan, and also the mention of the complete number of eight statues and their positions in the middle of the four sides of the complex, it is tempting to link the temple-guardian statues in this drawing to Candi Sewu. One objection against this identification is the necklace that shows three pendants, which are absent in the chain worn by the Sewu gatekeepers (but present in the Gedung Agung temple-guardian statue's necklace). The pendants, however, may have been arbitrarily added by the unknown draughtsman. The Old Dutch language and the handwriting of the caption could offer clues to the identity of the draughtsman. H.C. Cornelius, for one, was known to tamper his drawings with fantasies of his own (IJzerman 1903:292, Krom 1919:387–388, J.F. Stutterheim 1933:90). While the photograph of

the drawing is dated to 1890–1891 in the website of the Leiden Museum of Ethnology, the drawing itself probably is much older, perhaps dating from around 1800.



Fig. 10: 'Gesigt van twee reuze beelden te sien een quard uur van Praembanang den een van voren en den anderen van agteren zijnde 2 van de 8 welke in het midden van de 4 flanken staan om de 240 capellen'.

© Museum of Ethnology, Leiden. RMV MEDIA 11136 (A 326-32).

The fourth old drawing of a kneeling guardian-statue in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden (RMV 1403-3605, reproduced in Fig. 11a below) has no caption at all. A barely legible note, in Dutch, scribbled underneath, reads: 'Presumably from Prambanan—Candi Sewu. But not mentioned in the description of Prambanan' (*Denkelijk van Brambanang—Tjandie Sewoe. Doch niet vermeld in de beschr.[ijving] van Brambanang*). The proposed identification is untenable because of the circular-shaped club (or passing for such) in the statue's left hand. Unlike the gatekeeper statues of Candi Sewu (and Candi Prambanan, for that matter) the club is not held upright in the guardian's hand, but placed on the ground. The drawing is too inaccurate in other respects to venture an alternative identification. The drawing itself can be attributed to François van Boeckholtz on account of the close similarities of the depicted pedestal with that of Fig. 6, which actually bears his signature. This identification is confirmed by the striking similarity with yet another drawing of a kneeling guardian-statue by van Boeckholtz in the Raffles Collection of the British Museum (Fig. 11b, below).⁶⁰

60 Two other, but much poorer sketches of the same statue in the Raffles Collection (catalogue numbers 1939, 0311, 0739/40), not reproduced here, have notes in English scribbled in the margins, saying 'Taken from a figure at Solo. 2ft.10. From Brambanang'. On account of these pointers to van Boeckholtz's identity, the comparable drawing in the collection of Leiden's Museum of Ethnology should be dated to around 1800.



Fig. 11a: Drawing without caption. © Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, RMV 1403-3605 (A326-010)



Fig. 11b: Drawing by van Boecholtz in the Raffles Collection. © The Trustees of the British Museum, 1939,0311,0.7.

The first Javanese textual source yielding information on gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan is the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, also known as the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa*. In 1932, Poerbatjaraka called for a revision of the then current dating of this text from the late fourteenth to the tenth century, on account of, among other things, the close similarities between elements in the poetic description of a temple with an actually existing central Javanese temple, more specifically the Prambanan temple complex. Today, most Java scholars date both the text and the temple complex to the mid-ninth century (see Acri 2010). Apart from dating purposes, the poetic description of the temple was also used for the clarification of some enigmatic features in the design of parts of the Prambanan temple complex, such as the central courtyard, and in the representation of some *Rāmāyaṇa* reliefs. Now it appears that the Old Javanese *Rāmāyaṇa* also contains evidence of the erstwhile presence of the gatekeepers at the temple site. *Sarga* 8, verses 57–59, stated that

(Altogether) outside (the temple) there was a high wall of white silver surrounding the entire complex. It was comparable to the snake Vāsuki, recovering from the fatigue of churning the ocean. (57) The gate of sparkling gems and red lustrous stones was comparable to the shining head gem (of the snake), while (the two) *rākṣaṣa* acting as doorkeepers were comparable to its sharp pointed, poisonous fangs. (58) This was what the temple at Lan̄kā looked like... (59).⁶¹

61 Poerbatjaraka 1932:164. For an English translation of the whole description of the temple complex, fictitiously attributed to Hanumān, see Jordaan 1996:48–49. I wish to thank Andrea Acri for reminding me of this description in connection with the present research.

What interests us in these lines is the mention of the high wall enclosing the temple complex, the ornamental gate, and the two *rākṣaṣas* acting as doorkeepers. Since the text mentions only one of the (four) gates, the total number of gatekeepers would have amounted to eight—the same number as Reimer reported in his first travel account.

The second Javanese source is the *Babad Bédhah ing Ngayogyakarta* ('Chronicle of the Fall of Jogjakarta'), a Javanese text edited and published by Peter Carey (1992), who also included an English synopsis. Carey's text edition is to be valued for the access it provides to a unique Javanese account of the British presence in Java in the period 1811–1816. Given the limited purpose of this paper, my discussion has to be selective and confined to one canto only, namely Canto XXXIII. The synopsis of this canto is as follows:

The Sultan [Hamengkubuwana III] is now invited by the British to pay a visit to the temple of Prambanan. Crawfurd, the Secretary of the Yogya Residency, John Deans, the garrison commander, Major Dalton, and the Kapitan Cina, Tan Jin Sing, accompany him, with his royal relatives and sons. Three (court) Bupatis and *kraton* soldiers are also in attendance (vv. 1–2). The party leaves at seven o'clock in the morning escorted by British (Sepoy) soldiers to the front and rear. It fills the whole road, creating a great tumult (v. 2). The Sultan rides in a carriage with Crawfurd, the Secretary, the garrison commander and Tan Jin Sing. The others travel in European style (*cara sabrang*; i.e. on horseback) (v. 3).

Soon afterwards they arrive at Prambanan, where they halt for a while at the wayside pavilion (*Laji pēsanggrahan*) (used by high-ranking European travellers) and partake of the refreshments prepared by Crawfurd (vv. 3–4). Once they have eaten their fill, they go immediately to view the statue of Lara Jonggrang and the (adjacent) figure of Patih Gajahmada (*sic*), which are both inside the (northern) chamber (*g[u]wa*) of the temple (v. 5). When the Sultan sees these, he immediately instructs his uncle, Pangéran (Ku)sumayuda to sketch the figure of Lara Jonggrang (and the adjacent pieces of sculpture). (Ku)sumayuda agrees and makes a start on his drawing of Lara Jonggrang, Crawfurd, meanwhile, is informed about the prince's artistic skills as well as his facility with Malay and Dutch (vv. 6–7). The Secretary, John Deans, then jokes with (Ku)sumayuda about his sketch of (the viraginous) Lara Jonggrang with her arrogant posture (*ma-lang-kadhak*). This causes much laughter amongst those watching, for the Secretary is really very witty and amusing (*tuhu lucu*). The Sultan also joins in the general mirth (v. 8).

After this, the party proceeds northwards to see (the temples with) the thousand statues (*rēca sasra*; i.e. Candi Sèwu). These, together with the (sculptured) double winged gateways (*pasang-pasan gapura*) and massive temple buildings, are extremely impressive (vv. 9–10). On his return, the Sultan stops in the wayside pavilion (*pēsanggrahan*) to view (Ku)sumayuda's sketch of Lara Jonggrang which is now finished. Since the other drawings of the adjacent statues, temple reliefs, gateways and (ruined) buildings have not yet been made, the Sultan orders (Ku)sumayuda to stay behind with his (artistic) assistant, Adiwarna, to complete the work. They are told to spend the night there if necessary (vv. 11–12).

The Sultan then sets out to return (to Yogya), stopping briefly at the market of Prambanan, where the party refresh themselves with fruits [...] (vv. 13–14).

There are a number of things in this summary that deserve attention and commentary, discussed more or less in chronological order. The first point concerns the unequal power relations between the Javanese and British as reflected in the opening sentence that says

that the Sultan was invited by the British rather than the other way around. Of course, this fact should be explained by the earlier fall and plunder of the Yogya *kraton* by British forces, in 18–20 June 1812. The Javanese defeat resulted in a more direct British influence in Javanese affairs, such as in the appointment of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III. The subordinate position of the new Javanese dynast is also indicated by the escort of British soldiers in the front and rear of the party, and the refreshment Crawford had prepared in the *pasanggrahan* (although it is possible that Crawford simply wanted to ensure a more punctual meal service than the Chinese tollgate keeper had extended to Colin Mackenzie during his stay at the guesthouse in 1811).

Highlighted in the account of the visit is the inspection of the statue of Lara Jonggrang and of the figure of Patih Gajahmada. Carey (1992:471) believes that

This must refer to the statue of the demon described by Raffles as ‘Dewth Mahikusor’, which, in the Lara Jonggrang sculpture, is shown seized by Bathari Durga in her destructive form as Mahisasuramardini (‘slayer of a demon who had entered a bull’) [...]. The demon has no relationship whatsoever to Patih Gajahmada, the famous prime minister and empire builder of mid-fourteenth century Majapahit, although the Javanese may have thought that the facial expression of the statue bore some slight resemblance to the latter.

This interpretation is unsatisfactory. For how would the Javanese have known of the resemblance of the demon’s (!) face to the famous Patih Gajahmada’s, who lived more than four centuries earlier and far away in eastern Java? This problem led me to think that the perceived likeness concerns another statue, namely of the saint Agastya, located in the southern temple chamber. The resemblance need not have been in the facial expression but perhaps in the regal bearing of Agastya. Colin Mackenzie (1814:5) took Agastya’s statue for a ‘statue of an aged chief or king, remarkable for the majesty and gravity of its aspect—its flowing beard, its raised aquiline nose, and Roman countenance...’ [see Fig. 12].



If so, the relevant Javanese sentence should be understood as saying that the statues of Durgā and ‘Patih Gajahmada’ were both found in their respective temple chambers, in which case the word ‘adjacent’ means that the two chambers in the Śiva temple were just a short walk apart, accessible by means of the same perambulatory. Another chamber that could thus be reached was the western one, which houses the statue of Gaṇeśa, the drawing of which is also included in the Raffles Collection. As we already know from the discussion of the earlier VOC reports, the only chamber that could not be entered, was the main temple chamber in the eastern part housing the statue of Śiva Mahādeva, and therefore not depicted in Crawford’s and Raffles’ books.

Fig. 12: Drawing of the statue of Agastya (misidentified as ‘Mahadewa’) in the southern chamber of the Śiva temple of Candi Prambanan. Source: Crawford 1820, Plate 27.

As for the verses 9–10, I doubt that the Sultan and Crawford extended their visit to the neighbouring temple complex of Candi Sewu, in spite of their going ‘northwards’ and the mention of *rēca sasra*, ‘a thousand statues’, which corresponds to the number thousand (*sewu*) in the current name of the temple. In the explanatory note Carey (1992:471, n. 341) wants us to inspect Raffles’ *History of Java*, ‘for a description of one of the nine foot high stone temple guardians, which protected the approaches to the ninth-century Buddhist temple complex of Candhi Sèwu slightly to the north of Prambanan’. He adds that the description of the other figures on the formal gateways (*gapura*) and temples themselves can also be found in Raffles. Here, it seems to me, Carey too lightly passes over the fact that Candi Prambanan could just as well claim a thousand statues as Candi Sewu, particularly if this number was merely meant to indicate ‘a very large number’ of statues, as I believe it does. More importantly, there is, to the best of my knowledge, no archaeological evidence that Candi Sewu had (sculpted) double-winged gateways, unlike Candi Prambanan where they were located in the third wall once surrounding the complex. As regards the temple guardians, I think that Carey was led astray in the interpretation of the Javanese text in much the same way as Leemans was in the interpretation of Lons’ report, namely to assume that the temple guardians must have belonged to Candi Sewu because they are no longer found at Candi Prambanan. While we cannot blame Leemans and Carey for not reckoning with the possibility that Candi Prambanan once had a similar ensemble of gatekeeper statues, Carey should not have left the impression that the Javanese text fully accorded with his interpretation. For instance, when he suggests that Candi Sewu is located ‘slightly’ to the north of Prambanan, whereas it would have taken the party more than the fifteen minutes needed today, especially when taking into account Mackenzie’s earlier experiences with the terrain and the means of transport. The fact that there is no mention of Candi Lumbung, located between Loro Jonggrang and Sewu, also poses a problem.

Yet, irrespective of whether the Sultan’s excursion had extended as far north as Sewu and included an inspection on this site of kneeling *dvārapālas* flanking formal gates, the Javanese text also offers a valuable clue to the erstwhile presence of a kneeling *dvārapāla* at Loro Jonggrang. I refer to the drawings by the Sultan’s uncle, (Ku)sumayuda, who was supported in this work by an assistant named Adiwarna. Undoubtedly, the latter is the same person as Adi Warna, ‘the native of Java’, whose fanciful drawing of a ‘warder from the temples of Brambanan’ adorns Crawford’s book [see above, Fig. 5]. That the drawing really depicts one of the gatekeepers from Candi Prambanan and not of Candi Sewu, can be inferred from the *Babad Bēdhah ing Ngayogyakarta*, which says that

[...] on his return the Sultan stopped in the wayside pavilion (*pēsanggrahan*) to view (Ku)sumayuda’s sketch of Lara Jonggrang, which is now finished. Since the other drawings of the adjacent statues, temple reliefs, gateways and (ruined) buildings have not yet been made, the Sultan orders (Ku)sumayuda to stay behind with this (artistic) assistant, Adiwarna, to complete the work. They are told to spend the night if necessary ([Canto XXXIII] vv. 11–12; Carey 1992:137).

In other words, (Ku)sumayuda and Adiwarna did not join the Sultan’s party when it moved northwards, but stayed behind to continue their work on the drawings of Loro

Jonggrang's statue and various other objects in the Prambanan temple complex.⁶² This implies that the illustration of the 'warder from the temples of Brambanan' in Crawford's book more likely represents a specimen of Candi Prambanan than of Candi Sewu. This conclusion stands even if it were proved that British engravers adapted Adiwarna's original drawing to suit the taste of the British public at home, as they had done with other illustrations. Another conclusion is that the reports of Raffles and Mackenzie on Loro Jonggrang are not reliable in every respect, which confirms John Villiers' (1989:xiv) remark in the Foreword to Carey's edition of the Javanese text that 'the chronicle provides a welcome corrective to the writings of Western contemporaries and historians'. Other correctives do not necessarily have to be negative. For instance, the reference to double-winged gates somewhere north of Candi Prambanan should serve as a reminder to be alert to possible archaeological traces of such gates and an enclosing wall at the site of Candi Sewu.

STATUES SET ADRIFT

Considering their extraordinary size, the disappearance of the gatekeeper statues from the Prambanan temple complex more likely was the result of deliberate removal rather than natural or iconoclastic destruction. The latter would, in my opinion, not have been feasible without leaving some traces of their destruction as were found in the case of the single temple-guardian statue remaining at Candi Sajiwan. The cause of the severe damage to this statue remains unknown. Although iconoclasm cannot be excluded a priori, it does not seem likely. Incidents of iconoclastic fury in the past are rarely, if at all documented and often based on rumour or hearsay.⁶³ Indeed, such acts of desecration seem difficult to reconcile with the awe for and veneration of the statues by the common people as was reported by Reimer, Crawford, and several other visitors.⁶⁴ Obviously, the damage done by looters in search of metal statues or hidden treasures as reported by Rijklof van Goens was primarily for the purpose of profit (see de Graaf 1956:182, n. 6). The removal of stone blocks and statues, on the other hand, was at first mostly for practical and economic reasons, and also proved far more damaging to the temples than the activities of wayward looters.

62 Not reproduced in Raffles' book, but almost certainly drawn by Adiwarna, is the scene of the causeway episode in the *Rāmāyaṇa* depicted on one of the stone reliefs of the Śiva temple at Prambanan (see Carey 1992:477, n. 366). Some of the sketches, if still in existence, could yield very important information on what was then still found *in situ*. With these sketches we could perhaps establish which statues were installed in the so-called *vāhana* temples, and thus settle the moot question whether the current designation is a misnomer. However, Peter Carey thought it very unlikely that any of these sketches would have survived the ravages of time in the Jogja *kraton* (personal communication 10/1/2011).

63 See, for instance, Brumund 1853:60.

64 I am aware of only one example of the desecration (not destruction) of Hindu-Buddhist antiquities in Central Java, namely by the rebel Prince Dipanagara who built a meditation seat using six large stone *yoni* (female Śaivite symbols) arranged in threes with one row slightly higher than the other to form a seat on which to meditate or perform ascetic practices. He thus prayed to Allah while seated on overturned symbols of Śiva (Carey 1974:26, note 86; 2007:86, note 60). Two examples of iconoclastic damage caused to frightening Tantric images were reported from twentieth-century Sumatra and eastern Java (see Reichle 2007:161; Pott 1966:131).

Maria Lulius van Goor, in a short guide issued by the Dutch Indies Archaeological Service, explains what had happened to the antiquities of Prambanan. Apart from the damage caused by the lush tropical vegetation and the last big earthquake of 1867, 'that destroyed much of what was still standing', she said:

It was left to man to complete the work of destruction [by Nature]. The ruins, which in the eyes of the lay public were only of heaps of stones, were regarded as stone quarries from where one could freely obtain building material for all kinds of projects. For instance, a whole village near Prambanan is surrounded by a stone wall built from the stone blocks removed from the temples. Europeans, too, plundered the ruins and had them obliterated, both for the construction of private buildings and for projects of the State. (van Goor 1919:4–5)

She adds that on reading the descriptions prior to 1867 and even what IJzerman reported to have seen in 1887, one realizes how truly disastrous the last half century was for the remains of distant ages. As can be deduced from the years mentioned, much of this happened after 1840—the year in which the Dutch-Indies government issued a belated decree that prohibited the removal of statues and ornamented stones from their original sites (Groot 2006:205). But the decree was so poorly and inconsistently implemented that the plunder continued well into the early twentieth century, also by Western citizens and representatives of the Dutch colonial government.

Initially I thought that the removal of the gatekeeper statues from Loro Jonggrang took place just before the British visited the temple ruins in south central Java, but this preliminary conclusion was based on the assumption that the British reports are accurate and reliable, and that their lack of any unambiguous references to kneeling *dvārapālas* at Candi Prambanan could be used to date their disappearance as prior to before January 1812.⁶⁵ Admittedly, this is a disputable assumption. The lack of any references to a certain statue can also serve to hide its removal from the site, which is what Raffles had done with the statue of Mamakhi of Candi Jago, in eastern Java. This removal was covered up with what Fontein (1990:154, no. 21) called 'an embellished rendering of the sculpture', namely a caption reading: 'From a subject in stone found near Singo Sari and brought to England'. A confirmation of Raffles' personal role in the removal is the depiction of the sculpture in the background of a painting of him by G.F. Joseph in 1816/17 [see Fig. 13].

65 The tentative *terminus ante quem* is based on Mackenzie's visit to Prambanan from 19–22 January 1812. After Mackenzie left for India in June 1813, his travel account was adapted for publication in VBG, the Proceedings of the Batavian Society (Mackenzie 1814). The adaptation was carried out on Raffles' instructions. True, John Crawford arrived in Jogjakarta somewhat earlier, in November 1811, to take up the position of First British Resident, but he was probably too preoccupied by the tense political climate prevailing at the Javanese court, to spend time on a sightseeing visit to the temples in the Prambanan area (see Carey 2007:297–313). It seems more likely that Crawford visited the temples for the first time after the fall of Jogjakarta in June 1812.



Fig. 13: Painting of Sir Stamford Raffles by G.F. Joseph (1816/17).
Source: Bernet Kempers 1978:39, Plate 18

Nevertheless, for lack of any positive statements in the British reports on gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan, I decided to investigate first the role of VOC officials and/or local rulers in the removal of the statues from the temple site. Ironically, one of the suspects is Lons, the VOC employee whose report of 1733 was discussed in the first section of this paper. If the suspicion against him holds, it would imply that his travel account was not complete in every respect. The circumstantial evidence for his involvement are the stone statues presently kept in *Wan-jie si* (also known as Klenteng Sentiong), a Chinese temple that is housed in a Jakarta mansion near Gunung Sahari Road. In former days the mansion was occupied by successive VOC officials, including Fredrik Coyett, who, it may be recalled, was Lons' direct boss.⁶⁶ Among the Hindu-Javanese statues venerated in the

66 K.C. Crucq 1930:229–230; see also van de Wall 1943:35, van Heuken 2000:183–185. As the collection also included statues originating from India where Mossel had served before travelling across Java in 1754, Bernet Kempers (1978:36) claims that Governor-General Jacob Mossel was the former owner of the collection of statues at 'Goenoeng Sarie'. In my opinion, Mossel's former stay in India cannot be held decisive in this matter. Reimer, for one, had also served in southern India and Ceylon, but there is nothing to suggest that he took any Indian antiquities with him on his transfer to Batavia. Other Governors-General with Indian connections were Johannes Thedens and Petrus Albertus van der Parra (see Putten 2002). Apart from this, van Mossel had his own mansion on his estate Batenburg ('Citadel of Revenues'), which he would bequeath to his illegitimate daughter. It seems that Mossel acquired the 'Goenoeng Sarie' estate in

Chinese temple is a unique specimen of Nairṛta from Loro Jonggrang, but also several Dhyāni-Buddha statues hailing from Candi Kalasan. The latter statues would demonstrate that Lons had travelled the same road from Kartasura to Jogjakarta, as many other VOC officials before and after him,⁶⁷ first passing Prambanan, and then the temples of Sari and Kalasan (which he did not mention in his report). The British successors would follow the same ‘well-worn route’, as Peter Carey’s historical research shows.

It can no longer be ascertained whether Lons took away any kneeling *dvārapālas* from south-central Java. But even if he did, these could not be specimens from Loro Jonggrang as Reimer’s report of 1791 gives the complete number of eight gatekeepers. Assuming that neither Reimer nor any other member of the Dutch Military Commission was responsible for this, the statues must have been removed from the temple site after their visit in August 1791. This supposition is confirmed in the dating of the Dutch drawing in the collection of the fine-art gallery attributed to François van Boeckholtz.⁶⁸ In the catalogue, the drawings were dated to c. 1794 on account of the paper watermarks ‘W. Elgar 1794’ (except three sheets). In my opinion, this would call for a somewhat later dating, with the year 1794 serving as *terminus a quo*. My alternative dating of the Dutch drawings as falling between 1795 and 1811 (when the British Interregnum began and van Boeckholtz was no longer staying in Java) obviously bears on the dating of the removal of the temple guardian statues, and this brings us to other Dutchmen who might have been involved in their theft, namely Nicolaus Engelhard and H.C. Cornelius.

Engelhard, as was noted, had in 1802 instructed Cornelius to survey Prambanan and environs, the results of which would later be shared with Mackenzie and Raffles.⁶⁹ But there also was what Krom (1923a, I:5) called ‘a shady side’ to his interest in relics of the Javanese past, ‘namely that the Governor appreciated the personal ownership of art works from the temples, and that his love for art amounted to no less than plunder’. Many of the statues that on his orders were removed from various temple sites were erected in the Governor’s residency garden in Semarang. The greater part of Engelhard’s collection would later be purchased by the Batavian Society and moved to their premises in Batavia,

1761 after the former owner left for Holland, but he died the same year. The property was purchased by one Simon Josephe, who sold it to the ‘Captain’ of the Chinese, Lim Tjipko (van de Wall 1943:41–42). The latter had the mansion converted into a Buddhist temple (Salmon and Lombard 1977:111).

67 As a rule, VOC Governors of the North-East Coast of Java, residing in Semarang, visited the courts of Surakarta and Jogjakarta shortly after taking office. In return, on the inauguration of a new Governor-General and/or a new Governor of the North-East Coast of Java, the Javanese rulers were expected to send diplomatic envoys to Batavia and Semarang. For an overview of VOC envoys to the court of Mataram in the period 1614–1733, see de Graaf 1956:270–271. Special circumstances could call for more frequent and/or higher-ranking diplomatic visits or precisely the opposite, which made it possible for both parties to use these visits as vehicles for expressing certain political feelings. As a matter of fact, the Dutch and the Javanese had different perceptions of the political meaning of embassies (see Ricklefs 1974: 248–251).

68 Regrettably, the London fine-art dealer informed me that the drawings were no longer available for inspection as they had been sold to an anonymous Indonesian buyer. As for the map of Java also mentioned in the dealer’s catalogue, this artefact has been acquired by the Special Collections department of Leiden University Library.

69 See Brandes (1886) and Krom (1920) for a detailed discussion of the help that was later extended to Mackenzie by Engelhard. See further Engelhard’s letter to Reuvens in which he specifies what plans and drawings in Raffles’ *History of Java* were obtained through him (Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, Afd. Bijzondere Collecties, BPL 885).

now the site of Museum Nasional in Jakarta. Various other sculptures from Engelhard's collection, including three large statues from Malang, were sent to Holland and ultimately transferred from the Museum of Antiquities to the Museum of Ethnology in Leiden.⁷⁰ For all I know, no gatekeeper statues from Candi Prambanan entered the Batavia and Leiden museum collections. This, however, does not imply that there were no such specimens in Engelhard's original collection.⁷¹

The role of Cornelius in the removal of statuary from Prambanan had a practical background. In 1804–1806, Cornelius was as an engineer involved in the construction of a new Dutch fortress at Klaten and almost certainly used as building materials stones and statues from nearby temples, such as Candi Sajiwan and Candi Prambanan.⁷²

An example of the plunder of temple sites by members of the Javanese nobility is provided by Tumenggung Wirio Negoro. Near Candi Asu he once had a princely residence (*dalēm*) that was surrounded by a wall measuring twelve feet in height, and constructed from the stones extracted from the Asu and Sewu temples. When Wirio Negoro and his son were later relieved from their posts, the local people were convinced that this was in retribution for the desecration of the temples (Brumund 1854:25). However, Wirio Negoro was not the only prominent Javanese to do so. In 1761, the Governor of Java's North-East Coast, Nicolaas Hartingh, reported that Hamengku Buwana, the first ruler of Jogjakarta, was keen on architecture and personally involved in the construction of fountains, grottos and water conduits.⁷³ Ricklefs gives other examples of building projects by Javanese rulers for which the ancient Hindu-Buddhist temples supplied the necessary building material.

70 For more details on the statuary originating from the Malang area, see Reuvens (1826) and Lunsingh Scheurleer (2007) for the creation of the colonial Dutch museum collections.

71 As Brumund (1868:155) reports, Engelhard's collection was 'dispersed in all directions. One part was sent to England by Raffles, another part to the Netherlands by Engelhard himself. Various items are still found here and there in the yards or gardens of Semarang civilians or were removed elsewhere'.

72 In the first and only legible sentence of his manuscript *Beschrijving der ruines van tempels op het eiland Java welken men supposeerde aan de Bramiensche of Boedoesche leer te zijn toegewijd geworden* ('Description of the ruins in the island of Java supposedly dedicated to the Brahmin or Buddhist doctrine'), Cornelius dates his involvement in the construction of the fortress to the year 1796. This statement, however, has been questioned by Rouffaer (1901) and Krom (1919) on account of the fact that (a) the construction of the fortress took place between 1804–1806, and (b) that Engelhard, to whom Cornelius refers as the 'then acting Governor of [Northeast] Java', was elected to that position only in the year 1802. In my opinion, the retrospective error about Engelhard is insufficient to question Cornelius' earlier involvement in the design of the fortress. Additional archival research shows that the idea to build a new fortress had already been conceived in 1791/2 by the Military Commission and the Governor of Northeast Java, van Overstraten. C.F. Reimer, who was a member of the Military Commission, stayed behind in Semarang to work out the technical and architectural details in collaboration with the staff of the Marine School (NA 1.04.17, bestanddeel 993). Originally it was planned to locate the fortress in the village of Marbong, but in 1804 it was decided to select another building site somewhat further to the East, in Klaten (also spelled Klatten or Klathèn). That Engelhard, in this year, entrusted Cornelius with the actual construction of the fortress can be explained by his earlier participation in the design and in the selection of the new building site (NA 2.21.004.19, bestanddeel 214). Among the building materials, which had to be supplied by the nobility and the people of Surakarta and Yogyakarta, were huge quantities of *steen van Brambanan* (stones from Prambanan) (see NA 2.21.004.19, bestanddeel 223).

73 See Bosboom 1902b:529, an article devoted to Reimer's visit to a Water Castle, now lost, in the Yogyakarta *kraton*.

In 1885, when J.W. IJzerman began his excavations at Prambanan, he did not find or mention any gatekeeper statues at Loro Jonggrang. What he did report was the disappearance of the temple-guardian statues Mackenzie and Crawford had still seen at Candi Lumbung,⁷⁴ and those of Candi Sajiwan described by Baker in Raffles' *History of Java*. IJzerman speculated that some of the missing kneeling *dvārapālas* of Candi Kalasan had been moved to the compound of some Javanese nobleman, alleging that the statues were particularly favoured because of their impressive size and threatening character.⁷⁵ Apparently, physical distances and the amount of labour needed for the removal were not perceived as a serious obstacle. As was noted by Groneman (1901:69), 'The images of the [temple] guards in the grounds of Jogjakarta [...] were probably removed to their present position in the time when the government's civil officers could still command almost unlimited unpaid labour'.

But why would the Javanese nobility suddenly have taken interest in the stone statues that they had ignored and left untouched for ages? The answer to this question presumably lies in the nobility's growing awareness of the greatness of Central Java's distant past. Foreign visitors' interest in the vestiges of the pre-Islamic past undoubtedly stimulated this. If the request of some of the early VOC officials, such as Lons, to have a look at the Prambanan temple site from close quarters and to take one or more statues with them as souvenirs of their visits, may have struck their Javanese hosts as a strange peculiarity and as something to be condoned, the much greater interest and admiration shown by van Boeckholtz, Reimer, Engelhard, Cornelius, and by their British successors, almost certainly made the Javanese nobility think differently about the ancient temples and statues (Carey 2007: 421). Particularly influential in bringing about this cognitive change, not only among the Javanese nobility but also among their British masters, including Raffles and Baker, were the Sepoy, the Indian soldiers from the Bengal Presidency who filled the ranks of the British expeditionary force in Java.⁷⁶ As chance had it, amongst the Sepoy were a very large percentage of high caste Hindus and men from wealthy landowning families, who did not shrink from obtruding in various ways upon members of the Javanese nobility, including the Sunan of Surakarta. One of their favourite topics of discussion was Java's special Hindu heritage and, consequently, their common bonds. The Sunan's fascination for Hindu ceremonial was later singled out by Raffles as one of the main rea-

74 In his survey of the antiquities, dated August 1841, van der Vlis mentioned that the two temple-guardian statues of Candi Lumbung were still found *in situ*. He did, however, notice that the statues were at unequal distances from the temple thus showing that they had been moved from their original positions (H-389h KITLV Collectie van der Vlis). Hence, their disappearance must be dated to between 1841 and 1885.

75 See IJzerman 1891:25, who speculates that Chinese insurgents during the revolt of 1740–1743 may have removed statuary from temple sites in the Prambanan area, when their leader Susuhunan Kuning established his *kraton* at Sambirot, located a few miles to the northwest of Candi Kalasan. But no indication whatsoever is offered for this conjecture.

76 Carey 1977:300; 2007:417. This is shown, for instance, in Baker's reaction of disbelief when a Sepoy identifies the shrines and statues of Candi Prambanan as purely Hindu. That Raffles is not wholly convinced either, is evident from his remark that for the ultimate decision in this matter they had to wait for the excavation of the main temple's main chamber (Raffles 1817, I:9). Baker, who knew little of archaeology, needed a Sepoy to clarify what he saw (de Haan 1935:492). Colin Mackenzie had Indian pundits in his personal entourage to inform him about the contents of ancient manuscripts and help him with the identification of Hindu-Buddhist statues.

sons for the initial contacts between the Surakarta court and the Sepoy.⁷⁷ What concerns us here is that in Jogjakarta Carey (1977:302, 2007:86, note 60) found ‘evidence that some princes took statues away from the various Hindu and Buddhist temples around the city during this period to decorate their *dalěms*’. Specifically mentioned is Prince Dipanagara who had taken ‘Brahmanical images’ from temples around Jogjakarta to adorn his estate Tegalreja.

As to the involvement of members of the Javanese nobility in removing statuary, it is worth noting that the creation of multiple power centres in south central Java during the second half of the eighteenth century caused a more dispersed distribution of the statues originating from the temples located in the Prambanan area. For example, the statues that Lons is assumed to have taken with him as royal gifts must have gone east to Kartasura and thence, passing Boyolali and Salatiga, to Semarang and Batavia. Later, after the regal bifurcation of 1755, when Loro Jonggrang became part of the Sultan of Jogjakarta’s realm, any statues taken from this temple site more likely went west, to Jogjakarta. If these were royal gifts to foreign emissaries, the statues probably were transported from Jogjakarta to the north by way of Magelang and Ambarawa, joining the road to Semarang near Salatiga. Thus both routes must be included in the search for the whereabouts of the missing kneeling *dvārapālas* from the Prambanan area; hence the importance of the separate studies in Surakarta and Jogjakarta by Abu Bakar and Rahardjo Supratikno. Considering my tentative dating of their disappearance to a period after 1791, the gatekeeper statues of Candi Prambanan probably went west, to Jogjakarta. The statue in front of Gedung Agung could be one of them.

The role of the British in the disappearance of the gatekeeper statues needs further investigation. While the said statues were perhaps not removed during their first visits to the Prambanan temple site, there is the real possibility that some of the leading British officials had the statues seized after the fall and plunder of the Jogjakarta *kraton*, in June 1812. The plunder of the royal palace by the British forces was so enormous and thorough that Peter Carey referred to it indignantly as ‘that imperial grand larceny’. So far, most attention has been paid to the theft of the Sultan’s treasure and of his books and manuscripts, but far less to the appropriation of archaeological objects. As regards this matter, art historian Mildred Archer (1958:472) presents a too rosy picture of the British activities, alleging that

Raffles realized the necessity of preserving these great monuments [i.e. those at Prambanan and Borobudur] and he directed that they should be carefully cleaned and repaired. He attempted to stop the despoiling of sites and denounced enthusiasts such as Engelhardt [*sic*], the Dutch governor of Semarang, who had removed choice statues to his own garden.

Yet one only needs to think of the so-called Minto stone, an inscribed stone slab now adorning the Scottish estate of the former Governor General of India, to realize that British ships such as the fast frigate *Modeste*, in addition to prize money, must have been

⁷⁷ These contacts became closer and at the end of 1815 resulted in a conspiracy against Europeans in Java. Ousting them from the island was one of the Sepoy’s objectives, but Raffles fancied that the success of the conspiracy might also have led to the re-conversion of the Javanese to Hinduism (Carey 2007:417).

used to transport various archaeological objects from Java to Calcutta and to England.⁷⁸ Actually, ancient stone slabs and statues were in some respects more highly valued than the prize money because of what Lord Minto perceived as the new function of the stele presented to him by Raffles, namely that ‘it may tell eastern tales of us long after our heads are under smoother stones’.⁷⁹ Evidence of the removal of statuary and other stone inscriptions by the British is still on display in the premises of the former Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta, now known as the Kolkata Museum. Apart from the famous Pucangan inscription of the East Javanese King Airlangga, the Kolkata Museum has a number of superb sculptures from central Java that could only have been acquired during the British Interregnum such as the statues of Tārā, Buddha, Ganesha, Śiva, and the bull Vṛṣa.⁸⁰

IN SEARCH OF THE PRAMBANAN GATEKEEPER STATUES

As we have seen, in the archaeological literature the erstwhile presence of gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan went nearly unnoticed. The rare VOC reports that did allude to such statues were either ignored or conveniently assumed to relate to the kneeling *dvārapālas* in the neighbouring temple complex of Candi Sewu. As far as I can tell, there are only three explicit references in the archaeological literature to temple-guardian statues originating from ‘Prambanan’ or from ‘Loro Jonggrang’.⁸¹ For practical reasons, I shall begin the search with a review of these references on the basis of Reimer’s description. Serving as a primary selection criterion is the statue’s height of approximately two metres. Listed among the statue’s most distinctive iconographic features are his curly hairdo; his holding of a snake in one hand and a club in the other (i.e. carrying it; not a club that is placed on the ground with a guardian’s hand topping it as with the Kalasan and Plaosan specimens).

The first reference, it may be recalled, is by van Bemmelen, who states that ‘in 1840 AD guardian statues at Candi Prambanan are mentioned’, but her single source for this information proved worthless and also impossible to correct. What is left for us to consider are the three kneeling *dvārapālas* not found *in situ* whose original temple complex

78 See Carey 1977:347, fn. 7, for the transfer of some of the *kraton* treasures to Calcutta by means of the fast frigate HMS *Modeste*. Considering the relatively large number of Javanese statues now in the Kolkata Museum (see footnote 95 below), other ships may have been involved in their transfer as well.

79 As quoted by Raffles 1817, II, . Appendix I, p. cxxvii (footnote).

80 I wish to thank Florinda De Simini for granting me access to her photographs of the central Javanese statues on display in the Kolkata Museum. Among the statues is a fine Tārā (acc. no. J.3/A24258); two Buddhas (acc. No. J.2/A25251/2); a Brahmā (acc. no. Ja.11/A25251); one Ganesha (Ja.8/A34183); one Śiva (Ja.13/A24101); Vṛṣa (Ja.17/A24184); Lokeśvara (acc. no. Ja.21/A25254), Prajñāpāramitā (acc. no. Ja.21/A25254). Regrettably, no temple guardian statues were found on public display in the exhibition rooms of the Kolkata Museum.

81 Here I must leave aside the indirect evidence provided by an undated, anonymous manuscript, entitled *Oudheden te Jokjokarta*, kept in the Pott Archief in the Special Collections Department of Leiden University Library, which in connection with Candi Prambanan (here distinguished from Sewu) refers to ‘three statues of about seven feet presumed to represent warders’. Considering that this statement is followed by a reference to Raffles (part 2, page 8) and has a supplementary note dated to May 1829, in a different hand, we may infer that the three extant warders were removed from the temple site between 1817 and 1829.

is now unknown, but which van Bemmelen nevertheless claimed could not originate from non-Buddhist complexes. Of these, two statues are on display in the National Museum in Jakarta under the numbers 210 and 211 (forming a pair), while the third was said to be kept 'on the terrain of Candi Prambanan' under the number 116. As far as their potential origin from the Śaiva temple complex of Candi Prambanan is concerned, I think that the three statues can safely be dismissed from further consideration since they do not fit Reimer's description of the lost gatekeeper statues. Not only are they much shorter, they all have one hand placed on a club the top of which is placed on the ground, whereas they should have carried a club in an upright position in one of their hands. Besides, the first two statues are not from the Prambanan area, but from an unknown site in the Kedu area.

The second reference, by Aboe Bakar, concerns two distinct pairs of temple-guardian statues in Surakarta, namely one at Gapura Gladag and the other at Mandungan. These statues can also be dismissed from further consideration, as each holds a club placed on the ground. Neither do some other features tally with Reimer's description, such as the seating posture of the Mandungan pair and their much shorter height of about 135 cm.



Fig. 14: Temple-guardian statue in the grounds of the Dutch Residency House (now Istana Kepresidenan Jogjakarta, popularly known as Gedung Agung). Photograph by Kassian Cephas (KITLV, image code 17741).

The third reference, by Supratikno Raharjo, looks more promising. To explain why the statue in front of Gedung Agung in Jogjakarta could be one of the lost gatekeeper statues from Candi Prambanan, we first need to review the arguments Rahardjo put forward for his claim that the statue was made by a modern artist. His main arguments were the statue's close similarity to the *dvārapālas* of Candi Sewu, and the fact that placing it at this temple site is precluded because of spatial constraints and numerical redundancy. In my opinion, only the second argument holds: the group of eight temple-guardian statues at Candi Sewu forms a complete set. The close similarity, on the other hand, should have been accepted for what it is and not as implying an identity of sorts, as Rahardjo tacitly does. Although he did notice some iconographic differences between the Gedung Agung statue and the *dvārapālas* of Candi Sewu, Rahardjo fails to see or shies away from considering it as a specimen from a different, if unknown temple group.

In this context, the presumed connection of kneeling *dvārapālas* with Buddhist temples may have prevented him from thinking of Candi Prambanan as a possible site of origin, in spite of local rumours about a kneeling *dvārapāla* as hailing from 'Loro Jonggrang'.

Close inspection of the Gedung Agung statue reveals more iconographic differences from the Candi Sewu *dvārapālas* than those enumerated by Rahardjo, which are limited to the very slight difference in height (namely 240 cm against an average height of the eight Candi Sewu specimens of 241,5 cm) and in the depth of the sculptor's carvings. His clarification is as follows:

The notable difference is that the Gedung Agung statue clearly must have been carved by an artist who did not have the same skills as the artists of Sewu. The contours of his carving are too shallow and the intricate decorative details found in the *dvārapālas* at Sewu are not found in the Gedung Agung statue. Furthermore, there are parts of the body (especially at the back) that are not clearly separated from each other by firm lines, thus resulting in a stiff impression.

Supposing that the *dvārapāla* [in question] was really made in the past, it must have been in existence before the group of *dvārapālas* of Sewu. However, taking into account the above mentioned facts, the author is inclined to take the *dvārapāla* of Gedung Agung merely for a copy by a ‘modern artist,’ who had used the Sewu *dvārapālas* as his models.⁸²



Fig. 15a: Temple-guardian statue at Candi Sewu (front). Photograph by van Kinsbergen (KITLV, image code 87790).



Fig. 15b: Temple-guardian statue at Candi Sewu (back). Photograph by van Kinsbergen (KITLV, image code 87780).

In addition to the shallow carving and the less intricate decorations, attention should have been drawn to the different form of the statue's club, which does not end in a distinct small round top and also lacks the decorative band in the middle that can be seen on the clubs of the Sewu *dvārapālas*. Comparison of the rear side of the statues shows that the curls in the hair-dress of the Gedung Agung statue taper off differently at the shoulders, and that there are two folds visible in his waistband against the three of the Sewu *dvārapālas*.⁸³ Furthermore, as J.F. Jochim pointed out long ago, the Gedung Agung statue is seated on a square block of stone unlike his Sewu counterparts who are each seated on a tapering cushion.⁸⁴ All in all enough, I think, to warrant the conclusion that the Gedung

82 Supratikno Rahardjo 1986:30; my translation.

83 Regrettably, my various attempts at obtaining a photo of the backside of the Gedung Agung statue in question failed. My analysis is based on inspection of the poor photograph included in Supratikno Rahardjo's article that he received from his mentor Prof. Edi Sedyawati.

84 Jochim 1913:93. More precisely, each of the gatekeeper statues on the right-hand side of each of the four main entrances to the Sewu temple complex is seated with one buttock on a square stone in the form of a

Agung was not modelled after the Sewu temple-guardian statues, and should therefore be regarded as a separate specimen.

But what is actually known about the origin of this statue and how did it end up on the premises of Gedung Agung? Regrettably, little is known about the origin of the *dvārapāla* statue in question.⁸⁵ However, delving into the history of the Gedung Agung complex yields information that suggests a more ancient origin of the statue than the fictitious modern artist proposed by Supratikno Rahardjo. Located directly in front of the Dutch fortress Vredeburg ('Citadel of Peace'), the complex once was the seat of the senior Dutch representative in the Sultan's capital, who was known as the First Resident.⁸⁶ On assuming office in 1823, the newly appointed First Resident in Jogjakarta, Anthonië Hendrik Smissaert, found the existing buildings in a grave state of disrepair. He had the old Residency House torn down and replaced by a new building, which was designed and built by the well-known Belgian artist-architect A. Payen in the period 1824–1825 (Carey 2007:3). The new buildings were erected further away from the road leading up to the *kra-ton*. The spacious gardens thus created in front of and on the sides of the central building were provided with a number of ponds, including a 'floating pavilion' (*bale kambang*), and an artistic layout of footpaths. A number of statues and decorative fragments hailing from various nearby temples were added to turn this outer space into an ornamental garden. The Residency House was again rebuilt after the destructive earthquake of 1867. In 1925, following a colonial administrative reorganization, when Jogjakarta acquired the status of province, the Residency House was assigned to civil servants with the rank of Governor. After Indonesia gained Independence, the building complex was again refurbished and turned into a regional headquarters and palace for the Indonesian Head of State.

The period most relevant to the present case falls roughly between 1845 and 1912. Stimulated by sensational archaeological discoveries in Greece and Egypt, there was an increasing interest in the antiquities of Java. More and more people started collecting statues and artefacts from the Hindu-Buddhist period, particularly among Europeans living in urban centres near the temple remains, such as in Klaten and Jogjakarta. In 1885, J.W. IJzerman, then posted in Jogjakarta as Head Engineer of the Netherlands Indies Railways,

cushion with rounded-off points and adorned with a button in the form of a flower bud on the inner side of the cushion (see photograph). The flower buds are not visible on the opposite statues because they are covered by the tail end of sculpted loincloths. That these companion statues can be assumed to be seated on cushions as well, is evident from the statue at the northern entrance, which does have a flower button on the inner side of the stone, next to the statue's right foot. This stone also has rounded-off points and horizontal cuts resembling the folds in a cushion. By contrast, the statue of the lone warder at Gedung Agung appears to be seated with one buttock on a square, undecorated block of stone that does not resemble a cushion. This conclusion is based on Jochim's testimony and inspection of old photographs of the Gedung Agung statue. Having sunk below lawn level the pedestal and part of the sitting-stone are no longer visible—thus preventing me from double-checking the latter's appearance.

85 Caution is needed with respect to the hardly legible number A104 now painted on the backside, since it does not correspond with the old inventories of Groneman, Knebel, and Jochim, that invariably list the said statue as no. 113. In 1912, Jochim (1913:93) reported that 'In the course of time the numbers on several statues [on the lawn of the Residency House] were washed away by the rains; it would certainly be recommended to have them renewed regularly'. Most likely it concerns a new number.

86 Presumably the name of the old Residency House was Rustenburg ('Citadel of Leisure'), contrary to Carey (2007:3, n. 6) who suggests that Rustenburg was the alternative name for the fortress Vredeburg (misspelled as Vredenburg).

founded the amateur Archaeological Society of Jogjakarta, together with physician Isaac Groneman and others. The first activities of the Society were the clearing and excavation of the collapsed chambers of the main temples in the central courtyard of the Prambanan temple complex. In the year of its founding, the Society received a letter from the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences proposing a plan for an archaeological museum (see Bosch 1935). This idea was favourably received by the First Resident of Jogjakarta, who even put a certain part of the Residency grounds at the disposal of the Society, for the storage of archaeological objects. Even so, it took almost ten years to erect the wooden building for this purpose and another two years to agree on the layout, and three final years for the central government in Batavia to issue the formal permission for the use of the open storage building as the Society's museum. Colonial Dutch photos in the Photograph Archives of the Indonesian Archaeological Service (e.g., OD photo 313) show what in the meantime had become of the ornamental garden, that is: a yard crammed with statues and other archaeological objects. In the first inventory, published by Groneman in 1900, there were 148 objects. In the second catalogue in the second catalogue by J. Knebel in 1902, there were over 300. Subsequently, Jochim had the objects described separately, with the first category comprising objects in the front garden of the Residency House (including no less than six '*rākshasas*'). The second category concerned objects housed in the open storage building in the back garden, designated both as the 'Museum of the Archaeological Society' and, disparagingly, as 'museum shed' (museumloods).⁸⁷

In 1912, after the Dutch-Indies government had formally abolished the Archaeological Society, N.J. Krom was entrusted with the task to distribute the archaeological collection among the museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences in Batavia, and another museum planned for the nearby town of Magelang. The few archaeological objects not listed for removal to either Batavia or Magelang were to remain temporarily on the premises of the Residency House, including the six temple guardian statues.



Fig. 16a: *Stūpa* amidst a motley of statues in the ornamental garden of the Dutch Residency House at Jogjakarta, around 1900 (KITLV 40216).

87 See Jochim (1913:92–93) for a specification of the details of the six '*rākshasas*' on the lawn of the Residency House, listed under the numbers 113, 114, 115, 116, 118 and 133. Some smaller '*rākshasas*' (for instance, nos. 62 and 192) were stored in the museum shed. Photos of the shed were published in the journal *Djawa* (15, 1935), marking the opening of the new museum Sono Budoyo in the centre of Jogjakarta. As said, two temple-guardian statues from Kalasan formerly found on the front lawn of the main building of Gedung Agung (namely, nos. 118 and 133) were then included in the collection of the new Sono Budoyo museum.



Fig.16b: The newly built 'Museum of the Archaeological Society' in Jogjakarta, around 1900.

Source: *Djâwâ* 1935.

In the archaeological literature, the earliest reference to the unidentified temple-guardian statue in front of Gedung Agung stems from J.W. IJzerman, and dates from 1891. He had connected it with the diary account of J. Münnich, from 1845, about a statue of a colossal temple guardian on a hill 'behind' Candi Kalasan that was 'completely identical' to those of Candi Sewu. IJzerman speculates that 'this lonely [statue] is perhaps the same as is now found opposite the entrance of the Residency garden in Jogjakarta'. This statement implies that it must have been erected there sometime between 1845 and 1891 (or a few years earlier).⁸⁸ Who was responsible for the statue's removal from its original location is unknown. IJzerman states that the statue's exact origins could no longer be traced, which is true, but it is noteworthy that the place where Münnich had seen it—on a hill 'behind' Candi Kalasan—is close to both the sparse remains of another Buddhist sanctuary, Candi Sanan, and the village of Tanjung Tirto, south of Candi Kalasan. While the former site could boast a relatively small number of Buddhist statues, at Tanjung Tirto the situation

88 'A few years earlier' because IJzerman's book was published in 1891, which is six years after the Archaeological Society was founded and two years after IJzerman's departure for the Netherlands, in 1889. Münnich's claim that the unidentified statue was 'larger' than the 'completely identical' temple guardians of Candi Sewu contradicts to Supratikno Raharjo's statement that the statue was slightly smaller. As we do not know how Münnich arrived at this conclusion, by estimate or by actual measurement (in which he may have included the statue's pedestal), in my opinion this discrepancy should be ignored.

was quite different.⁸⁹ Here a Dutch sugar plantation of the same name was once located, and it seems that the first owner of the estate was a fanatical collector of antiquities, 'who for more than half a century had these works of art collected from the surrounding area to adorn his yard. Naturally, no longer is anything known of their original find spots'.⁹⁰ Be that as it may, the 'surrounding area' remains an important piece of information that finds some support in the official website of the Istana Kepresidenan Jogjakarta, which says

The main gate of the palace complex is 'guarded' by two large *dwarapala* statues which are also known as *Gupala*, each measuring two metres. Both statues originate from a place south of Candi Kalasan. In the palace yard, in front of the central building, a monument of andesite stone measuring 3.5 metres can be found, known by the name of *Dagoba*, which originates from the village of Cupuwatu, near Candi Prambanan. The people of Jogjakarta call it *Tugu Lilin* ('Candle Stick') because it looks like a candle which always burns, symbolizing the peaceful co-existence of religions, namely of Śiva-Hinduism and Buddhism: Śiva-Hinduism is symbolized by a *lingga* that is supported by a *stupa* symbolizing Buddhism.⁹¹

The additional information is surprising, especially the mention of two *dvārapāla* statues rather than of one specimen only. As to their origin in an unspecified place south of Candi Kalasan it is tempting to connect this place with Tanjung Tirto, but the information could also be based on a misunderstanding of colonial Dutch reports and photographs. Perhaps the association of the temple-guardian statues with Candi Kalasan (or with a place to the south of it) was caused by a different kneeling *dvārapāla* statue that was part of a much larger collection of antiquities in the Residency garden before it was moved to the nearby Sono Budoyo Museum. An early photo of Gedung Agung's ornamental garden [see Fig. 17 below] shows one of the (four) Kalasan temple guardians positioned next to the said monument, which actually represents a *stūpa* or *dagoba* (whence the popular name).⁹²

89 According to Krom (1923a, I:255) the ruins at the site of Candi Sanan yielded among other things some ten Buddhist statues, mostly damaged, comprising eight sitting Buddhas, two with loose heads, and one Tārā. The statues were first moved to Tanjung Tirto and thence to Jogjakarta. I want to thank Mark Long for tentatively associating the hill behind Kalasan with Candi Sanan as another possible site of origin of the Gedung Agung gatekeeper statue.

90 See Groneman 1900:6. It is ironic that he of all people should make his remark. During his own disastrous clearing of the Prambanan temple site he failed to take proper notes of the find spots of loose architectural and ornamental elements and had these all piled up together indiscriminately. This resulted in the severe criticism from Brandes, who branded his acts as 'an archaeological murder', which seems to have taught him a lesson.

91 The official website of the Presidential Palace of Jogjakarta is included in the so-called Situs Web Istana Presiden Republik Indonesia of 2006. Accessed, 5 April 2012.

92 As can be inferred from colonial Dutch photographs, the arrangement of the archaeological objects in the ornamental garden was not fixed and permanent. The position of the statue of the Kalasan temple guardian right next to the *stūpa* in photograph is not found in another photograph wherein the *stūpa* is shown amidst motley of statues. The single kneeling *dvārapāla* in front of the lawn was at times in the past accompanied by other temple guardian statues of much smaller size and make-up.



Fig. 17: Kalasan temple guardian statue and stūpa in the front garden of the Dutch Residency House (now Gedung Agung), around 1900. KITLV, image code 40219.

Apart from this, Cupuwatu is actually much closer to Candi Kalasan than to Candi Prambanan.⁹³ The *stūpa* was accidentally found in 1851 during the construction of a water conduit. The object was subsequently moved to nearby Tanjung Tirto and thence to Jogjakarta (see Jochim 1913:96).

As for the *dvārapāla* statue now on the lawn in front of Gedung Agung's main building, it is impossible to say whether it really originates from Candi Prambanan, and who would have ordered its removal from this temple site, and why the statue was subsequently abandoned on a hill near Candi Kalasan. Without new information, I find it improbable that the Gedung Agung specimen originates from Candi Prambanan. For why would it have been abandoned 'behind' Candi Kalasan and also on top of a hill rather than in front of this temple or elsewhere along the main road directly leading to Jogjakarta? Another problem is that it concerns a single statue only. Using the information on the size and iconographic characteristics of this statue in the search for potential companion gatekeepers proved fruitless. Skimming Knebel's and Jochim's detailed inventories in the early reports of the Netherlands East Indies Archaeological Commission by means of then current entries, namely *rākshasa/rākṣasa* ('demon' or 'giant') and *tempelwachter*

93 In some websites the name is misspelled as 'Cupuwuluwatu'. The reconstruction of the name as Cupuwatu, I first owe to Elisabeth Riharti, who used to cycle daily through the village of that name on her way from Bogem to college in Jogjakarta.

(‘temple guardian’), yielded no specimens that matched the physical dimensions and the iconographic characteristics of the Gedung Agung statue.⁹⁴

The search for the lost gatekeeper statues of Candi Prambanan thus remains open. The chances of finding them are slim because *dvārapāla* statues, as we have seen, were much in favour both among prominent colonial European citizens and members of the Javanese nobility. As Miksic (2000:331) notes in his review of van Bemmelen’s book on the *dvārapāla* of Indonesia, ‘The catalogue of *dvarapala* statues lost is an impressive, sad testimony to the problems of archaeological preservation in Indonesia’.

At the present moment, I have only two leads—not necessarily mutually exclusive—to offer to future researchers. The first is the possibility that Nicolaus Engelhard had some of the Prambanan gatekeeper statues appropriated and shipped to Holland but which never reached their destination because of shipwreck. For example, some may have entered the collection of artifacts accumulated by the archaeologist Reinwardt and included in the cargo of the three ships that were lost at sea. At least one of these ships was known to have carried a ‘selection of different statues from Brambana, Boro Bodo or elsewhere’ (Bernet Kempers 1978:34). P.J. Veth gives the names of the lost ships, namely *Amsterdam*, *Ida Aleida* and *Admiraal Evertzen*.⁹⁵ Furthermore, he reports that a number of statues from Malang had been removed from one of three doomed ships and transferred to another ship shortly before its departure. The transferred statues, including the famous sculpture of Prajñāpāramitā, arrived safely at their destination in Leiden.

The second possibility is that some of the gatekeeper statues had been appropriated by Lieutenant-Governor Raffles and shipped to England but also disappearing on the way—either because of shipwreck, or because the statues were unloaded in India in port of calls such as Calcutta (now Kolkata) and Madras (now Chennai), where they were not properly described, neglected and forgotten. I have no idea how many and what kind of stone sculptures reached England. It has recently been established that the relatively small number of stone sculptures in the British Museum does not include specimens of kneeling gatekeeper statues.⁹⁶

94 See J. Knebel’s detailed inventories in successive issues of *Rapporten van de Commissie in Nederlandsch-Indië voor Oudheidkundig Onderzoek op Java en Madoera* (ROC) 1902-1912. See also the inventories of statuary and other sculptures at Gedung Agung by Groneman (1900), Knebel (1909), Jochim (1913), and Muusses (1923). Things went wrong when the plan for the construction of a new archaeological museum in Magelang was abandoned, thus initiating what Martha Muusses (1923:110) called ‘a history of suffering’ for the sculptures that had already been moved from Jogjakarta to Magelang. Some pieces were forwarded to Batavia but most were returned to Jogjakarta and stored for several years in the open next to the southern wall of the Prambanan temple complex. What has since happened with these sculptures deserves further investigation but goes beyond the scope of the present paper. Among the small number of temple-guardian statues moved to Prambanan, there was none that matched the selection criteria used in my search.

95 P. J. Veth 1884:122, 126. The ship *Amsterdam* was wrecked in Algoa Bay on the coast of southern Africa, *Ida Aleida* went down in approaching Simon’s Bay at the Cape of Good Hope, while *Admiraal Evertzen* was lost at full sea after a fire. In the latter connection, I want to recall the similar fate of *Fame*, the vessel that was supposed to carry Raffles and his wife back to England. The fire that caused the ship’s destruction, off the coast of Bengkulu, resulted in the loss of Raffles’ property reportedly distributed over 135 hefty crates, containing invaluable Malay manuscripts, Raffles’ personal collection of maps, drawings, administrative documents, and various other objects.

96 I wish to thank Dr. Alexandra Green, Henry Ginsburg Curator for Southeast Asia, Department of

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Detailed re-examination of two separate descriptions by VOC official Carl Friedrich Reimer of an unnamed temple complex near the former tollgate at Prambanan has led me to support the long neglected conclusion that the complex should be identified as Candi Prambanan. This conclusion, however, runs counter to the ever authoritative opinion of art historian N.J. Krom, who claimed that Reimer's descriptions relate to Candi Sewu, a Buddhist temple complex nearby. Although Krom had not offered any arguments *pro* or *contra* in this matter, what must have been decisive for him are the eight kneeling gatekeeper statues that Reimer reported to have seen—two at all four entrances of the temple complex. This observation tallies with the situation found at Candi Sewu but not at Candi Prambanan, where such gatekeeper statues are missing. Complicating the issue is the much shorter account by Cornelius Anthonie Lons, another VOC official who in 1733, more than fifty years earlier, also visited temple ruins at Prambanan. The eight kneeling gatekeeper statues mentioned in Lons' report, were likewise connected with those found at Candi Sewu. In his now classic introduction to Hindu-Buddhist art in Java, Krom endorsed the latter identification by stating that 'it was not difficult to recognize in them the temple guardians of Sewu'.

One of my reasons to support H.D.H. Bosboom's (1902) neglected conclusion that the temple complex should be identified as Candi Prambanan, is Reimer's mention of the statues of Śiva, Brahmā, and Pārvatī. This fact flatly contradicts Krom's alternative identification of the temple complex as Candi Sewu. The same holds for the distinct perimeters distinguished by Reimer and his description of the innermost wall enclosing the central courtyard. This courtyard was said to contain a number of large buildings, surrounded by a wall both high and thick. This fits Candi Prambanan, not Candi Sewu (where the central compound has only a single building surrounded by a low and rather thin wall). The major obstacle still remaining is the absence of kneeling gatekeeper statues at Candi Prambanan. Relying on Reimer as a trustworthy eyewitness, the obvious solution for this

Asia, the British Museum, for this information and for her personal inspection of the basement of the British Museum. This inspection contradicts J.F. Niermijer's (1901) report about a large collection of wrapped up statues kept in storage in the vaults of the British Museum 'presumably in the same condition in which they had been dispatched by Raffles a century ago'. Museums in other European countries can also be excluded, if we can rely on W.F. Stutterheim's article 'Oudjavaansche plastiek in Europeesche musea' (1924). This article, however, is rather disappointing as Stutterheim does not offer a detailed overview of what he saw or was shown during his museum visits in Berlin, Vienna, Paris, and London, but merely presents a brief description of a very small selection of stone statues and bronzes only. His descriptions concern the sculptures he himself found interesting. As Stutterheim did not report on any *dvārapāla* statue, we must assume that he either did not see such statues or that he found them uninteresting to mention explicitly. Taken as a whole, Stutterheim found the Raffles Collection in the British Museum disappointing, not so much in terms of quality as in quantity. He had expected that Raffles, 'this pioneer of archaeological research in Java', would have had gathered a choice collection for himself with as many stone statues as bronzes. Evidently, Stutterheim was not aware of the Central Javanese statues in the collection of the former Royal Asiatic Society in the Calcutta, which must have been appropriated by Raffles during his tenure in Java.

problem is to assume that Candi Prambanan was once endowed with statues of this kind but were removed from the temple site sometime after 1791—the year of Reimer’s visit. However, as this answer presumably would not readily find general acceptance in archaeological and art-historical circles, the inference has to be substantiated by independent evidence, if this could still be found.

In this connection I first had to ascertain whether the eight temple-guardian statues in the earlier report by Lons, had been correctly ascribed to Candi Sewu. The main reason to check this lies in the fact that Candi Sewu is farther from the main road than Candi Prambanan, and not even visible from there. What evidence was adduced to render plausible Lons’ alleged move from Candi Prambanan to Candi Sewu other than his mentioning of the identical-looking *dvārapāla* statues? Perusal of Lons’ diary shows that the reading by previous scholars is debatable on one crucial point. Their interpretation hinges on one inconspicuous Dutch word, *nog* (‘next’), the interpretation of which as ‘subsequently’ was, in my opinion, biased by the foreknowledge that today only Candi Sewu could boast the gatekeeper statues. However, a historically more correct gloss of this word as ‘furthermore’ suggests that Lons never moved beyond Candi Prambanan, which would imply that the eight kneeling gatekeeper statues he saw were part of this temple site, not of Candi Sewu.

Searching the archaeological literature for further clues shows a remarkable shift in art-historical thinking about *dvārapālas*. While the early Dutch scholars, Krom included, had proceeded from the assumption that gatekeeper statues could be found at Hindu and Buddhist sites alike, the possibility that the Śaiva temple complex of Candi Prambanan had once been endowed with gatekeeper statues, was never seriously researched. Indeed, quite soon the idea would tentatively arise that kneeling gatekeeper statues were a class unto themselves, and typical for Buddhist temple complexes in central Java. Unfortunately, this idea proved so strong as to become a blind spot for art historians when confronted with rare and admittedly ambiguous references to temple-guardian statues found at or allegedly hailing from Candi Prambanan. Some even went so far as silently ‘correcting’ captions to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Dutch and British drawings of temple-guardian statues that suggested this temple complex as a possible origin of the statues depicted. One case resorted to the conjecture that an odd unidentified kneeling gatekeeper statue similar to those of Candi Sewu (and the lost statues of Candi Prambanan) was made by an unknown modern artist.

But is it correct to suppose that kneeling temple-guardian statues are typical of Buddhist temples in central Java? Can the absence of proof with respect to gatekeeper statues be taken as proof of their absence at Candi Prambanan? Easy as it is to raise this question, finding the evidence to disprove this current line of reasoning was much harder.

As the fragments of evidence found scattered in the archaeological literature were ambiguous and inconclusive, the one option left was to search for clues in extant reports of other VOC officials who, just like Lons and Reimer, happened to have passed Prambanan on their way to and from the court of Jogjakarta, and could have left notes of their visits. The places to search for such notes are the Dutch and the Indonesian National Archives, more specifically the so-called *dagregisters* in the VOC archives. A *dagregister* is the daily account written during official travels and court visits by Dutch officials for the benefit of VOC governors and administrators in Semarang and Batavia. Luck would have it that I found one such report or rather a copy of a description of Candi Prambanan

that was part of F.J. Rothenbühler's *dagregister*. This description had been extracted from Rothenbühler's official diary of his first visit, in 1788, to the royal court of Jogjakarta, and appended as an endnote to the published *dagregister* of his third visit to that court in 1794. Removed from its original context, several details in the published version remain obscure, but there is little doubt that Rothenbühler's reference to gatekeeper statues in his description concerns those of Candi Prambanan, not Sewu. In addition to this text, the captions to two Dutch drawings from the end of the eighteenth century were also found to contain positive evidence in this matter.

Further corroborative evidence is found in two Javanese texts. The first is the Old Javanese *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, tentatively dated to the mid-ninth century. The epic poem contains a fairly detailed description of a temple complex, long since identified as Candi Prambanan, and mentioning gatekeeper statues by the term *rākṣasa*—ironically the term used among archaeologists until the 1980s when it was replaced by the designation *dvārapāla*. The other text is the *Babad Bēdhah ing Ngayogyakarta*, a state chronicle written during the reign of Sultan Hamengkubuwana III. It includes a Javanese account of a visit in 1812, to Prambanan by the newly inaugurated Sultan of Jogjakarta. On this excursion he was accompanied by the British First Resident, John Crawfurd, and escorted by a large number of Javanese and British officials and troops. Among the Sultan's retinue was Adiwarna, a draughtsman ordered by the Sultan to make drawings of temple buildings, reliefs and all kinds of artefacts found at the Prambanan temple site. One of his drawings to survive the ravages of time and included in John Crawfurd's *History of the Indian Archipelago*, is of a kneeling temple-guardian statue from 'Brambanan', i.e. Candi Prambanan. Apart from representing a valuable piece of evidence in itself, the drawing also sheds new light on the reports by other British officials, such as Colin Mackenzie and George Baker. Their vague and ambiguous references to statues of giant warders at and near Loro Jonggrang, offer added support and can now more firmly be connected with Candi Prambanan.

Now that I managed to find conclusive textual and graphic evidence for their erstwhile existence, two questions remain unanswered: what happened to the lost gatekeeper statues, and where are they now? Much to my regret, so far I did not succeed in tracking down any of these statues. All we know is that their removal from the temple site must have occurred between Reimer's visit in 1791 and the period 1885–1891, when J.W. IJzerman conducted the first systematic excavations and described the Prambanan temples. One hundred years during which important socio-political changes in Java radically altered the archaeological conditions at Prambanan. Though the increasing influence of the VOC on central Javanese political affairs facilitated the access of Dutch officials to the interior of the island and confronted them with vestiges of Hindu-Buddhist remains, this also enabled some prominent VOC officials to appropriate stone statues and other artefacts for themselves and have these installed as 'curiosities' in their country houses and gardens in Semarang, Jogjakarta, and Batavia. A notorious example is provided by Nicolaus Engelhard, the last VOC Governor of Java's Northeast Coast, whose Residency garden in Semarang was adorned with a large number of superb Hindu-Buddhist statues. The plunder of temple sites was continued during the British Interregnum (1811–1816) when Lieutenant-Governor Raffles and his associates took a personal interest in Java's Hindu-Buddhist past. The quality and the number of stone statues on display or in storage at the former museum of the Royal Asiatic Society in Calcutta, now Kolkata Museum, and in the British

Museum in London, suffice to reject the popular idea that Raffles' attitude differed from those of his Dutch predecessors and that he wanted to protect the ancient Javanese monuments against further plunder by the Dutch.

Subsequent political developments such as the return to power of the Dutch, which heralded the beginning of the colonial era, worsened the plight of Hindu-Buddhist monuments and artefacts. Candi Prambanan, in particular, suffered badly. Located near the main road and in the neighbourhood of important urban centres and industries, the temple complex was easy to quarry for the stones needed in the construction of houses, railroad tracks, water works, and sugar mills. Although promulgated in 1840, it was not until the beginning of the twentieth century that the law to protect Hindu-Buddhist sites from further pillage was steadily put into effect. By then all physical traces of the giant temple guardian statues at Candi Prambanan had long since disappeared. It now appears that Dutch archaeologists and art historians should have taken more seriously popular rumours of their former presence, which persisted until very recently. Hopefully, future researchers will take up some of the leads in this essay and continue the search for the lost gatekeeper statues.

The closing remark concerns one of the art-historical implications of the rediscovery, even if only virtual, of Candi Prambanan's lost gatekeeper statues, which is the contradiction of the current opinion that only Buddhist temples in central Java were endowed with kneeling temple-guardian statues. Even so, this conclusion should be taken as provisional. It only holds if Candi Prambanan can be regarded as a separate Śaiva temple complex not integrated with Candi Sewu and other nearby Buddhist temples into a larger Buddhist conceptual whole. Going far beyond the scope of the present essay and my capacity, I shall have to leave this question as well, to future researchers.

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