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Provenance report regarding Staatsiekris [Ceremonial kris]

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2022

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Quist, T. (2022). *Provenance report regarding Staatsiekris [Ceremonial kris]*. (PPROCE provenance reports; No. 8).

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Provenance report regarding Staatsiekris [*Ceremonial kris*]

Tom Quist

 <i>Photo: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-6021</i>	Custodian	NMVW Museum Volkenkunde
	Current possessor	Dutch State
	Inventory number	RV-360-6021
	Material/technique	Iron, gold, precious stones, wood
	Measurements	Blade: 4.5 x 9 x 46 cm Sheath: 2.5 x 13 x 44 cm

Summary of findings

The characteristics of the ceremonial kris with object number RV-360-6021 are typical of krisses of the Gowa Sultanate in South Sulawesi, but it is not certain whether the kris was actually manufactured there. Further research in collaboration with kris experts from Indonesia may be able to shed more light on this. The object is presumed to have come into the possession of the Dutch East India Company in the seventeenth or eighteenth century via the elite of Gowa and subsequently included in the collections of stadtholders William IV and William V of Orange-Nassau. However, these assumptions could not be confirmed or refuted on the basis of archival sources consulted during the research. In 1816 the ceremonial kris was handed over to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden before its transfer in 1883 to Museum Volkenkunde, which has been part of the National Museum of World Cultures since 2014.

Reconstruction provenance

< c. 1760

Gowa Sultanate and VOC, South Sulawesi/Netherlands

c. 1760 - 1795

Collections of stadtholders William IV and V of Orange-Nassau, Netherlands
NL-KaHV, A29, inv.no. 46 III; NL-KaHV, A30, inv.no. 415; NL-KaHV, A31, inv.nos. 173 and 184.

1795 - c. 1815

Oranienstein Castle, Germany
NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 843, "Lijst van voorwerpen op last van Koning Willem I overgedragen aan het Kon. Kab. v. Zeldzaamheden te 's-Gravenhage" [List of objects transferred to the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in The Hague on the orders of King William I], 1816.

1816 - 1883

Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, The Hague
NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 843, "Lijst van voorwerpen op last van Koning Willem I overgedragen aan het Kon. Kab. v. Zeldzaamheden te 's-Gravenhage", 1816.

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.

Introduction and context

This report sets out the results of provenance research into a ceremonial kris 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 of 2020. The ceremonial kris is registered under object number RV-360-6021 and is currently in Museum Volkenkunde's permanent exhibition on Indonesia. It is believed that the kris originally came from the Gowa Sultanate in South Sulawesi. In the nineteenth century the weapon was collected by the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, a former royal collection of historical and ethnographic objects from all continents of the world. When the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden was dissolved in 1883 the object was transferred to Museum Volkenkunde.¹ It is assumed that in the eighteenth century the ceremonial kris was part of the stadtholders' collections and came into the stadtholders' possession through the Dutch East India Company (VOC).

The ceremonial kris has a curved wayang figure on the hilt, a Garuda figure on the 'shoe' of the sheath, and a loop of gold wire attached below the shoe by means of a stud adorned with a blue gemstone. A fourth striking characteristic is the hilt fitting, the polygonal part of the kris that the hilt slots into. The hilt fitting is inlaid with small gemstones. Another thing that catches the eye is the fact that the upper and lower part of the gold sheath are decorated differently: the upper section is decorated with embossed motifs while the lower section is wrapped around with rings. This last aspect might provide a further clue for the geographical provenance because according to the established literature, kris sheaths of South Sulawesi do not only feature a loop of rattan, cotton, or gold wire but are often also wound around with horizontal strips of rattan or — in the case of more valuable specimens — precious metal.²

¹ 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.

² David van Duuren, *De kris. Een aardse benadering van een kosmisch symbool* (Amsterdam 1996) 89-90.

In order to obtain more certainty about the geographical/cultural provenance of the kris, contact was sought with David van Duuren, a Dutch expert in krisses.³ Based on image 1, Van Duuren noted that it is a type of kris from the Gowa Sultanate, because in his opinion hilts of this type are exclusive to this principality. The wayang figure represents the mythical hero Bima, with a moustache and a snake adorning his upper body — according to Van Duuren characteristics that are typical of krisses from Gowa. In Van Duuren's view the fact that this is a ceremonial kris indicates that the weapon was probably owned by a member of the highest social class in the sultanate.⁴



Photos: Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen. Inv.no. RV-360-6021.

In summary, the characteristics of the ceremonial kris point towards Gowa (and its elite), but is this also where the weapon originated? The geopolitical relations in South Sulawesi during the VOC period may be able to provide more insight into this.

The collapse of the Majapahit empire to which South Sulawesi had belonged since the fourteenth century led to the formation of various small Makasarese and Bugis states in around 1500 (with the Makasarese and Bugis traditionally being the dominant ethnic groups in this part of the island). By the early seventeenth century the Makassar state of Gowa had emerged as the leading political-military power in South Sulawesi, and the sultanate – the king of Gowa converted to Islam in 1605 – had become an important trading centre in the east of the Indonesian archipelago, with the city of Makassar as the main base of operations.

The VOC established a trading post in Makassar in around 1610 but this was quickly discontinued due

³ David van Duuren worked for Amsterdam's Tropenmuseum, including as curator of Oceania and historical collections, from 1970 to 2010.

⁴ Email from David van Duuren to Francine Brinkgreve, curator of Insular Southeast Asia at NMVW, 1 May 2020.

to tensions with Sultan Alauddin of Gowa (r. 1593-1639).⁵ The source of the conflict was the spice monopoly that the VOC was seeking to establish in the Moluccas. The sultan opened up Makassar to European and Asian spice traders which were banned in the Moluccas, although the VOC considered these activities to be smuggling. Furthermore, Gowa was supporting opponents of the VOC in the Moluccas. Tensions reached a climax in 1666, following earlier armed conflicts in 1634 and 1660. The VOC formed an alliance with the Bugis prince Arung Palakka (1634-1696) of the rival Sultanate of Bone and decided to mount a joint expedition.⁶ In 1667, although it appeared the battle might be over, Sultan Hasanuddin of Gowa (1631-1670)⁷ refused to accept the peace treaty that had been drafted. The war ended in 1669 on terms favourable to the VOC and Bone. The fort of Makassar was taken over by the VOC and Gowa was replaced by Bone as the most powerful state in South Sulawesi. The victory of the VOC and the authoritarian regime of Arung Palakka in South Sulawesi also led to an exodus of Makasarese to other parts of the archipelago, where they engaged in things such as piracy and looting along the north coast of Java in the 1670s.⁸

The alliance between the VOC and Bone remained intact until the end of the eighteenth century despite efforts by other rulers to break through the power structures in South Sulawesi. One such attempt took place in 1735-1740, when Arung Singkang (1700-1765), the ruler of neighbouring Wajoq, laid siege to Makassar and conquered both Bone and Gowa with the support of the Makassar prince Bontolangkasa.⁹ However, the VOC and Bone managed to restore their dominance.¹⁰

So what do the geopolitical relations in South Sulawesi during the VOC period say about the geographical/cultural source of the ceremonial kris? Logically speaking, there is no conclusive evidence that the kris came from Gowa. However, the information does show that there was contact between the VOC and the elite of Gowa. Relations were peaceful at first but quickly descended into tensions and military conflicts. If, as Van Duuren believes, the ceremonial kris probably belonged to the sultanate's elite, the most likely explanation is that the VOC acquired the weapon via the elite of Gowa. If that is true, there are several probable scenarios for how it changed hands: either the kris was a gift to the VOC from the years when relations were good,¹¹ or the weapon was seized by, or surrendered to the VOC during one of the periods of conflict.¹² The chance that the kris came into the VOC's possession outside of Gowa or South Sulawesi would appear to be slim given that there is no concrete evidence that members of the Gowa elite were among the Makasarese who moved elsewhere in the archipelago after the war of 1666-1669. There is a possibility that the weapon was manufactured on Java and then found its way to the sultanate. Given the Islamisation of Gowa in 1605 and the Hindu style of the hilt and sheath, it may have been made before 1605 in the pre-Islamic period.

In conclusion, it can be said that the ceremonial kris is likely to have come into the possession of the VOC in Gowa or elsewhere in South Sulawesi. The further provenance research has therefore focused

⁵ M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1200* (Basingstoke 2001) 57.

⁶ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 78.

⁷ Wikipedia. "Sultan Hasanuddin." https://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan_Hasanuddin, consulted on 8 February 2021.

⁸ Britannica. "South Sulawesi." <https://www.britannica.com/place/South-Sulawesi>, consulted on 6 May 2020; Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 57-58, 73, 78-79, 96-97, 177; Gerrit Knaap, Henk den Heijer and Michiel de Jong, *Oorlogen overzee. Militair optreden door compagnie en staat buiten Europa 1595-1814. Militaire geschiedenis van Nederland, Deel 5* (Amsterdam 2015) 104-106.

⁹ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 81.

¹⁰ Ibid., 81-82; Knaap, Den Heijer and De Jong, *Oorlogen overzee*, 137-138.

¹¹ In addition to c. 1610-1615 these were the years governed by peace treaties, for example from 1637, from 1660 and after 1669. See: Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia*, 57-58.

¹² These were the years 1634, 1660, 1666-1669 and 1735-1740.

on VOC sources linked to Gowa, Makassar, and South Sulawesi in general. Before discussing the results of the research in these sources, what follows next is an overview of information about the kris found in archival records of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden and the collections of the stadtholders.

Provenance report

When the ceremonial kris from South Sulawesi was transferred to Museum Volkenkunde in 1883 the object had been part of the collection of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden since its establishment in 1816. When the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden was dissolved in 1883, Museum Volkenkunde was assigned the ethnographical part of the collection, which was registered under serial number 360.¹³

Evidence that the ceremonial kris was part of the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden comes from the inventory of the collection that was completed by acting director David van der Kellen, Jr. (1827-1895) in 1879.¹⁴ The inventory describes the object under number 6021 as:

“A double-edged flamed or twisted dagger or short sword with a hilt of (probably solid) gold, representing a seated male figure, inlaid with small precious stones, some of which have been prised out. In a sheath overlaid with gold, also set with precious stones at the top and with a strap of gold wire, to allow for suspension.”¹⁵

This object description is virtually identical to an earlier description of the ceremonial kris which appears on a list of objects transferred to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden in 1816 on the orders of King William I of the Netherlands (1772-1843).¹⁶ This list, which is contained in a file of archive records on the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden kept in the North Holland Archives, states the following about the kris:

“A dagger or short sword with a serpentine blade sharpened on both edges, with a hilt of what appears to be solid gold, representing a seated male figure, set with small precious stones, some of which have been prised out, in a sheath overlaid with gold and at the top also set with precious

¹³ Rudolf Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen. Het Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden en het Rijks Ethnographisch Museum, 1816-1883* (Leiden 2003) 16, 217-236.

¹⁴ Effert, *Volkenkundig Verzamelen*, 214-216; <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/43780>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

¹⁵ “Een tweesnijdend gevlamde of gedraaide dolk of korte degen met een (waarschijnlijk massief) gouden gevest, een zittend mannelijk figuur voorstellend, met kleine, deels uitgebroken, edel gesteenten bezet. In een met goud beslagen scheede van boven eveneens met edelgesteenten bezet en met een rand van gouddraad gewerkt, om te kunnen ophangen.” Several copies of the inventory have survived, with Museum Volkenkunde, the National Archives of the Netherlands and the North Holland Archives each having a copy (issued in two parts). See: National Archives of the Netherlands (NL-HaNA), archive access 2.04.13, Ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken: Afdeling Kunsten en Wetenschappen (1875-1918), inventory numbers 1961-1962, Inventories of the objects from the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, 1879; North Holland Archives (NL-HlmNHA), archive access 476, Rijksmuseum and legal predecessors in Amsterdam, inv.nos. 874-875, Inventories of art and other objects, 1878-1882.

¹⁶ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. “Willem Frederik van Oranje-Nassau.” <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/01504879>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

stones, with a strap fashioned from gold wire for suspension.”¹⁷

Although the document proves that the weapon was among the first items to be added to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, it does not say anything about the whereabouts of the kris in the years prior to 1816. Neither does it identify whether the kris had come from the former collections of the stadtholders. However, the same inventory number is used in a German language copy of a section of the list containing descriptions of the kris along with other weapons and walking sticks.¹⁸ Together with information from secondary sources this translation allows speculation as to the probable location of the ceremonial kris during the Batavian-French period (1795-1813).

When the Low Countries were occupied by French troops in the winter of 1794-1795, William V of Orange-Nassau (1748-1806)¹⁹ fled to England with his family, taking some of his possessions with him. However, his collections of curiosities had to be left behind because they could not be transported by ship to England. As a result, a large part of the collections was removed to Paris by the French or publicly auctioned off by the Batavian administration. Various objects were, however, secured. Thanks to the efforts of Arnout Vosmaer (1720-1799),²⁰ the former curator of the Cabinet, various pieces found their way to Germany, where William V had been in residence at Oranienstein Castle since 1801. In this light it is likely that the ceremonial kris and the other objects appearing on the German-language list were transferred to Germany during the Batavian-French period, returning to the Netherlands from Oranienstein Castle at some point during the period 1813-1816. That means that it is also likely that the weapon was indeed part of the collections of curiosities of William V prior to 1795.²¹

Documents in the archive of the ministerie van Binnenlandse Zaken (1813-1848), kept in the National Archives of the Netherlands, may be able to confirm the presumption regarding the whereabouts of the kris during the Batavian-French period.²² These records could not be consulted during the provenance research as sections of the archive were being digitised.

In her book *Koninklijke Geschenken uit Indonesië*, Rita Wassing-Visser states that the ceremonial kris from South Sulawesi is mentioned on inventories of the collections of stadtholders William V and his father William IV of Orange-Nassau (1711-1751), which would make the kris the oldest surviving

¹⁷ “Een aan beide zijde slangsgewijs geslepen dolk, of korte degen met een naar aanzien, massiv gouden schede, een zittend mannelijk figuur voorstellende, met kleine ten deele uitgebrokene edelgesteentens bezet, in eene met goud beslagene, boven even eens met edelgesteentens bezette schede, met eenen van goud draad bewerkten band om op te hangen.” See: NL-HlmNHA, 476, inv.no. 843, Documents concerning the transfer of art and other objects by private individuals and institutions, 1815-1820, “Lijst van voorwerpen op last van Koning Willem I overgedragen aan het Kon. Kab. v. Zeldzaamheden te 's-Gravenhage” [List of objects transferred to the Royal Cabinet of Curiosities in The Hague on the orders of King William I], 1816, <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198094&miview=inv2> (image 22), consulted on 15 April 2020.

¹⁸ Ibid., <http://noord-hollandsarchief.nl/bronnen/archieven?mivast=236&mizig=210&miadt=236&miaet=1&micode=476&minr=2198094&miview=inv2> (images 20-21), consulted on 16 April 2020.

¹⁹ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. “Willem V van Oranje-Nassau.” <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/74162522>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

²⁰ RKD. “Arnout Vosmaer.” <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/93004>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

²¹ Parlement. “Bestuur in de Bataafs-Franse tijd (1795-1813).” https://www.parlement.com/id/vh8lnhrpftm/bestuur_in_de_bataafs_franse_tijd_1795, consulted on 16 April 2020; Rita Wassing-Visser, *Koninklijke geschenken uit Indonesië. Historische banden met het Huis Oranje-Nassau (1600-1938)* (Zwolle 1995) 49, 52; H. Enno van Gelder, C. Reedijk, A.B. de Vries, *150 jaar Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Koninklijk Penningkabinet* (The Hague 1967) 31-33, 35.

²² Category P of the archive contains several documents concerning the Koninklijk Kabinet van Zeldzaamheden, see: http://www.gahetna.nl/archievenoverzicht/pdf/NL-HaNA_2.04.01.ead.pdf, consulted on 16 April 2020.

object from Indonesia to have been owned by the Orange-Nassau family.²³ Wassing-Visser's references to these sources lead to the archives of the stadtholders in the Royal Collections of the Netherlands. The most recent source mentioned by Wassing-Visser is an inventory drawn up by Vosmaer dating from 1782. This handwritten list of objects indeed includes "An Indian kris with East Indian gold hilt and sheath."²⁴ It is the only item in the inventory that is referred to as a kris and moreover, the only weapon with both a gold hilt and a gold sheath.²⁵ The second source mentioned by Wassing-Visser is a 1759 inventory of precious items belonging to William V, who had inherited them from his father. This document, which has no page numbers or object numbers, mentions "An Indian kris and sheath, all mounted with gold."²⁶ Here, too, it is the only kris in the inventory and the only weapon with a gold hilt and sheath. Based on these two inventories it is possible that the kris described is indeed the ceremonial kris from South Sulawesi. Although the quoted descriptions are not very detailed, they do match the object characteristics of RV-360-6021.

The archives of William IV and his wife Anne of Hannover (1709-1759) contain three other brief inventories of the collections of curiosities, dating from 1759-1760.²⁷ It is not clear whether Wassing-Visser also consulted these records during her research in the Royal Collections of the Netherlands. In any case, the descriptions of krisses in the inventories are not mentioned in *Koninklijke Geschenken uit Indonesië*. Two of the lists contain several krisses, whereas the third makes no reference to a kris, but each of the three lists contains one description that is similar to the information in the other inventories from 1759 and 1782. However, it is problematic that these descriptions consistently mention two weapons. For example the list of 10 February 1759 mentions "Two Indian weapons and their sheath, mounted with gold."²⁸ The list of 3 March 1759 contains the most detailed description: "Two damascene krisses, their hilts overlaid with thin gold foil and inlaid with small stones; the sheath also overlaid with gold."²⁹

Finally, the third list of 19 January 1760 includes "Two ditto [damascene]³⁰ krisses and their sheath of gold."³¹ It is clear that the references in the inventories are always to the same two weapons, because the descriptions show many similarities and all the lists appear to have been compiled by

²³ Wassing-Visser, *Koninklijke geschenken uit Indonesië*, 46-49, 63; <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/98449548>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

²⁴ "Een Indiaansche Kris met oostind. goude greep en scheede." See: Royal Collections of the Netherlands (NL-KaHV), archive access A31, William V Batavus, Prince of Orange-Nassau (1748-1806), inv.no. 184, Inventaris van de kostbaarheden van Willem V in bewaring bij de kamerdienaar Oostheim, vervaardigd door A. Vosmaer [Inventory of precious items belonging to William V held in safekeeping by chamberlain Oostheim, drawn up by A. Vosmaer], 1782, f. 198.

²⁵ In the case of other weapons on f. 198 of the inventory there is also a description of the sheath (for example, "zwart flueele scheede" [black velvet sheath]) and it can therefore be concluded that "goude greep en scheede" [gold hilt and sheath] means that both the hilt and the sheath are made of gold.

²⁶ "Een Indiaansche Cris en scheede geheel met goud gemonteert." See: NL-KaHV, A31, inv.no. 173, Inventaris van kostbaarheden van William V, geregistreerd door en bewaard onder kamerdienaar Cuntz [Inventory of precious items belonging to William V, registered by and held in safekeeping by chamberlain Cuntz], 26 February 1759, with notes up until 1764.

²⁷ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. "Anna van Hannover." <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/01264525>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

²⁸ "Twee Indiaansche Geweeren en derzelver scheede, met Goud gemonteerd." See: NL-KaHV, archive access A29, William IV, prince of Orange, ruler of Nassau (1711-1751), inv.no. 46 III, "Bekorte Staat en Inventaris van het Kabinet der Natuurlijke en door Kunstgemaakte Zeldzaamheden..." [Concise overview and inventory of the Cabinet of natural and artistic curiosities].

²⁹ "Twee gedamascpeerde Krissen, welker greepen met dun goud bekleed, en met steentjes zijn ingelegt; de scheede mede met goud bekleed." See: NL-KaHV, archive access A30, Anne of Hannover, Princess of Great Britain and Ireland (1709-1759), inv.no. 415, "Inventaris der Rariteiten overgegeven in het Kabinet der Natuurlijke en door Kunstgemaakte Zeldzaamheden, berustende onder de bewaaring van den Directeur Vosmaer" [Inventory of curiosities transferred to the Cabinet of natural and artistic curiosities, residing under the custodianship of director Vosmaer].

³⁰ *Dito* [Ditto] refers to the previous description in the inventory, namely "Een gedamascpeerde Zabel" [A damascened sabre]. This description thus also relates to damascene krisses.

³¹ "Twee dito [gedamascpeerde] krisse en derselver scheede met goud". See: NL-KaHV, A30, inv.no. 415, "Nadere Inventaris benevens derselver bij gevoegde taxatie van de Rariteiten overgegeven in het Kabinet der Natuurlijk en door Kunstgemaakte Zeldzaamheden..." [Further inventory along with the associated valuation of the Curiosities transferred to the Cabinet of natural and artistic curiosities...].

Vosmaer. They are also similar to the descriptions in the other inventories from 1759 and 1782. Additionally, the phrase in the list of 3 March 1759 that the hilts “inlaid with small stones” matches one of the object characteristics of RV-360-6021, the hilt of which is decorated with small precious stones.

Based on the nature of this information, however, it is not possible to argue with any certainty whether the descriptions in the five inventories relate to the ceremonial kris from South Sulawesi. Although it is likely that the kris belonged to the collections of the stadtholders before 1795, the sketchy descriptions do not provide incontrovertible proof. Whilst the description in the list of 3 March 1759 is more detailed, it apparently relates to two krisses.³²

Research in the Royal Collections of the Netherlands considered the estate inventories of William IV's father, Johan William Friso van Nassau-Dietz (1687-1711).³³ No descriptions of weapons from the Indonesian archipelago were found in the course of this research.³⁴ It was not possible to consult the archive of stadtholder William III (1650-1702),³⁵ from whom Johan William Friso inherited the title of Prince of Orange, as COVID-19 forced the Royal Collections of the Netherlands to close its doors in March 2020.

With archival institutions closed to the public from March to June 2020, preventing access to physical sources, the focus of the provenance research switched to digital sources with information on the VOC. Given the large number and wide range of available sources, the choice was made to search relevant databases, indices, and inventories for key words relating to places (Gowa, Makassar, and other locations in South Sulawesi), people (stadtholders William III, William IV, and William V), and objects (kris, sheath, dagger, etc.).³⁶

The research focused on the periods 1610-1702 and 1735-1759. These periods comprise the years during which the VOC built up trade contacts with Gowa and carried out several military campaigns in South Sulawesi,³⁷ as well as the reigns of the stadtholders William III, William IV and William V.³⁸ 1759 was taken as the end year, given the indications found that the ceremonial kris was in the collections of the stadtholders from around 1760.

In this research phase structural searches were carried out in the following digital sources:

- *Sejarah Nusantara*, a web portal of the National Archives of Indonesia which provides access to tens of thousands of digitalised documents from the VOC archive in Jakarta.³⁹ Searches were made in:

³² In NL-KaHV, A31, inv.no. 173 there are three further inventories of precious items and other possessions of William IV from c. 1750. Following initial examination it would appear that these lists in the French language do not include any descriptions of krisses. Further research into the lists is needed to allow any definitive conclusions to be drawn from this.

³³ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. “Johan Willem Friso van Nassau-Dietz.” <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/24335841>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

³⁴ NL-KaHV, archive access A27, Johan William Friso, Prince of Orange (1687-1711), inv.nos. 29-31.

³⁵ Biografisch portaal van Nederland. “Willem III.” <http://www.biografischportaal.nl/persoon/65154024>, consulted on 8 February 2021.

³⁶ Considering the many variant spellings of the names of places, people, and objects in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, alternative spellings were used where necessary, e.g. ‘cris,’ ‘crits,’ ‘kritis,’ etc.

³⁷ Knaap, Den Heijer and De Jong, *Oorlogen overzee*, 104-106.

³⁸ RKD. “Willem III (prins van Oranje - koning van Engeland).” <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/424318>, consulted on 17 April 2020; <http://resources.huysens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/#source=1&page=784&view=imagePane>, consulted on 8 May 2020.

³⁹ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. <https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/archive/>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

- o the case index which provides access to the resolutions of the Hoge Regering in Batavia, the VOC's administration in Asia, consisting of the gouverneur-generaal and raden van Indië;⁴⁰
- o separate indices in the appendices of these resolutions;⁴¹
- o the location index on diplomatic correspondence between the Hoge Regering and local rulers.⁴²

The key words in these indices guide the user to brief descriptions of archive documents.⁴³ From here the documents can be consulted. Where the descriptions related to the chosen time periods, the documents were examined. Several diplomatic letters from rulers in South Sulawesi to the Hoge Regering mention gifts of krisses.⁴⁴ However, the brief descriptions are limited to "a gold kris" or "one kris with a gold hilt and sheath."⁴⁵ Based on this limited information it is therefore impossible to make a link to RV-360-6021. A more detailed description was found in a document from 1741 but, as will be explained below, this information also does not relate to RV-360-6021.

- The *Bookkeeper-General Batavia (BGB)* database and various digital source publications of the Huygens ING on the VOC, in particular the *Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie* in the eighteenth century. The *BGB* database contains information about the shipping and goods traffic of the VOC in Asia in the eighteenth century,⁴⁶ while the *Generale Missiven* provide information on the running of the VOC's business in Asia, set out in annual letters to the Heren XVII of the Hoge Regering in Batavia, the VOC's highest administrative body in Asia.⁴⁷ Searches in the *BGB* database and the case index of the *Generale Missiven* did not provide any useful information. Whilst various krisses are included in the cargoes of the ships in the *BGB* database no direct link can be made to South Sulawesi in this information.⁴⁸ The *Generale Missiven* of 1673 mention "a gold kris," probably handed over by a local ruler as part of reparations to the VOC for war expenses incurred by the VOC, but the exact context is unclear.⁴⁹ The *Generale Missiven* of 1742 were found to include a similar context, in which a "gold kris studded with

⁴⁰ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Realia Subjects." https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/realia_subjects/; <https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/about-the-voc-and-its-archives/>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴¹ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Document types." <https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/appendices-resolutions-documenttypes/>; <https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/appendices-resolutions-place-names/>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴² Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Locations index." https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/locations_index/, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴³ See for example: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Search Realia." https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/realia_search/?subject=Maccasser&q=, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴⁴ See for example: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Search Letters." https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/search_letters/?location=Makassar&page=4, letter from Arung Bakke to the gouverneur-generaal, 23 October 1677, f. 353. Please note: A free user account is required to examine digitalised documents on *Sejarah Nusantara*.

⁴⁵ "Een goude kris;" "1 kris met een goud greep en scheede." See for example: Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. "Search letters." https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/search_letters/?location=Bone&page=2, letter from Radja Bone to the gouverneur-generaal, 29 October 1698, f. 636.

⁴⁶ Huygens ING. "Bookkeeper-General Batavia." <https://bgb.huygens.knaw.nl/>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴⁷ Huygens ING. "Generale Missiven van Gouverneurs-Generaal en Raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie." <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/vocgeneralemissiven/>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴⁸ Huygens ING. "Cargo." https://bgb.huygens.knaw.nl/bgb/cargo_results?product_name=kris&group_by_all=on, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁴⁹ "Een goude kris." See: Huygens ING.

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/generalemissiven/#page=855&accessor=toc&source=3&view=imagePane>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

small diamonds” was handed over by Gowa together with a gold blowgun, gold coins, and ten enslaved persons to the VOC in reparation for costs incurred by the VOC in a recent war.⁵⁰ The kris is thought to be part of the state jewels of Gowa. The military action referred to was the conflict in 1735-1740 between the VOC and Bone on the one hand and Arung Singkang and Bontolangkasa on the other. The same kris is mentioned in the digitalised diplomatic correspondence on *Sejarah Nusantara*. A partially illegible document from 1741 suggests that the (sheath of the) kris was decorated with 100 diamonds or more, meaning that this cannot be RV-360-6021.⁵¹ Finally, the *Generale Missiven* of 1739 mentions “an ancient kris, famous among the natives” which had belonged to Bontolangkasa and/or his son.⁵² No further details are provided about the kris, but it would appear that the weapon came into the hands of the VOC.⁵³

- An overview of all the archives concerning the VOC in the National Archives of the Netherlands.⁵⁴ This overview was then checked against other archives that are useful to the research, by searching the PDF versions of the inventories of these archives for relevant inventory numbers. It was then checked whether the documents for the selected numbers were available digitally. It turned out that most inventory numbers could only be consulted physically; the only number that could be accessed digitally did not lead to any new information.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ "Goude kris met diamantjes omset." See: Huygens ING.

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/generalemissiven/#page=830&accessor=toc&source=10&view=>, consulted on 12 May 2020.

⁵¹ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. https://www.sejarah-nusantara.anri.go.id/search_letters/?location=Makassar&page=11, consulted on 12 May 2020. Given that this source also mentions the gold blowpipe, gold coins and enslaved persons, along with numbers and value, and the kris is designated as being part of the state jewels of Gowa, this must be the same kris as in the *Generale Missiven* of 1742.

⁵² "Seer oude en bij den inlander befaemde krits." See:

<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken/generalemissiven/#page=320&accessor=toc&source=10&view=>, consulted on 12 May 2020.

⁵³ Ibid., consulted on 12 May 2020.

⁵⁴ Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive.

<https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/zoekhulp/overzicht-van-archieven-over-de-voc-in-het-nationaal-archief>, consulted on 17 April 2020.

⁵⁵ NL-HaNA, archive access 1.04.02, Archive of the United East Indies Company (VOC), 1602-1795, inv.no. 8172, Kopie-missiven en -rapporten ingekomen bij gouverneur-generaal en raden uit Makassar (Copies of missives and reports received by the gouverneur-generaal and raden from Makassar), 10 April - 25 October 1702, Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia: Treasures from the 17th and 18th VOC archive. https://www.nationaalarchief.nl/onderzoeken/archief/1.04.02/invnr/8172/file/nl-hana_1.04.02_8172_0001, consulted on 8 February 2021.