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# The local and provincial archival collections on Java from the colonial era

## The preliminary results of the inventorization project

NADIA F. DWIANDARI AND JOHAN VAN LANGEN

### ABSTRACT

The National Archives of Indonesia (Jakarta) and the National Archives of the Netherlands (The Hague) have been collaborating on the Java Archival Guide Project. This project, which initially ran from 2016 to 2017, will be continued in a second phase. It will provide insight into the size and richness of the local and provincial archives formed on Java during the colonial period after the dissolution of the Dutch East India Company (1800-1949). The whereabouts of these archives in Indonesia have been unknown to many researchers, preventing access to academics, local historians, and family researchers. The collections encountered during the research for this project date from the last days of the Dutch East India Company to the Japanese invasion and the years of the Indonesian National Revolution. The completed phase of the project was limited to the repositories of local and provincial governmental agencies on Java. In some cases the colonial collections seem to have disappeared, and in others, the records seem to have survived the years almost intact.

### KEYWORDS

Archives; accessibility; colonial history; cultural memory; Shared Cultural Heritage.

### THE JAVA ARCHIVAL GUIDE PROJECT; PEELING THE ONION

The Java Archival Guide is a joint project of the National Archives of Indonesia (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia, ANRI) and the National Archives of the Netherlands (Nationaal Archief, NAN).<sup>1</sup> This project was partly funded by

<sup>1</sup> Nadia Fauziah Dwiandari (archivist at ANRI) was the coordinator for the Java Archival Guide project. Johan van Langen (programme manager of the Shared Cultural Heritage Programme at NAN) managed the project. On behalf of ANRI, Mr. Azmi (then director of Pengolahan) was programme manager.

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the Shared Cultural Heritage programme of the Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture and Science and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The collaboration of ANRI, NAN, and their predecessors dates back to the nineteenth century. In recent years, there has also been intensive cooperation between the two national institutions.<sup>2</sup>

From 2017-2020, the collaboration on this programme will focus on increasing accessibility, digitization, capacity building, and joint exhibitions and publications. The Shared Cultural Heritage is very clearly expressed in archives. The archives of one trading company or board, created by its head office in the Netherlands and the various branches in Indonesia, are intrinsically linked. This also applies to the archives of the Ministerie van Koloniën in the Netherlands and the Algemene Secretarie (General Secretariat) in Jakarta. It is of essential importance to realize that the various components together form a complementary whole.

The metaphor of “peeling the onion” was used to characterize the project as it was being set up in 2015. Each layer discovered was to be described, added to the database, and when removed, would reveal the next. These layers could include the archives of: local and provincial administrations, executive public services, state-owned enterprises, courts, civil registries, notaries, private organizations, et cetera.

Indonesian archives – as those of any country – can be inexhaustible sources of information. But one has to know where to find them. One of the tasks of an archival institution is to make its collection accessible, but this is often a big challenge. The aim of the Java Archival Guide project is to compile a comprehensive archival guide of Dutch colonial archives in Indonesia, and during this first phase, to focus particularly on Java. This article will describe the preliminary results of the project.<sup>3</sup>

First there will be an explanation of the various functions of archives and the importance of archival collections to Indonesia’s cultural memory. To get a good picture of the various layers of government, the authors will then discuss the history of both the archive creators and the archival institutions in Java

<sup>2</sup> More information on the cooperation during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s can be found at the National Archives of the Netherlands, Collection 2.14.04 (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Tweede Afdeling), inventory numbers 190, 266, and 318. Former employee of NAN Hein de Graaff (1936-2018) combined his reports on the cooperation between the two institutions (1974-1988) in a publication (De Graaff 2013: 7).

<sup>3</sup> Reconstruction of the history of the pre-1942/1950 municipalities and provinces on Java is to some extent possible using secondary sources, but primary sources have rarely been consulted or even found. The whereabouts of these primary sources are unknown. Charles Jeurgens and Ton Kappelhof have suggested that a systematic inventorization could still unearth a considerable number of archives (Jeurgens and Kappelhof 2012: 16). The Java Archival Guide Project is an attempt to gain more insight into the whereabouts of these local and provincial archive collections in Java. In recent years several publications paid attention to the collections concerning Dutch-Indonesian history in repositories in the Netherlands (Jaquet 1968-77; Jeurgens 2013: 84-106; Van Anrooij 2014: 1-297). The last decades several articles and books were published about the important holdings at ANRI, but the local and provincial archives did not receive much attention (Jurriaanse 1954: 93-98; Meilink-Roelofs 1965; Drooglever 1985: 119-138; International Council on Archives 1989).

during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is important to be aware of how Indonesia's archives came into being, who the creators were, and how these collections should be preserved and made accessible for consultation by researchers and policymakers. Finally, the Java Archival Guide Project will be addressed specifically and the preliminary results will be explained.

#### THE IMPORTANCE OF ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS TO CULTURAL MEMORY

The power of archives is in their evidential and emotional impact. Whether revisiting national or local history or telling a personal story, archives turn names into personalities, give us the arguments behind decisions and reveal the complexity of individuals, communities, and societies.<sup>4</sup> Visually unremarkable, voluminous in quantity, and hidden away in boxes, archives have generally been taken for granted as the information environment of traditional heritage, a collective memory to be ransacked by experts when some element of the past is to be fixed in time and space. Documents contain records of events; they are not the events themselves. It is a mark of heritage that it remains a present reality and the record of the past must be seen in this light. Heritage is concerned primarily with widely accepted and sharply apparent expressions of a culture in terms of its cultural "goods" in every sense of the word, of its buildings and its art, its dance and its song, which may be readily experienced and transmitted. Documents however, with no purpose beyond written communication and without literary pretensions, may not rank very highly and indeed are in great danger of being regarded as worthless (Taylor 1982-83: 118-119).

Institutions of cultural memory, such as museums, libraries, and archives, have an important role to play in the preservation of cultural heritage. In the last two decades there has been an increasing awareness of the importance of managing and preserving current cultural heritage in Indonesia. Responsible ministries in Indonesia have shown commitment to preserving heritage through various constructions. Heritage preservation activities have also increased at provincial and local level by both governmental and non-governmental organizations. For example, new historical museums have been set up, and existing museums adapted to the wishes of the 21st century public. Recently, the Indonesian government has been running a museum revitalization project in which several museums have been funded for the renovation of their buildings and redesigning of their interiors and storylines.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> National Archives (UK), Archives unlocked releasing the potential (2017) <<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/documents/archives/Archives-Unlocked-Accessibility-Version.pdf>>.

<sup>5</sup> More information on the Revitalization Project is available on the website of the Indonesian Ministry of Culture <https://kebudayaan.kemdikbud.go.id/ditpcbm/konsep-revitalisasi-museum/>. Museum Benteng Vredeburg in Yogyakarta is a history museum that was redesigned during the museum revitalization project. Both the Aceh Museum and the Siwalima Museum in Ambon are provincial museums that were also revitalized. [Retrieved from: <https://iiias.asia/event/indonesian-museum>; accessed on 4-1-2019]. In 2010, a "Strategic Document for the Revitalization of Museums in Indonesia" was drawn up by the former Ministry for Culture and Tourism in close cooperation with UNESCO Jakarta, to articulate a clear structure and

Although archives are hidden away in boxes in repositories, they have an important function for other pillars of cultural memory. The documents can provide historical buildings and museum collections with a historical context, according to Hermawan Rianto – the Director of Museum Kota Bandung.<sup>6</sup> In order to study this cultural memory, one has to know where to find and how to access these archives. Access to governmental archives is essential to an informed society. The International Council for Archives states in the Principles of Access: “Democracy, accountability, good governance and civic engagement require a legal guarantee that individuals will have access to the archives of public bodies established by national, self-governing territories and local governments, intergovernmental institutions, and any organization and any legal or natural person performing public functions and operating with public funds”.<sup>7</sup>

Over the course of time, the archives in Indonesia have come to be used by a far more varied population than just the academic researchers or formal historiographers. They are now being consulted for the benefit of more popular forms such as television programs on historical events or places, stories on culinary heritage, biopics, the preservation of historical buildings, and decision-making on various matters like disaster management, urban planning,<sup>8</sup> and border and ownership disputes.<sup>9</sup>

In some cases, it is possible to reconstruct what happened at local and provincial levels by consulting various primary and secondary sources, such as printed sources, private archives, memoirs of key players, interviews, et cetera. Nevertheless, the records of administrations, including documents on the basis of which decisions have been made, provide a clear picture of the

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process for museum revitalization in Indonesia. This document was followed up with the publication of a “Practical Guide for Museum Revitalization in Indonesia” in 2011, which was distributed to museums throughout Indonesia to offer practical guidance on how to increase each museum’s potential. (Indonesia UNESCO Country Programming Document 2014-2017, page 28-29) [Retrieved from: <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000230310>; accessed on 4-1-2019.]

<sup>6</sup> See his article “Mengintip museum Kota Bandung yang baru dibuka”, *Kumparan.com* 31-10-2018. [Retrieved from: <https://kumparan.com/bandungkiwari/foto-foto-penampakan-museum-kota-bandung-yang-baru-dibuka-1540990527068069716>; accessed on 4-1-2019.]

<sup>7</sup> International Council on Archives, Committee on Best Practices and Standards, Working Group on Access. Principles of Access to Archives, adopted by the Annual General Meeting on 24-8-2012, Page 8. [Retrieved from: [https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA\\_Access-principles\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/ICA_Access-principles_EN.pdf); accessed on 29-12-2018.]

<sup>8</sup> From 2015-2017, ANRI, NAN, Pusat Dokumentasi Arsitektur (PDA), and the Cultural Agency of the Netherlands (RCE) collaborated in the publication of Pauline K.M. Roosmalen, Huib Akihary, and Nadia Purwestri (2017). The aim of this research guide was to familiarize the researcher with the opportunities archives can offer for the reconstruction and re-use of buildings, and for urban planning.

<sup>9</sup> Estevina Pangemanan (2013); A recent example of the many land disputes in Indonesia and the importance of legal documentation: “Terkait aset tanah Pertamina, DPR: Kebijakan tak jelas dan tak konsisten”, *Aktual* 2-7-2017. [Retrieved from <https://www.aktual.com/terkait-aset-tanah-pertamina-dpr-kebijakan-tak-jelas-dan-tak-konsisten/>; accessed on 4-1-2019.]

considerations and choices at play. Consulting primary sources usually gives the sharpest insight into the matter.

#### MANAGING ARCHIVAL COLLECTIONS IN INDONESIA

Though a relatively young independent state, Indonesia possesses a long history as an archipelago known as a source of spices and as being open to interactions with outsiders. The long history of the Nusantara archipelago has been passed on, not only through oral tradition and local written sources, but has also been stored in archives created by other nations. The combination of the entire archival legacy forms an invaluable treasure, not only for Indonesia, but for the world. One of the longest (joint) historical narratives involves the inhabitants of Nusantara and the Dutch, the latter of whom left abundant archives of their trading posts, built since the seventeenth century, their ensuing settlements, and finally, their colonial administration until the twentieth century.

ANRI holds the greatest part of the colonial records at the regional and state levels. However, while Dutch East Indies Company (VOC) and colonial archives in Indonesia are widely known to exist and assumed to be centrally located in the national archives, the long and winding road of Indonesia's history as former colony of the Netherlands has caused these archives to be dispersed far more widely. The locations of local and provincial colonial archives (1800-1942/1949) in Indonesia, when outside of ANRI, are often unknown to researchers.

As the national archival institution, ANRI has the role of preserving the national collective memory and making its archives accessible by creating finding-aids. But beyond this, it should continue to actively advise users on how to utilize the archives, enable archivists from any discipline to get involved in user-training in the form of lectures, seminars, educational and archival excursions, and it should secure and examine the historical value of potential archives and acquire them where appropriate (Gross and Milde 1993: 119-121). In theory, an institution should provide printed or online descriptive finding-aids to consult the archives free of charge. The finding aids should be kept up-to-date and comply with international descriptive standards. As far as possible, descriptions of archives received by an institution, but not yet processed, and materials which are closed for access should be included in the finding-aids. These best practices and standard should not only apply to national archival institutions but to archival institutions on all levels.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> International Council on Archives, Committee on Best Practices and Standards, Working Group on Access. Principles of Access to Archives. Technical Guidance on Managing Archives with Restrictions (01-02-2014). [Retrieved from: [https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/2014-02\\_standards\\_tech-guidelines-draft\\_EN.pdf](https://www.ica.org/sites/default/files/2014-02_standards_tech-guidelines-draft_EN.pdf); accessed on 29-12-2018.]

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF ARCHIVAL INSTITUTIONS AND ARCHIVES DISPERSION:  
NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES

The history of ANRI started with the birth of the Landsarchief or National Archives of the Dutch East Indies, formally inaugurated in 1892 (Lidwina 2012: 4). However, the idea of setting up an archival institution was born long before this. Dr W.R. Baron van Hoëvell (a renowned historian who later became a member of parliament) stated in 1854, for example, that the tropical climate with its high humidity was a threat to the durability of archives and that the supervision and preservation of archives by archivists was thus crucial (Arsip Nasional Republik Indonesia 2014: 1). This statement was in line with the interests of the colonial administration both long before and after that period as it wanted to be able to utilize archives as a source of information - especially in decision-making processes and as material for the writing of formal history.

These interests were met by efforts to centralize the archives in Batavia. This was started in 1820, when Governor-General Van der Capellen ordered residents and governors to send detailed inventories of all books, registers, charters, plans, and papers held in their offices to Batavia, to be used by the government as background information in the process of decision-making (Carey 1978: 123). This appears not to have elicited the desired results, so the effort to gather information was reinstated in 1849 by A.J.F. Jansen, chief of the Statistical Bureau of the Algemeene Secretarie, who requested the same information as Van der Capellen. Though he got little response, he did manage to successfully compile the archives of Java's North East Coast and send them to Batavia (Carey 1978: 124).

Attention was also paid to what was called *oude archieven* (old archives), archives created during the period of the VOC and the British interregnum. Previously, the cases of lost archives from that period were not uncommon. Insects, climate, minimum archival preservation, frequent movement of documents, and lack of storage space were the main causes. Other culprits were document misuse - for example, the writing of a military plan on old archives, or a civil servant taking documents home after retirement. In 1862 and 1867, many old archives were sent to the Netherlands to be placed under the care of the Algemeen Rijksarchief (National Archives). However, the sending of archives was not always approved of. One of its critics was Dr J.J. de Hollander, a professor at the Royal Military Academy and head of the Netherlands Indies History, Geography, and Ethnology Program. In his opinion, archives can only be understood by reading the content, but this is not possible if governments do not allow (public) users to observe or research the archives and no effort is to make the archives accessible by creating catalogs describing the information contained therein (De Graaf and Stibbe 1926: 101-102). Governor-General Van Lansberge (serving from 1875 to 1881) also believed it unnecessary for the archives to be sent to the Netherlands, as the Algemeen Rijksarchief already had copies of most of them.

The last visible effort to centralize the archives was the issuance of a missive (Missiven Generale Secretarie 14-8-1891 no. 1931), requesting the residencies

to send all archives dated before 1830 to Batavia, where they later fell to the care of J.A. van der Chijs, appointed as *landsarchivaris* (state archivist) a year later. These archives finally formed the Landsarchief's collection of holdings from various residencies ranging from the period of the VOC until 1830 (Van der Chijs 1882: iii). After this, no further efforts to centralize can be traced, resulting in a gap in the holdings. It should be noted that archival institutions at that time were not yet focused on providing accessibility to the general public but rather on serving the needs of the colonial administration.

#### DECENTRALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT

Another factor contributing to the cessation of centralization was the enactment of the Decentralisatie Wet or Decentralization Law of 23 July 1903.<sup>11</sup> From 1798 to 1854, the East Indies and its inhabitants were considered objects for exploitation, and as such, were to be administered by the Dutch. The Culture System (Cultuurstelsel) was introduced in 1830, with the intention of making the colony profitable by exporting tropical agricultural crops. The central government acted as an entrepreneur, just like in the VOC era. The majority of the sales profits from these products were for the benefit of the Dutch Treasury. In the Rules of Government of 1854, attention was finally paid to the rights of the inhabitants. The inhabitants at last became legal entities and were granted rights, according to which, the ruler was obliged to adhere to the rules and uphold the rule of law. These new regulations however, still ruled out any participation in government.

Before 1870, some important changes took place: The Dutch East Indies started playing an increasing role in the world economy; its economic significance increased and its people became more aware of their position. While the Netherlands was bent on expanding its statehood, the Indonesian people had a growing desire to take part in their own destiny. In 1903, the decentralization act was established, allowing the Indonesians more governmental intervention. Local councils were created (see the overview of the establishment of municipalities and mayors in the Dutch East Indies in Table 1) and the *Volksraad* was established in 1918. Allowing some of its members to be elected by the inhabitants was the first step on the road to public participation.

Decentralization of the administration caused more archive creators and the further geographical dispersal of archival repositories. Issues around city planning, the provision of housing, traffic regulation, the prevention of nuisance and damage, and hygiene issues all had to be dealt with at a more local level. The young municipalities tackled these matters with energy, as reflected, in the first place, by their own local legislation. Receivables regulated building and housing supervision, the registration of parcels, the security of traffic on public roads, and the issuance of permits. The municipalities also laid down rules regarding fire prevention, the prevention of damage to electrical

<sup>11</sup> *Het Staatsblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* No. 329. Law of 23-7-1903. Concerning the decentralization of the administration in the Dutch East Indies.



or telephone wires, the collection of garbage, and the supply of pure water. This involved numerous administrative measures around such issues as land, public housing, the exploitation of markets, water supply, slaughterhouses, cemeteries, the care of roads and bridges, the organization of fire brigades, the support of hospitals, relief for the poor, educational institutions, theatres, swimming pools, and other sports institutions (Kerchman 1930: 15-16).

The 1918 reforms were based on the idea of a unitary state, unlike a federation of provinces or islands. This classification as "unitary state" was arrived at by transplanting the Rijk, Provincie, and Gemeente structure directly from the Netherlands, and just like in the Netherlands, the Provinces were kept as small and as weak as possible.<sup>12</sup>

Name municipality	Installation city council	Installation mayor	Names of mayors (1903-1942/1947)
Batavia (Jakarta)	1903	1916	Mr G.J. Bisschop (1916-1920); Prof. Ir H. van Breen (1920-1920); Ad Interim Mr A. Meijroos (1920-1933); Ir E.A. Voorneman (1933 tot 1941); A.Th. Boogaardt (Ad Interim in 1941); Ir E.A. Voorneman (1941-1942); A.Th. Boogaardt (1945-1947).
Buitenzorg (Bogor)	1905	1921	A. Bagchus (1921-1927); Mr J.M. Wesselink (1928-1931); F.A.J. van Middelkoop (1931-1933); Mr G.F. Rambonnet (1934-1935); N. Beets (1935-1936); Mr P.H.M. Hildebrand (1937-1941).
Bandoeng (Bandung)	1906	1917	B. Coops (1917-1920); S.A. Reitsma (1920-1921); Ad Interim B. Coops (1921-1928); Ir J.E.A. von Wolzogen Kühn (1929-1935); Mr J.M. Wesselink (1935-1937); N. Beets (1937-1942).
Cheribon (Cirebon)	1906	1921	J.H. Johan (1921-1926); Roelof Adriaan Schotman (1926-1928); Jan Marie van Oostrom Soede (1929-1934); Mr H.E. Boissevain (1935); Mr Carl Erich Eberhard Kuntze (1936-1938); H. Scheffer (1939-1942).

<sup>12</sup> Article "Staatkundige hervormingen in Nederlandsch Indië. Slot", in *De Java-Post; Weekblad van Nederlandsch-Indië* 14-2-1919.

Name municipality	Installation city council	Installation mayor	Names of mayors (1903-1942/1947)
Semarang	1906	1916	D. de Jongh (1916-1927); A. Bagchus (1928-1935); H.E. Boissevain (1936-1942).
Pekalongan	1906	1929	P.K.W. Lakeman (1929-1929); F.A.J. Middelkoop (1929-1932); J. Leewis (1932-1935); A.E. Catalani (1935-1937); H.J. Kunzman (1937-1939); W.J. van Haeften (1939-1941); Mr. H.C. Hartevelt (1941-1942); Mr J. de Widt (1942-1942).
Tegal	1906	1929	D.J. Spanjaard (1929-1933); Ad Interim J.J.Ph. Koppenol (1934); A.M. Pino (1935-1937); Mr W.A. Court (1937-1941); H. Leenmans (1941-1942).
Magelang	1906	1929	Ir A.E. Voorneman (Ad Interim in 1929); P.K.W. Lakeman (1929-1934); Ir. R.C.A.F.J. van Lissa Nessel (1935-1942).
Soerabaja (Surabaya)	1906	1916	Mr. A. Meyroos (1916-1920); Ir G.J. Dijkerman (1920-1929); H.I. Bussemaker (1929-1932); Mr. W.H. van Helsdingen (1932-1935); Mr W.A.H. Fuchter (1935-1942).
Madioen (Madiun)	1906	1929	Mr R.A. Schotman (1929-1934); J.H. Boerstra (1933-1936); Mr. L. van Dijk (1936-1940); Dr Mr R.Ng. Soebroto (1940-1941); Mr R. Soesanto Tirtiprodjo (1941-1942).
Kediri	1906	1929	From 1906 to 1929 the City Council was chaired by the Assistent-Resident. Mr L.K. Wennekendonk (1929-1936); J.G. Ruesink (1936-1940); M. Scheltema (1940-1941); Dr J.R. Lette (1941-1942).
Blitar	1906	1929	J.H. Boerstra (1929-1934); C.E. Cohen (1934-1938); Mr O.J.A. Qaurtero (1938-1942).

Name municipality	Installation city council	Installation mayor	Names of mayors (1903-1942/1947)
Soekaboemi (Sukabumi)	1914	1926	Mr G.F. Rambonnet (1926-1933); Mr W.M. Ouwerkerk (1933-1933); Dr A.L.A. van Unen (1934-1939); Mr Willem Johannes Philippus van Waning (1939-1942).
Malang	1914	1919	H.I. Bussemaker (1919-1929); Ir E.A. Voorneman (1929-1933); Ir P.K.W. Lakeman (1933-1936); J.H. Boerstra (1936-1942).
Salatiga	1917	1929	Mr A.L.A. van Unen (1929-1934); Mr P.J. Reijling (1934-1937); H.E. Termeulen (1937-1940); W. Huson (1940-1942).
Pasoeroean (Pasuruan)	1918	1929	Mr H.E. Boissevain (1929-1935); W.C. Krijgsman (1935-1936); Dr C.G.E. de Jong (1936-1939); L.A. Busselaar (1939-1941); F. van Mourik (1941-1942).
Probolinggo	1918	1929	F.E. Meijer (1929-1937); L.A. de Graaff (1937-1940); L. Noë (1940-1942).

Table 1. Overview of the inauguration of municipalities and mayors in the Dutch East Indies 1903-1942/1947. (Source: *Regeringsalmanak Nederlandsch-Indië* 1903-1942).

#### PROVINCIAL GOVERNANCE

The whole of the Dutch East Indies was divided into eight regions: a declaration for the concept of regional governance. The regions were called either Provinces or Gouvernements. On 1 January 1926, the Province of West Java was established. Three years later, on 1 January 1929, the province of East Java was inaugurated (see Illustration 1). The establishment of the Province of Central Java followed on 1 January 1930.

In the created provinces there used to be three bodies: the provincial council, the college of deputies, and the Governor, the head of the Province. The council was of mixed composition, consisting of representatives of the three population groups: Europeans, Indonesians and those referred to then as Foreign Easterners (mainly Chinese and Arabs). Some of these representatives were elected (Westra 1927: 59).

Each of the provinces was already larger than the entire territory of the Netherlands and had between twelve and sixteen million inhabitants. Besides West, Central, and East Java, there were five other regions called Gouvernements, namely: Surakarta, Yogyakarta, Sumatra, Borneo, and

the Grote Oost (nowadays Sulawesi, the Moluccas, Papua, and the Lesser Sunda Islands). The difference between a *provincie* and a *gouvernement* was the form of governance. A *provincie* was run by a council largely elected by its residents. A *gouvernement* was run by a Governor acting as a representative of Central Government, and may or may not have an additional advisory board. “Provincial” government thus rested on a democratic basis while a *gouvernement* was run by an autocrat.



Illustration 1. The new governor's office at Pasar Besar in Surabaya, around 1930, after the establishment of the province of East Java. (Leiden University Libraries KITLV 120127).

#### CARETAKERS OF THE LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES

In accordance with the regulations for local councils and municipalities, municipal secretaries were responsible for the archives and for keeping the registers up to date.<sup>13</sup> We can only guess at how any individual municipal secretary fulfilled these tasks. In an article in the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad*, this official was estimated to have a heavy load of wide-ranging tasks. The author of the article stated that finding a good municipal secretary in the Dutch East Indies is more difficult than finding a good mayor.<sup>14</sup> When the municipalities were established in the Dutch East Indies, the newly installed secretary often

<sup>13</sup> *Regeeringsalmanak voor Nederlandsch-Indië 1939; Eerste Gedeelte. Bijlagen. "Locale Raden-ordonnantie", Bijlage 18, page 179, Hoofdstuk IV. Art. 26 (lid 4); "Stadsgemeente-ordonnantie", Bijlage 22, page 257, Afdeling 2. Art. 43 (lid 3); "Stadsgemeente-ordonnantie Buitengewesten", Bijlage 24, page 317, Afdeling 2, Paragraaf 2, Art. 83 (lid 3).*

<sup>14</sup> Article "Gemeentebestuur", *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* No. 26 (Saturday, 31-12-1910). Third sheet.

had to accept custody of the records of the Assistent-Resident, who had ruled over the area (*afdeling*) before the municipality was in charge.

From 1828 onwards, the civil registers of the European population (and later other population groups), were maintained at a local level. The legal successor of the colonial Civil Registry, *Catatan Sipil*, usually kept Civil Registry (*Burgerlijke Stand*) registers separately, but in some cases colonial registers were transferred to the municipal archives or even to a museum.

#### THE JAVA ARCHIVAL GUIDE PROJECT<sup>15</sup>

As already mentioned in the first paragraph, one of the roles of archival institutions is to safeguard the collective memory as part of the local, provincial and national identity. The National Archives of Indonesia is fully aware of this role and endeavours, via the archives both in ANRI's collection and scattered elsewhere, to enlarge its knowledge of the shared history. However, tapping into these rich sources of shared history is impeded by the inaccessibility of large sections of the archives, especially those written in Dutch and housed elsewhere than at ANRI. For many reasons, including language barrier issues, limited budgets, and lack of qualified human resources, most of these collections have not yet been identified, arranged, or catalogued. Locating and identifying these archives is an initial step to solving this problem.

In addition, there is often a bureaucratic problem: on what grounds does a researcher have a right to access these documents whose content is unknown? Who can grant permission for the researcher to consult the documents? It is not the project's aim to try to remedy all these possible problems. The guide – to be published in digital and printed form – will contribute to the expansion of knowledge of the history shared by Indonesia and the Netherlands and to the expansion of knowledge concerning the location, volume, condition and accessibility of the archives. The digital version of the guide – the database – will be presented as an online guide for policy makers, researchers and academics. The database – in Indonesian and in English translation – will contain clear and validated information. It will give access to the information on the archival institutions, descriptions of the collections and their creators, and – where available – the digital/digitized inventories of the collections.

#### STEERING COMMITTEE

At the beginning of the project, an academic steering committee was set up to establish the guidelines for the project. This consisted of M. Taufik (Deputy of Archives Administration, representing ANRI), Prof. Charles Jeurgens

<sup>15</sup> In the Netherlands, extensive research has been done into the locations of documents on the history of the Dutch East Indies. See F.G.P. Jaquet (1968-1977), *Gids van in Nederland aanwezige bronnen betreffende de geschiedenis van Indië/Indonesië*, I - VIII. Via the Sources Website of the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies: [Retrieved from: <https://www.kitlv.nl/nl/bronnen/>; accessed on 28-12-2018]. Researchers can access the "Indisch Knooppunt database" with additions/references to other sources relating to the history of the Dutch East Indies.

(University of Amsterdam) and Dr Sri Margana (Gadjah Mada University). The committee had the task of supervising the project. It was to be expected, with the insights of each of these members (respectively from the academic point of view, and from their knowledge of a) bureaucracy and b) policy for archival institutions in Indonesia), that this committee would have a strong basis on which to make judgements concerning the project.

#### SCOPE OF THE FIRST PROJECT: PEELING THE FIRST LAYERS

As soon as the proposal containing the detailed program of the project was presented to the steering committee, it was suggested that this project should not set off with too ambitious a target, should focus on gathering in-depth information rather than basic data and should include in its survey-results information, on whether archives are open to the public, and on the existence of archives outside ANRI, but under the archival supervision of municipal archives. Repositories and institutions with inaccessible archives will also be mentioned. If survey-result volumes fail to meet research quotas, the scope can be extended to *keraton* (local kingdoms). Cities with good administrative management should also be included in the surveys.

The project covered governmental, semi-governmental, and private collections in the Dutch language stored in governmental (local/provincial) repositories on Java. The historic period concerned is from around 1800 until the final Dutch departure from central and local government in 1949. Records stored at ANRI are not included in this project. Private collections stored outside of governmental repositories are also excluded from this archival guide.

#### PROJECT IMPLEMENTATION: QUESTIONNAIRES AND RESEARCH VISITS

As the regions of Java are vast with numerous possible locations to survey, and as the personnel available were limited, a purposive sampling was the strategy proposed by the team and approved by the steering committee. Starting in February 2016, questionnaires were sent to 54 institutions. By the end of March, 16 institutions (29.6%) had responded positively, 31 institutions (57.4%) claimed to have no archives from the colonial or earlier periods, and 7 institutions (13%) would, for various reasons, be unable to provide valid information.<sup>16</sup> To determine the final locations to be surveyed, further filters were applied to the positive responders: the volume of archives present and the feasibility of transferring them to ANRI. Once the project proposal was approved by the steering committee, the surveys were conducted by teams consisting of members of the research team (who were responsible for preparing and drafting the guide) assisted by qualified archivists. All had reading skills in both English and Dutch and experience in describing and arranging Dutch colonial archives. The research team members were also in

<sup>16</sup> The reasons varied from lack of knowledge of their archival collections to not responding at all.

possession of certified English writing skills. The duration of each survey varied from two to five days.

By the end of September 2016, five regions had been surveyed: Cirebon, Semarang, Yogyakarta, Bandung, and Surabaya. In each region, at least three institutions had been surveyed (see Illustration 2). This included some institutions (such as the Semarang and Bandung municipal archives) which had claimed to have no colonial archives or had not responded. These were visited to confirm their claims. Some interviews were also conducted (usually with local officials).

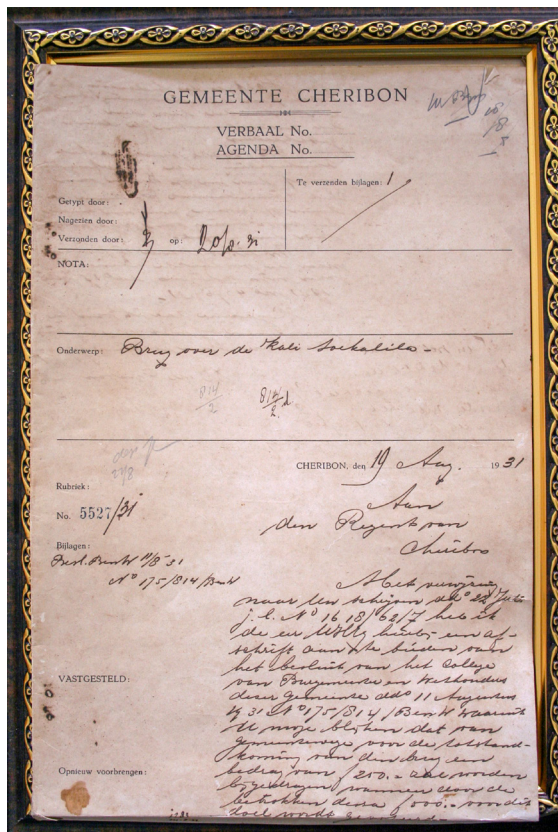


Illustration 2. Outgoing letter to the Regent of Cheribon concerning a bridge over the river [Kali] Sukalila near Cirebon (dated 19/5/1931). The letter is framed and hangs on a wall in the municipal archives of Cirebon. There are some original documents hanging on the wall, but the rest of the administrative records pre-dating 1950 is missing. (Photograph by Johan van Langen, 12-4-2016).

Despite many challenges, a temporary database was eventually created collating information such as survey location, date of survey, name of institution being surveyed, name of archive-creator, period covered by archives, volume of the collection, and “notes” (further information such as physical condition, accessibility (the existence of finding aids), general system of arrangement, archive series (if available/identifiable).

The temporary database revealed that there are approximately 289.1 meters of collections and more than 700 maps and architectural drawings. There may actually be more than this, but verifying figures was challenging. Some institutions' methods of quantification made it hard to determine the exact number of inventories, files or boxes as there was no reference to physical measurement, and in some repositories, colonial archives were mixed up with archives from a more recent period or archives created after the period of Indonesia's independence.

The result of the survey in general and the total volume of archives found were unsatisfying. Historical research into archive-creators during the colonial period had shown a promising potential for numerous archives to be found in scattered provinces and municipalities. But in all the regions surveyed, gaps were found in archives and little information could be obtained on the whereabouts of the missing pieces presumed to have survived. As expected, the most noticeable pieces missing from collections were the administrative archives: provincial and municipal councils' archives, mayors' and Aldermen's speeches, et cetera. Only Bandung was able to indicate that its city council archives predating 1942 are located in its municipal archives (see Illustration 3 for a photograph of archival creator The Municipal Council of Bandung in 1920).



Illustration 3. Photograph of a Council meeting of the Municipality of Bandung, shortly before the departure of Mayor B. Coops, August 1920. Some of the records created by the Council (predating 1941) are stored at the Municipal Archives of Bandung. (Leiden University Libraries KITLV 11917).

It would seem that few archive-creators (or their successors) transferred their collections to municipal/provincial archives. Experience gained during



the first visits (to Cirebon and Semarang) enabled the team to prepare better for the ensuing surveys, especially with regard to which institutions to visit and how to arrange their visits (see also Illustrations 4 and 5 for the photographs in Semarang and Bandung). This, however, did not affect the results of the surveys, which remained pretty consistent, up to and including the last (to Bandung and Surabaya). The condition of the archives found varied from institution to institution. Some were inaccessible due to lack of finding aids. This was especially the case in municipal archives. Other collections were not properly arranged or described (or were inaccurately described). Some, such as the archives of Balai Harta Peninggalan (BHP-Heritage Hall) in Surabaya, seemed to lack any order at all and most of the repositories outside archival institutions (usually Civil Registry Offices) lack proper storage space.



Illustration 4. Photograph of military personnel watching a water polo game at the municipal swimming pool in Semarang, March 1947. The located collections contain archives of several executive services such as public works, sewerage services, and municipal swimming pools. (Source: National Archives of the Netherlands, Collection DLC, 2.24.04.03 item 179-3-2).

In an effort to complement the data, or at least to expand the range of targeted organizations, a new strategy was employed and questionnaires were sent out to nineteen town halls. Two town halls referred us to the municipal archives - meaning that no additional information could be expected - or Civil Registry. One town hall sent data on old books in a museum, seven claimed to have no archives from the colonial period, and nine were unable to provide valid information on the records in their repositories.<sup>17</sup> The questionnaires were

<sup>17</sup> The following institutions reported having Dutch records in their collections. These

sent by mail, which cost more time. These results show that the new strategy improved the information-gathering process only slightly.

After evaluating this response, the steering committee decided that, in order to gain sufficient data for a comprehensive archival guide, it would prolong the project until April 2017. Other surveys were planned and this time the targeted regions were Bogor (formerly Buitenzorg) and Malang, two cities which also played important roles during the colonial period.



Illustration 5. Photograph of steam rollers in the streets of Bandung, around 1920. Records from the local branches of Public Works (*Burgerlijke Openbare Werken*) were found in several provincial and municipal archives, like in Bandung and Surabaya. (Leiden University Libraries KITLV 11911).

In Malang, as in most of the locations surveyed during the first wave, four institutions (Civil Registries) were visited and found to house considerable volumes of colonial archives (about 4.3 meters). The survey also revealed the potential location of abundant colonial archives created not only by colonial

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collections are not yet included in the overview, and will be added later:

Salatiga municipal archives: Civil Registry, 5 meter. Finding aids available.

Tegal municipal archives: 4 documents, 3 maps, and 2 architectural drawings.

Surakarta municipal archives: 1 meter (maps), no finding aids.

Sukabumi municipal archives: small number of files  
Magelang municipal archives: 3 sheets and 2 bundles (paper), 2 maps and printed matter.

University of Indonesia: 113 meters (mostly manuscripts), finding aids available.

Pekalongan municipal archives and library - 2 meters (documents)

The following institutions indicated that they do not have any Dutch records in their collections: The municipal archives of Madiun, Probolinggo, Mojokerto, Blitar, Banyuwangi, Gresik, Cimahi, Sumedang, Banyumas (Purwokerto), and Cilacap. Also Bandung Institute of Technology and Gadjah Mada University reported having no records from the colonial era.

institutions but also individual persons at Museum Inggil or Museum Pandji, a private museum which unfortunately exceeded the scope of the project so far.

The survey conducted in Bogor offered more promising results. Beside several municipal institutions, institutions under the authority of central ministries were found to possess a considerable volume of colonial archives in their repositories. These institutions included Bogor Botanical Garden (under the Indonesian Institute of Sciences), the Agricultural Soil and Resources Agency (under the Ministry of Agriculture), and the Directorate for Environmental and Forestry Planning (under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry). Interviews with officials uncovered the likelihood of further colonial archives being located in institutions under central ministries.<sup>18</sup>

The second wave of surveys resulted in an additional 84.4 meters of archives. After two visits to the repository of the Special Capital Region (Daerah Khusus Ibukota, DKI) Jakarta, 110 meters could be added to the database.<sup>19</sup> This brought the total volume of records collated in this guide to around 483.5 meters, excluding the more than 700 maps. See the overview of the results of the first phase of the project in Table 2.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
Jakarta	Badan Perpustakaan dan Arsip Daerah (DKI Jakarta)	Gemeente-werken Batavia	(1880) 1914-1950an	± 20 m	Series: a. building construction, b. land, c. regional development, d. human resources, e. health, f. education.
		Burgerlijke Stand	1828-1949	± 90 m	Registers of birth, death, marriage, divorce, and child-recognition. Condition varies from good to damaged.

<sup>18</sup> It should be noted that the response to the initial sending of the questionnaire to the aforementioned central ministries or institutes did not indicate the existence of any colonial archives. This points to a lack of coordination or communication within the ministries and, as in most institutions, low awareness and knowledge of archives, particularly from the colonial period.

<sup>19</sup> In 2013 ANRI published the *Guide khazanah arsip berbahasa Belanda di Nusantara (Wilayah Jakarta) 1772-1970* with an overview of the collections stored at the repositories of DKI Jakarta.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
Cirebon	Cirebon Municipal Library and Archives	Gemeente Cheribon	1906-1933 (1940)	2 small boxes/264 sheets	Largely correspondence on land certificates. Archives in good condition but no finding aid.
		Unknown	1924	± 70 sheets	Photographs of city hall construction, reproduced from Dinas Komunikasi dan Informasi (Communication and Information Agency).
	Civil Registry of Cirebon	Burgerlijke Stand	1940-1950	4 bundles	Findings: registers of birth and death for Chinese and indigenous population only. Some descriptions (on register's cover) inaccurate. No finding aid.
	Public Works Agency	Gemeente Cheribon	1931-1939	± 20 sheets	City maps transferred from municipality. Archives readable but some need restoration. Current restoration effort is manual, no funding for digitization. No finding aid.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
Semarang	Central Java Provincial Library and Archives	Tweede Waterstaat Afdeeling te Semarang	1886-1929	± 46,6 m (233 boxes)	Subjects: construction of schools, hospitals and offices, reparations to sewer/plumbing reparations in buildings in Central Java Province.
		Hoofden van Provinciale Waterstaat Dienst van Midden Java	1930-1972	Not yet transferred to depot: ± 5 m (25 boxes). At depot 26,8 m (134 boxes medium size)	Archives in good condition
		Residentie Semarang	1800-1880	± 33,8 m (169 boxes medium size)	Archives' condition varies, from good to seriously damaged. Seriously damaged archives separated.
		Dienst der Volksgezondheid in Midden Java	Unknown	Unknown	Archives' condition varies, from good to seriously damaged. Archives inaccessible.
		Djatibedrijf/ Insp. 4e Afdeeling	1930-1937	2 folders	Archives are mixed up with archives of other creators.
	Civil Registry of Semarang	Burgerlijke Stand	1828-1943	± 19,5 m	Archives' condition varies, from medium to seriously damaged.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
Yogyakarta	Yogyakarta Provincial Archives	Vorstenlandse Waterschappen	1917-1942	13 volumes	Series: Governor's decisions, notulen, monograph, ordonnantie and reglement, report, supply pipes from the river Kali Krasak, dam, irrigation, onderneming Medarie [Medari Sugar Company]: blueprint/ architectural drawings. Archives in good condition.
	Yogyakarta Municipal Library and Archives	Dinas Pemukiman dan Prasarna Wilayah Kota Yogyakarta	1909-1942	± 257 sheets	Cartographic and architectural drawings on schools, housing, and sewerage. Arranged chronologically.
		Badan Lingkungan Hidup Kota Yogyakarta (BLH-Yogyakarta Environment Agency)	1937-1942	1 file	Sewerage in Yogyakarta. No finding aids.
		Kantor Perum Yogyakarta Pemerintah Kotapraja Yogyakarta	1917-1942	2 boxes	

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
	Civil Registry of Yogyakarta	Burgerlijke Stand	1828-1942	± 17 m	Registers of birth, death, marriage, divorce and child-recognition. Condition varies from good to damaged. Volume of damaged archives: approximately 1 meter
Bandung	West Java Provincial Library and Archives	Burgerlijke Openbare Werken (Drawings)	1922	± 56 sheets	Architectural drawings of Gedung Sate. Archives in good condition. Arrangement based on sequence number on the drawings.
		Burgerlijke Openbare Werken	1890-1948	± 18 boxes, 229 inventory numbers	Archives on water works. Archives in good condition, arranged geographically.
		Government of Pasundan State	1947-1950	171 files (24 files in Dutch)	Correspondence and administrative affairs. Inventory available.
	Bandung Municipal Library and Archives	Bouwen Woning Toezicht	1918-1973	± 15 boxes	No finding aid, most archives in good condition but some has mold caused by humid repository.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
		Burgerlijke Stand	1943	2 bound volumes	Daftar Kelahiran Istimewa (list of special births) in Dutch and Indonesian. No finding aid.
		College van Burgermeester en Wethouders Gemeente Bandoeng	1916 - 1940	73 bound volumes	Registers (and "klappers") of council meetings. The archives to which it refers not found.
Surabaya	East Java Provincial Archives	Burgerlijke Openbare Werken	1915-1966	± 12,2 m	Finding aid available.
		Burgerlijke Openbare Werken, Traffic and Water Management, Postal Services	Unknown	± 22,2 m	Inventory titles: Verslag I, II, III, consisting of printed reports of BOW, VnW, PTT and other institutions. Archives in good condition.
		Departement van Binnenlandsch Bestuur	Unknown	± 3 m	Printed books, annual reports.
		Volksgezondheid (title)	Unknown	± 1,2 m	Printed health report from provincial health agency. Archives are in good condition.
		Landbouw (title)	Unknown	± 1,2 m	Archives in good condition,



Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
					printed annual reports from provincial agencies.
		Pusat Penelitian Perkebunan Gula Indonesia	1917-1932	± 15 m	Archives in good condition, probably continue to cover post-independence period.
		PT Garam Indonesia	1921-1942	± 19,4 m	Archives in good condition, probably continue to cover post-independence period.
		Volksraad	Unknown	± 10 m	Printed minutes of of Volksraad meetings. Archives in good condition.
	Surabaya Municipal Library and Archives	Unknown	Unknown	± 900 (temporary) numbers	Difficult to determine identity and volume of collections as they are mixed up with archives from post-independence period. No finding aid.
		Unknown	Unknown	± 300 maps	Inaccessible, mixed up with archives from other creators and periods.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
	Civil Registry of Surabaya	Burgerlijke Stand	1818-1952	± 20 m	Registers (all races). Lists available (but need improvement).
	Surabaya Municipal Museum	Burgerlijke Stand	Unknown	30 volumes	Register of birth, death, marriage,
					and divorce (European). Accessibility need improving
	Surabaya Heritage Hall	Wees- en Boedelkamers wilayah Surabaya	Unknown	± 7 m	No finding aid. Many documents seriously damaged.
Bogor	Bogor Municipal Library and Archives	Gemeente Buitenzorg	Unknown	43 volumes	Buitenzorg gemeenteblad, report from West Java province. All in book-form, relatively good condition. List available.
	Civil Registry of Bogor	Burgerlijke Stand	1816-1951	± 8,69 m	Registers of birth, marriage, death, divorce, and child-recognition (European and Chinese). Archives in good condition. Lists available.
	Directorate for Environmental and Forestry Planning	Boschwezen	1880-1950	± 55,73 m (not including maps)	Archives in good condition.

Location	Name of institute	Creator	Period	Volume	Notes
	(under the Ministry of Environment and Forestry)				Some archives inaccessible, plan for digitization. .
					Many documents are official reports on border regulations [processen-verbaal over grensregeling]. Lists and application for internal access available
	Agricultural Soil and Resources Agency (under the Ministry of Agriculture)	Bodemkundig Instituut Algemeen Proefstation voor den Landbouw	(1890an) 1920an-1951 (Dutch written documents are still found in 1962)	± 10,77 m (paper) ± 400 maps	Most archives in good condition, finding aids available but in need of renewal. Most archives are reports of land surveys, completed with maps and sometimes photos.
Malang	Malang Municipal Library and Archives	Nederlandsch-Indische Water-kracht Maatschappij	1948	1 volume	Archives in good condition, probably reproductions from ANRI.
	Civil Registry of Malang	Burgerlijke Stand	1829-1945	± 4,3 m	Archives in good condition. Registers of birth, death, marriage and divorce (all races). Lists available.

Table 2. Overview of the preliminary results of the inventORIZATION project.

#### PRESENTING THE INTERMEDIATE POSITION

The first phase of the project ended in April 2017. As closing event, the project managers from ANRI and NAN agreed to hold a small seminar aimed at disseminating the results of the survey to a wider audience including potential users, and as an endeavour of archival outreach to raise archival awareness. The participants of the seminar consisted of archival institutions, several representatives of the surveyed institutions and potential users such as researchers, university lecturers, policy makers, and the general public. The draft of the guide was presented to the participants with a view to gaining their input for improvements. This was met with enthusiastic response. The participants agreed that the guide would be very useful and that the project should be continued. Some representatives from provincial archives offered assistance with information-gathering for the next project. They also suggested that the project should be used as an instrument of outreach by ANRI to assist provincial and municipal archives in the improvement of archive-management – particularly with regard to organizing and describing colonial archives and to making them more accessible.

#### THE CONTINUATION OF THE PROJECT

One of the delegates present at the seminar saw that the project could boost the role of ANRI and provincial and municipal archives in raising archival awareness, and recommended that it would be continued for this reason. This shared goal should be accompanied by a closer cooperation between these institutions in the form of creating new programs to improve the quality of the arrangement and description process – and to some extent, the acquisition process – of colonial archives in archival institutions outside of ANRI. These should include programs or training aimed at increasing the competence of the archivists responsible for make the collections accessible.

Particularly with regard to the follow-up project, extending the scope of the targeted archives could be the next strategy for capturing a more comprehensive spectrum of information on colonial history. Company archives (state-owned or private), archives deposited in the local kingdoms (*keraton*), and private collections (owned by persons or families) stored outside of governmental repositories are some of the next targets to be considered.

Especially at the beginning of the process, new methods of information-gathering should be applied in order to gain more results more effectively. These methods should include utilizing the assistance offered by provincial archives, more detailed and comprehensive historical research, gaining more knowledge on recent developments in the bureaucratic situation in provinces and municipalities, and getting researchers outside of the archival institutions (who have more flexibility in terms of working hours) involved in the surveys. These are just some of the possible methods to be employed in the coming years in order to guarantee more optimal results for the production of a more comprehensive archival guide.

#### PRELIMINARY CONCLUSION: THE TREASURE IS STILL OUT THERE

The construction of a decentralized, layered government and the creation of local archival institutions have affected the availability and types of archives kept by ANRI, and by provincial and local archival institutes in Indonesia. The history of the national archival acquisition policy, with a strong bias towards centralization and a focus on acquiring archives produced by governmental institutions creates a gap in the archival holdings of ANRI. The acquisition of archives from entities other than governmental organizations (such as state owned and private companies, important persons and families, and local kingdoms) will bring more balance into ANRI's collection and it will help to fulfil its task as guardian of the national collective memory.

The effort to identify colonial archives outside of ANRI, should include the further exploration of potential locations with more detailed research, accompanied by better coordination, cooperation, and preparation. During the seminar, delegates agreed that the project will empower archival institutions in the region and will raise archival awareness in general – which has always been seen as an on-going challenge.

Until now, one could only guess at what might be left of the documents from the colonial era in Java's provincial and municipal archives. ANRI and NAN will continue their cooperation in eventually saving more archives from oblivion. Although the results of the findings are difficult to predict, there will be a more comprehensive picture of the whereabouts of these pre-1950 collections. So, in the coming years, the peeling of the archival onion will continue.

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