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Provenance report regarding Staatsiekrissen (Ceremonial Krisses]

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Provenance report regarding Staatsiekrissen (*Ceremonial krisses*)

Tom Quist

 Photo: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-5393	Custodian	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current possessor	Dutch State
	Inventory number	RV-360-5393
	Material/technique	Iron, nickel, gold, silver, suasa (gold-copper alloy), wood, rubies, paint
	Measurements	53 x 22.5 x 6 cm Length of blade: 50 cm Length of sheath: 52 cm
 Photo: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-5394	Custodian	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current possessor	Dutch State
	Inventory number	RV-360-5394
	Material/technique	Iron, nickel, gold, wood, enamel
	Measurements	Length: 44 cm Length of blade: 34.5 cm Length of sheath: 38.5 cm

Summary of findings

The ceremonial krisses with object numbers RV-360-5393 and RV-360-5394 display characteristics that are typical of the Sultanate of Yogyakarta. Further research into the object characteristics in collaboration with Indonesian kris experts may be able to establish whether the weapons indeed originate from here. The provenance research in primary and secondary sources was unable to demonstrate whether RV-360-5393 was, as assumed, looted during the British capture of the *kraton* of the Sultan of Yogyakarta in 1812, and whether RV-360-5394 belonged to a Javanese regent. Nor is it clear at what point in the nineteenth century the ceremonial krisses became part of the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, before being transferred to Museum Volkenkunde in 1883. Since then the weapons have been in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, which has been part of the National Museum of World Cultures since 2014.

Reconstruction provenance

< 1883

Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, The Hague

NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 861, 'Lijst van eenige Bramiensche Oudheeden & Javaansche Wapens', z.d. [List of several Brahmin antiquities and Javanese weapons, undated].

1883 - present

NMVB Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 875, Inventory of art and other objects. Also comprising the Van Overmeer Fisscher collection, 1877-1878, pp. 643-644.

Introduction and context

This report describes the results of provenance research into two ceremonial krisses in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, part of the National Museum of World Cultures (NMVB). The research was carried out by NMVB in the spring and summer of 2020. The ceremonial krisses with object numbers RV-360-5393 and RV-360-5394 are from the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, a former royal collection of historical and ethnographic objects from all continents of the world.¹ When the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden was dissolved in 1883 the ceremonial krisses were transferred to Museum Volkenkunde.² It is not known how and when the objects became part of the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden. The current object records of the items in The Museum System (TMS), the NMVB's collection management system, state that RV-360-5393 was looted by the British army that captured the *kraton* (palace) of Sultan Hamengkubuwono II of Yogyakarta (1750-1828) in 1812, and that RV-360-5394 at one time belonged to a Javanese regent.³ Despite the difference in the weapons' supposed provenance, old object descriptions suggest that the items share the same provenance history. That is why the krisses were studied in conjunction as

¹ The Museum System (TMS, NMVB collection management system), series RV-360.

² In 1883 the museum was still known as Rijks Ethnographisch Museum. For reasons of clarity and consistency, this provenance report only uses the name Museum Volkenkunde.

Rudolf Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen. Het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden en het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, 1816-1883* (Leiden 2003) 11; Museum Volkenkunde (NL-LdnRMV), Archive series 360 (unarranged), documents 'Serie 360', 26 September 1966 and undated.

³ Wikipedia. "Hamengkubuwana II." https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamengkubuwana_II.

part of the same research.

The ceremonial kris with object number RV-360-5393 has a wavy blade on which gold decorations have been applied. The bottom of the blade bears the head of a crowned snake on both sides. The gold body of the snake extends down the centre for almost the entire length of the blade. In addition gold foliage and floral motifs can be seen on the lower half of the blade. Furthermore, the kris has a striking metal hilt in the shape of a bent figure. The forehead, ears, and chest of the figure are decorated with small rubies, most of which are no longer present. According to a description of the weapon on an inventory card of Museum Volkenkunde the figure represents Garuda, mount of the god Vishnu in Hindu mythology.⁴ The wooden sheath of the kris is painted with mountains and other motifs, possibly birds, trees, and plants. An oversheath has been fitted over the sheath which according to the details on the inventory card is made of *suasa*, an alloy of gold and copper.⁵ One side of the oversheath is largely smooth, although there are several engraved leaves at the tip. Diamond and leaf patterns are engraved on the other side, which does not cover the entire sheath.



Photos: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-5393.

For many years the kris and sheath with object number RV-360-5393 were kept separately in the depot of Museum Volkenkunde. This was due to work carried out on the collection in the 1990s as part of the Delta Plan for Cultural Preservation, a government-funded programme aimed at eliminating the backlog in the conservation and management of Dutch cultural heritage institutions.⁶ During the implementation of the Delta Plan, only the sheath was identified as belonging to object

⁴ TMS, object record RV-360-5393.

⁵ Ibid.; Edward Frey, *The Kris. Mystic Weapon of the Malay World* (Oxford 1988) 21.

⁶ <https://erfgoedmonitor.nl/de-geschiedenis-van-het-begrip-collectie-nederland>, consulted on 12 August 2020.

number RV-360-5393. The kris, on the other hand, 'disappeared' into a series of objects belonging to the Insular Southeast Asia department which were found to be unnumbered and as such was assigned a new object number: RV-03-1863. Research established in 2018 that the kris and sheath belong together, following comparison of the object characteristics with a catalogue description accompanied by an early twentieth-century photograph.⁷ Moreover, it transpired that the kris fits in the sheath.⁸

The ceremonial kris with object number RV-360-5394 has a wavy blade. It also has gold adornments but these are limited to a decoration at the bottom of the blade and the stem ring between the hilt and the blade. The blade features *pamor*, patterns in shades of grey created by welding together iron and nickel alloy.⁹ The wooden hilt of the kris is columnar and slightly curved, with carved decorations in two places. The sheath is also made of wood and comes with a gold oversheath. One side of the oversheath has decorations including birds and plants. According to a description of the weapon on an inventory card of Museum Volkenkunde the apparently dark areas on the oversheath are of green enamel.¹⁰



Photos: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-5394.

What do the object characteristics tell us about the geographical provenance of the two ceremonial krisses? According to two standard works on krisses, the hilt of RV-360-5394 is typical of eighteenth and nineteenth-century kris hilts of the Yogyakarta Sultanate.¹¹ It cannot be deduced from the

⁷ TMS, object record RV-360-5393. Compare: H.H. Juynboll, *Catalogus van 's Rijks Ethnographisch Museum. Deel XI. Java, Tweede gedeelte* (Leiden 1916) 224 and plate X, figure 1.

⁸ TMS, object record RV-360-5393.

⁹ Frey, *The Kris*, 31.

¹⁰ TMS, object record RV-360-5394.

¹¹ Frey, *The Kris*, 47-50; David van Duuren, *De kris. Een aardse benadering van een kosmisch symbool* (Amsterdam 1996) 41, 48.

literature whether the figurative hilt of RV-360-5393 can also be traced to Yogyakarta. During the provenance research, advice was therefore sought from David van Duuren, a Dutch expert on krisses and author of one of the two standard works on krisses that were consulted.¹² Based on the photographs of RV-360-5393 Van Duuren noted that it is “very well possible” that the kris and sheath originated in Yogyakarta.¹³ For example the mountains depicted on the painted sheath are a recurring theme on Yogyakarta kris sheaths, according to Van Duuren. In this context he is referring to the oversheath of RV-360-5394, the dark-coloured decorations on which in his opinion also represent mountains. Van Duuren believes that the figurative hilt of RV-360-5393 represents a demon, with teeth, human-like feet, and possibly a third eye on its forehead. Because figurative hilts are characteristic of pre-eighteenth-century Javanese krisses, in Van Duuren’s opinion, there is a good chance that the kris dates back to the time of the Sultanate of Mataram, which ruled over Central Java from the end of the sixteenth century and split into the Yogyakarta Sultanate and the Surakarta Sunanate in the middle of the eighteenth century.¹⁴ In that case it would mean that the kris is older than the sheath, and that the sheath may have been tailor-made for the kris in Yogyakarta.

In summary, both ceremonial krisses can be linked to Yogyakarta based on the object characteristics. With regard to RV-360-5393, it is clear that the sheath in any case is manufactured in the style of the sultanate, while both the hilt and the oversheath of RV-360-5394 correspond with the characteristics of krisses from Yogyakarta.¹⁵

Provenance report

The starting point for the provenance research was 1883, the year in which the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden was dissolved and the collection was divided among various heritage institutions. Museum Volkenkunde received the ethnographic part of the collection, which was absorbed into the collection as series 360.¹⁶

Upon their transfer in 1883 the ceremonial krisses were assigned the object numbers RV-360-5393 and RV-360-5394. The last four digits refer to the numbering of objects adopted several years prior to the dissolution of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden. In 1876-1879 acting director David van der Kellen, Jr. (1827-1895) compiled a new inventory of the collection¹⁷ in which the numbers 5393 and 5394 were described, respectively, as:

- “A Javanese kris, with gold sheath, originating from the ancestors of the Sultan of Djocjokarta and captured during the storming of his *kraton* in 1812”;

¹² In addition to being an Dutch expert on krisses David van Duuren worked for Amsterdam’s Tropenmuseum, including as curator of Oceania and historical collections, from 1970 until 2010.

¹³ Email from David van Duuren to Francine Brinkgreve (curator of Insular Southeast Asia at NMVW), 9 July 2020.

¹⁴ M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (Basingstoke 2001) 46-48; <https://www.britannica.com/event/Gianti-Agreement>, consulted on 13 August 2020.

¹⁵ In April 2021, a few months after the provenance report was completed, additional advice was sought from Raden Usman Effendi, an Indonesian expert on krisses. Regarding RV-360-5393, he stated that the kris was either made in the early period of the Yogyakarta Sultanate or in the Mataram era, and that the weapon was owned by a high-ranking aristocrat (email from Raden Usman Effendi, 27 April 2021). In July 2021, he noted that RV-360-5394 was possibly made before the Mataram era. The kris could have been forged by *empu* (ironsmith) Pangeran Sedayu in the late period of the Majapahit Empire (c. sixteenth century), and was owned by a high-ranking person (email Raden Usman Effendi, 2 July 2021).

¹⁶ Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen*, 217-228.

¹⁷ RKD. “David van der Kellen (III).” <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/43780>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

- "A ditto kris with ditto sheath, having once belonged to a Javanese regent."¹⁸

The compilation of the inventory turned out to be a hefty task for Van der Kellen, Jr. because his predecessor Abraham Anne van de Kastele (1814-1893) had neglected the management of the collection in every respect.¹⁹ For example there are almost no archive records concerning the acquisition of objects during Van de Kastele's directorship (1840-1876). Furthermore he discovered that items had not been numbered. In compiling the new inventory Van der Kellen, Jr. therefore drew on documents he was able to lay his hands on, such as old lists with descriptions of items. He copied over the information from these sources and then assessed which object in the collection best matched the description.²⁰

That Van der Kellen, Jr. must have also applied the above method to the ceremonial krisses is evident from one of the draft versions of his inventory in the archive of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, which is held in the North Holland Archives.²¹ Two further numbers are visible in the margin by the descriptions of numbers 5393 and 5394, namely 15 and 16, respectively. These numbers are part of alternative numbering from 1 to 22 (inclusive) running from number 5379 to 5401 (inclusive). Above number 5379 is written: "List of several Brahmin antiquities and Javanese weapons."²² It is indeed the case that all the objects in series 5379-5401 are Hindu-Javanese antiquities and Javanese weapons. The list that Van der Kellen, Jr. refers to is also in the archive of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden.²³ The document is undated but is probably from 1840 or 1841.²⁴ The document contains 22 numbers with object descriptions which are virtually identical to those of series 5379-5401 in the draft inventory. Van der Kellen, Jr. therefore copied over the list to his inventory and in all likelihood then looked at which objects in the collection matched the descriptions. In copying over the list Van der Kellen, Jr. did overlook one important detail: there is a note in brackets after the kris thought to have belonged to a Javanese regent saying "Radeen Tommogong."

¹⁸ "Een Javaansche Kris, met gouden scheede, afkomstig van de voorvaders van den sultan van Djocjakarta en veroverd bij de bestorming van zijn kraton in 1812"; "een dito Kris met dito scheede, toebehoord hebbende aan een Javaansch regent." See: North Holland Archives (NL-HlmNHA), archival finding aid 476: Rijksmuseum and legal predecessors in Amsterdam, inventory number 875: inventory of art and other objects. Also comprising the Van Overmeer Fisscher collection, 1877-1878, pp. 643-644, <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198140&miview=inv2> (image 98), consulted on 19 August 2020.

¹⁹ RKD. "Abraham Anne van de Kastele." <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/43567>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

²⁰ Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen*, 58, 61-62, 212-216.

²¹ NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.nos. 874-875: Inventories of art and other objects, 1876-1878, <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198139&miview=inv2> and <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198140&miview=inv2>, consulted on 19 August 2020.

²² "Lijst van eenige Bramiensche Oudheden en Javaansche wapens." See: NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 875: Inventory of art and other objects, pp. 641-642, <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198140&miview=inv2> (image 97), consulted on 19 August 2020. "Brahmin" refers to the Hindu god Brahma.

²³ NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 861: Documents concerning proposals for the exchange of art and other objects, 1818, 1822, 1850-1859, "Lijst van eenige Bramiensche Oudheden & Javaansche Wapens," z.d. [List of several Brahmin antiquities & Javanese weapons, undated] <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12102/5902484DC76647AF8D5A1C7FEE6F05E5> (images 11-12), consulted on 19 August 2020.

²⁴ Although the list is in a file of archive records dating from 1853 it is likely that the document dates from 1840 or 1841. In late 1840 the minister of the Interior instructed Abraham Anne van de Kastele to draw up a list of antiquities in the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden — including objects from Java — which Conrad Leemans, director of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in Leiden, claimed belonged in his museum. See: NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 856: Documents concerning the donation of art and other objects of non-European origin, 1832-1876: letter from Hendrik Merkus baron de Kock (minister van Binnenlandse Zaken) to Abraham Anne van de Kastele, 24 December 1840, <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198112&miview=inv2> (images 33-35), consulted on 7 September 2020; Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen*, 134, 187-188.

Given the fact that the object descriptions on the list are not very detailed, there is a chance that the weapons that Van der Kellen, Jr. assigned to numbers 5393 and 5394 in the inventory are not the objects referred to on the list. In other words: it is possible that the ceremonial krisses with object numbers RV-360-5393 and RV-360-5394 have a different provenance than has been assumed to date based on the information from the inventory of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden. However, it is also possible that Van der Kellen, Jr. did link the correct weapons to the descriptions in his inventory.

The next question is now how and when the ceremonial krisses entered the collection of Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden. The provenance research revealed that this cannot be answered with certainty. However a possible scenario can be drawn based on a note found in a second draft version of the inventory of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, both with regard to the acquisition of the krisses by the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden and to the route by which the objects travelled from the interior of Java to The Hague.

The descriptions of numbers 5379-5401 in the second draft of the inventory — which is held in the archive of Museum Volkenkunde — are the same as those in the version in the North Holland Archives. However, a note written in pencil after the series says “Coll. Domis?”.²⁵ At first glance it is not clear who made these notes but handwriting comparison has revealed that the writing looks like that of Pieter Pott (1918-1989), the curator and director of Museum Volkenkunde from 1947 to 1982.²⁶ Added to this is the fact that in 1966 Pott conducted research into the provenance of objects from the former collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, including objects that were not transferred to Museum Volkenkunde in 1883. Using the draft inventory and documents concerning the acquisition of objects in the archive of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden Pott attempted to establish broadly how and when which objects became part of the collection. Pott recorded his findings in concise summaries using the number sequences from the inventory, followed by the provenance information he had discovered. For example the number sequences from the inventory that correspond with descriptions of Hindu-Javanese antiquities are followed by the note “Collectie Domis,” as is also the case for the numbers 5379-5401.²⁷

Pott does not explain how he arrived at this conclusion, although for one of the other number sequences with the addition “Collectie Domis” he indicates that these are objects that were transferred to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1883 before being handed over to Museum Volkenkunde in 1903. Museum Volkenkunde did indeed acquire a large number of objects from Southeast Asia from the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden in 1903 and these items can still be found today in the current collection of Museum Volkenkunde under series 1403.²⁸ It is possible that they also include objects which initially went to the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden when the Koninklijk

²⁵ Museum Volkenkunde (NL-LdnRMV), A03: Collection archive, inv.no. 16: Inventory book of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, Part I, f. 294-295.

²⁶ Ger van Wengen, “*Wat is er te doen in Volkenkunde?*” *De bewogen geschiedenis van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde in Leiden* (Leiden 2002) 195; <https://hoogleraren.leidenuniv.nl/id/1967>, consulted on 9 September 2020. The note “Coll. Domis” was compared to the handwriting in Pott’s travel journals from the 1950s and 1970s, which are part of archival finding aid A17 (unarranged): Archives of former (executive) employees of Museum Volkenkunde.

²⁷ NL-LdnRMV, Archive series 360 (unarranged), documents ‘Serie 360’, 26 September 1966 and undated. One of the lists was signed by Pott, as is evident from a comparison of the signature with that of Pott as it can be found in the aforementioned travel journals. See also: NL-LdnRMV, A03, inv.nos. 16-17: Inventory books of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, Parts I and II.

²⁸ Van Wengen, “*Wat is er te doen in Volkenkunde?*,” 41; TMS, series 1403.

Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden was dissolved in 1883.²⁹ While it is not possible to be sure about this latter point, it is certain that several Hindu-Javanese antiquities in series 1403 came from “H.J. Domis.”³⁰ Pott must therefore have concluded that the objects concerned in series 1403 had belonged to the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden before 1883. Next, Pott must have argued that the other series of Hindu-Javanese antiquities in the inventory — including the numbers 5379-5401 — had also been acquired via “H.J. Domis.” If Pott’s theory is correct this person must therefore have been in possession of the ceremonial krisses with object numbers RV-360-5393 and RV-360-5394 prior to the acquisition of the weapons by the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden.

Research in archive records, digitised newspapers and other online sources led to H.J. Domis being identified as Hendrik Jacob Domis (1782-1842), civil servant in the ports of Semarang, Pasuruan, and Surabaya on the north coast of Java in the period from 1812 to 1834.³¹ Domis is known to have amassed a collection of Hindu-Javanese antiquities during his tenure in Java.³² After his death Rijksmuseum van Oudheden attempted to acquire the collection from Domis’ descendants, but was initially unsuccessful: the collection was acquired by Johannes Frederik van Overmeer Fisscher (1800-1848).³³ Eventually, the museum succeeded in acquiring the collection from Van Overmeer Fisscher in late 1843.³⁴ Given that the “List of several Brahmin antiquities and Javanese weapons” was probably drawn up in 1840 or 1841, this would mean that Domis released part of his collection to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden during his lifetime. In that case, the transfer must have taken place between 1834 and 1841 because Domis went on leave to the Netherlands in 1834.³⁵

The provenance research revealed that Domis was based in Semarang in 1812.³⁶ At that point, Java was no longer governed by the Dutch after the island was seized by British troops the previous year. Before long the British regime under Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Stamford Raffles (1781-1826) came into conflict with the Sultan of Yogyakarta.³⁷ The rising tensions culminated in British troops storming the sultan’s *kraton* in June 1812. The sultan and his entourage were taken prisoner and their krisses and other weapons confiscated. This was followed by a wholesale plundering of the *kraton* by the British forces, which went on for more than four days. The looted goods included krisses and other weapons, a large quantity of silver coins, precious stones, jewellery, clothing, wayang puppets, musical instruments, archives and manuscripts. After this plunder, part of the spoils

²⁹ National Archives of the Netherlands (NL-HaNA), 2.04.13: Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken: Afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1875-1918), archive inventory introduction, p. 21, http://www.gahetna.nl/archievenoverzicht/pdf/NL-HaNA_2.04.13.ead.pdf, consulted on 20 August 2020.

³⁰ TMS, series 1403. This concerns object numbers RV-1403-1761 up to and including RV-1403-1785, RV-1403-1788 up to and including RV-1403-1832.

³¹ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01: Ministerie van Koloniën (1814-1849), inv.no. 3091, Stamboek van Oost-Indische ambtenaren [Service records of East Indian Civil Servants], 1814, Part A, f. 205; <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/94816553>; <https://www.kloek-genealogie.nl/Domis.htm>, both consulted on 2 September 2020.

³² Royal Library of the Netherlands (KB), Delpher, *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 2 January 1843, p. 2, article “Javaansche Oudheden,” <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010074288:mpeg21:a0011>; *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 10 December 1842, p. 4, article “Oost-Indische Oud- en Zeldzaamheden,” <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010072724:mpeg21:a0071>, both consulted on 3 September 2020.

³³ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. “Johannes Gerhard Frederik Fischer.” <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/66098217>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

³⁴ KB, Delpher, *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 20 January 1843, p. 2, article “Museum van Oudheden te Leyden,” <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010088484:mpeg21:a0007>; *Nederlandsche Staatscourant*, 11 February 1845, p. 2, article “Museum van Oudheden te Leyden,” <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010089421:mpeg21:a0006>, both consulted on 3 September 2020; C. Leemans, *Beschrijving van de Indische oudheden van het Rijks-Museum van Oudheden te Leiden* (Leiden 1885) xv.

³⁵ NL-HaNA, 2.10.01, inv.no. 3091, f. 205; https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/aa_001biog05_01/aa_001biog05_01_0539.php, consulted on 7 September 2020.

³⁶ KB, Delpher, *Java Government Gazette*, 20-06-1812, Advertisement (untitled), <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010247540:mpeg21:a0005>, consulted on 7 September 2020.

³⁷ Britannica. “Sir Stamford Raffles.” <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Stamford-Raffles>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

were sold by soldiers at the market in Yogyakarta. On 3 July the British transported another part to Semarang, along with the exiled sultan and his two sons. From there the loot was shipped to Bengal. The research did not reveal whether some of the spoils were also sold in the port, as had happened in Yogyakarta. Nor were any documents found which prove that Domis acquired possession of two krisses at that time.³⁸

The provenance research concluded with an attempt to identify the person who had been the owner of the kris with number 16 according to the “List of several Brahmin antiquities and Javanese weapons.” Given that the addition “Radeen Tommogong” refers to Raden Tumenggung, a Javanese title of nobility,³⁹ this proved to be an impossible task. For example, Peter Carey’s text edition of a Javanese account written by Pangeran Arya Panular (c. 1772-1826) at the time of the British occupation of Java and the storming of the sultan’s *kraton* alone mentions dozens of people with the title Raden Tumenggung.⁴⁰ None of these people are reported to have surrendered or to have been divested of their kris, although for two of them it could be surmised that this was the case. They are Raden Tumenggung Sumadiningrat (c. 1760-1812), the army commander of Yogyakarta, who was killed and mutilated during the capture of the *kraton* before being stripped of his possessions.⁴¹ It is also plausible that Raden Tumenggung Sumadiwiryah had to hand his kris over to the British following his decision to accompany the sultan and his sons into exile.⁴² However, all in all it is impossible to trace which person with the title of Raden Tumenggung might have owned the kris. It is therefore also impossible to establish whether the weapon was seized during the British attack on the *kraton* of the Sultan of Yogyakarta in June 1812.

³⁸ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 147-149; Peter Carey, *The power of prophecy. Prince Dipanagara and the end of an old order in Java, 1785-1855* (Leiden 2007) 341, 347-350, 363-365.

³⁹ Th. Pigeaud, *Javaans-Nederlands handwoordenboek* (Groningen/Batavia 1938) 484, 600.

⁴⁰ Peter Carey, *The British in Java, 1811-1816. A Javanese Account. A Text Edition, English Synopsis and Commentary on British Library Additional Manuscript 12330 (Babad Bědhah ing Ngayogyakarta)* (Oxford 1992) 563-611 (index); Carey, *The power of prophecy*, 795.

⁴¹ Peter Carey, *The British in Java*, 15; Carey, *The power of prophecy*, 957.

⁴² Peter Carey, *The British in Java*, 438 (n. 201); Carey, *The power of prophecy*, 363.