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The Colonial Archaeological Hero Reconsidered. Post-Colonial Perspectives on the 'Discovery' of the Prehistoric Past of Indonesia

Summary

Taking as its starting point a collection of (auto)biographical narratives on the academic careers of Dutch prehistorians Van Stein Callenfels, Van Heekeren and Van der Hoop, this paper discusses the phenomenon of the 'colonial archaeologist as hero' from both a historical and a theoretical (post-colonial) perspective. We thus reconsider those colonial archaeologists who, according to traditional histories of archaeology, 'discovered' the prehistoric past of Indonesia during the 1920s and 1930s. We do this in order to gain a better understanding of the colonial dimension of research into the prehistory of the Dutch East Indies and the way it continues to affect the archaeology of post-colonial Indonesia. We focus on the dynamic social and cultural contexts within which the archaeological research was developed and conclude that the creation of knowledge of the prehistoric past included various forms of indigenous involvement.

Keywords: Post-colonialism; history of archaeology; prehistory; Dutch East Indies; Indonesia; biographies; legacies of colonialism.

Dieser Aufsatz behandelt das Phänomen des ‚kolonialen Archäologen als Helden' aus historischer und postkolonialer Perspektive. Im Zentrum stehen (auto-)biographische Erzählungen über die akademischen Laufbahnen der niederländischen Prähistoriker Van Stein Callenfels, Van Heekeren und Van der Hoop. Wir erörtern die Rolle der drei kolonialen Archäologen, die nach herkömmlicher Geschichtsschreibung in den 1920er und 1930er Jahren die prähistorische Vergangenheit Indonesiens ‚entdeckten'. Unser Ziel ist ein besseres Verständnis der kolonialen Dimension der Vorgeschichtsforschung in Niederländisch-Ostindien und deren Auswirkungen auf die Archäologie Indonesiens in postkolonialer Zeit. Wir fokussieren auf die kulturellen und sich dynamisch verändernden Kontexte und Praktiken, in welchen die archäologische Forschung stattfand und zeigen, dass bei der Herstellung archäologischen Wissens verschiedene Formen indigener Beteiligung wichtig waren.

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Keywords: Post-Kolonialismus; Geschichte der Archäologie; Prähistorische Archäologie; Niederländisch-Ostindien; Indonesien; Biografien; Erbe des Kolonialismus.

In this article we reconsider the apparently fixed image of 'the colonial archaeologist' from a historical and a theoretical (post-colonial) perspective. We focus on the (auto)biographical narratives of a group of colonial archaeologists who worked in the Dutch East Indies and carried out research into the so-called 'prehistoric' past in the first half of the twentieth century. Thereby, we examine the way these narratives functioned as authoritative prescriptions for understanding and dealing with Indonesian prehistory. By analysing the transformations of the status and significance of these colonial archaeologists and their academic work across regime changes in colonial and post-colonial Indonesia, we hope to provide balanced insights into the cultural and socio-political ramifications and the continued effects of colonial-era prehistoric research.

Our focus on 'colonial archaeologists' is motivated by the realization that, in traditional histories of colonial archaeology, in which new discoveries are the main impetus for a progressive understanding of the early past, the personality of the archaeologist is often regarded as pivotal. We are told time and time again that the colonial archaeologist obtained his leading position in the research field solely on the basis of his talents and an all-absorbing vocation, whereas other relevant factors are obscured.[1] As a rule, this colonial archaeologist is a male adventurer who travels to exotic places to look for traces of the material culture of the past. Women do not generally play a significant role in these quests.[2] Often a loyal indigenous guide comes to his aid, and eventually the archaeologist becomes acquainted with other local people as well. Despite these contacts, the life-stories of colonial archaeologists generally confirm the colonial 'gaze' on the prehistoric past of colonial societies as lost worlds waiting to be discovered by westerners. The colonial archaeologist might be an eccentric, but he ultimately turns from social outsider to public hero, thanks to his discoveries.[3] To the present day, the image of the colonial archaeologist remains fixed and strong and apparently unaffected by decolonization;[4] in contemporary popular culture, Indiana Jones represents him par

1 Cf. Abir-Am 1982, 285.

2 For the contemporary gendered dimensions of archaeological fieldwork, see: Moser 2007. Cf. McClintock 1995, 1–17.

3 For a classic example of this perspective, see Ceram 1949.

4 See, for example, the exhibition *Das Grosse Spiel. Archäologie und Politik* (The Great Game. Archaeology and Politics) of 2010 in the *Ruhr Museum Essen*. Although the exhibition recognizes the connections between archaeology and imperial politics around the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it merely reproduces archaeological hero stories and the exotic fascination with 'the other'. One of the main questions of this exhibition is: "Who were the pioneers that discovered and excavated the archaeological sites and monuments?" ("Wer waren die Pioniere, die archäologische Stätten und Monumente entdeckten und untersuchten?"). As a result,

excellence. Referring to this phenomenon, Neil A. Silberman speaks of the fable of the archaeologist as hero and of a basic pattern of adventure that is endlessly repeated in the histories of archaeological discoveries.[5] As a result, the heroic narrative pattern has deeply influenced the public understanding of archaeological work in general.[6]

In the Dutch East Indies of the 1920s and 1930s, as elsewhere in Asia, prehistory and the researcher that 'discovered' it had begun to fascinate diverse audiences. The collecting of stone tools was a booming activity, practiced by professionals and amateurs alike. For those researchers involved, the notion of human evolution did not pose the problem it had for many in the nineteenth century in the context of a creationist worldview. As a result, newly acquired knowledge of the prehistoric past was considered highly modern. The fact that the information gathered in this new field of knowledge was ordered as a story of linear (although in Asia sometimes impeded) advancement, only added to its modern status. In the Dutch East Indies, prehistorians concluded that, during Palaeolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic times, there had been many connections with and migrations between different parts of Asia; famous excavations included those along the north-east coast of Sumatra (where shell mounds or kitchen middens were excavated) and those at the Guwa Lawa Bat Cave near Madiun.[7] Researchers also believed that, in some parts of the colony, the prehistoric past still continued into the present, a view they gathered from the continuing use of stone axes and the absence of a tradition of writing. Consequently, archaeological knowledge was essentially connected with colonial hierarchies of a social and cultural nature.

At the same time, however, 'archaeological' sites were the objects of many other parallel processes of appropriation. At a local level, people living nearby, for example engaged, or re-engaged with such sites; but it was only from the 1900s onwards that state-supported institutions intervened more seriously, situating sites in the national domain.[8] In addition, in the context of the dissemination of knowledge about these sites, a generation of young nationalists from Java and Sumatra also became fascinated by images of the old Hindu and Buddhist empires that had ruled the archipelago ages ago and that now were encountered in the maps, research-proceedings and conservation projects of colonial archaeology. These reconstructions of the great 'Indonesian' empires

indigenous local or national perspectives on, and appropriations of archaeological sites and objects are hardly touched upon. See brochure *Das Grosse Spiel*, Ruhr Museum Essen 12-2/13-6 2010; cf. Trümpler 2008a, 16; Trümpler 2008b, 105–113; Bernbeck 2011.

5 Silberman thus referred to nineteenth-century European archaeologists such as Giovanni B. Belzoni, Austen H. Layard and Heinrich Schliemann, who published autobiographical or travel accounts as part of their excavation reports, cf. Belzoni 1820; Layard 1849; Schliemann 1881.

6 Silberman 1996, 251–252.

7 Bernet Kempers 1982, 19–22; Tanudirjo 1995, 68–70; von Heine-Geldern 1945; Soejono 1969.

8 For local perspectives on archaeological sites in the nineteenth century, see: Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2013a.

of the past fuelled their dream of a great national Indonesian future.[9] Likewise, the excavations of a prehistoric past stimulated a national self-awareness; after decolonization, prehistory would, as a result, become an integral part of Indonesia's national past.[10]

In order to get beyond the colonial gaze – for example, the exclusive focus on the heroic colonial archaeologist and his discoveries – post-colonial historians have, since the 1970s, been developing concepts and strategies to identify, criticize and deconstruct the so-called colonial discourse.[11] They understand this discourse as a system of statements within which the supposed centrality and modernity of Europe is related to the supposed inferiority of the colonized races and societies. As a result, the imperial power perceives itself as having a duty to advance the civilization of the colony through force, trade, administration, and cultural and moral improvement.[12] Post-colonial theory explicitly invokes discussions on topics such as suppression, resistance, representation, difference, gender, place and the sacred, as well as responses to European imperial master discourses, like history, philosophy and linguistics.[13] What interests post-colonial historians and social scientists is the relation between knowledge and power and the development of cultural representations of colonial society that made colonialism self-evident – to both the colonizers and the colonized. Relevant questions in this context are: to what extent, why and how were these images internalized? To what extent, how and why did these images persist after political decolonization? And how can we recover 'agency' and 'history' for the subjected 'others' in colonial regimes? Pointing to the relationship between imperialism and history writing, Gyan Prakash raises the question of

> how the history of colonialism and colonialism's disciplining of history can be shaken loose from the domination of categories and ideas it produced.[14]

Acknowledging the importance of academic self-reflection, Dipesh Chakrabarti, in his famous essay "Provincializing Europe",[15] presented a number of suggestions for achiev-

9 Reid 1979. Cf. Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011.

10 See the work of the Indonesian Minister of Education, Muhammad Yamin, who argued, with classical archaeological and prehistoric findings (rock paintings in South Sumatra) as proof, that the white-red colors of the Indonesian national flag were already key to a unified Indonesian people in prehistoric times (Yamin 1953).

11 Bruce Trigger is an early example of an archaeologist who tried to define the phenomenon of colonial archaeology. He did this in 1984 by stressing the relationship between the nature of archaeological research and the social milieu in which it is practiced. Colonial archaeology, according to Trigger, served, wherever practiced, primarily to denigrate native societies and peoples by trying to demonstrate that they lacked the initiative to develop on their own. The assumption that the culture of these subjected 'others' had been static since prehistoric times justified the European colonial project, cf. Trigger 1984; cf. Trigger 1989, 110–147. For a recent overview of the history of post-colonial studies, see: Roque and Wagner 2011, 6–13. For archaeologists inspired by post-colonial studies, see: Lydon and Rizvi 2010. Cf. González-Ruibal 2010 and Gosden 2012.

12 Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2007, 36–38.

13 Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 2006.

14 Prakash 1995, 4–5.

15 Chakrabarty 2008.

ing this goal. He argues that the categories of European thought (including the concept of historicizing) are simultaneously both indispensable and inadequate when writing about the non-European world. He therefore stresses the importance of questioning the structure of a chosen narrative and of making it heterogeneous by including multiple perspectives, ambivalences and contradictions, and by "translating across cultural and other semiotic systems".[16] Other scholars advocate a more complex understanding of the colonial past as a global phenomenon.[17] Cooper, for example, emphasizes that empires entailed diverse networks and power structures that established circuits along which personnel, commodities and ideas moved and that, as a consequence, created multiple hierarchies in both the metropolis and in colonial society. Simultaneously, so he stresses, circuits were at work that escaped the control of the colonial state. Empires reproduced difference, but dealt with structures from within that "complicate the relationship of ruler and ruled, of inside and outsider," as well.[18]

Inspired by Chakrabarti and Cooper, in this paper we consider colonial archaeological activities, not only as part of a colonial regime of truth and power, but also as an aspect of a dynamic field of diverse involvements, exchanges and interferences – including indigenous ones.[19] In our project on the history of archaeology and heritage formation in colonial and post-colonial Indonesia, we decided to make so-called archaeological sites our central focus and question what kind of encounters and interventions took place there and under what constraints.[20] What position does the "colonial archaeologist" have in this constellation? What role do authority, force and violence play? What kind of dissemination and appropriation of site-related objects, documentation and images can we trace, from a local to a global level? This approach helps us to get beyond an exclusive focus on colonial discourses and, following Lynn Meskell, to recognize that archaeology essentially deals with the diverse ways in which meanings and identities are attributed and negotiated.[21] It furthermore enables us, following Margarita Díaz-Andreu, to focus on players other than the colonial archaeologists, who, according to Díaz-Andreu, "by getting involved, (…) challenged the rules of the game".[22]

Thus, when dealing with the prehistoric archaeology of colonial and post-colonial Indonesia, our site-based approach enables us to avoid an exclusive fixation on the relationship between archaeology and (colonial) state formation[23], and the related phenomenon described by Susan Legêne and Henk Schulte Nordholdt as 'colonial determinism'. They stress – with good reason, as we will show – that archaeological sites in

16 Chakrabarty 2008, 17, 43 and 45–46.

17 Roque and Wagner 2011, 5. Cf. Raben 2013.

18 Cooper 2005, 48–53.

19 Cf. Roque and Wagner 2011, 17–23; Stoler 2011, 35–66; Stoler 2009.

20 For this project see: http://ghhpw.com/sbs.php (visited on 07/07/2015).

21 Meskell 1998.

22 Díaz-Andreu 2007, 6–10, 239–244 and 402–409.

23 For a historical analysis of the phenomenon of colonial archaeology, with a strong focus on its relationship with the state cf. Anderson 1991, 155–185; Cohn 1996, 76–105.

contemporary Indonesia are not necessarily defined by, nor today necessarily a representation of, colonialism; this is the case, even if colonial relations have played a crucial role in transforming them into archaeological sites.[24]

In order to understand when, how and to what extent Dutch pre-historians working in the colony transformed into archaeological heroes, and for whom, we will follow a three-level enquiry in this article. First, we will focus on three publications of a more or less biographical or autobiographical character, each narrating the life story of one of three selected prehistorians: Pieter Vincent van Stein Callenfels, Hendrik Robert van Heekeren and Abraham Nicolaas Jan Thomassen à Thuessink van der Hoop. Taken together, these narratives offer a first introduction to the diverse prehistoric activities that were carried out in the first half of the twentieth century and the way they were perceived by a wider, Dutch-speaking audience. These publications concern the popular biography *Iwan de Verschikkelijke. Leven en werken van Dr. P.V. van Stein Callenfels* (Ivan the Terrible. Life and Work of Dr. P.V. van Stein Callenfels),[25] the autobiographical travelogue *De onderste steen boven. Belevenissen van een globetrotter* (Uncovering the Truth. The Adventures of a Globetrotter), written by van Heekeren,[26] and the obituary of A.N.J.Th.à Th. van der Hoop, written by the Dutch archaeologist (and former director of the Colonial Archaeological Service) August Bernet Kempers, and published in 1969 in a Dutch academic journal.[27]

How did these hero stories represent the discovery of the prehistoric past of the Dutch East Indies and how did they transform this into a story in which Dutchmen took the lead, while women and explorers of other nationalities were marginalized? Secondly, via an alternative focus on the encounters and practices in which colonial archaeology was embedded at both excavation and museum sites, we will explore how the production of knowledge of the prehistoric past entailed various forms of indigenous involvement. How do the three narratives of the selected life stories relate to these alternative involvements? After all, the biographies were published in Dutch, and in the Netherlands, and were therefore difficult to access for most Indonesians. Thirdly, we focus on the effect of decolonization on the image of archaeologists and the representations of the prehistoric past in Indonesia. Our interpretations are based on observations during research trips to Indonesia in 2010 and 2011, and on discussions we had with Indonesian colleagues. To what extent do the traditional hero narratives shape the Indonesian understanding of the prehistoric past, or prehistoric studies as practiced nowadays in important academic and heritage institutions in Indonesia?

24 Legêne and Schulte Nordholt 2015, 8.

25 Swanenburg 1951.

26 Van Heekeren 1969.

27 Bernet Kempers 1969.

1 Three 'heroes' of prehistoric archaeology in the Dutch East Indies

In the biographical narratives of the three 'heroes' of prehistoric archaeology which we discuss in this section, the basic pattern of adventure is undeniably present. The stories are closely intertwined and although the selected prehistorians, of course, had very different personalities, their stories are, to a large extent, comparable, as our protagonists all worked in the same institutions and dealt with the same concepts of the past.

The author of the popular biography of Van Stein Callenfels, B.D. Swanenburg, was a close friend of his central character.[28] Swanenburg aims to describe the life of the archaeologist, who was born in Maastricht in 1883 and died in Colombo (Ceylon/Sri Lanka) in 1938. The book is essentially a collection of anecdotes, but at the same time it contains precise descriptions of some of Van Stein Callenfels' excavations. We read how Van Stein Callenfels (Fig. 1) went to the Dutch East Indies in 1904 and embarked upon a career as a civil servant at the center of the Dutch colonial administration, in Buitenzorg (Bogor). This career choice was, however, not a great success, and for a few years he went 'native', in the sense that he lived in a Javanese village without a regular income. It was, according to his biographer, during this time that Van Stein Callenfels became familiar with the culture of the Javanese people. Following this episode, he was employed on a coffee plantation and was able to initiate his private research into antiquities. Soon afterwards, Van Stein Callenfels, by now a self-made archaeologist, was transformed into a public figure who, notwithstanding his eccentricity and unconventionality, was supported by the colonial government. In 1915, he became an employee of the Archaeological Service *(Oudheidkundige Dienst)* of the Dutch East Indies (established in 1913) and started conducting research into the so-called Hindu-Javanese past. Van Stein Callenfels went back to the Netherlands and wrote his doctoral thesis in Leiden in the years 1921 to 1924.[29] After this, he returned to the Dutch East Indies, where he focused more and more exclusively on prehistory. He became an internationally recognized specialist, who played an active role in organizing the dialogue with prehistorians working in other parts of Asia. It was on his initiative that the Congress of Prehistorians of the Far East, founded in 1932, began to meet every three years.[30] By the time of his death, he was a renowned, even legendary, archaeologist. His gigantic stature and unorthodox behaviour might have turned him into the colonial cult figure nicknamed "Ivan the Terrible"; nonetheless, he did possess diplomatic skills. He took part in international academic networks and was often asked by the colonial authorities to show official

28 The author introduces himself as a friend halfway through the book, cf. Swanenburg 1951, 110–111.

29 Van Stein Callenfels 1925.

30 Hanoi 1932, Manila 1935, Singapore 1938. – To initiate this congress was decided for in 1929 in Bandung, during the Fourth Pacific Science Congress, where, owing to the persistence of Van Stein Callenfels, a meeting of prehistorians was organized; cf. Soejono 1969, 75; von Heine-Geldern 1945, 157.

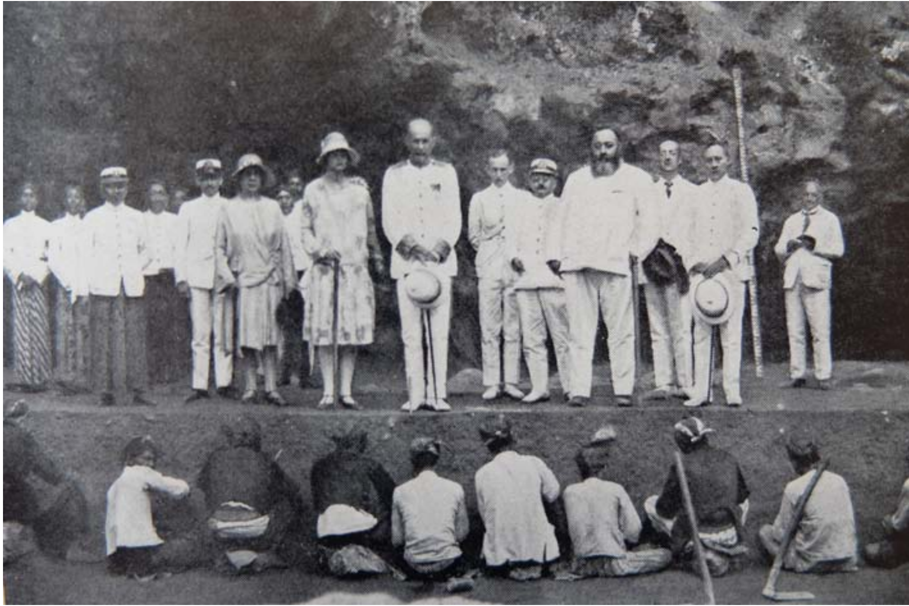

Fig. 1 Colonial archaeologist Van Stein Callenfels (with beard and white tropical suit) with workmen and visitors at the Guwa Lawa excavation.

guests round on archaeological sites.[31] Although the book was published in 1951, it does neither mention the Indonesian revolution nor the Indonesian war of decolonization against the Dutch Empire. As such, it is a pure and, in a certain way, nostalgic celebration of the heyday of colonial archaeological activity in the Dutch East Indies.

"Uncovering the truth. The adventures of a globetrotter"[32] (Fig. 2) is an archaeological autobiography, written in 1969 by Hendrik Robert van Heekeren, who was born in Semarang in the Dutch East Indies in 1902 and died in 1974. In this book he describes how he – a tobacco planter and (volcanic) mountaineer – started conducting research into the prehistoric past during the 1930s.[33] The autobiography has a decidedly different character from the biography of Van Stein Callenfels, as it has a different timescope. Van Heekeren discusses his pre-wartime archaeological activities in the Dutch East Indies and his private archaeological 'excavations' during the Japanese occupation and the Pacific War, when, as a forced labourer in the construction of the Burma railroad in 1943, he secretly collected prehistoric flints; from there he moves on to his archaeological work

31 Jaquet 1989; cf. http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/BWN/lemmata/bwn3/steincallenfels (visited on 07/07/2015).

32 *De onderste steen boven. Belevenissen van een globetrotter*, Van Heekeren 1969.

33 Van Heekeren had published his first book about his 'tropical' travels and volcano climbing activities in the Dutch East Indies under the pseudonym Hybride, see Hybride 1940.

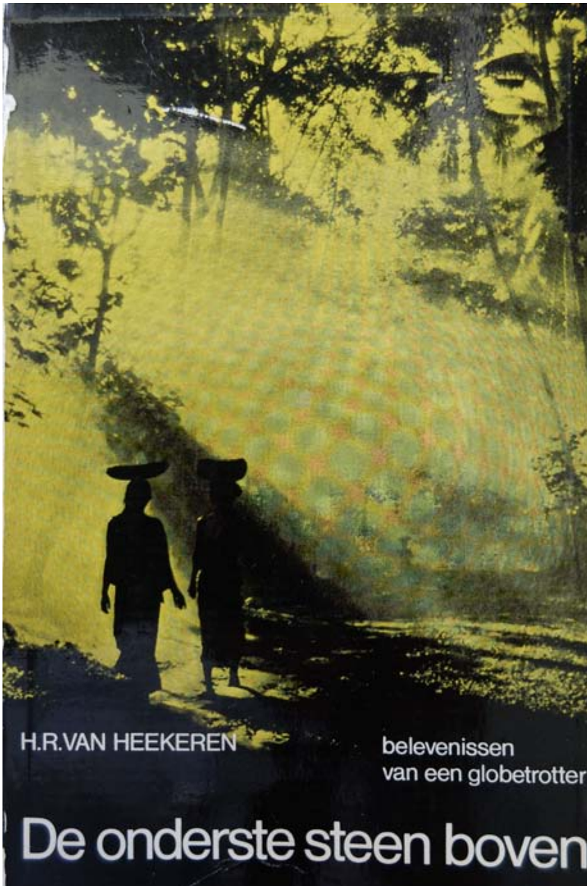

Fig. 2 Cover of the autobiographical travelogue of Van Heekeren.

in Indonesia after independence. From 1946 to 1956, Van Heekeren worked as an official prehistorian for two successive Archaeological Services – the Dutch colonial Service (from 1946 to 1949) and the Indonesian Archaeological Service (the *Djawatan Purbakala*, later *Dinas Purbakala*), which was established in 1946. During the chaotic years of the Indonesian Revolution which followed the unilateral proclamation of the Indonesian Republic by its president Soekarno and its vice-president Mohammed Hatta on 17 August 1945 and which lasted until 1949, two archaeological services operated simultaneously; one in Batavia (today's Jakarta), headed by the Dutch, and one in Yogyakarta, headed by the Indonesians. In this period, Van Heekeren was based in Batavia and worked as a curator at the Museum of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences (today's *Museum Nasional*). He returned to the Netherlands in 1956 and subsequently conducted prehistoric research around the world (in Tanzania, the Netherlands Antilles and Thailand, among other places).

The author of the obituary of A.N.J.Th. à Th. van der Hoop, the archaeologist August Bernet Kempers, had, as librarian of the Batavian Society, been a close colleague of Van der Hoop in Batavia. The obituary appeared in 1969 in the *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, a scholarly journal of another learned society based in the Netherlands, which, after decolonization, continued its research, focusing on the linguistics, anthropology, and history of Southeast Asia, and more specifically of Indonesia.[34] Van der Hoop, who was born in Arnhem in 1893 and died in The Hague in 1969, initially found fame in the Netherlands as an 'hero of aviation'. In 1924 he was a member of the first crew to fly from Schiphol/Amsterdam to Batavia.[35] Van der Hoop and his crew received a hero's welcome on their return to the Netherlands. He was honoured in many ways: he was depicted on a Dutch 75 cent air stamp commemorating this flight; a memorial stone was unveiled in the city of Medan (Sumatra). In 1931, Van der Hoop went back to the Dutch East Indies to collect archaeological information on the stone culture of the Pasemah region in Sumatra for his PhD thesis at Utrecht University.[36] In 1934, as Dr Van der Hoop, he started working as curator for the Museum in Batavia. He became active in many scholarly fields (prehistory, ethnology, Hindu Javanese history, colonial history) and – being a civil servant – also got involved with modernizing the museums in the Dutch East Indies. When the Japanese occupied the Dutch East Indies in March 1942, Van der Hoop was initially allowed to remain in office at the museum, whereas most of the other Dutch colonials were interned. During this period he collaborated with his Japanese superiors, such as C. Koda of the Japanese military administration, who was in charge of the direction of the museum and who generally considered the museum and its collection to be important; eventually, in April 1943, Van der Hoop was himself interned. He was released in 1945 and repatriated to the Netherlands in 1946. In 1947, he returned to Indonesia in order to work for the Archaeological Service based in Batavia. In 1950, political developments made him decide to return to the Netherlands for good. By that time, he was 57 years old. His life as an archaeologist was finished, but in the Netherlands he remained active in several cultural fields. For instance, he got involved with the dissemination of knowledge about the Dutch colonial culture of the early modern period.[37]

The first thing that is apparent when analyzing these narratives about the three prehistorians is that it was self-evident that the prehistoric past was there; it only had to be discovered. Wherever the archaeologist traveled in the Indonesian archipelago, the early

34 Bernet Kempers 1969. Bernet Kempers, a specialist in Hindu-Javanese archaeology, was a close colleague of Van der Hoop in Batavia for many years. In the obituary he is, therefore, able to describe Van der Hoops' academic career in conjunction with more private stories and personal impressions. For Bernet Kempers cf. Soekmono 1994.

35 Van der Hoop 1925.

36 Van der Hoop 1932. – He received his PhD in 1932.

37 For Van der Hoop and the "Stichting Cultuurgeschiedenis Nederlanders Overzee" (Foundation for Cultural History of Dutchmen Overseas), cf. Lunsingh Scheurleer 1987.

past always seemed to have left its traces. With regards to Van Stein Callenfels and his early (primarily Hindu-Javanese) archaeological research on Java's past, we read about the rhythm of travel and the related archaeological activities:

> And so he travelled […] time and again […], in order to inspect, to excavate, to decipher, to discover […], to replace [….], to restore […], to retrieve, and to do everything he considered important for Java's archaeological treasures, to which he gave his heart.[38]

When reading Van der Hoop's dissertation, it becomes clear that for him it was "the road" that organized his work. It not only functioned as a grid within which to arrange his observations, but also as a model to offer his readers a way to verify these observations. In his first chapter, called "The Palembang-Pageralam road" he writes:

> In describing the megalithic remains in South Sumatra, we will take the order of the sequence in which a traveller, traversing the country by the main roads, would meet with such remains.[39]

For Van Heekeren, travel, adventure and archaeological research were closely connected.[40] In his later years, he speaks of a certain restlessness that made him travel. At the same time, he considers travelling to be the inescapable fate of the prehistorian.[41] The modern age allowed him to travel by airplane and motorboat, but he also used canoes and rafts, or just walked into the jungle.[42] He also recollects that, when he was appointed to the Archaeological Service in 1946, a colleague from London, Prof. Frederick Zeuner, wrote to him: "You are working in an almost completely unexplored area and may well make great discoveries."[43] It is this self-image and self-fashioning as adventurous male explorers that eventually enabled colonial archaeologists to become public heroes. However, at the same time, as competitive colleagues, they sometimes critically evaluated each other in this respect. Van Heekeren, for example, was annoyed by the way Van Stein Callenfels made a grand entrance to the harbor of Makassar, like a celebrity.[44] On the other hand, the biography of Van Stein Callenfels also stresses that he was a lonely

38 Swanenburg 1951, 56. – Translation by the authors. Originally: "En zo reisde Callenfels […], keer op keer […] om te controleren, te inspecteren, te ontgraven, te ontcijferen, te ontdekken, om […] te herplaatsen, om […] te herstellen, om […] te achterhalen, en om verder alles te doen, wat hij in het belang achtte van Java's archeologische schatten waaraan hij zijn hart verpand had."
39 Van der Hoop 1932.
40 In his autobiography he mentions the adventure books of Karl May and Gustave Aimard he read when he was a child (Van Heekeren 1969, 2). Van Stein Callenfels' favorite adventure books were: "The three musketeers" and "The count of Monte Cristo", both by Alexandre Dumas. Cf. Swanenburg 1951, 6.
41 Van Heekeren 1969, 143.
42 Van Heekeren 1969, 176–177. It is with great pride that he quotes someone describing him as a man with an "indomitable scientific spirit" (Van Heekeren 1969, 145).
43 Van Heekeren 1969, 106.
44 Soejono 1975, 108.

person. His death from a heart attack in a hotel room in Colombo resembles the end of a tragic hero.[45] The image of the archaeological hero was also echoed in later representations, in literature, as well as film. According to Swanenburg, Van Stein Callenfels in all probability inspired Sir Arthur Conan Doyle when he was creating the figure of the aggressive, dominating "Professor Challenger" in his novel *The Lost World*, which was published in 1922, given the fact that the two of them met in 1913 at the *Galle Face Hotel* in Singapore.[46] Van Heekeren's account of finding prehistoric axes while performing forced labour on the Burma railroad and the fact that a Japanese guard forced him to throw them away made it into the script of the film *The Bridge on the River Kwai*. Yet, these scenes were ultimately cut from the movie.[47]

For Van Heekeren, who, after decolonisation, continued to carry out research into Indonesian prehistory, often at the invitation of, and in collaboration with, Indonesian colleagues, the ideal of 'post-colonial friendship', especially between a *guru* (teacher) and his former students, was an important aspect of being an archaeological hero. In his travelogue, he recounts that young Indonesian students see him as such a hero; but, stressing his own unpretentiousness, he adds: "in the Far East, it is easy to become a legendary figure."[48] For him, this friendship was, de facto, an essential condition for continuing his research in Indonesia. This notion of friendship thus obscured the complex interdependencies and role-reversals that were at work in the exchange between this now former colonial archaeologist and his now post-colonial Indonesian archaeological colleagues. During his return travels to Indonesia, Van Heekeren felt welcome, but he was also aware of his new subordinate position, as he warned against colonial nostalgia. With regard to the colonial period, he concluded that, although some Indonesian people refer to it as "normal" times, nobody really wants these times to return.[49] However, at one point in his autobiography, he himself cannot suppress his nostalgia when speaking of the old generation of colonial archaeologists. He mentions Dubois, Von Koenigswald, Oppenoorth, Van Stein Callenfels and Van der Hoop in this respect as "Dutchmen" who made their mark, even though their research tradition *in the Netherlands* had come to an end.[50] This list is a clear example of the way that the 'discovery' of Indonesian prehistory was turned into a story in which Dutchmen took the lead, whereas the role of Indonesians, women and explorers of other nationalities was obscured.[51]

45 Swanenburg 1951, 177 and 266.

46 Swanenburg 1951, 46.

47 The role was played by the anthropologist Karl Heider, cf. Soejono 1975, 109. For the discovery and history of the stones cf. Van Heekeren 1969, 51–57, 67, 145 and 165.

48 Van Heekeren 1969, 181.

49 Van Heekeren 1969, 181.

50 Van Heekeren 1969, 177. Cf. Bernet Kempers 1982.

51 For some examples of this gendered national marginalization, see the work of Lenore Selenka, who organized an expedition to Trinil in 1907–1908, the eccentric cousins Paul and Fritz Sarasin from Switzerland who 'discovered' the so-called Taolian culture of Southwest Sulawesi at the beginning of the twentieth century or the explorer W. Rothpletz, who, due to his 'neutral' Swiss nationality, was able to work during the Japanese occupation. See: Selenka and Blanckenhorn 1911; P.

Van der Hoop, who started his career as an aviation hero, did not manage to attain archaeological hero status in the same way as Van Stein Callenfels or Van Heekeren. His museological and bureaucratic activities in the mid- and late 1930s may not have left much room for achieving this status. The fact that he could continue his work in the museum of the Batavian Society under the Japanese occupation – thus allowing the Japanese to show their commitment to the Asian dimension of the collection – might, in the eyes of Dutch colonials, have made him a collaborator. It seems however, that they used this term exclusively to denounce Indonesian nationalists like Soekarno, who saw the Japanese occupation as a first step towards the national liberation of Indonesia. Furthermore, Bernet Kempers describes Van der Hoop in his obituary as a cynical person who kept people at a distance, while he glosses over his homosexuality as his "being different".[52] Being an unmarried gay man must have made Van der Hoop's social position vulnerable, especially in the late 1930s, when, in the Dutch East Indies, homosexuals, including those in higher social echelons, were prosecuted.[53] This vulnerability is also highlighted in the anecdote in which it is related that Van der Hoop no longer felt at home in the Indonesia of the 1950s, as he was forced to live in the garage of his former villa.[54] His cynical worldview with regard to decolonization had already risen to the surface when the aviation monument in Medan commemorating his flight to Batavia in 1924 was restored and inaugurated for a second time in the late 1940s, having been destroyed during the Japanese occupation. Van der Hoop supposedly remarked that he was probably the first person ever to witness the inauguration of the same monument to himself twice.[55]

2 'Reconsidering' the prehistorians of the Dutch East Indies

Without the specific cultural and socio-political contexts of the colonial society in which they operated, Van Stein Callenfels, Van Heekeren and Van der Hoop would never have been able to make their archaeological discoveries and would never have become archaeological heroes. In order to develop a balanced understanding of these contexts, beyond an exclusive focus on the colonial discourse, we concentrate in this section on the encounters and interventions that took place at the archaeological sites which our protagonists selected to carry out their research. Starting with the (auto)biographical narratives and using additional archival material, we aim to analyze the interaction in these encounters between, on the one hand, the colonial/academic regime of truth and power and, on the other hand, the words, visions and agency of indigenous people.

Sarasin and F. Sarasin 1905; Rothpletz 1951, 77–126.

52 Bernet Kempers 1969, 402.

53 Bloembergen 2011.

54 Bernet Kempers 1969, 424.

55 Bernet Kempers 1969, 406.

Reconstructing the involvement of indigenous people from the evidence in the selected texts is not an easy task. In the obituary of Van der Hoop, Bernet Kempers does not mention Indonesian participants as having any role. The narratives on Van Stein Callenfels and Van Heekeren are different in this respect. A conservative colonial worldview is manifested throughout *Ivan the Terrible*. Van Stein Callenfels is repeatedly quoted as saying that there are "toeans" (masters) and "koelies" (coolies), thus confirming the traditional hierarchy of colonial society.[56] One of many anecdotes in the book corresponds directly with this notion of colonial hierarchy: when Van Stein Callenfels was being transported by sedan chair, from his position above them, he loudly compared his carriers to wheels.[57] The biographer also stresses that Van Stein Callenfels strongly disliked the ethical polities of the first decades of the twentieth century (the Dutch version of the civilizing mission of the European colonial powers).[58] He criticized the modern colonial style of the 1920s and 1930s, which he simply described as playing tennis and going to swimming pools. Van Stein Callenfels himself was a hard worker and famous for drinking many bottles of beer, smoking heavily and talking loudly when attending parties at the colonial club. It was this kind of behaviour in public that resulted in his nickname "Ivan the Terrible". But this attitude did not make him any less popular among colonials in the Dutch-Indies: on the contrary, Van Stein Callenfels became what might be described as a colonial cult figure. Paradoxically, his anti-modern lifestyle, at the same time, created less distance between himself and the Javanese.[59] Apparently, at least according to Swanenburg, he was a popular figure among the Javanese people, who, given his weight of 150 kilos and his height of 1.92 meters, perceived him as being an incarnation of the wayang figure of Koembakarna (a giant with a massive appetite and a good character) from the *Ramayana* epic.[60]

As mentioned earlier in this text, in his autobiography Van Heekeren stresses his friendship and contacts with his Indonesian colleagues who worked at the *Archaeological Service* in the 1950s. At that time, a few of them were being educated with the ultimate aim of taking over this service from the Dutch.[61] The description of his first return trip to Indonesia in 1968 tells us how complex these relations had become. Although his main aim was to prepare the new edition of his *The Stone Age of Indonesia* (first published in 1957[62]), he was also interested in the development of post-colonial Indonesian society. He witnessed, for example, the effects of the anti-communist violence of 1965 and embarrassed his hosts by asking questions about these events.[63] Van Heekeren, however, does not reflect on the colonial nature of his work in the colonial past. It is quite clear

56 Swanenburg 1951, 83 and 250.

57 Swanenburg 1951, 150.

58 Swanenburg 1951, 83. For Ethical Politics, see: Locher-Scholten 1981; Bloembergen and Raben 2009.

59 Compare with Drieënhuizen 2012, 316.

60 Swanenburg 1951, 43.

61 Van Heekeren 1969, 178–179; cf. Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2011, 421 and 425–426.

62 Van Heekeren 1957.

63 Van Heekeren 1957, 185 and 192.

that Van Heekeren enjoyed a warm welcome from his former colleagues, like R.P. Soejono, one of the prominent first generation, post-independence prehistorians of Indonesia. But it is also obvious that feelings of friendship helped to hide the inconveniences caused by the new post-colonial role-reversals and interdependencies. Still, he saw his own return primarily as moral support for Indonesia. The colonial bias that had once made him self-evidently 'the teacher' and Indonesians people unable to cope on their own obviously still permeated Van Heekeren's worldview.

From the early nineteenth century onwards, archaeological sites in the Dutch East Indies were visited for various reasons by travellers, including indigenous people, from the colony and from abroad.[64] In addition to, in some cases, merely living close to the sites, indigenous people were also able to fulfil diverse roles or positions in the excavations which took place during the colonial period, serving for instance as foremen, workmen or informants. In Van Stein Callenfels' book we find, for example, some references to a foreman called Moenaf, who is praised for his devotion to his excavation work (Fig. 3).[65] Whereas the workmen remain unmentioned (although they do sometimes appear in illustrations), local people living close to the site do play a role in the book. We learn that they sometimes reburied archaeological findings because they feared "soesah" (problems).[66] They play an indirect role as well, as Van Stein Callenfels' wider knowledge of Javanese culture enabled him to recognize figures from the wayang stories in temple reliefs.[67] Both Van Stein Callenfels and Van Heekeren do, however, sometimes speak of the people as still living – or almost living – in the Stone Age.[68] Nevertheless, when Van Heekeren describes the culture of indigenous people he meets during his many travels, he does not perceive their culture as static. On the contrary, he focuses on the processes of modernization.[69]

When exploring what actually happened on location during an archaeological excavation, the archives of the Batavian Society offer some important research opportunities.[70] In the archive, we find additional information on "meneer Moenaf" (Mister

64 Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2013a; Bloembergen and Eickhoff 2013b.

65 Swanenburg 1951, 224 and 229.

66 Swanenburg 1951, 83.

67 Swanenburg 1951, 98–101.

68 Swanenburg 1951, 143 and 188; Van Heekeren 1969, 178–179.

69 Van Heekeren 1969, 99.

70 The whereabouts and state of the archives of the Dutch Colonial Archaeological Service, split up and made inaccessible after several movements and reorganizations of the Indonesian Archaeological Service in the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s, are unclear. Some say they have disappeared. We are still searching, but we have so far been unable to trace them, partly because, what is known to be left of them (the glass negatives collection) is inaccessible. Interviews by Marieke Bloembergen with Ekowati Sundari (head of the Archaeological Department at the Museum Nasional, Jakarta 12-12-2012 and 5-12-2010); with Junus Arbi and Saifal Majahid (Department of Culture and Tourism – under which the Archaeological Service resorted until 2012 – Jakarta, 2-2-2011), and with the senior archaeologist Mundardjito (Emeritus Professor at the University of Indonesia, Jakarta, 25-6-2012).

Fig. 3 Foreman, probably 'Meneer' Moenaf, at work.

Moenaf). In a letter from 1935, Van der Hoop recommends him to a plantation owner who wanted to start excavation work after discovering prehistoric flints:

> I can send you Mister Moenaf of the Archaeological Service. He knows Van Stein Callenfels' research methods. Once you have told him where to excavate, he can work independently and we can be confident that everything will go fine.[71]

In 1932, Van Stein Callenfels even asked the Batavian Society not to fire Moenaf, although the economic crisis made severe budget cuts unavoidable.[72]

From correspondence like this, we are able to ascertain that colonial archaeology was, in fact, not a project executed by colonial scholars alone – it never had been. Of course, there were barriers: the letters of Anna Jacoba Resink-Wilkens, a collector of Javanese antiquities based in Yogyakarta, teach us how Indonesian workman were, against their will, excluded from archaeological knowledge by Van der Hoop, and how Van der

71 Van der Hoop to A. Dünnwald (Mojokerto), 10-1-1935. KBG DIR No. 1059, ANRI, Jakarta. – Translation by the authors. Originally: "U kunt de beschikking krijgen over den Heer Moenaf van den Oudheidkundigen Dienst, die geheel door Dr. V. St C. gevolgde methode van ontgraving op de hoogte is. Wanneer u hem aangeeft, waar er gegraven moet worden, kan hij verder zelfstandig werken en wij hebben de zekerheid dat het goed gaat."

72 Van Stein Callenfels to C.C.F.M, 28-6-1932. Le Roux, KBG DIR No 1051, ANRI Jakarta.

Fig. 4 Unknown Indonesian, probably a workman, at the Gunung Kidul excavation.

Hoop discounted local sources, in this case the Javanese court chronicles (*Babad*), kept in the library of the sultan's palace in Yogyakarta. The letters show us that Resink-Wilkens tried to transgress these same 'colonial' barriers. In 1934, she wrote Van der Hoop a slightly indignant letter:

> One of the coolies who worked for you at the Goenoeng Kidoel excavation visited me and asked me if I could explain to him and his fellow coolies what the excavation had been about.[73]

Interestingly enough, in his later publication, Van der Hoop did include 'local' perspectives on the stone box graves he had excavated. He mentions that the graves are still there because local people are afraid to re-use the stones. One family who did so was later stricken with physical and mental illness.[74]

73 Resink-Wilkens to Van der Hoop, 15-1-1934. KBG DIR No. 1058, ANRI, Jakarta. – Translation by the authors. Originally: "Ik deel u dit mede na een bezoek dat ik gehad heb van een van de koelies die U bij de opgraving in Goenoeng Kidoel geholpen heeft, en die mij kwam vragen of ik hem en zijn medehelpers kan inlichten wat de bedoeling was

A year later, in a letter to Van der Hoop, Resink referred to a conversation with Sultan Hamengkubuwono VIII from Yogyakarta regarding the same excavation. She reports that the sultan has developed his own interpretation of the excavation site, on the basis of one of the *babad* kept in the library of the palace, the *Babad Giyanti*. He relates the excavation to a historical battle that took place in 1756, in which the principalities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta and the Dutch East India Company (VOC) were involved, as described in this *babad*.[75] However, Van der Hoop is not convinced and, in his reply to the letter, he recounts that he has already discussed this topic with the sultan. He continues in a denigrating manner: "His Highness has the tendency to connect everything with 'saja poenja boekoe geschiedenis"' – 'I own history books.'[76]

These incidents clearly indicate that colonial archaeological knowledge was not solely confined to the ambit of a colonial regime of truth and power, as the coolies developed an interest in it during excavation works and later even tried to renegotiate their subordinate position as workers. Moreover, the knowledge was partly incorporated into – and maybe even contested by – the coexisting knowledge systems of the Javanese elite.

3 Colonial archaeological 'legacies' in contemporary Indonesia?

This section is dedicated to the question to what extent the traditional hero narratives shape the Indonesian understanding of the prehistoric past as it is practiced today in important academic and heritage institutions in Indonesia. We try to answer it on the basis of some observations we made during our research trips to Indonesia in 2010 and 2011 and by referring to the discussions we had during those trips with Indonesian colleagues. We will, furthermore, base our conclusions on a comparison of catalogues of the prehistoric collection – now kept in the *Museum Nasional* in Jakarta – dating from colonial and post-colonial times.

The *Museum Nasional*, which houses important and famous archaeological and ethnographical collections from Indonesia, is generally seen as an important tool for nation building.[77] In this museum, there is a special prehistoric section that was notably once the responsibility of Van Stein Callenfels, Van Heekeren and Van der Hoop,

van die ontgraving". For Resink-Wilkens, cf. Drieënhuizen 2012, 227–291 and 314–319.

74 For the excavation, cf. Van der Hoop 1935, 85 and 90.

75 Resink to Van der Hoop, 9-4-1935. KBG DIR No. 1060, ANRI, Jakarta.

76 Van der Hoop to Resink, KBG DIR No. 1060, ANRI, Jakarta. – Translation by the authors. Originally: "Z.H. heeft altijd de neiging de dingen in relatie te brengen met 'saja poenja boekoe geschiedenis'".

77 Anderson 1991, 178–185; McGregor 2004, 26.

although the collection itself, as such, began to be assembled in the mid-nineteenth century.[78] The museum is older still. It goes back to the foundation in 1778 of the Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences. In 1779, this society started to collect objects donated by the society's members, and to put them on public display. The history of the society is strongly connected to the history of the Dutch empire and colonial and post-colonial Indonesia. During the British Interregnum (1811–1814), the Lieutenant-Governor of Java, Thomas Stamford B. Raffles, was, for example, appointed president of the Society. It then witnessed a "reanimation", as one of Raffles' biographers would later write.[79] In the course of the nineteenth century, the society continued to collect archaeological, ethnographical and anthropological objects and it was able to show acquisitions from those regions of the archipelago which had newly been brought under Dutch colonial rule, often by the use of violence. As a result, the collections grew considerably. The museum also acquired objects relating to prehistory from Europe and the Netherlands. In 1868 a new building at the Koningsplein (Royal Square) was inaugurated; it remains in use to this very day.[80] The museum gained a new role in the context of the ethical policies of the first decades of the twentieth century. As a result, the ideal of guarding and preserving local traditions – that were defined, collected and displayed in an essentialist way by the museum curators – became more and more important to the museum.[81]

During the Japanese occupation of the Dutch East Indies from 1942 to 1945, the Dutch staff of the museum were interned. In the period of Indonesian revolution and colonial warfare that followed the Japanese capitulation on 15 August 1945, the archipelago came to consist of areas occupied by the Indonesian Republic and areas that were still under Dutch colonial rule. First the museum was in Indonesian hands and then it passed into Dutch hands again. After the Dutch recognized Indonesian independence in December 1949, the museum officially became Indonesian, with a staff consisting mainly of Indonesians. The Batavian Society was renamed *Lembaga Kebudayaan Indonesia* (the Indonesian Culture Council) in 1950. In 1962, it was transferred to the Indonesian government, after which the museum became known as *Museum Pusat* (Central Museum). In 1979, it was officially renamed *Museum Nasional*.[82] In 2007, the museum was enlarged considerably when a new wing was opened, consisting of spacious exhibition rooms and new offices; the façade of this new building is a precise copy of the 1868 building.[83]

In the displays of the museum – which we studied in 2010 and 2011 – the history of the museum itself is hardly touched upon. In the new building, some information plates

78 For an early account of the history of this specific collection, cf. Van der Hoop 1941, XI-XIV.

79 Boulger 1897, 177. For the "reanimation" cf. Groot 2009.

80 Groot 2009.

81 McGregor 2004, 25.

82 McGregor 2004; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Museum_of_Indonesia (visited on 07/07/2015).

83 Sitowati and Miksic 2006, 37–72 and 287–289.

mention that parts of the collection were acquired in colonial times during military campaigns, and there is a bust of Raffles in the colonial furniture department of the old building.[84] There are also portraits on display of Eugène Dubois, the discoverer of so-called Java Man, and of E.W. van Orsoy de Flines, the museum curator who donated his collection of Chinese porcelain to the museum in 1932.[85] The history of collecting is not a topic touched upon in the prehistoric section at all, whereas in the catalogue *Icons of Art* from 2006 this history is referred to only briefly. The information plates for the prehistoric displays do not mention that it was Van Stein Callenfels who donated his private collection of prehistoric flints to the museum in 1933; they also refrain from mentioning that he, in the capacity of curator, put together the first display in the same year.[86] However, behind the scenes, the legacy of Van Stein Callenfels was kept alive for a long time. A portrait of him, painted by the curator Dadang Undensja in 1971 from a photograph, used to furnish the old museum office. In the portrait, Van Stein Callenfels is praised as "Perintis penggalian arkeologi secara sistematis di Indonesia", 'the pioneer of systematic archaeological excavations in Indonesia'. The painting was removed when the office was converted into an exhibition room. When the staff recently moved to offices in the new wing, the painting did not become part of the new interior and was put into storage.[87] For Van Heekeren, the situation is different. The information plates on the classification of bronze axes do refer to his (post-colonial) archaeological work; the plates also mention that the classification was eventually "accomplished by R. P. Soejono".[88]

Part of the display seems to follow the original arrangements, as employed by Van Stein Callenfels and his successor, Van der Hoop, exactly; in the showcase on the Neolithic period, a prehistoric *kapak longlon* – oval (or round) stone axe – is put next to a comparable axe from contemporary Papua. The information plate explains that "the tool is still in use in the hinterland of Papua."[89] Analogous to this, in 1938, Van der Hoop spoke of a "Papoea-neolithicum", that only ended when the Europeans arrived and introduced the use of iron. The stone axes were, according to Van der Hoop, still in use, although iron axes had gained in popularity.[90] At first sight, the contemporary display in the *Museum Nasional* seems to be an example and continuation of a colonial practice described by Ian J. McNiven and Lynette Russel; they observed how indigenous people

84 Sitowati and Miksic 2006, 51. This bust (a copy of the original kept at the Royal Asiatic Society in London) was a gift of the Malayan branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of the Batavian Society in 1929 and meant to emphasize Dutch-English friendship. See: "De Raffles Herdenking", *De Indische Courant*, 24-12-1929; "De buste van Raffles naar het museum", *Het nieuws van den dag voor Nederlandsch-Indië*, 10-12-1929.

85 Sitowati and Miksic 2006, 60.

86 Sitowati and Miksic 2006, 61; Van der Hoop 1941, XI.

87 Interview with Ibu Ekowati, by Marieke Bloembergen, 15th December 2010, Jakarta.

88 Van Heekeren 1958.

89 Compare with Van Stein Callenfels 1934; Van der Hoop 1948, 18–19; Van der Hoop 1941, 166–167.

90 Van der Hoop 1938.

had been turned into "living fossils" through the labelling of certain groups in society as "primitive", lacking history or development.[91] Against this background, the question is raised to what extent our observation confirms Katharine E. McGregor's conclusion about the *Museum Nasional.* She states that the Indonesians inherited it from the Dutch and thereby perpetuated, even today, some parts of the colonial "agenda", such as "a discourse about primitiveness", static representations of ethnicity and the connected hierarchy of cultures.[92]

Interestingly, for the contemporary Indonesian members of the museum staff responsible for the display, the problem is non-existent, as the concept 'primitive' is not viewed as being antithetical to modernity. During an interview, curator Ni Lu Putu Chandra Dewi stresses that the display visualizes the prehistoric base of some contemporary social and cultural phenomena in Indonesia, such as, for example, the use of bark cloths or the making of pottery:

> Some aspects of prehistory are still alive in society. They are the "base" of religion, ancestral cult, and technology: stone and metal [...]. They show the visitor that objects similar to those that were made in prehistory are still in use. The Papua society is a living tradition, in the sense that they include traditions in the modern era.[93]

Following the Indonesian archaeologist Daud Tanudirjo, we can relate this stance to the nationalist conviction that the indigenous Indonesian population in the (prehistoric) past developed their own culture without any external influences. This is the so-called "local genius proposition", which Dutch and British archaeologists developed in colonial times, but which the first generation of post-colonial Indonesian successors strategically reformulated. Indonesian archaeologists were keen to demonstrate that indigenious prehistoric cultural traits were still dominant in the later Hindu-Buddhist and Islamic cultures, thereby relativizing the dominant thesis of foreign (Indian) influences being manifest in Indonesia's Hindu-Buddhist past civilizations.[94] It is a revealing example of the phenomenon whereby the objects and displays in a post-colonial museum can be interpreted and re-interpreted in many ways simultaneously.

91 They regard this as a "product of nineteenth-century social evolutionism", cf. McNiven and Russel 2005, 51. In the contemporary Western world the concept 'primitivism' is, indeed, often regarded as a perpetuation of the colonial discourse. Offering a different perspective, the anthropologist Nicolas Thomas pleads that it be regarded as "a historically situated expression" which, on that account, can serve first and foremost to make the limits of the colonial perspectives visible. Thomas 1994, 10 and 170–195.

92 McGregor 2004, 26.

93 Interview with Ibu Ekowati, Ni Lu Putu Chandra Dewi and Dhyanti Soekarno, by Martijn Eickhoff, February 4, 2011, Jakarta.

94 Ayatrohaedi 1986; Tanudirjo 1995, 71. For the 'local genius' proposition that stressed the connection between the prehistoric (megalithic) and later Hindu-Javanese cultures in Indonesia cf. von Heine-Geldern 1945, 152–153. Still influential to the 'Indianizing' thesis is the work of George Coedès, cf. Coedès 1968.

According to the historian J.M. Mackenzie, who studied the "mutation" of colonial museums into national museums, these multi-levelled appropriations also existed before decolonization.[95] In the archive of the Batavian Society we, indeed, find clues that support this observation. In 1935, for example, a Japanese prince and hundreds of Japanese sailors visited the museum in Batavia.[96] And a year later, a spokesman of the Islamic Muhammadiyah organization, that year celebrating its 25th anniversary, announced a visit to the museum by about 2000 of its members.[97] We can only speculate about what precisely the Japanese prince and sailors or the members of the Muhammadiyah organization were looking for in a museum that primarily honoured the Hindu-Javanese past and the ethnic diversity of the Dutch East Indies. But, in the context of both the rise of Japanese pan-Asianist thinking, and, at a local level, of nationalist consciousness among Indonesians, this was a place where such visitors could and may have looked for, respectively, a Greater Asian or an Indonesian spirit: thereby the visitors may have 'externalized' the colonial worldview that was undisputedly present in the museum, as well.[98]

A comparison of the various catalogues of the prehistoric department of the Museum of the Batavian Society published in the years 1934–1955 and written by the three prehistorians who take center stage in this paper might give us some clues as to how the museum decolonized in the early post-colonial era. How were colonial legacies, with regard to the prehistoric collections, defined and dealt with? The first catalogue on prehistory (in Dutch) appeared in 1934 and was written by Van Stein Callenfels;[99] revised editions of this catalogue by Van der Hoop appeared in 1939 and 1948; an Indonesian language edition appeared in 1941. It was not until1955, six years after the Dutch left Indonesia, that another catalogue of the museum's prehistoric objects was produced. Van Heekeren wrote this catalogue, entitled "Prehistoric life in Indonesia", in English.[100]

In the first catalogue the traditionally western-based narrative on prehistoric man is given a clear colonial basis. After an introduction on prehistory in general, the first chapter of the catalogue is called "The Palaeolithicum outside East Asia"; considering the fact that this chapter actually starts with a description of Palaeolithic cultures in France, it could just as well have been called "The Palaeolithicum in Europe". But writing "outside East Asia" when dealing with prehistoric objects from Europe – including Dutch ones – can be regarded as a way of connecting the western narrative about prehistoric man to a colony-centred point of view. Mackenzie recently wrote of this phenomenon:

95 Mackenzie 2009, 265–277.

96 Van der Hoop to Van Stein Callenfels, 3-4-1935. KBG DIR No. 1016, ANRI, Jakarta. Cf. "Het Japansche Eskader", *Soerabaijasch Handelsblad*, 3-4-1935.

97 President of the 'Comite van Ontvangst Congres Moehammadijah Ke 25' to the executive committee of the Museum in Batavia, 7-7-1936. KBG DIR No. 1066.

98 Recent studies on Japanese pan-Asianism include: Aydin 2007; Duara 2010; Mark 2006; Katzenstein and Shiraishi 1997; Saaler 2002; Saaler and Koschmann 2007.

99 Van Stein Callenfels 1934.

100 Van Heekeren 1955, 6.

"Museums in imperial territories represented the western view on the world, but were inevitably differently focused from those in Europe."[101] In catalogues published in subsequent years, this colony-centred Western perspective is maintained. However, in 1955, six years after the Dutch left Indonesia, when a catalogue of prehistoric objects was once again produced, a clear change of outlook is presented. It leads to, first, a decolonization and, then, a nationalization of the prehistoric past.[102] After a chapter on prehistory in general, there are four chapters on "Prehistoric Indonesia". The author, Van Heekeren, explains in his introduction that he removed all European (including Dutch) objects from the display in the museum. There was no "space" available – and they were "really out of place" there, or so he states. The world in which people who had a base in colonial society could feel connected to Europe or the Netherlands in the Museum of the Batavian Society – via prehistoric objects – had vanished.

From this we are able to deduce that, in the context of decolonization, the archaeological knowledge itself was considered neutral, whereas the focus – the connection with Europe and the Dutch "motherland" – had to change. Another example is the miniature version of Van der Hoop's Fokker F-VII airplane which, in colonial times, hung above a huge three-dimensional map of the Dutch East Indies in the Batavian Museum. Back then, it represented a Dutch colonial-hegemonic bird's-eye view of the colony. Nowadays, this model is part of the display on the history of transport – Van der Hoop's name and his famous flight in 1924 are mentioned on the information plate, but the object itself primarily illustrates just one of many possible ways that personnel and commodities once traveled through Indonesia.

What happened – against this background – to the image of the colonial archaeologists, who embodied the colonial connections par excellence? Did the herostories continue to function as authoritative prescriptions for understanding and dealing with Indonesian prehistory? When looking at present-day academic and heritage institutions, many "traces" of colonial archaeologists can be found. Nurhadi Rangkuti, director of the Balai Arkeologi Palembang (the archaeological research center of Palembang), says, for example, during a 2010 interview, with regard to Van der Hoop and his dissertation (of 1932) on the megaliths in the Pasemah-area of Sumatra:[103]

> He is our important reference. He documented, using photographs, and gave clear descriptions. Since Van der Hoop, there has not been a publication to match the one he produced. When he photographed sites, the features are clear. It is good documentation, taken from many angles. […] For us,Pasemah and Van der Hoop are one. If we talk of Pasemah, our minds think of Van der Hoop.

101 Van der Hoop 1948; cf. Mackenzie 2009, 5.
102 Van Heekeren 1955, 6.
103 Van der Hoop 1932.

> He is the pioneer; it is comprehensive.[104]

Leading Indonesian archaeologists from the *Universitas Gadja Mada* (UGM) in Yogyakarta, which was founded in 1949, likewise regard the colonial archaeologists as their "founding fathers".[105] The relationship between the individual archaeologist and them is often defined in terms of family relations. In an interview in 2010, Inayati Adrisijanti M. Romli, who started her archaeology studies at UGM in 1963, explains:

> I have been educated by generation number one. Their teachers were the Dutch. I knew Bernet Kempers and Van Heekeren. Mr. van Heekeren wanted the first generation to call him "oom" (uncle). To me, Van Heekeren said: "You can call me 'opa' (grandfather)". After 1965, when I was writing my "scriptie" (thesis), I met "opa Bob" in Jakarta. Later he visited Yogya. Yeah, it felt like family. He was the teacher of my teacher.[106]

Timbul Haryono, who started his studies at the UGM in 1964, explains in 2011 that he belonged to "the second Indonesian generation":

> Archaeology in Indonesia was "Nederland" orientated. Later it became more directed towards Australia and the US. The Dutch created an awareness amongst the people that enabled them to study archaeology. Our first knowledge of the temples was given to us by the Dutch.[107]

Following this line of reasoning, R. P. Soejono, who worked at the *Universitas Indonesia* in Jakarta and at the *Pusat Penelitian dan Pengembangan Arkeologi Nasional* (Arkenas, the National Archaeological Research Institute)[108], states during an interview in 2010:

> They [the Dutch colonial archaeologists, M. B. and M. E.] knew that Indonesia had a great past. We continued on that track.[109]

104 Interview with Nurhadi Rangkuti by Martijn Eickhoff, March 22, 2010, Palembang.

105 Discussion after the authors' presentation of the paper "The colonial archaeologist" during the conference "Sites, Bodies, Stories" at the UGM Yogyakarta, August 8, 2009.

106 Interview with Inayati Adrisijanti M. Romli, by Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, 22th January 2010, Yogyakarta. For a clear example of this perspective, see the obituary of Bernet Kempers, written by Soekmono. According to Soekmono, Bernet Kempers was "de pionier van de universitairestudie van de Indonesische archeologie en de vader van het archeologisch werk in Indonesië" (he was the pioneer of academic research and the father of archaeological work in Indonesia). Cf. Soekmono 1994, 274.

107 Interview with Pak Timbul, by Marieke Bloembergen and Martijn Eickhoff, 21th January 2011, Yogyakarta.

108 The Arkenas arose from the division, in 1975, of the former Dinas Purbakala into two distinct institutes, one focusing on research (Arkenas), the other on preservation politics. Cf. De Groot 2009, 6.

109 "Ze [de koloniale archeologen, M. B. and M. E.] wisten dat Indonesië een groot land was geweest. We gaan dat voortzetten." Interview with R.P. Soejono by Martijn Eickhoff, 25 February 2010, Jakarta.

Moreover, the Indonesian archaeologists that took over the archaeological work from the Dutch, were, as in colonial times, public figures. But, as is illustrated by the biographical sketches in *Soejono's Festschrift* from 2006,[110] or by the Indonesian Wikipedia page on Soekmono, who is considered to be the Indonesian founder of Indonesian archaeology, instead of stressing the adventurous aspects of archaeological work, as the colonial archaeological heroes used to do, emphasis is now placed on professional academic background – including a national research infrastructure and an international research network.[111] When contemporary Indonesian archaeologists refer explicitly to the colonial archaeologist, it is their academic output they honour and not their colonial, adventurous lifestyle. The colonial archaeologists might have been founding fathers, but the real professionalizing of the prehistoric archaeology of Indonesia has only taken place in the post-colonial era, thanks to the support of the benevolent Indonesian state, so seems to be the hidden message.

4 Concluding remarks: Post-colonial Indonesia and the 'gift' of the colonial archaeologists

If we analyze the (auto)biographical narratives selected for this paper to uncover the way colonial archaeologists 'discovered' the prehistoric past of the Dutch East Indies, we can certainly gain some insight into the multiple cultural and social ramifications of prehistoric research in colonial times. Together with publications and archival sources, these narratives are able to reveal that the creation of knowledge of the prehistoric past entailed indigenous contributions. However, the processes for gaining access to and authority within this field, and for obtaining credit for this knowledge were still shaped by colonial circumstances. As a result, the general public, who were familiar with the archaeological hero stories, considered the colonial archaeologists themselves to have discovered the early prehistoric past of the Dutch East Indies, almost like lone travellers. The hero stories of the three men – taken together – made sure that the discovery of the prehistoric past became a Dutch success story in which Dutchmen had taken the lead.

Yet, archaeology not only reproduced colonial hierarchies, but was also part of alternative, potentially overlapping 'worlds of identification' and knowledge systems. As the diverse visitors to the museum of the Batavian Society or the letters of Resink to Van der Hoop show, the status of the archaeologist, archaeological knowledge and archaeological displays was, as a result, appropriated and questioned from diverse perspectives. Colonial archaeologists could, for that reason, hardly escape the cultural dynamics that

110 See for example: Simanjuntak 2006.

111 http://id.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soekmono (visited on 07/07/2015).

surrounded and complicated their work; in a colonial context, archaeologists were anything but lone travellers.

After decolonization, when Indonesia became a 'national reality,' Indonesian archaeologists were able to visualize the (pre)historical roots of the new state with the help of materials and documentation collected by scholars – and the networks in which they were embedded – in colonial times. The colonial archaeologists involved were honoured for that 'gift' and appropriated by Indonesian archaeologists as family members, while their colonial and sometimes even racist worldview was regarded as irrelevant andglossed over. In the context of decolonization, archaeological knowledge dating from colonial times was considered neutral, whereas the focus – the connection with the Dutch motherland – changed. Moreover, the Indonesian archaeologists that took over the archaeological work from the Dutch were, as in colonial times, public figures; but instead of stressing the adventurous aspects of their work, they now emphasized their state-supported professional academic background.

Against the background of this process, and in reaction to what Susan Legêne and Henk Schulte Nordholt have coined 'colonial determinism,' which is visible in many postcolonial approaches to the study of knowledge and power, we advocate in this paper a different approach towards colonial legacies in present day post-colonial archaeological knowledge. It strikes us as more rewarding to analyze the practices of excavation and the formal, scholarly and alternative forms of knowledge production in which the work of the colonial archaeological heroes was embedded, and to consider the later transformations of the status and meaning of these archaeologists and their academic work as a process of appropriation, in which the Dutch empire was scored off by the greatness of the Indonesian past.[112] Contemporary post-colonial Indonesian archaeology may still be state-centered and in that role it may, as the example of the axe from Papua shows, still overrule the diverse ways meanings and identities are attributed and negotiated on a local level.[113] But we hope to have shown that too exclusive a focus on colonial legacies impedes a balanced understanding of the successful efforts of the first – post-colonial – generations of Indonesian archaeologists to decolonize.

112 Cf. Soejono 1997.

113 Cf. Marwoto-Johan 2012; Moore 2003, 13–14.

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1 Swanenburg 1951, 112. **2** Van Heekeren 1969, book cover. **3** Swanenburg 1951, 241. **4** Van der Hoop 1935, 9.

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