
NICOLAUS ENGELHARD AND THOMAS STAMFORD RAFFLES: BRETHREN IN JAVANESE ANTIQUITIES

Roy Jordaan

During the British interregnum in Java (1811–16), the newly appointed lieutenant-governor, Thomas Stamford Raffles, had to deal with Dutch citizens living on the island. A leading figure in the Dutch community in Java was Nicolaus Engelhard, former VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, United Dutch East Indies Company) governor of Java's Northeast Coast. He shared Raffles's interest in Javanese antiquities and archaeological artifacts. This paper is about their pioneering activities in the field of Javanese archaeology.¹

This is not the first time that the names of Raffles and Engelhard have been linked with the beginnings of the study of the archaeology and art history of Java. What is new, as I show in this article, is that these two men actually worked together in these fields. The dominant view, particularly in English-language studies, is that Raffles contributed positively to the development of Javanese archaeology, and is even sometimes credited with its very origin. His activities are usually viewed as diametrically opposed to those of Engelhard, who more often than not is represented

Roy Jordaan (Ph.D., Leiden University) is an independent scholar whose main interest at present is the historical anthropology of medieval and pre-modern Java.

¹ The author thanks Mark Long, Willem van der Molen, Peter Carey, Rita DeCoursey, and Jeff van Exel for their comments and valuable editorial suggestions.

as an ignorant and destructive temple-looter. However, recent research in Dutch and British archives has yielded information that casts doubt on such a negative view. As it turns out, Raffles and Engelhard had more in common than is generally assumed. My detailed discussion of this archival information casts new light not only on the early beginnings of Javanese archaeology, but also on some less familiar aspects of Raffles's personality and career, and on his special relationship with prominent Dutch contemporaries in Batavia, Engelhard in particular. Toward the end of this article, I deal with the political context and ideological motives that led the British and the Dutch to collaborate, both in Java's civil administration and in research into the island's ancient past.

The VOC and Early Javanese Archaeology

The Dutch presence in Java dates from the early years of the seventeenth century, but it was more than a century before any references were made in VOC reports to the existence of pre-Islamic temple structures. The first extant report to this effect is from 1733. It concerns an account of an excursion (*speelreysje*) by VOC official Cornelius Anthonie Lons, who traveled on horseback from Kartasura, the site of the third Javanese royal court of the then-ruling Mataram dynasty, to the western parts of the realm of the selfsame Javanese kingdom of Mataram. His account includes a brief description of the temple complex Loro Jonggrang, at Prambanan.² It was another fifty years before two other VOC officials, François van Boeckholtz and Carl Friedrich Reimer, separately visited the remains of temples and statues found near the main road between Surakarta and Yogyakarta, close to the tollgates of Prambanan and Kalasan. Their drawings and descriptions were made available to a small number of high-ranking Dutch contemporaries in Semarang and Batavia, and soon thereafter disappeared from sight into the archives of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences or into private collections.³

The first drawings by Van Boeckholtz (died 1802) date from around 1785, when he served as a cavalry officer in central Java and took an artistic interest in the statues of Hindu divinities that he found there. Following his transfer to Surakarta a few years later—as junior merchant (*onderkoopman*) and the second-ranking VOC representative there—he extended his interest to the Hindu-Buddhist remains in the Plain of Prambanan, as well as the archaeological remains on the nearby Ratu Boko heights. Of Loro Jonggrang he left a few drawings, whereas of Ratu Boko he gave the first known description, albeit superficial and incomplete.⁴ He was the first Westerner who, on the

² C. Leemans, "Javaansche tempels bij Prambanan," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 3 (1885): 1–26.

³ The *Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* (Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences) was founded in 1788 by the talented naturalist J. C. M. Radermacher (1741–83). After his return to the Netherlands, the society's activities petered out for a number of reasons. During the British interregnum in Java, Raffles was elected president of this organization and helped to revive the moribund society. H. Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden: Het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1778–1867* (Leiden: KITLV, 2009), 167–83.

⁴ Presumably intended to be included in his *Beschrijving van het Eyland Groot Java* (Description of the Island of Greater Java), Van Boeckholtz's essay was not completed due to his transfer to the Moluccas (Maluku) in 1794. As VOC governor of Banda, he surrendered the island to the British in 1796. Van Boeckholtz's

basis of Javanese oral tradition, associated these remains with a pre-Islamic royal residence or court city. Reimer's more systematic description of Loro Jonggrang dates from 1791. His two separate accounts were found, along with a number of other manuscripts, in the papers of his patron, Governor-General W. A. Alting (in office, 1780–96). The manuscripts were discovered in the early twentieth century in a legacy bequeathed to the Dutch National Archives.⁵

Among the few contemporaries who shared Van Boeckholtz's and Reimer's enthusiasm for Javanese antiquities was Nicolaus Engelhard (1761–1831), a prominent VOC official with a long service record.⁶ In early 1802, a year after his appointment as governor and director of Java's Northeast Coast stationed in Semarang, Engelhard left for south-central Java to pay courtesy visits to both the Javanese *susuhunan* ("emperor") in Surakarta and the sultan in Yogyakarta, and used the opportunity to have a closer look at the temples of Prambanan, Kalasan, and Sari. Later in the same year he made an overland journey to eastern Java, where he visited Candi Singosari, near Malang.⁷ Engelhard was the first European to point out some noticeable differences in the construction of Central and East Javanese temples. In Banyuwangi, near the Strait of Bali, he visited the temple ruins of Macanputih, of which he made an amateur drawing that is not without merit.⁸ In 1805, he ordered H. J. Wardenaar to make drawings of various East Javanese sea views, landscapes and historical sites.⁹

Apart from commissioning and collecting maps and drawings, Engelhard was also an enthusiastic collector of curiosities, such as extraordinary stones, old manuscripts,

manuscript is preserved in the British Library (BL), being part of the Mackenzie Collection (BL, MSS. Eur Mack Priv 16).

⁵ See H. D. H. Bosboom, "Een bezoek aan enige tempelruïnen in Midden Java in 1791," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 54 (1902): 581–90. Alting's papers are kept in the Dutch National Archives (Nationaal Archief, NA) in The Hague, with the catalogue number NA 1.10.03; Reimer's accounts therein are in sections (*bestanddeel*) 77 and 87.

⁶ Nicolaus Engelhard, of Swiss-Dutch descent, was born in Arnhem in the Netherlands in 1761. After the untimely death of his father in 1765, he was sent as a young boy to Batavia by his mother, the sister of the future governor-general W. A. Alting (in office, 1780–96). With the support and protection of his uncle, Engelhard became assistant in the service of the VOC in 1778, and junior merchant and accountant a few years later. He married his uncle's stepdaughter, thus becoming a brother-in-law of Johannes Siberg, another future governor-general of the Dutch East Indies (in office, 1801–05). Apart from Engelhard's personal talents and input, these family connections served his career well. For more on Nicolaus Engelhard, see below. For more biographical information, see: F. de Haan, *Priangan—De Preanger-Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch bestuur tot 1811*, Vol. 1, sub II (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1910), "Personalìa," 77–99; and P. H. van der Kemp, "Nicolaus Engelhard," *De Indische Gids* 32 (1910) 2, 1009–26.

⁷ The report of Engelhard's journey is kept in the Dutch National Archives with the catalogue number NA 2.21.004.19, section 196.

⁸ Catalogue number NA-MIKO III. G 1.11, *De tempelruïne van Madjanpoeti van binnen te zien* (The temple ruin of Macanputih seen from the inside), dated 1802. The identity of the artist is said to be unknown, but Kees Zandvliet has plausibly identified him as Nicolaus Engelhard on the basis of his initials on the temple walls in the drawing. See K. Zandvliet, "Daendels en de nieuwe kaart van Java," in *Herman Willem Daendels, 1762–1818*, ed. Francien van Anrooy and Peter Gielissen (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1991), 87.

⁹ NA-MIKO III G1.1–G1.32. As governor of the Northeast Coast of Java, Engelhard was responsible for the coordination of cartographic activities in the central and eastern parts of the island, which explains why his name is inserted as the official commissioner in some of the maps from this period. See G. J. Knaap et al., *Grote Atlas van de Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie/Comprehensive atlas of the Dutch United East India Company, vol. II: Java en Madoera/Java and Madura* (Voorburg: Asia Maior, 2007), 386–87.

and archaeological artifacts. He also facilitated the botanical research done by Jean-Baptiste Leschenault de la Tour (1773–1826), who, out of gratitude for the governor's prolonged hospitality, named a particular variety of tree after Engelhard, *Engelhardia spicata*.¹⁰ Still, as a collector, Engelhard is especially known for his collection of Hindu-Javanese statues and artifacts.¹¹ He later shipped several statues hailing from Candi Singosari to the Netherlands with the request that they be presented to the king of the Netherlands or to a museum.¹² Eventually, the statues were included in the collection of the Museum of Ethnology by way of the Museum of Antiquities, both in Leiden.

During Java's British interregnum, Engelhard reported on his temple visits in response to a list of questions about Javanese antiquities that Colonel Colin Mackenzie had sent him.¹³ Although Engelhard's written answers are neither extensive nor easy to understand, they do yield a few relevant facts. For example, he observed that the Javanese could remember next to nothing about the founders of the temples, which dated from what he regarded as "the most important epoch in Javanese history," referred to by the Javanese as *dulu kala*, a term that Engelhard glossed as "the lost time of the past." The little that he found on this bygone age he promised to pass on to Mackenzie.¹⁴

While at Prambanan, Engelhard ordered the temples to be cleared of natural overgrowth, as he felt that a clear view would allow for a better appreciation of these structures. Finding some of the temples in tolerable condition, he decided to have ground plans and drawings made of them. Cartographers H. C. Cornelius, J. W. B. Wardenaar (brother of H. J. Wardenaar), and J. A. van der Geugten, who were attached to the Artillery and Marine School (commonly shortened to Marine School) in Semarang as teachers, were entrusted with the commission.¹⁵ The first survey map of Prambanan and several drawings of the temples of Kalasan, Sari, and Sewu date from 1805 and 1806; some of these drawings ended up in Leiden's Museum of Ethnology. After completing his survey work at Prambanan, J. W. B. Wardenaar was charged with mapping the archaeological sites near Malang and in Trowulan, the site of the ancient court city of Majapahit. Only recently was his long-lost map of the

¹⁰ De Haan, *Priangan*, 85.

¹¹ Pauline Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Collecting Javanese Antiquities," in *Colonial Collections Revisited*, ed. Pieter ter Keurs (Leiden: CNWS, 2007), 71–114.

¹² In this Engelhard was clearly following the example of Raffles, Mackenzie, and other British colonial officials. For the British example, see Margot C. Finn, "Colonial Gifts: Family Politics and Exchange of Goods in British India, c. 1780–1820," *Modern Asian Studies* 40, 1 (2006): 203–31. Like Raffles, Engelhard was later thanked for this gift and his other patriotic services by King Willem I (r. 1813–40), who awarded Engelhard the Order of the Netherlands Lion during his brief furlough in the Netherlands in 1824.

¹³ NA 2.21.004.21, sections 165 and 272. See also N. J. Krom, "Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 76 (1920): 435–48.

¹⁴ Raffles also regarded the pre-Islamic past as "the most interesting part of the annals of the people," about which the Javanese themselves could provide him with little reliable information. See Thomas Stamford Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II (London: Black, Parbury, and Allen, 1817), 6.

¹⁵ Engelhard's instruction of 1802 is confirmed in the preserved records of the Marine School (NA 2.21.004.19, section 193). The erstwhile director reported on the school activities during that year as follows: "notices of the private extracurricular activities in the sciences by pupils of the Marine School in the current year 1802 since the first of January, that is to say from 15 to 24 June and 28 June to 17 July. This resulted in six completed cartographic maps of Brahmin antiquities on the island of Java."

eastern Javanese court city rediscovered in the British Museum among the drawings in the Raffles Collection.¹⁶

Engelhard was responsible for the removal of several statues from Candi Singosari temple (as mentioned above) and their transfer to his Semarang residence. He alleged that the statues were not venerated by the local population and that his decision to remove the statues was partly intended to protect them against vandalism.¹⁷ In his report to Mackenzie, he left no doubt that he saw himself as the rightful owner, stating that “the statues had been ceded to him as private property by the previous government.”¹⁸ This statement is a fine example of trying to make straight timber out of crooked. Considering that Engelhard was the highest government official in this administrative territory at the time, this “conferment” actually amounts to his offering a gift to himself.

It is worth noting that the aforementioned Marine School in Semarang, apart from undertaking the commissions by Engelhard, had an important role in the exploration and mapping of Java, including some areas with antiquities. Kees Zandvliet demonstrates that these cartographic activities began in the final quarter of the eighteenth century.¹⁹ Initially undertaken in the framework of the administration of the areas that had been ceded to the VOC in 1755 by the treaty of Giyanti, these cartographic activities by the end of the eighteenth century had assumed a military character. Cartography, then, became instrumental in upgrading the defense of Java by means of fortifications, at times extending to areas that were formally under the jurisdiction of Mataram. The emphasis on defending Java’s land was related to the decline of Dutch naval power relative to that of the British; the tense international situation caused by the Revolutionary (1792–99) and Napoleonic wars (1799–1803/1804–13, 1815); and the threat of British invasion, for example, the British landing at Marunda in October 1800, which was repulsed by native militia (*hulptroepen*) coordinated by Engelhard. The aforementioned Carl Friedrich Reimer (died 1796), whom Governor-General W. A. Alting had appointed to the Dutch Military Commission responsible for the inspection and improvement of VOC fortifications throughout South and Southeast Asia, was involved in the site selection and the design of some of the forts in Java. The actual construction of the new Dutch fortress at Klaten near Prambanan, for example, was delegated to Lieutenant-Engineer Cornelius. During the construction in 1804–06, Cornelius began his cartographic survey at Prambanan. A number of his maps and drawings of temples would later,

¹⁶ A. Gomperts, A. Haag, and P. Carey, “De veertiende-eeuwse Javaanse hofstad Majapahit alsnog op de kaart gezet,” *Caert-Thresoor* 27, 3 (2008): 71–78. See also A. Gomperts, A. Haag, and P. Carey, “Mapping Majapahit: Wardenaar’s Archaeological Survey at Trowulan in 1815,” *Indonesia* 93 (April 2012): 1–20.

¹⁷ This statement is contradicted by the report of a British officer saying that, after Engelhard had carried off the large statues, the locals had concealed the one remaining statue and many other artifacts not only from all Europeans (including Colin Mackenzie, who traversed this area in 1812), but also from their own native chiefs. See Sarah Tiffin, “Raffles and the Barometer of Civilisation: Images and Descriptions of Ruined *Candis* in *The History of Java*,” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, 18, 3 (2008), 357.

¹⁸ Krom, “Engelhard over de Javaansche oudheden,” 440.

¹⁹ See: K. Zandvliet, “Overzeese militaire kartografie na het echec van 1780–1782,” *Caert-Thresoor* 6,1 (1987): 1–10; “Kolonisatie en cartografie in de Oost,” in *De VOC in de kaart gekeken; Cartografie en navigatie van de Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie, 1602–1799*, ed. Patrick van Mil and Mieke Scharloo (’s-Gravenhage: SDU, 1988), 117–48; and “Vestingbouw in de Oost,” in *De Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie: tussen oorlog en diplomatie*, ed. Gerrit Knaap and Ger Teitler (Leiden: KITLV, 2002), 151–80.

both directly and through Engelhard, be acquired by Mackenzie and Raffles, and ultimately would be included in the collections of the British Library and the British Museum.

Cornelius's map of Prambanan indicates the locations of the temples "Tjandi Cali [*sic*] Bening" (now known as Candi Kalasan), Candi Sari, Candi Loro Jonggrang, "Candi Asu" (now known as Candi Lumbung), and Candi Sewu. The map dates from 1807, but a few years later, for Raffles's benefit, a legend in somewhat defective English was added, stating that in the preceding years the temples Sewu, Sari, and "Cali Bening" had been examined, described, and charted.²⁰ The investigation of Loro Jonggrang must have taken place sometime thereafter if we rely on Mackenzie's report that, during his visit to this temple in January 1812, he saw graffiti left behind by the above-mentioned Dutch engineers.²¹

British Takeover of Java's Archaeological and Art Historical Research

On August 4, 1811, a British expeditionary force from India landed on Java's north coast, a few miles east of Batavia. The attack was in response to the annexation of the Netherlands to Napoleon Bonaparte's French empire in July 1810, and the extension of Anglo-French hostilities from Europe to the Indian Ocean and other Asian waters. After a short three-week campaign (August 4–26), Batavia, the capital of the Dutch Indies, surrendered to the British invaders. A British caretaker government was then put in place by Lord Minto, the governor-general of British India, 1811–13, who, on September 11, 1811, appointed Thomas Stamford Raffles as his deputy in Java with the rank of lieutenant-governor.

After the capitulation of the remaining Franco-Dutch army near Semarang and the subsequent subjection of the two central Javanese rulers to the new British government, Raffles had his hands free not only to implement administrative reforms but also to take up his personal interest in the scholarly study of Java. That research ultimately resulted in his well-known work, *The History of Java* (in two volumes).

During the nineteenth century, critical comments were made by some Dutch historians about the compilation of *The History of Java* and Raffles's insufficient recognition of the contributions of others, particularly those of high-ranking Dutch citizens living in Java during the British interregnum. The fact that the ensuing discussion was occasionally tainted by nationalistic statements by both Dutch and British researchers and scholars was partly due to the impulse of some of the Dutch to correct the scanty recognition of Dutch citizens' input. Furthermore, the general ignorance of scholars on both sides of the North Sea and English Channel regarding the material in the Dutch and British archives reminds us that these archives were little explored at the time.

In the meantime, the picture that Raffles had presented of his own investigations has been examined on the basis of thorough archival research and adjusted

²⁰ The map in question is now part of the Raffles Collection of the British Museum, with registration number 1939,0311,0.6.28.

²¹ Colin Mackenzie, "Narrative of a Journey to Examine the Remains of an Ancient City and Temples at Brambana in Java," *Verhandelingen Bataviaasch Genootschap* 7 (1814): 6.

accordingly. Examples are John Bastin's study on administration and land rent, Donald Weatherbee's pioneering work on traditional Javanese historiography, and Hans Groot's review of Raffles's role in reviving the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences.²² These scholars demonstrate that Raffles took a lot from the explorations of his Dutch predecessors and collaborators, and either did not acknowledge their contributions or belittled them, presumably to emphasize the merits of his own approach.²³ More recent studies by Robert van Niel and Nadia Wright support this conclusion.²⁴ Wright demonstrates that Raffles's early British biographers fell short in their research and that their positive descriptions of Raffles, in many cases, amount to hagiographies rather than objective and accurate biographies. In her analysis, Wright reveals how these biographers follow a few common strategies in what she refers to as "the manufacturing of a hero." As it would make little sense to recapitulate Wright's arguments here, I will confine myself to discussing Raffles's contributions to Javanese archaeology and art history, about which Wright says next to nothing.

To the charge that Raffles failed to acknowledge the contributions of Dutch contemporaries, one must make a distinction between his statements in the *Verhandelingen (Transactions)* of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences and the *Java Government Gazette*, on the one hand, and in his *History of Java*, on the other. Whereas Raffles made a few cursory remarks in the former, highly regarded sources about the merits of Engelhard and some other members of the Batavian Society, as well as of the work of Dutch cartographers, they were all left out in the cold in *The History of Java*. I think the distinction can be explained in part by the different readerships targeted. The proceedings and notices of the Batavian Society and the official government newspaper were mainly addressed to readers in Java, many of whom were Dutch, whereas *The History of Java* was oriented internationally and addressed primarily to a British readership. Extensive references in the latter to the contributions to archaeology by Engelhard, Cornelius, and Van Boeckholtz might not only have distracted from but also diminished the significance of the new approach that Raffles claimed to have initiated in his work. The little he reports about the archaeological interest of the Dutch is contained in the following three passages:

... the antiquities of Java have not, till lately, excited much notice; nor have they yet been sufficiently explored. The narrow policy of the Dutch denied other nations facilities of research; and their own devotion to the pursuits of

²² See: John Bastin, *Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java and the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1954); Donald E. Weatherbee, "Raffles' Sources for Traditional Javanese Historiography and the Mackenzie Collections," *Indonesia* 26 (October 1978): 63–95; and Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, esp. 167–83.

²³ Raffles would resort to similar hijacking of the natural-history researches of William Farquhar, the British Resident and Commandant of Malacca (1803–18) and thereafter of Singapore (1819–23). Raffles even went as far as to request the secretary of the Asiatic Society of Bengal to insert his, Raffles's, account of the tapir in preference to Farquhar's paper on the subject. See John Bastin, *William Farquhar. First Resident and Commandant of Singapore* (Eastbourne: privately printed, 2005), 51–52.

²⁴ See: Robert van Niel, *Java's Northeast Coast 1740–1840; A Study in Colonial Encroachment and Dominance* (Leiden: CNWS, 2005), 230–31; and Nadia Wright, "Sir Stamford Raffles—A Manufactured Hero?," paper presented to the seventeenth Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Melbourne, July 1–3, 2008, available at <http://www.artsonline.monash.edu.au/mai/files/.../nadiawright.pdf>, accessed December 2013.

commerce was too exclusive to allow of their being much interested in the subject.

... Brambanan and Boro Bodo are admirable as majestic works of arts [and] excite our wonder that they were not earlier examined, sketched, and described.

... with respect to the ruins at Brambanan, we find upon the authority of a Dutch engineer [H. C. Cornelius], who in 1797 [*sic*; 1804] went to construct a fort at Klaten [...] that no description of its antiquities existed at that period [...] the indifference of the natives had been as great as that of their [Dutch] conquerors.²⁵

Engelhard is mentioned only twice in *The History of Java* in connection with Javanese antiquities. The first instance is in the context of Raffles's visit to Malang in May 1815 and the nearby archaeological remains of Candi Singosari, where Raffles associates Engelhard with the removal of a statue from one of the temple niches. The destruction of another niche "was also attributed to Mr. Engelhard's agents."²⁶ The second, more extensive reference concerns Engelhard's archaeological collection:

The only collection which appears to have been made by Europeans of these interesting remains of antiquity, previously to the establishment of the British government in 1811, was by Mr. Engelhard, former governor of Semarang. In the garden of the residency of that station, several very beautiful subjects in stone were arranged, brought from different parts of the country. Of them and several others [...] drawings have been taken, [that] will serve to convey some notion of the beauty and delicacy with which they were executed.²⁷

The Dutch cartographer Cornelius, whose name Raffles misspelled as "Cornelis," is only mentioned in passing in a few footnotes and captions relating to maps and drawings of the temples of Prambanan, Sewu, Kalasan, and Sari. Several of his drawings were included in *The History of Java* and in Raffles's posthumously published book, *Antiquarian, Architectural, and Landscape Illustrations of the History of Java*, after having been adapted by engravers J. Mitran and J. Walker to suit the taste of the current British reading public.²⁸ The names of Engelhard, Cornelius, and other Dutch collaborators were not included in the index to *The History of Java*, unlike those of Raffles's British collaborators Mackenzie and Godfrey Phipps Baker, and the American surgeon and naturalist Thomas Horsfield (1773–1859), whose contributions to the study of Javanese antiquities are praised at length in the main text.

²⁵ Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, 5–6. The construction under the direction of ensign-engineer Cornelius did not begin until 1804.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 41. J. W. B. Wardenaar must have been one of these "agents," but before long he, too, began his own archaeological collection.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 55. As a matter of fact, an even earlier collection of archaeological objects is still found at Gunung Sahari in downtown Jakarta, in the house once owned by senior VOC official Frederik Coyett, but long since converted into a Chinese temple—Klenteng Sentiong or Wan-jiesi. Engelhard may well have been inspired by this earlier collection, considering that he had a house at "Goenoengsari" (i.e., at Gunung Sahari, Janssens's seat of government during his short stint as governor-general). See de Haan, *Priangan*, vol. I, 79. Raffles, too, knew of this earlier collection from his personal visits to this "Chinese temple of worship in the neighbourhood of Batavia"; see Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, 58–59 (with plates).

²⁸ See Sarah Tiffin, "Java's Ruined *Candis* and the British Picturesque Ideal," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 72, 30 (2009): 525–58; and Thomas S. Raffles, *Antiquarian, Architectural, and Landscape Illustrations of the History of Java by the Late Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London: Bohn, 1844).

Raffles's admiration and respect for the antiquities of Java is stressed in one of the best British biographies of Raffles, by Charles Wurtzburg:

... Raffles was in advance of his time: in his respect for the integrity of ancient monuments; and in his artistic appreciation of them in their natural surroundings [...] In Java, shortly before the time of Raffles, Nicholas Engelhardt [*sic*] had earned some notoriety for the barbarous way in which images and other ornaments of such Hindu shrines as were known had been rudely hacked from their places and taken away to adorn his garden. Raffles abhorred such a practice and did his best to safeguard the new discoveries. Such samples of Hindu art as he did remove from Java were odd pieces lying by themselves and completely dissociated from a particular edifice with which they could be definitely connected.²⁹

As for the Dutch, Wurtzburg writes:

They had largely confined themselves to the town into which their original trading-posts had grown, and had been content to control activity only in those areas producing the commodities in which they were interested. Beyond this, their contacts with the Javanese courts had been for the most part limited to their official representatives ...³⁰

In the footsteps of this biographer, Mildred Archer, an authoritative British art historian, writes that Mackenzie and Horsfield were the first to explore Java's interior and discover the remains of magnificent temples "which no European had previously seen." With regard to the cleaning and repair of the Javanese monuments, she depicts Raffles as a precursor of Lord Curzon (1859–1925), Viceroy of India (1899–1905), and as the diametrical opposite of Engelhard.³¹

These representations, faint echoes of which can occasionally be heard in the work of later British scholars, are worthy of more nuanced treatments.³² The first point concerns the settlement of the Dutch in urban centers in the coastal areas of Java and their one-sided interest in trade. What appears to be neglected here is that the Dutch concentration in coastal areas was determined by politico-historical circumstances. Up to the mid-eighteenth century, the monarchs of Mataram reigned as sovereign rulers over nearly the whole of Java (except for the Sundanese-speaking areas of West Java), and they were the ones who allowed the Dutch to establish offices in a number of coastal towns, such as Japara, Semarang, and Gresik. Actually, from the time of Jan Pieterszoon Coen (governor-general, 1619–23, 1627–29), Batavia was the only place where the Dutch had conquered a relatively small area to serve as the site for their headquarters and *rendezvous*, or transshipment port, in Asian trade. For the Dutch, free access to the interior (which fell under Mataram's jurisdiction) let alone conducting

²⁹ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles* (Singapore: Oxford University Press, 1986), 369).

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Mildred Archer, "Archaeology and the British Interlude in Java," *Geographical Magazine*, February 1958, 461, 472.

³² See, for example: Nigel Barley, *The Duke of Puddle Dock; Travels in the Footsteps of Stamford Raffles* (Middlesworth: Viking, 1991), 117; A. T. Gallop, *Early Views of Indonesia; Drawings from the British Library/Pemandangan Indonesia di masa lampau: seni gambar dari British Library* (London: The British Library, 1995), 19–21; and Victoria Glendinning, *Raffles and the Golden Opportunity* (London: Profile Books, 2012), 134–35.

research there, was simply out of the question. Even VOC representatives in their so-called “court journeys” (*hofreizen*), alluded to by Archer, were not free in their movements, but had to negotiate with the Javanese rulers the timing, the route, and the composition of their tribute-bearing delegations. These formal courtesy visits, numbering some sixty during the period 1614–1802, usually followed the same route on the eastern sides of the volcanic mountains Ungaran, Merbabu, and Merapi. Moreover, these trips were always accompanied by Javanese escorts, thus limiting the Dutch envoys’ opportunity for independent observation.

Only after the Treaty of Giyanti in 1755, which resulted in the division of Mataram into two independent principalities,³³ did more Dutch envoys travel the main road from Surakarta (the seat of the new capital of the Susuhunan) to Yogyakarta. From this road the ruins of Candi Prambanan, Ratu Boko, Candi Kalasan, and Candi Sari could be seen. The recent territorial concessions to the Dutch also allowed high-ranking VOC officials, such as governors Siberg (in 1784) and Engelhard (in 1802) to travel overland to the eastern parts of Java and explore the newly acquired lands. The American naturalist Horsfield traversed Java in the years after 1802 in the service of both the Dutch Indies government (1802–11, 1816–19) and the Raffles’s administration (1811–16).

Clearly, the situation of the Dutch up to the end of the eighteenth century differed significantly from that of the British following their sack of Yogyakarta in June 1812. The formal submission of the two leading Javanese rulers meant that no formal obstructions to free travel remained. The fifteenth clause of the peace treaty of August 1, 1812, which was forced on the reluctant rulers by the British, leaves no doubt about this, stating that “His Highness acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government over the whole of Java and the right of interference on their part wherever the situation of the Country may demand it.” As Wurtzburg recognized:

The complete subjugation by the British of Jokyakarta [Yogyakarta] and Surakarta had extended European power over the island to a degree not previously achieved, or perhaps even desired, by their predecessors. That Mackenzie should have been in charge and, from his former experience in India, been inspired with a deep interest in archaeology, were factors certain to produce rich results.³⁴

The second point concerns the creation of collections. Contrary to what Wurtzburg and Archer have alleged, Raffles was every bit as active as Engelhard in putting together collections of curiosities, including Hindu-Buddhist statues. A more careful reading of Raffles’s work shows this. I refer to passages in *The History of Java* ending with the statement “brought to England” and “brought to this country,” such as “the image of the harpy [...] was taken from the temple at Boro Bodo and brought to England,” which demonstrates that the statue was not an “odd piece lying by itself and completely dissociated from” a particular monument.³⁵ Similarly, the small statue

³³ M. C. Ricklefs, *Jogjakarta under Sultan Mangkubumi, 1749–1792; A History of the Division of Java* (London: Oxford University Press, 1974).

³⁴ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 278.

³⁵ Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, 30.

of the goddess Mamakhi, originating from Candi Jago and visible in the background of Raffles's well-known 1817 portrait, had also been "brought to England."³⁶

What Raffles himself reports about the origin of his collection of about a hundred metal objects comprising statuettes, bells, mirrors, and the like is significant. These artifacts, which villagers at different times had found near the ruins of the temples, had been presented to him through the British Resident of Kedu, John Curson Lawrence (in office 1813–16), and his deputy, Lieutenant (post-1815, Captain) Hercules John Heyland (1813–16), "on its being generally known that subjects of the kind were interesting to the British authorities."³⁷ Raffles's passion for collecting shows clearly from the sheer quantity of luggage that accompanied him to England in 1816 on board the ship *Ganges*—no fewer than thirty tons of "Eastern curiosities and treasures."³⁸ Another ship, the *Fame*, on which Raffles had wanted to travel to England upon completion of his governorship in Bengkulu (1818–24) in southern Sumatra, but instead was lost in a fire shortly after its departure (February 2, 1824), also carried part of Raffles's collections, reportedly comprising "135 hefty crates, apart from live creatures."³⁹

The sentence quoted earlier, in which Raffles referred to Engelhard's collection, thus appears to have been interpreted rather one-sidedly by Archer. The statement "previously to the establishment of the British government in 1811" refers implicitly to what Raffles would start doing himself the following year, namely, the creation of the first British collection of Javanese archaeological artifacts and curiosities. Thus, he presented his patron Lord Minto with a stone inscription originating in Malang, which Mackenzie stated had come from nearby Surabaya. By way of Calcutta (Kolkata) and London, this stela eventually arrived at the Earl of Minto's estate in Scotland in July 1814. Another important stone inscription of the Javanese King Airlangga (1041) went no farther than Calcutta and remained behind in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society, now the Indian Museum. What is less well-known (and evidently was completely unknown to Archer) is that this museum also has a number of beautiful Hindu and Buddhist statues that almost certainly were collected during Raffles's tenure as lieutenant-governor. The fact that these statues were not forwarded to England but remained behind in India undoubtedly helped perpetuate the myth that Raffles was hesitant about creating an archaeological collection of his own.

Dutch Collaboration with Mackenzie and Raffles's Archaeological Research

The main complaint against Raffles made by some Dutch historians, such as P. J. Veth and Frederik de Haan, concerned less his collecting and more the fact that he had represented Engelhard's and Van Boeckholtz's interest in Javanese antiquities as

³⁶ See: J. Fontein, *The Sculpture of Indonesia* (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990), 154; and A. J. Bernet Kempers, *Herstel in eigenwaarde; Monumentenzorg in Indonesië* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1978), 39–40. Raffles's 1817 portrait is by George Francis Joseph (1764–1846) and can be seen in the National Portrait Gallery in London (NPG 84, 1817).

³⁷ Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, 56

³⁸ John Bastin, "Introduction," in *The History of Java*, Thomas Stamford Raffles (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), xiii.

³⁹ Glendinning, *Golden Opportunity*, 273–74.

more limited and negative than actually was the case. Additionally, they criticized Raffles for insufficiently acknowledging the services rendered to him by his Dutch assistants. Tim Hannigan has characterized as “sanctioned plagiarism” Raffles’s use of the work of assistants and subordinates in his writings, not only those of Cornelius and J. W. B. Wardenaar, but also of his compatriots Baker and Mackenzie.⁴⁰ This would not apply to the contributions by Engelhard, because he was not in British service. Still, Heeren thought that the failure to mention the Dutch names could not qualify as plagiarism as it concerned unpublished material.⁴¹ This view is rather short-sighted; what counts is not so much the unpublished nature of the research material as the fact that Raffles made it look as if he himself, or his British subordinates, had collected the data.⁴² Insufficient recognition of his contributions was precisely the complaint that Engelhard would level against Raffles in a personal letter to Caspar Reuvers (1793–1835), the first Dutch professor of archaeology and director of the Leiden Museum of Antiquities. In this letter, Engelhard specifies the drawings in *The History of Java* that he claims to have supplied to Raffles, and the assistance he had given to Mackenzie, Crawfurd, and Horsfield.⁴³

If, on the basis of the dated survey material referred to above, the early beginnings of Javanese archaeology can objectively be traced to the end of the VOC period, let us now consider instances of voluntary Dutch collaboration with British researchers. I shall start with Mackenzie, who on January 19–21, 1812, visited Prambanan and the Ratu Boko heights. Contrary to what Archer states, he was not the first European to explore the entire Prambanan plain. If true, his compatriot John Crawfurd could not have claimed the discovery of Candi Plaosan (named “Pluosan”), a temple complex situated on the eastern side of this plain.⁴⁴ That aside, it appears that Mackenzie made ample use of the results of Dutch explorations. In a footnote to the manuscript of his “Narrative of a Journey to Examine the Remains of an Ancient City and Temples at Brambana in Java,” not reproduced in the published version, Mackenzie duly acknowledged the input by Cornelius and his team:

Some of the Dutch engineers afterwards shewed me plans & profiles of some of these temples taken from measurement in 1806 when they first attracted notice of the officers of the Dutch government.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Tim Hannigan, *Raffles and the British Invasion of Java* (Singapore: Monsoon Books, 2012), 233. See also D. M. Blake, “Colin Mackenzie: Collector Extraordinary,” *The British Library Journal* 17, 2 (1991), 136.

⁴¹ H. J. Heeren, “Vergeten voorlopers der Indonesische oudheidkunde,” *Oriëntatie* 46 (1951): 673–83.

⁴² Another pertinent example is the use of the material that was available for the next issue of the *Verhandelingen* at the time of Raffles’s departure, which he took with him to Europe to speed up publication. However, not only did he not fulfill his commitment, he never returned the entrusted manuscripts; see P. Bleeker, “Overzicht der geschiedenis van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen van 1778–1853,” *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 25 (1853): 1–23. Groot, with the assistance of Raffles’s biographer, John Bastin, suggests plausibly that some of this material was published in Bengkulu in the short-lived journal *Malayan Miscellanies*, while some of the other material was probably used for the appendices of Raffles’s *The History of Java* without proper acknowledgement; see Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 176.

⁴³ See BPL 885, Special Collections, Leiden University Library.

⁴⁴ J. Crawfurd, “The Ruins of Prambanan in Java,” *Asiatick Researches* 13 (1820): 342.

⁴⁵ BL, MSS.Eur F 148/47, 11, footnote 24.

Raffles, as editor of Mackenzie's essay, must be held responsible for omitting this acknowledgement as well as the illustrations that accompanied the original text in the final published version of Mackenzie's "Narrative" in the *Transactions* of the Batavian Society in 1814.

Apparently, Mackenzie also had access to some of Van Boeckholtz's drawings in the collection of the Batavian Society.⁴⁶ These drawings had been mentioned in 1788 by Reimer in a letter to the society's secretary. This letter is found in the Mackenzie Collection of the British Library and shows penciled notes in Mackenzie's hand.⁴⁷ Also included in the Mackenzie Collection is a manuscript of Van Boeckholtz's unfinished essay "Beschrijving van het Eyland Groot Java" along with an English translation entitled "Historical Account of the Island of Great Java," which was prepared for Mackenzie.⁴⁸ Not all of this had to be paid for. In a personal letter to Lord Minto, Mackenzie said that he had been granted access to "drawings and extracts and copies of some historical works that he [Engelhard] had got translated at his expensive [*sic*; at his own expense]."⁴⁹

Mackenzie's contacts with Cornelius did not end with his departure from Java in July 1813. There is a letter, dating from after Mackenzie's return to India, in which he asked the Dutch engineer for a copy of "the view of the antiquities of Brambanan and the officers and people employed there, which I saw at Samarang."⁵⁰ He must mean the "View of the ruins of a Bramin temple at Brambanang as formed [formed] in the jaar [year] 1807," another copy of which is kept in the Raffles Collection of the British Museum.⁵¹ On December 6, 1814, Mackenzie wrote another letter to Cornelius from Calcutta, saying:

I expected some time ago to have heard from you with some of the drawings you were pleased to promise me ... You would oblige me by sending them to [the]

⁴⁶ As early as November 1, 1811, Mackenzie's access was facilitated by the decision of the Java Council, which stated that he had been attached to an official commission whose task it was "to collect and register for the information and use of government all public archives and records, plans, surveys, and other public documents in the hands of the different departments of the former government." As Mackenzie's assistance was especially "in the arrangement of the plans, charts, and military records," he had, so to say, first choice. Later in the same month, Raffles sent letters to both government officials and private individuals throughout Java asking them to assist Mackenzie in every possible way during his travels and to provide him with access to their archives and personal information. See F. de Haan, "Personalialia der periode van het Engelsche bestuur over Java, 1811–1816," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 92, 4 (1935): 503, 600.

⁴⁷ See: C. O. Blagden, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages Belonging to the Library of the India Office. Vol. 1: The Mackenzie Collections; Pt. 1: The 1822 Collection & the Private Collection* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1916), 103; and BL, MSS. Eur Mack Priv. 28: 176–90. For references to the pencil and ink drawings in the Mackenzie Collection, see J. Bastin, "Colonel Colin Mackenzie and Javanese Antiquities," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 109, 3 (1953): 273–75.

⁴⁸ BL, MSS. Eur Mack Priv. 16.

⁴⁹ BL, Eur F 148/7, 12.

⁵⁰ See: De Haan, "Personalialia," 603; and Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library* (London: HM Stationary Office, 1969), 455.

⁵¹ See: British Museum, Raffles Collection, 1939, 0311,0.6.30, reproduced in Gallop, *Early Views of Indonesia*, 33, plate 2; Peter Carey, *The Power of Prophecy; Prince Dipanagara and the End of an Old Order in Java, 1785–1855* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2007), 418–19, plate 47; and Tiffin, "Java's Ruined Candis and the British Picturesque Ideal," 549, fig. 12.

care of Major [Archibald] Campbell [Raffles's military aide-de-camp, 5th Bengal Native Infantry] ... The expense attending them will be cheerfully remitted.⁵²

Attached to the letter was "Memorandum: MS and drawings wanted from Major Cornelius," which detailed the plans, maps, and views that Mackenzie hoped to receive. On February 20, 1815, Cornelius sent a copy of Mackenzie's request with a covering letter to Raffles to obtain the Java Government's formal permission and financial support. Cornelius adds the following remark:

I then will be enabled to comply with Colonel Mackenzie's request, principally by making a begin in surveying the East Hook of Java, of which no geographical chart has until now been made, the more as some of my late engineer officers that live here and have no employ, are inclined to perform these works, to find subsistence for themselves and their wives and children.⁵³

Raffles turned down the request, arguing that it concerned a private affair for which the government did not need to issue any orders. The refusal evoked the cynical comment from De Haan that, at that time, Raffles had already conceived the plan to write a book on Java himself and was therefore no longer eager to offer assistance to others—in this case, to Mackenzie—for nothing is said about the unemployed Dutch engineers.

Commenting on Mackenzie's request to Cornelius, art historian Jennifer Howes claims that "it was normal to give copies of drawings to other researchers, and to request copies of drawings from other collections in return."⁵⁴ Yet it appears that in this period the exchange was all one-way, namely, from the Dutch to Mackenzie and Raffles, and not in the other direction. In fact, we do not know of a single British drawing given in return. The unilateral character of the exchange of maps, plans, and drawings reflects the skewed power relations during the British interregnum.

As for Dutch "assistance" extended to Raffles, we may recall that he had drawings made of the statues in Engelhard's archaeological collection. Also included in the British Museum's Raffles Collection are various drawings and maps by Van Boeckholtz and Cornelius. Dutch input was not confined to maps and drawings, however. During his travels across Java, Raffles was often escorted by Dutch interpreters, such as Johannes Knops and Jan Ekenholm, who were also involved in the translation of Dutch and Javanese historical documents now in the Raffles Collection. In addition, copies and translations of Javanese traditional historiographies were acquired through J. A. van Middelkoop, F. von Winckelmann, and Engelhard.⁵⁵

As regards British archaeological discoveries, Raffles's American associate, Horsfield, and his former aide-de-camp, Major Jeremiah Martin Johnson of the Bengal Native Infantry, who was also the British Resident of Solo (1813–16), were rightly credited with the discovery by Westerners of, respectively, the Panataran temple

⁵² As quoted by De Haan, "Personalialia," 603–4.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India; The Early Colonial Investigations of Colin Mackenzie (1784–1821)* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2010), 159.

⁵⁵ See: De Haan, "Personalialia," 613; and Weatherbee, "Raffles' Sources for Traditional Javanese Historiography and the Mackenzie Collections," 64ff.

complex and Candi Sukuh. However, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*'s claim that it was Raffles himself who, in 1814, "discovered" Borobudur, cannot be upheld.⁵⁶ The fact is that Raffles learned about the monument's existence during his earlier stay in Semarang.⁵⁷ Most likely it was Cornelius who told him about the discovery of the monument during the course of the Marine School's involvement in the mapping of Java during the final quarter of the eighteenth century. Even if Cornelius had not himself surveyed the Kedu area in which Borobudur is located, he must have been acquainted with existing Dutch maps, such as the one prepared in 1811 by J. A. Du Bois, in which the name "Boro Bodo" is clearly indicated as an archaeological site.⁵⁸

In this cartographic connection, it is relevant to recall the British officers' elation over the seizure of maps they found in Batavia and Semarang in the aftermath of Java's conquest. In Semarang alone, they found 244 drawings and maps, including several of the whole of Java, such as the maps by Du Bois and H. P. D. Kortzius.⁵⁹ Most of these maps were shipped off to Calcutta and England, but a number were kept by Raffles, Mackenzie, and Thorn for copying and as the basis for the maps they would later include in their own works—without any mention of their prototypes and authors.⁶⁰

Raffles and the British Natural History Collections

Raffles's role in the creation of British natural history collections deserves separate mention. This interest he shared with Engelhard, and, just as Engelhard was so honored, Raffles's name was immortalized by the inclusion of *Rafflesia arnoldii* and *Nepenthes rafflesiana* in Western plant taxonomy.⁶¹ During his tenure in Java, Raffles received indispensable assistance from Horsfield, who visited Java in 1799–1800 and returned in 1801 for an extended stay until 1819, when ill health forced him to retire to London. After entering Dutch army service as a surgeon in 1802, Horsfield was granted permission by the Dutch government to explore and record Java's botany, zoology, and geology. Horsfield also undertook occasional research trips to neighboring islands.⁶² The Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences had elected Horsfield as a member, and was instrumental in facilitating his appointment to the colonial

⁵⁶ See <http://www.britannica.com>, accessed October 1, 2014 (last updated version, December 27, 2013).

⁵⁷ N. J. Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1923), 336.

⁵⁸ Zandvliet, "Daendels en de nieuwe kaart van Java," 100. Among the other "Brahmin antiquities" explicitly indicated on DuBois's map are "Singasarie" and "Madjapahit," near Malang, and "Tjandie Gambar," south of Mount Kelud; see the reproduction of this section of the map in Zandvliet, "Daendels en de nieuwe kaart van Java," 96; and cf. NA-MIKO IV 71–75. Similarly, Candi Gambar was supposedly only discovered in 1890 by R. D. M. Verbeek, but Du Bois's map now proves otherwise.

⁵⁹ Zandvliet, "Vestingbouw in de Oost," 177, note 11.

⁶⁰ This information casts doubt on the truthfulness of Raffles's statement, "I believe I may state it as a fact, that although the Dutch possessed Java for nearly two centuries, no scientific map, whatever, was formed of the island; and the only one extant is that which was framed when I was there." See S. Raffles, *Statement of the Services of Sir Stamford Raffles* (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1978), 14. On the British purloining of key maps and charts from Yogyakarta prior to their June 20, 1812, attack, see the comments by the Dutch Resident of Yogyakarta, A. H. Smissaert (in office, 1823–25), in Carey, *Power of Prophecy*, 308, note 168; 522, note 48.

⁶¹ H. J. Noltie, *Raffles' Ark Redrawn: Natural History Drawings from the Collection of Sir Thomas Stamford Raffles* (London: The British Library, 2009).

⁶² James B. McNair, "Thomas Horsfield—American Naturalist and Explorer," *Torrey* 42, 1 (1942), 1–9.

service and his wide-ranging travels through Java.⁶³ At the request of the erstwhile Dutch government, presumably on Engelhard's initiative, Horsfield also took cartographic notes and made drawings of Javanese antiquities. Occasionally he was assisted in these efforts by Semarang Marine School pupils, as well as local Javanese artists.⁶⁴ Yet due to the lack of printing materials, a shortage caused by the British naval blockade (1796–1811), none of his contributions to the *Transactions* of the Batavian Society were published at the time.

In Solo, in December 1811, Horsfield had a meeting with Raffles, who spent several hours examining Horsfield's collection of natural history objects, drawings, maps, and illustrations. He accepted Raffles's proposal to transfer to the service of the English East India Company, and "as a result [...] a steady stream of specimens began to flow to the Company's museum in London."⁶⁵ The seven contributions in Dutch that Horsfield had previously submitted to the Batavian Society for publication finally appeared in 1814, together with a long essay in English on the poison tree.⁶⁶

After assuming the office of Lieutenant-Governor of Bengkulu on March 22, 1818, following the restoration of Java to the Dutch, Raffles had his aide-de-camp and envoy, Thomas Otto Travers (1785–1844), contact Horsfield in Batavia and invite him to Bengkulu. This was "an opportunity welcomed by the American, who wished to see Raffles again and to arrange with him for the transport of his large collection to England."⁶⁷ The authority on Raffles's natural history collection, H. J. Noltie, comments:

Raffles was determined that Horsfield's discoveries and collections should go to Britain. Slightly oddly, given that his salary had been paid by the Dutch for ten years, and that he was American not British, Horsfield went along with this ...⁶⁸

The material that Horsfield collected while in Dutch service and handed over to the British without Dutch permission cannot be regarded as a voluntary Dutch contribution; the appropriation should rather be seen as spoils of war for the British.⁶⁹ All in all, Raffles's contribution to the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences thus appears to be somewhat ambiguous: he helped the society to revive, but he also deprived it of some extraordinary and uniquely valuable collections.⁷⁰

⁶³ See: Anonymous, "Voorberigt," in *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen* 7 (1814), i–vii; Lian The and Paul W. van der Veur, *The Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap; An Annotated Content Analysis* (Athens: Ohio University, 1973), 5–6; and Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 164.

⁶⁴ See: Mildred Archer, *British Drawings in the India Office Library*, 452; and John Bastin, "Introduction," in Gallop, *Early Views of Indonesia*, 8–9.

⁶⁵ Wurtzburg, *Raffles and the Eastern Isles*, 198. Later these specimens were redistributed among the London Linnaeus Society, the Royal Society, the Zoological Society of London, and the Royal Horticultural Society, whereas the maps, drawings, and illustrations entered the Horsfield Collection created in the British Library.

⁶⁶ See *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap* 7 (1814).

⁶⁷ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 438.

⁶⁸ Noltie, *Raffles' Ark Redrawn*, 29.

⁶⁹ Except, perhaps, for that portion of Horsfield's collection that he took with him to Bengkulu and thence to London—which items seem to have been purchased by John Fendall, who succeeded Raffles as lieutenant-governor in Java on March 12, 1816; see Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 181.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 176, 181.

Insofar as archaeology and art history are concerned, it may be taken as established that Raffles made good use of a wide range of assistants and informants, including several prominent Dutch civilians and members of the Javanese and Madurese nobility. In reference to Hannigan's statement that "the concerted cataloguing of the temples of Java was ultimately the most benign and admirable of all the British conquests in Indonesia,"⁷¹ we should emphasize the word "concerted" to do justice to the cooperation of the different parties in those research and cataloging efforts.⁷² The synthesis of the diverse research findings is largely the work of Raffles, and this was a feat in itself. As observed by art historian N. J. Krom, author of a now classic introduction to Hindu-Javanese art, Raffles seemed to be especially gifted in systematically processing a huge amount of oral and written information in a short time and presenting the results of his analysis in a way that was accessible to the general public.⁷³

Raffles's working methods in archaeology and art history did not differ from his earlier information-gathering and intelligence work on behalf of Lord Minto as "agent of the Governor-General with the Malay States" (1810–11) in advance of the August 1811 invasion of Java. In this connection, Hannigan appropriately credits him with multitasking abilities. While in Java, Raffles managed to combine his wide-ranging culture-historical researches with his much more onerous responsibilities as lieutenant-governor.⁷⁴ None of Raffles' Dutch contemporaries in Java was capable of this, including Engelhard. Initially, Engelhard's interest in archaeological objects was based more on their value as items for a cabinet of curiosities rather than as objects for scientific research.⁷⁵ Although Engelhard is reported to have been an exception in the Batavian society of his days for his love of study and constant need of books and writing, he was full of bustle and said to have lacked the patience for sustained intellectual reflection.⁷⁶ This aside, his handwritten texts are barely readable because of their wordiness and the author's poor writing skills.⁷⁷ That Engelhard was well aware of Raffles's superior talents is evidenced by his remarks about Raffles being "full of genius" and as "having an angelic pen."⁷⁸

With the exception of the views of a few Dutch colonial officers and historians, the overall reception of *The History of Java* in the Netherlands was quite positive. So much so, as F. D. K. Bosch pointed out in 1938, that rather than being a stimulus to archaeology, *The History of Java* instead had a dampening effect, as Dutch

⁷¹ See: Hannigan, *The British Invasion of Java*, 237; and cf. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 398.

⁷² Cf. Weatherbee, "Raffles' Sources for Traditional Javanese Historiography and the Mackenzie Collections," 93.

⁷³ Krom, *Inleiding tot de Hindoe-Javaansche Kunst*, vol. I, 8.

⁷⁴ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 397.

⁷⁵ Cf. Astrid Spierings, "Winnaar en verliezer, de reputaties van Thomas Stamford Raffles en Nicolaus Engelhard naast elkaar gezet" (doctoraalscriptie [unpublished MA thesis], University of Leiden, 2013), <http://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/21720>, accessed March 15, 2016.

⁷⁶ De Haan, *Priangan*, vol. I, 85–86.

⁷⁷ P. H. van der Kemp, *Oost-Indië's herstel in 1816 naar oorspronkelijke stukken* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1911), 42.

⁷⁸ See: De Haan, *Priangan*, vol. 4 (Batavia: Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 1912), 946; cf. P. H. van der Kemp, *De teruggave der Oost-Indische koloniën; naar de oorspronkelijke stukken 1814–1816* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1910), 198.

contemporaries sincerely believed that Raffles's researches had been thoroughgoing and complete.⁷⁹

New Light on the British–Dutch Collaboration during the British Interregnum

One question remaining is why several high-ranking Dutch civilians were willing to contribute to British archaeological research. For instance, why did Engelhard grant Raffles and Mackenzie liberal access to his collection of antiquities; present them with maps, plans, and drawings; and provide them with copies and translations of Javanese and Dutch manuscripts and reports? Was this merely a means to play up to the new colonial master and show loyalty to the new government? It would be naïve to think that such ulterior motives were absent from Engelhard's mind, but, on closer inspection, it turns out that other factors were involved as well.

Among the Dutch who assisted Raffles and Mackenzie in their researches were a considerable number of Freemasons, not only Engelhard but also Cornelius, J. W. B. Wardenaar, P. J. Beetjes, Knops, Ekenholm, Van Middelkoop, and Von Winckelmann. This could hardly be a coincidence, the more so when it turns out that, apart from Raffles (whose admission to the Masonic Order during his stay in Java has long been known), several other British figures involved in the Java expedition were also Masons, including Lord Minto, Major-General Robert Rollo Gillespie, and Hugh Hope (brother of the famous Peninsular War general Sir John Hope, 1765–1836). Both Colonel Mackenzie and Captain G. P. Baker, the two leading figures in British archaeological research, were also Masons. This is evident from the fact that Mackenzie had assisted in the construction of a new building for De Vriendschap (Friendship), the Masonic lodge in Surabaya, to which he and Baker had been formally admitted as “visitors” (fellow Masons attending the Lodge).⁸⁰ This finding has a bearing on the contention that Raffles, through his archaeological research, created networks that were also instrumental in generating loyalty to the new British government. To quote Bloembergen and Eickhoff:

Archaeology thus became part of [the] political reform programme: conducting archaeological investigations became a means to support [Raffles's] governmental reorganisations and could be explained as a way of opposing the former Dutch misrule. The distribution of an archaeological questionnaire by

⁷⁹ F. D. K. Bosch, “Het ontwaken van het aesthetisch gevoel voor de Hindoe-Javaansche oudheid,” *Rede* [inaugural address] (Santpoort: Mees, 1938), 14. Relevant in this connection is that Raffles had announced that he intended to write a sequel to his archaeological expose in *The History of Java*, provisionally titled *An Account of the Antiquities of Java*, presumably to deal at greater length with Borobudur and the antiquities in eastern Java. See F. D. K. Bosch, “The Debt of Archaeology to Raffles,” *Inter-Ocean* 11, 3 (1938), 14. Raffles's sequel was published posthumously by his second wife, Lady Sophia, without Raffles's commentary, under the title *Antiquarian, Architectural, and Landscape Illustrations of the History of Java* (London: Bohn, 1844).

⁸⁰ A. de Geus and D. de Visser Smits, “Beknopte geschiedenis der Vrijmetselarij in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië,” in *Vrijmetselarij; Geschiedenis, maatschappelijke beteekenis en doel*, ed. D. de Visser Smits (Soerabaia: Van Dorp, 1931), 172. Colin Mackenzie's name is also found in a ledger (*stamboek*) of *La Constante et Fidèle* lodge in Semarang, as is Hugh Hope's, the British Commissioner of the eastern districts of Java. Hope had acted as Worshipful Master and Past Master of the Lodge, according to *Stamboek Loge La Constante et Fidèle in het oosten van Samarang van af 1789 leden en kinderen der loge, Archief no. 5 [123A]*, CMC, The Hague (archival document).

Mackenzie should not be regarded solely as an act of legitimation of the British government of the island. Answering it, as did Engelhard for example, meant showing loyalty to the new government and as such the questionnaire helped [by] building up supportive networks for the same government.⁸¹

Rather than new networks, however, the existing networks of Dutch Masons were what had helped Raffles gain access to the archaeological information that the Dutch had already gathered, and which he could profitably put to use for his own investigations.

Instances of Masonic collaboration and support were not confined to archaeological and art historical investigations, but also occurred in other fields and often involved highly personal transactions. Examples are the Java Council (the highest administrative body in Java, which replaced the Raad van Indië, the Dutch Council of the Indies), the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission, the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, and the Bible Society. The Council of Java comprised two Brits (Raffles and Gillespie) and two Dutchmen (J. W. Cranssen and H. W. Muntinghe), all of whom were Masons. The four-man Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission, directed by Mackenzie, included Dutch Masons Knops (lodge La Constante et Fidèle, Semarang) and Pieter Herbert Baron van Lawick Pabst (lodge La Vertueuse, Batavia). The role of Masons in the founding of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences is well known, but their presence became more pronounced during the British interregnum.⁸² For instance, the board of directors of the newly revived society (renamed the Batavia Literary Society) counted twelve members, eight of whom were Masons. Of a total of seventy-eight newly registered members, several of whom were British or other foreign nationals, no fewer than forty-three can be positively identified as Masons. I made these identifications on the basis of the list of Masons in the Dutch East Indies from 1760 to 1860, and I verified and supplemented those lists with the aid of the registers of names of the Dutch East Indies lodges La Vertueuse and La Fidèle Sincérité (Batavia), La Constante et Fidèle, and De Vriendschap, which registers are kept in the archives of the Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum (CMC, Cultural Masonic Center) in the Netherlands.⁸³ The Java Auxiliary Bible Society, which was presided

⁸¹ M. Bloembergen and M. Eickhoff, "A Wind of Change on Java's Ruined Temples," *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 128, 1 (2013), 92. These arguments were reiterated in Bloembergen and Eickhoff's "A Moral Obligation of the Nation-State: Archaeology and Regime Change in Java and the Netherlands in Early Nineteenth Century," in *Empire and Science in the Making—Dutch Colonial Scholarship in Comparative Global Perspective, 1760–1830*, ed. Peter Boomgaard (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 191.

⁸² This finding contradicts Jean Gelman Taylor's statement that the development of the Mason's Lodge and Academy was hampered or interrupted during the British interregnum; see Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia—Europeans and Eurasians in Colonial Indonesia*, 2nd ed. (Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 90. As we have seen, Raffles took a leading role in boosting the activities of the Academy by convening meetings and facilitating the publication in the *Transactions* of papers by Horsfield, Mackenzie, and others.

⁸³ D. de Visser Smits, "Naamlijst van vrijmetselaren in Ned. Oost Indië van ± 1760 tot ± 1860," in *Vrijmetselarij*, ed. D. de Visser Smits, 298–309. The Cultureel Maçonniek Centrum "Prins Frederik" (commonly abbreviated CMC) is the main office of the Grand Lodge of the Netherlands. The center, located in The Hague, has a masonic archive and library, and a small museum. According to the "Lijst van alle zodanige receptien zeedert A[moo] 1797 gedaan in L[oge] La Vertueuse," Thomas Horsfield was initiated on December 3, 1801 (CMC, *archiefdoo*s 3069). The absence of his name among those who in the following years were elevated to the rank of Fellow Craft and Master Mason presumably can be explained by Horsfield's long periods of absence from the capital Batavia in connection with his scientific field research for the Dutch in the interior of Java. Interestingly, among the British Masons listed as members of *La Vertueuse* in 1814 are

over by Raffles with Engelhard as vice president, comprised one British and two Dutch clergymen, and six other prominent Dutchmen. Of the latter, four can be positively identified as Masons.

Exemplifying the Masonic tradition of providing to each other assistance in adverse personal circumstances was the support given to Raffles after the death of his first wife, Olivia Mariamne, on November 26, 1814, and again three months later, when news of Lord Minto's death (June 21, 1814) finally reached Java. Masons also provided assistance to facilitate the purchase of jointly owned plots of land by Engelhard, Raffles, and several other Dutch and British Masons.⁸⁴

Jessica Harland-Jacobs's pathbreaking study makes clear that acts of conviviality and mutual assistance among Masons of different European nations were a familiar phenomenon in the eighteenth century.⁸⁵ For instance, Dutch and British Masons in South Africa, Ceylon, and Bengal were able to maintain friendly contacts with each other even in times of political tension and war. Indeed, membership in ambulant lodges offered military personnel the certainty of better-than-typical treatment if they chanced to be taken prisoner by enemy Masons. What seems to make the British interlude in Java unique, however, was the extent and intensity of Masonic collaboration, which is why, in a forthcoming article, I refer to the British administration of the island during this period as "an experiment in supranational fraternal governance."⁸⁶

At the root of the Masons' cooperation in Java was the combination of British officials' lack of manpower and knowledge of Java and its inhabitants, and the Dutch desire to protect its interests. With more than half of the English East India Company's expeditionary force having been pulled out after the conquest and fewer than five thousand men remaining to provide protection and administrative services for Java and its dependencies, the motivations for the British to seek collaboration with the Dutch in Java seem obvious. As Wurtzburg observed,

There were very few British available, a mere handful of them being civil servants, the rest borrowed from the army or obtained from various adventitious

a number of Raffles's close associates, such as Charles Assey, Thomas Otto Travers, Thomas MacQuoid, and James Dalgairns, as well as Raffles's brother-in-law, Captain William Flint.

⁸⁴ During this period, Engelhard, Cranssen, and P. van Heemstede Cappelhoff (*La Fidèle Sincérité*) offered Raffles hospitality on their estates in the cooler climate of the Preanger Highlands; see Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 373. The names of the Dutch and British Masons involved in the purchase of plots of government land were Engelhard, Van Lawick van Pabst, Knops, Muntinghe, De Wilde, Shrapnell, Offers, and McQuoid. For more on the controversial land transactions, see Bastin, *Raffles' Ideas on the Land Rent System in Java and the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission*.

⁸⁵ Jessica Harland-Jacobs, *Builders of Empire; Freemasons and the British Imperialism, 1717–1927* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Confined to the role of Freemasons in British imperialism, the emphasis in Harland-Jacobs's study is largely on former British colonies in the western hemisphere (USA, Canada, and Australia) with a few excursions to non-western British territories, such as India and the Caribbean. Raffles is almost entirely missing from her study. His name is mentioned once and then only briefly in connection with the founding of Singapore by order of the new governor-general of British India, Lord Moira (1754–1826; in office 1813–23), who was also a Mason.

⁸⁶ Roy Jordaan, "The British Interregnum in Java: An experiment in Supranational Fraternal Governance," in *Parts and Wholes*, ed. Laila Prager, Guido Sprenger, and Michael Prager (Muenster/Hamburg: LIT, in press).

sources. Of the civil servants, few had had any experience of higher administration.⁸⁷

Lord Minto's exhortation to the people of Java "to consider their new connexion with England," which echoed the so-called Kew letters (January 30–February 8, 1795) of the exiled Prince of Orange to governors of Dutch territories abroad exhorting them to surrender their domains to the King of England, did not fall on deaf ears. Many of the Dutch inhabitants in Java, especially the middle- and low-ranking officials of the former VOC government (many of whom were Masons), were attracted to the British proposal to participate in the joint administration of the island, as this would allow them to continue working and secure their livelihoods.⁸⁸ The British promise of mutual advantage and security contrasted sharply with the "fearful days of Daendels" (the marshal and governor-general under the previous Dutch and French Napoleonic governments, 1808–11), as recalled in historical overviews of Dutch Masonic publications.⁸⁹ Dutch patriotic and French revolutionary ideas certainly constituted a real threat for members of the corrupt *ancien régime* in Batavia, who had relied for decades on illicit trade and nepotism, and had guarded their considerable material interests by elaborate protocol and oligarchic marital alliances.

As for when the Masonic experiment in supranational governance began, there are but a few hard facts available, which is not surprising for a society characterized by secrets and secrecy. Nevertheless, one of the main reasons historians failed to look at the British Council of Java in terms of a Masonic administrative construct, in spite of its extraordinary composition, is the incorrect dating of Raffles's admission to the Brotherhood as 1812 (versus 1811). Indeed, most Dutch Masonic sources yield an even later date, to the year 1813.⁹⁰ Even as careful a biographer as Wurtzburg dates the admission as 1812, in spite of the fact that he, himself, had mentioned Lord Minto's presence at Raffles's initiation ceremony in *Virtutis et Artis Amici* lodge, which necessarily implies it took place prior to Lord Minto's return to Calcutta on

⁸⁷ Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 175. The Dutch colonial historian, F. W. Stapel, had also noticed the shortage of competent British administrators, opining that "the formation of the personnel would have been a forlorn hope were it not for the large number of experienced Dutch government officials entering into British service." See F. W. Stapel, *Geschiedenis van Nederlandsch-Indië*, vol. v (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1940), 112. These observations contradict Pearson's statement that, apart from Cranssen and Muntinghe, no other Dutchmen had volunteered service; see H. F. Pearson, *This Other India* (Singapore: Eastern Universities Press 1957), 46. His statement may stem from ignorance of De Haan's invaluable "Personalalia," as well as unfamiliarity with the numerous Dutch names appearing in the announcements of the British administration in the issues of the *Java Government Gazette*.

⁸⁸ The high-ranking officials of the former VOC government, among whom were Siberg, Engelhard, Senn van Basel, and Baljée, kept a certain distance from the British administration, electing to retire to their country estates after their wealth and assets were secured in the political deal with Lord Minto. They are listed as "land owners" in the directories of the British administration; see NA 397D31, *The Java Annual Directory for 1814*. This did not, as we will see, prevent Engelhard from entertaining cordial personal contacts with Raffles and other British senior officials.

⁸⁹ A. de Geus, "Geschiedenis van de vrijmetselarij te Batavia," in *Gedenkboek van de Vrijmetselarij in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië 1767–1917* (Semarang/Soerabaia/'s-Gravenhage: Van Dorp, 1917), 166.

⁹⁰ Another reason is the general disinterest among Dutch colonial historians in Freemasonry. A pertinent example is provided by F. de Haan, who was by far the best-informed historian of Batavia, with an unequalled command of the primary archival sources. Yet what looks like personal bias prevented him from uncovering the hidden Masonic ties between the leading figures in Batavia from the second half of the eighteenth century onward. See, for instance, his derogatory remarks in *Priangan*, vol. I, 126, 308.

October 19, 1811.⁹¹ This temporary lodge was housed in Engelhard's spacious country residence in Pondok Gedeh (present-day Cililitan) near Buitenzorg (Bogor).

The presence of Lord Minto is essential for a better understanding of the rapid rapprochement between the British and the Dutch in the Indies and their decision to collaborate. Considering that he and Engelhard were the key figures in the events of the day, they should be credited with conceiving the plan for the supranational fraternal governance. It should be stressed, however, that the Masonic "gentlemen's agreement" serves as a working hypothesis. Without further information, it cannot be established who took the initiative in this. Undoubtedly, Lord Minto's visits to La Vertueuse should be understood in this context, and it is likely that Engelhard, whose keen political insight often prompted him to take timely actions, had contacted Lord Minto immediately after the fall of Batavia. If his administrative credentials did not suffice for this purpose, he certainly would not have hesitated to strengthen his request for a private appointment by resorting to secret Freemasonry symbols and codes, as we know he did in other critical situations.⁹² Meanwhile, Lord Minto, too, was known for his good sense:

... [Lord Minto] had a considerable reputation among contemporaries for his political acumen, intellectual gifts, and considerable personal charm in an age when political issues could quickly make friends into enemies; he was possessed of considerable skill in manoeuvring the shoals of political faction and retaining his virtues as an independent thinker.⁹³

Once they had met, it would not have been difficult for Minto and Engelhard to conceive of ways in which Dutch Masons in Java could be of assistance to the British rule over Java, at least during the period in which the Netherlands had not yet been liberated from the yoke of French-Napoleonic rule and the future of the occupied Dutch territories abroad had not yet been determined through international peace treaties.

Undoubtedly, Engelhard was instrumental in bringing about the smooth political transition to British rule in Java. After the departure of Governor-General Daendels (May 1811) and the capture and removal by the British of his successor, General Janssens (late September 1811), Engelhard was one of the leading Dutchmen in Batavia, with an impressive track record in the ranks of the Dutch East Indies Company. Through kinship and marriage he was related to two former governors-general and knew many of the other high officials personally, or was otherwise acquainted with their capabilities, as well as with their virtues and vices. Furthermore, as a former official of Native Affairs (*Gecommitteerde tot en over zaken van de*

⁹¹ Wurtzburg's mistake went undetected because his brief reference to Raffles's initiation is subsumed in the chapter dealing with Java in 1816, which is rather late in the book. See Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 398.

⁹² For instance, Engelhard's cool-headed behavior during his imprisonment by Governor-General Daendels (in office, 1808–11), and also later, when the ship on which he had sailed to Europe was captured by a Spanish pirate and Engelhard resorted to using secret Masonic signs, which ultimately resulted in the release of the ship and cargo. See *Nederlandsch Jaarboekje voor Vrijmetselaren 5857* (Amsterdam: Diederichs, 1857), 278.

⁹³ Elizabeth Lambert, "Lady Minto and her Lord," in *Women, Gender, and Print Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Essays in Memory of Betty Rizzo*, ed. Temma Bergen and Sonia Kane (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2013), 103.

Inlander) and as the last governor of Java's Northeast Coast (1801–08), Engelhard was well informed about internal Javanese affairs, particularly of the two main courts of Mataram in central Java.

But there was more. For many years, Engelhard was deputy grandmaster of the Dutch Grand Lodge, the highest-ranking Freemason in the East Indies.⁹⁴ As such, he would have endeavored to arrive at a Masonic agreement, that is to say, an agreement in which certain Masonic values, such as equality, tolerance, and mutual assistance, would simultaneously serve as guiding principles for social interaction and as the basis of trust during the British interregnum. I do not exclude the possibility that secret contacts among Dutch and British Masons existed before the British invasion. Daendels, for one, was always firm in his opinion that such contacts existed.⁹⁵ If true, some of Lord Minto's enigmatic statements could have a more profound meaning than is commonly assumed, such as his saying, "I have found the favorable disposition which I expected from the Dutch inhabitants," which is in line with what he had divulged to his wife about his motives to join the Java expedition in person:

We are now in the agony of preparation for Java; and I will whisper in your ear that I am going there myself, not to command the army, but to see that all the political work [is] done to my mind [...] My going in person upon this service is not a very usual measure, and my motives not being generally understood, many ingenious conjectures are as usual in circulation [...] My own reasons are that there are many important points, regarding our future relations with the Dutch, and with the native States in Java, which ought to be adjusted at the moment of the attack; that it is impossible to obtain at this distance the information and materials on which a satisfactory judgment can be formed, and which should enable me to issue instructions sufficiently distinct or well-founded to meet all the possible exigencies. [...] Upon the whole, I am of the opinion that I should not perfectly discharge my duty if I did not attend the whole affair in person; and although it is not necessary that the public should be in possession of my motives, I have the satisfaction that they are certainly approved by my colleagues and other men of experience and judgement with whom I have communicated on the subject.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Engelhard became a member of the Batavia lodge *La Vertueuse* in 1772, and was elected Worshipful Master in 1796. Two years later he was appointed Deputy Grandmaster of the Dutch East Indies by the Grand Lodge in the Netherlands, a position that he would hold for twenty-three years; see A. de Geus, "Geschiedenis van der Vrijmetselarij te Batavia," 165.

⁹⁵ See: F. de Haan, "Jacobijnen te Batavia," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 41, 112–13; and Paul van 't Veer, *Daendels: Maarschalk van Holland* (Zeist: W. de Haan, 1963), 155. Daendels himself was a Mason, a former member of the lodge *Le Profond Silence* in Kampen in the Netherlands, see Gerard J. M. Bonneke, "Een democratische leerschool? Patriotten en Bataven, 1780–1815," in *Vrijmetselaren: 250 jaar en meer* (n.p.: Stichting De Vrije Metselaar, 2006), 159.

⁹⁶ Gilbert Elliot, *Lord Minto in India; Life and Letters of Gilbert Elliot, First Earl of Minto from 1807–1814, while Governor-General of India; Edited by the Countess of Minto* (London: Longmans and Green, 1880), 249–50. British historians usually refer to Lord Minto's remark that the Java expedition was a kind of adventure that offered him a gratifying break in the monotony of his laborious life at Fort William, in Calcutta. However, this motive would hardly have counted as a valid argument for the board of directors of the East India Company for an expected absence from Bengal for seven or eight months. Also overlooked here are Lord Minto's introductory remarks, saying that "It is not a matter of taste or choice, but of duty, or rather of necessity, that I am going to friskify in this manner." *Ibid.*, 251–52.

Political negotiations about the future relations with the Dutch and with the native rulers that could only be conducted by himself—all this is evidence of Lord Minto’s prior intention to establish forms of administrative collaboration with Dutch citizens in Java.⁹⁷ He may well have used Masonic ideas and values as “right” or guiding principles in the negotiations: “The object we have in view is of the greatest national importance, and it is of infinite consequence that the first political arrangement should be made on right principles.”⁹⁸

New Questions about Freemasonry and the Origins of Javanese Archaeology

If Freemasonry proved vital for establishing British–Dutch collaboration with regard to Javanese archaeology, the question arises whether the influence of Freemasonry was felt only during the short period of the British interregnum, or can already be discerned during the waning days of the VOC. If the latter proves to be the case, it becomes entirely plausible that Freemasonry itself contributed to the origins of Javanese archaeology—not only indirectly through fraternal association, but also in a more direct way, as a source of intellectual and ideological inspiration.

As regards the indirect contribution of Freemasonry to the timid beginnings of Javanese archaeology in the last two decades of the eighteenth century, we need to recall Van Boeckholtz’s and Reimer’s influence on Engelhard. The finding that the three gentlemen all happened to be Masons could be dismissed as accidental, but not when we learn that other contemporaries with similar antiquarian interests, such as the Resident of Gresik, Carel van Naerssen (in office 1799–1808, 1813–16; died 1821), and A. de Rijk, as well as those involved in Engelhard’s archaeological researches, such as Cornelius and J. W. B. Wardenaar, were also Masons.⁹⁹ Considering that this interest in and collecting of archaeological artifacts started more or less simultaneously, and that no single person can be credited with initiating archaeological research in Java, I prefer to refer to the early beginnings of Javanese archaeology in the plural.

Another indirect link that comes to mind is the programmatic statement issued by the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences on the occasion of its founding in 1778 (by Radermacher and a small group of fellow Masons, as previously noted), in which antiquities (*oudheden*) are explicitly mentioned as a subject for the sciences that the society sought to advance. However, perhaps we should not attach too much significance to this statement, given the general and encyclopedic nature of the society’s objectives as pertaining to all peoples of the world.¹⁰⁰ The contents of the first issues of the society’s *Transactions* show that there was an interest in indigenous history and Javanese historiographical treatises, as well as in natural history,

⁹⁷ On his way to Java, Lord Minto stopped at Melaka, and, from his itinerary, it can be deduced that forms of administrative cooperation were also practiced there. Referring to the Dutch in this locality, he says: “They continue, under our government, to fill the principal offices, particularly the judicial, Dutch laws being established by the capitulation [in 1795].” *Ibid.*, 264.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 251.

⁹⁹ Masons are also found in the next generation of amateur archaeologists and collectors of Javanese antiquities, including H. J. Domis, Isaac Groneman, J. A. Dieduksman, F. D. E. van Ossenbruggen, and Raden Saleh Syarif Bustaman.

¹⁰⁰ Groot, *Van Batavia naar Weltevreden*, 94.

geography, and ethnology, but the first contribution dealing specifically with the archaeological remains of Java's pre-Islamic past is Mackenzie's paper of 1814 on the temple structures at Prambanan.¹⁰¹

To demonstrate a more direct connection between Freemasonry and the origins of Javanese archaeology proves much harder in view of the paucity of records of the Batavian lodges and other documents by Dutch Masons from the later VOC period. Nevertheless, the link seems plausible enough considering that notions about architecture and architectural symbolism are the very foundations upon which the Masonic worldview is built. Indeed, in order to be admitted to the Masonic Order, and to understand its thought and rituals, the initiate is also educated in architectural symbolism.¹⁰² To begin with, there is the explicit comparison by Masons of the lodge building with the Temple of Solomon. Just like Hindu and Buddhist temples, a Masonic lodge has to comply with all kinds of architectural and ritual conditions to be suitable for the worship of the Supreme Being, who is traditionally referred to by Masons as the Great Architect of the Universe. It stands to reason that when Masons—in the wake of the European expansion in South and Southeast Asia—were confronted with non-Western religious traditions and non-European specimens of religious architecture, they would not have failed to notice at least some of the more striking resemblances in the applications of principles of sacred geometry.¹⁰³ Consider, for instance, the comparable orientation of the lodge building and Candi Prambanan, as well as neighboring Candi Sewu, to the cardinal directions; the parallelism in the internal spatial division of lodge and the main temple in distinct rooms (e.g., porch or front room and main chamber); the orientation and hierarchical seating arrangement in the lodge and the statues and icons in Hindu-Buddhist temples; the presence of comparable items, like columns, throne, pedestal, and oil lamps; and the use of various traditional insignia as markers of the function and the rank of Masons and the attributes carried by statues and icons in Hindu-Buddhist temples. As can be inferred from their descriptions of Loro Jonggrang, both Van Boeckholtz and Reimer were well aware of the overall design of the Hindu temple complex, with Reimer also being able to identify several statues.

Nigel Barley has likewise tried to explain Raffles's passion for ancient Javanese architecture from his becoming acquainted with the Masonic doctrines and rituals about Solomon's temple. His reasoning is as follows:

The myth of origin of Freemasonry deals with the murder of Hiram Abiff, the master architect of Solomon's temple. Becoming a Master Mason, as Raffles did, involves identification with Hiram to the point of undergoing ritual death and

¹⁰¹ Han F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas. The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln and London, NB: University of Nebraska Press, 2015), 410.

¹⁰² J. S. Curl, *Freemasonry and the Enlightenment: Architecture, Symbols, and Influences* (London: Historical Publications, 2011).

¹⁰³ According to Harland-Jacobs, the educational influence of Freemasonry went beyond architecture, as "the brotherhood gave a member the opportunity to sate his curiosity and hone his intellect. With its claim of descent from glorious civilizations of the past, Freemasonry exposed brethren—many of whom had only the rudiments of an education—to ancient languages, texts, and mysteries. The lodge provided the setting for the exploration of the obscure and for the teaching of lessons through allegory and symbolism." J. L. Harland-Jacobs, "'Hands across the Sea': The Masonic Network, British Imperialism, and the North Atlantic World," *Geographical Review* 89, 2 (1999), 245.

resurrection through a Masonic handshake. The builders of ancient temples, whether Anglo-Saxons, ancient Egyptians, or Jews, are all attracted into the sphere of honorary, Masonic ancestry. Within their structures is held to be embodied a secret, symbolic knowledge so that buildings may be “read.” They become a riddle to be solved, like the Sphinx. Perhaps this goes some way to explaining Raffles’s unusual enthusiasm for Borobudur and his need for precise surveys. Its builders had, after all, been fellow Masons.¹⁰⁴

I do not think it is necessary for somebody to become a Master Mason to be able to “read” other temple buildings and see some of the architectural and symbolic parallels between the Masonic temple and the Hindu-Buddhist sanctuaries in Java. Besides, the acquisition of the degree of Master Mason by Raffles was a rather hurried event and done by so-called “communication” rather than by actual performance of the ceremonies, and begs the question of the thoroughness of his knowledge and personal commitment to the doctrines of Freemasonry; also because nothing is known about the frequency of his attendance at lodge meetings. As noted by Barley, “Raffles never mentions his Masonic activities.”¹⁰⁵ For all we know, his later visits were limited to the three occasions for which he had been especially invited by Dutch Masons: in Semarang, on June 24, 1812; following his return from his attack on Yogya, in Surabaya, on September 5, 1813; and in Batavia on an unknown date prior to his departure on March 25, 1816.¹⁰⁶ The troubles that arose among Dutch Masons occasioned by Raffles’s visit to Semarang’s La Constante et Fidèle lodge could be taken to indicate that his understanding of the basic Masonic rules was wanting—namely, his insistence on visiting the lodge in the company of women and other non-initiates.¹⁰⁷

Although I have problems with Barley’s stretching of the designation “fellow Mason” so as to include Anglo-Saxon, Egyptian, and Hindu-Buddhist architects, he does have a point in noting Raffles’s unusual enthusiasm for Borobudur as if it was a riddle to be solved. However, as seems to have been the case with Reimer, this may well stem from other sources of inspiration than Freemasonry, although the latter may have strengthened the initial impulse, such as the seminal articles in the British journal *Asiatick Researches*. A more firmly established source of inspiration for Raffles was William Marsden’s study *The History of Sumatra*.¹⁰⁸ Although Marsden appears to have been unaware of Hindu-Buddhist archaeological remains in different locales of the island, such as at Muara Jambi and Muara Takus, the fact that he was interested in antiquities is evidenced by the subtitle of his book, which refers to “the ancient

¹⁰⁴ Barley, *Duke of Puddle Dock*, 117–18.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 104; cf. Wurtzburg, *Raffles of the Eastern Isles*, 398.

¹⁰⁶ Each phase of Raffles’s masonic career in Java was either attended personally by Nicolaus Engelhard or facilitated by means of introductory letters to the Worshipful Masters of the Semarang and Surabaya lodges. For their visit to lodge *De Vriendschap* in Surabaya in 1813, Raffles and his fellow council member Muntinghe were both provided with certificates to inform fellow Masons of their having been granted the first two degrees of Entered Apprentice and Fellow Craft in Engelhard’s lodge *Virtutis et Artis Amici* at Pondok Gedeh; see de Geus and de Visser Smits, “Beknopte geschiedenis der vrijmetselarij in Nederlandsch Oost-Indië,” in de Visser Smits, *Vrijmetselarij*, 173.

¹⁰⁷ Thomas Stevens, *Vrijmetselarij en samenleving in Nederlandsch-Indië en Indonesia, 1762–1961* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 66.

¹⁰⁸ W. Marsden, *The History of Sumatra* (London: Payne, 1783).

political state” of the island of Sumatra, as well as by his observations on Priangan as the possible site of the ancient capital of the Minangkabau. Thus, Raffles would not have failed to recognize the importance of antiquities and Sanskrit as topics for investigation. In this, he was simply more fortunate than Marsden that Java could boast a far greater number of impressive Hindu-Buddhist remains than Sumatra, so as to broach the question of their origins, or rather, of their architects. This question seems to have occupied Raffles more so than did the riddle of a hidden meaning of Borobudur or of other Javanese temple structures. Perhaps this helps to explain his impatience with Mackenzie over the delay in the transcription and translation of the facsimiles of various Sanskrit inscriptions that the latter had taken with him to India for deciphering. The lack of further information on the contents of the inscriptions, however, did not prevent Raffles from entertaining his own ideas about the origins of the Hindu-Buddhist temples in Java. One explanation was “the colonisation from different parts of the continent of Asia,” but for Candi Sukuh, in which he detected various Egyptian influences, he ventured to draw parallels with the worship of Typhon and Anobis.¹⁰⁹ But where did he get this latter idea? Other sources of inspiration for Raffles’s research thus deserve further investigation.

Also deserving investigation is the rise of archaeology within the broader intellectual and ideological context of Dutch and British imperial rule. How did Freemasonry operate in that context? As it would take us too far afield to dwell on the differences between British and Dutch Freemasonry abroad, I will confine myself to noting that the beginning and expansion of British Freemasonry coincided and ran parallel to the expansion of the British Empire, with Masons acting as “Builders of Empire,” whereas the rise of Freemasonry in the Dutch colonies coincided with the decline of VOC power, the loss of territories, and the contraction of the Dutch empire.¹¹⁰ This could explain, at least in part, the relatively closed and conservative character of Dutch-East Indies Freemasonry.¹¹¹ Whether these differences also have a bearing on the connection between empire and science is another interesting question, which has as yet to be put on the research agenda.¹¹² My preliminary answer on the basis of the present study would be that the impact of these differences on science, here represented by Javanese archaeology and art history, was relatively small, and that in both the declining Dutch and the emerging British Empire the opening of these fields of study was begun and mediated by Masons. Their continuing role in the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences is another case in point, as is the Academy’s and Engelhard’s early support of studies in the field of natural history and geology by the

¹⁰⁹ See Raffles, *The History of Java*, vol. II, 47–48, 63.

¹¹⁰ For Masons’ supportive role in the expansion of the British Empire, see Harland-Jacobs’s *Builders of Empire*.

¹¹¹ For a further discussion of this conservative and Europe-centered character, see: Stevens, *Vrijmetselarij en samenleving*, 51–52; and Taylor, *The Social World of Batavia*, 88. Many of the leading Dutch Masons in the East Indies, particularly those of Lodge *La Vertueuse*, were known as conservatives in politics and economic affairs. Nicolaus Engelhard was nicknamed “King of the Old Hands” (*Koning der Oudgasten*), and, because of his intransigence, called “as closed as a mussel”; see S. Kalf, “De koning der oudgasten,” *De Indische Gids* 44 (1922) 1, 425.

¹¹² In Boomgaard’s *Empire and Science in the Making*, the role of Freemasonry in science is only briefly mentioned twice: in connection with the founding of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences by Radermacher and a few fellow Masons (142–43), and the founding of the first Masonic lodges in the Dutch West Indies (264–65).

foreign researchers De la Tour and Horsfield. Certainly, the research activities and collaboration of Dutch and British Masons resulted in continuity between VOC and British rule regarding Javanese antiquities.

Masonic Influence on Java's Archaeology and Governance

Contrary to what most of his biographers have asserted, Raffles was not a pioneer of Javanese archaeology. Nor was he the opposite of Engelhard in his admiration of pre-Islamic Javanese antiquities. Both men were keen collectors of Javanese artifacts and of archaeological maps and drawings, and, as fellow Masons, they also shared a particular interest in the archaeological remains of Java's Hindu-Buddhist civilization. They thus joined forces gladly in the exploration of the ancient Javanese past.

Considering that Freemasonry was vital for establishing Anglo-Dutch collaboration in this archaeological field, the key question raised in this paper is whether Masonic influence was felt only during the short period of the British interregnum or can already be discerned in the preceding period of VOC decline from the early 1780s. Since the latter appears to have been the case, I argue that Freemasonry itself contributed substantially to the origins of Javanese archaeology—not only indirectly through fraternal association, but also more directly as a source of intellectual and ideological inspiration.

Subsequent researches revealed that Freemasonry's influence was not just confined to the elucidation of Java's archaeological and cultural history. Dutch Masons also cooperated closely with their British counterparts in a wide range of other fields, including the British interim government's supreme advisory body, the Java Council, which had assumed the function of the former Council of the Indies, as well as that of the Mackenzie Land Tenure Commission, tasked with fundamental reforms of the colony's agriculture and export economy. They were also active in the related fields of finance, law, and judicial administration, all of which underwent radical reform in this period.

This cooperation was beneficial for both British and Dutch alike. Given that Raffles only had at his disposal some fifteen-hundred personnel—mostly former Bengal Army officers with little administrative experience—the availability of former Dutch East India Company servants with extensive administrative, ethnographic, and local knowledge was vital. It enabled the British to undertake the governance of the whole of Java and its dependencies, something that would have been impossible without such additional human resources. It was partly for this reason that Raffles set the bar of acceptance for civil servants so low: all that was required of former VOC personnel was they should take an oath of allegiance to the British Crown. The Java-based Dutch community, particularly members from the middle ranks of the former VOC government, amongst whom were a great number of Masons, felt only too keenly that such cooperation was a way of preserving their social position and guaranteeing their political future. Indeed, the contribution of Dutch Masons to the British interregnum was so fundamental that one can almost speak of a Masonic supranational cooperation that transcended both nationality and national identity. This exercise in international fraternity set the scene for future Anglo-Dutch cooperation throughout Southeast Asia.