Teuku Panglima Polem's Purse

Manuscripts as War Booty in Colonial Times

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Abstract

The Dutch colonial wars in Southeast Asia had manuscripts as by-products. The subject of the present article is the content of the purse of Teuku Panglima Polem (d. 1940), an Acehnese leader during the final episode of the colonial war that the Dutch waged in Aceh, a staunch Muslim country in the Northern part of Sumatra. The captured purse was part of war booty in 1899. It contained a number of short Islamic texts, written in anyone of the three languages that at the time were in current use in Aceh: Acehnese, Malay and Arabic. It is, in fact, a small portable library. A full description of the purse’s contents is given and an attempt is made to offer an analysis of the texts that Panglima Polem carried on his person. Such documents were often considered as subversive by the colonial authorities. In an appendix, the author identifies a considerable number Islamic manuscripts in the Leiden collection with similar provenances.

Keywords


1 Preamble

While, some 25 years ago, I was systematically checking a section of Leiden’s Oriental manuscripts collections, portfolio after portfolio, one archival box after the other, I suddenly held a small box (class mark MS Leiden Or. 8159)
in my hand. At first glance, it did not look much different from the other boxes, but that changed when I opened it and unwrapped the object that it contained. It was a leather purse, with ample content, not of money but, far more importantly, of manuscript texts! [fig. 1]. I immediately had a sense of impropriety and felt like a pickpocket, reaching out through the window of history. I had hit, entirely unexpectedly, on the content of someone’s pocket and I would now pry into that person’s personal affairs.

2 The Owner

The owner of the captured purse was the well-known Acehnese personality, Teuku Panglima Pōlém (‘Lord Elder Brother’). This name is the traditional title of the chiefs of the *sagi* of the 22 Mukims. The owner of the purse had his name written in two of his booklets (No. 2, f. 2b and No. 3, first page). His proper name was Teuku Muhammad Dawud, but he is better known by his title. On September 6, 1903, Panglima Polem gave up his war effort and surrendered to the Dutch-Indian government [fig. 2]. He was reinstated as head of the 22 Mukims. He died in 1940 after a long career of loyalty to the Dutch. His purse and the booklets it contained were never given back to him.

Added to the box in which the purse is now kept is a snippet of paper, which may be its first registration in Dutch hands. The purse had been captured in Gampong Pulo, a village in the Pidië regency, where Panglima Polem had taken

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This may be the reason why he never made it into the *Daftar pahlawan nasional Indonesia*, the official register of national heroes of Indonesia, notwithstanding his excellent track record prior to his submission.

It reads in broken Dutch ‘Boekjes enz gevond in een | bivak van P. Polem | in G. Poelò Augs 1899’. The plural and diminutive ‘Boekjes’ could refer to the several small items in the purse, but also to more such documents of small size captured during the Aceh war.
refuge. That was in the evening of August 10, 1899, during a nightly raid by Dutch counter-insurgency forces on the owner’s bivouac.7 At that time, the long Aceh war (1873–1904) was in its seventh, and final, phase (1896–1910).8 That final period was characterized by active military action. Dutch-Indian special forces were constantly hunting down the Acehnese leaders and Panglima Polem was one of the most wanted fugitives. Captured documents that could be of strategic interest (and Islamic texts fitted the description almost by definition) would be brought to the attention of the authorities. Dutch colonial civil servants and military were constantly on the look out for the small ‘subversive manuscript texts’ that could be found in enemy possession. These manuscripts would usually end up in Batavia/Jakarta, where they still are. Quite a few ultimately arrived there via the office of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), the Orientalist, adviser to the colonial government in the Dutch East Indies for indigenous affairs and the brain behind the final phase of the Dutch war effort in Aceh. That the purse is now in Leiden and not in Jakarta is because Snouck Hurgronje kept it with his private collection. After his demise, that entered the Leiden library.9

7 The Sumatra Courant of August 25, 1899, mentions the event in some detail (my translation): ‘In the evening of the 10th of this month, a patrol coming from Djeumpa surprised a gang under the command of panglima Polim in Poelo. The enemy left 4 dead and 3 wounded, also 4 Beaumont rifles and 6 frontloaders, 1 blunderbuss, 500 Beaumont cartridges and many bullets for the frontloaders, naked swords, 500 cartridge cases, 1 bolt-lock rifle Model 1895 with ammunition, many personal goods and letters. On our side there were no losses.’


9 Standard procedure for captured books and manuscripts was that they were sent to the Museum of the Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences. See P. Voorhoeve (with T. Iskandar), Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts in the Library of Leiden University and Other Collections outside Aceh. Translated and edited by M. Durie. Leiden: Legatum Warnerianum/ILDEP, 1994, pp. 16, 262–265. A collection of 315 Acehnese manuscripts and printed books, all brought in by Captain of the ‘Marechaussée’ K. van der Maaten (1861–1944) from Keumala, is described by C. Snouck Hurgronje, ‘Eene verzameling Arabische, Maleische en Atjêhsche handschriften en gedrukte boeken’, in Notulen van de Algemeene Vergaderingen van het Bataviaasch Genoot-
Panglima Polem’s purse is only one small object, out of numerous documents, which illustrate events in the Aceh war. Not long before Panglima Polem’s submission to the Dutch in 1903, a collection of his books, manuscripts and other objects had been captured, again from a bivouac from which he had a narrow escape. A systematic study of the relationship between the colonial war effort and the content of museum and library collections in the Netherlands has never been undertaken.

This goes beyond the Aceh war proper. One of the better known examples of Dutch war trophies from the colony is the prayer book that is commonly ascribed to the Imam Bonjol, even if there is no evidence for a direct relationship between the manuscript and this historical personality. According to the legend that has grown around it, it would be a relic of the last enemy leader in the Padri war (1821–1835).

3 The Contents of Panglima Polem’s Purse

The selection of the few texts in the purse must somehow have been Panglima Polem’s personal concern. None of these seem to be written by himself. They are kept in the five compartments of the small leather purse. This purse, which has a metal lock that is still in working order, measures c. 9.5 × 15 cm and including its content it is 4 cm thick. It contains texts in Arabic, Malay and Acehnese, all written on paper [fig. 1]. These are described below. Added to the purse is an undated description of the full content of Or. 8159 in the hand of P. Voorhoeve, who may have compiled it between 1946–1959 when he was curator of Oriental collections in the Leiden library. The Acehnese texts have been

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10 *De locomotief* of February 5, 1903. Present whereabouts of these objects unknown to me.

11 MS Leiden Or. 1751. See now for that manuscript, albeit ineptly described, Farouk Yahya, *Magic and Divination in Malay Illustrated Manuscripts*. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2016, pp. 245–246. Calling that manuscript a ‘notebook’, as Yahya does, is misleading as it suggests a direct involvement of the assumed former owner. It is not a notebook, but a luxury manuscript as is already borne out by Yahya’s illustration No. 285 on p. 246.

12 As compared to his signature under his letters in the Snouck Hurgronje Archive in Leiden which holds four letters in Malay that were signed and sealed by Teuku Panglima Polem (MS Leiden. Or. 8952 A: 804 and Or. 8952 D: 180) [fig. 3].
previously described by Voorhoeve c.s. The Malay texts were described by Teuku Iskandar. The Arabic texts are not mentioned in Voorhoeve’s Handlist. In due course, the contents of the purse will be mentioned in volume 9 of my on-line Inventory.

3.1 Or. 8159, No. 1

Malay and Acehnese texts. Booklet without binding, made of European laid paper (watermark: Andrea Galvani), 24 ff., 12.1 × 8 cm, 2 quires sewn together (2 VI (24)), Naskh script in several different hands (shifts between ff. 12/13, 14/15, 16a/16b). Catchwords at the bottom of every verso page.

(1) ff. 1b–18b. Acehnese. Nalam sipheuet dua ploh, by Muḥammad Amīn Tiro (d. c. 1886). The text includes an addition about the five pillars of Islam. This is an Acehnese rendering of the Arabic ʿAqīdat al-ʿAwāmm by Abū al-Fawz Aḥmad al-Marzūqī (c. 1281/1864), GAL S 11, 990. The author of this rendering was the famous Tgk. Muhamat Amin Tiro. Voorhoeve has translated his own summary description of No. 1 into English as follows: ’Duapuluh sipat (wāǧib to Allah). What is wāǧib to a prophet. About wāǧib, mustaḥil and ġāʾiz. Enumeration of the 25 prophets. The Prophet Muḥammad’s nearest parentage. Mention of the 10 angels, the 4 books of revelation. The age of the Prophet, his children, his nine widows, his ascent to heaven. A Naṣīḥa taken from a poem by by Sèh Mardoekí [= Cèh Mareuduki, or Abū al-Fawz al-Marzūqī]. Agama consists of īmān, islām, tawḥīd and maʿrifat, with explanation of these notions: the 6 pillars of īmān, the 4 pillars of the shahādat, the 5 pillars of islām, the 6 sharṭs of islām, the 13 pillars of the sembahyang [Ṣalāt] A qunūt.’

On f. 18b is the owner’s note by Panglima Polem: حق | سيرودا فرکسا | اُنی | وعشرين | مقيم | اشی | تم | Muqīms, Aceh. The end.

(2) ff. 19b–21a. Lyrical or mystical poem in Arabic (first line, f. 19b: شهك بدر) with translation into Acehnese.¹⁹ The Arabic text is not mentioned in Voorhoeve’s *Handlist*.

### 3.2 Or. 8159, No. 2

Malay and Arabic texts. Booklet without binding, made of European laid paper (watermark: Andrea Galvani | Pordenone), 20 ff.; 12.1 × 8 cm, with varying sizes of the text areas; *Naskh* script in more than one hand, dated 12 Raḥab 1316 (1898), according to notes on ff. 2a and 4b; ff. 1a, 17b–20b are blank; owner’s notes on f. 2b: Ḥaqq Sri Muda Perkasa Teuku Panglima duapuluh dua adanya. Tamma. Sahih adanya, ‘this belongs to His Majesty, Teuku Panglima of the twenty-two [Mukims]. End. This is correct’. A similar note in No. 3, below.

The booklet contains several shorter texts:
- f. 1b. Malay. Note on the number of āyāt, words and letters in the Qurʾān.
- f. 2a: Malay. Duʿāʾ, prayer texts to be said after eating, drinking and clothing, with a date: 12 Raḥab 1316 (1898).
- ff. 2b–4b: Arabic. *Ayat limong* (title on f. 4b: ‘the five āyāt’), a selection of five āyāt of the Qurʾān, here numbered 1–5. They are: (1) *sūra* 2:246; (2) *sūra* 3:81; (3) *sūra* 4:77; (4) *sūra* 5:27; and (5) *sūra* 13:16. Each āya is followed by an epithet of God, qadīr, qawī, qahhār, qaddūs, qayyūm, followed by a short elaboration in Arabic. The owner’s note, as above, on f. 2b. Dated 12 Raḥab 1316 (1898), with title and date on f. 4b.
- f. 5a: Malay introduction followed by the Arabic text. Duʿāʾ to be said before sleeping.
- ff. 6a–b: Duʿāʾ in Arabic.
- ff. 6b–9b: Several shorter prayer texts, both in Arabic and Malay, of the genre *Istighfār*, asking for forgiveness.
- ff. 9b–10b: Malay. Hemerology, list of days of the *Ḥiǧrī* months which are inauspicious, *Naḥis*, fig. 5.²⁰

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ff. 10b–11a: Malay. Two shorter Duʿāʾs, prayers, taken from a work entitled Khazīnat al-Asrar (or to be read as Khizānak?, f. 11a), not identified.


f. 11b. Arabic with postscript in Malay. Invocative prayer for healing, to be said seventy times.

f. 12a–16a. Several shorter prayer texts, in Arabic and Malay, mostly of the genre Istighfār, asking for forgiveness.


f. 17a. Triangle-shaped amulet drawings, Jimat, here called Fāʾid Manṣūr, amulet with text in Arabic ‘that grants victory’, fig. 6.


3.3 Or. 8159, No. 2 (a)
Malay and Arabic. A separate fold with five leaves of lined machine-made paper, 16.8 × 10.4 cm. These contain another version of some of the prayers contained in No. 3, below. It may be the example from which they were copied. See also the remarks about No. 4 (a-b), below.


ff. 2a–5a. Prayers (Duʿāʾ) and Shahāda formulas in Arabic, in fully vocalized Naskh script, sometimes with headings in Malay, e.g. f. 3b, a prayer to be said with sembahyang, the Ṣalāt.

On f. 1a, bottom, mention of Muḥammad Amīn Tīrūy b. Shaykh Muḥammad Sammān. See also No. 1, above.

3.4 Or. 8159, No. 3
Malay and Arabic. Booklet without binding, made of European laid paper (watermark: crowned shield with crescent, only partly visible, possibly Abū Shubbāk), 40 numbered pp. in a booklet of 44 pp. (one quire XI ([3] + 41)), 12.5 × 8 cm, containing several smaller texts with varying sizes of the text areas; varying number of lines to the page (8–9); dated 1316 (1897–1898), according to a note on the title-page and notes on pp. 25, 28 and 33; blank pages: two unnumbered ones at the beginning and one unnumbered one at the end; before the text is another unnumbered page, with text in the lay-out of a title-page, but it is in fact an owner’s note, written in a mixture of Arabic and Malay: في سنة 1316 هنسىف [added later]. هذا الكتاب حق التقدير الحفير الى الله تعالى | المجيد وهو سرمودا فوكسا | كفرها فعليما دوا | فله دوا | امين | Hādhā al-Kitāb Haqq [...] Sri Muda Perkasa Teuku Panglima duapuluh dua adanya. Tamma. Sahih adanya, ‘this belongs to His Majesty,


– pp. 10–22: Arabic. Selection of Āyāt, composed as follows:

  - pp. 15, line 5–16, line 7: *Sūra* 7:54–56.
  - pp. 16, line 8–17, line 7: *Sūra* 17:110–111.
  - pp. 17, line 7–19, line 3: *Sūra* 37:1–11.

– pp. 23–24 (line 4): Malay. List of Āyāt that are useful as medicine, apparently taken from the *Kitāb al-Muḡarrabāt* by al-Diyarbi.

– pp. 24–28: Malay and Arabic. Tradition of Kaʿb al-Aḥbār about the use of the Seven Āyāt (āyāt tujuh). These seven Āyāt follow:

  - p. 25, line 1—line 3: *Sūra* 9:51. Note in the margin of p. 25, with title Āyāt tujuh, and date 1316 (1897–1898).
  - p. 27, line 3—line 7: *Sūra* 35:2.

In the margin of p. 28 is a date (1316 [1897–1898]) and a title (Āyāt tujuh). This text is, according to a note on p. 28, also taken from al-Diyarbi’s *Muḡarrabāt*. In the margin of p. 25: 1316. *Allāh Muḥammad Kh Kabīr al-Fāʾida. Hādhā āyat tujuh*.

– pp. 29–33. Malay and Arabic. About the (talismanic) use of Ismuhu al-Laṭīf, the name of God, with quotation (p. 30, lines 4–6) of the appropriate Aya (Qurʿān 42:19), with instruction for recitation, followed by prayers, all purportedly taken from al-Diyarbi’s work (note in margin of p. 33).


– pp. 35–39: Arabic and Malay, according to the end of the text (p. 39) taken from *Muḡarrabat* al-Sanūsī, a work which remains unidentified (unless the
title is a contamination). The supposed author may be Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sanūsī (d. 892/1486), GAL G II, 250, whose Creed ʿUmam al-Barāḥīn, or al-Durra, was a much read text in Southeast Asia. Prayer, with repeated quotation of Qurʾān 9:128. A source is mentioned: al-Hasan b. ʿAli al-Qurṭubī as quoted in a book entitled Kanz al-Abrār (pp. 37–38). That book could be the collection of prayers going by that name, which was known in the Malay world (see GAL S II, 1002, No. 59).

3.5  **Or. 8159, No. 4 (a–b)**

Malay and Arabic. Two sets of loose leaves, 4 ff. (No. 4a) and 5 ff. (No. 4b), machine-made lined paper, 16.9 × 10.7 cm, together containing the texts which are also contained in No. 3, described above. They may have served as the model for the booklet which is now No. 3 above. Qurʾānic texts are contained in No. 4a, ff. 2b–4b. They are the same series of Āyāt as described in No. 3, above, pp. 10–22. On ff. 4b–5a are the same āyat tujuh, which are described in No. 3, above, pp. 25–27.

3.6  **Or. 8159, No. 5**

Malay. A single leaf of paper (12.7 × 20.6 cm). Text on one side only. A financial balance sheet. The horizontal part is a list of outstanding debts of Teuku Panglima Polem (his name in the margin at the left). Names of persons, and amounts of money expressed in ringgit burung (Mexican dollar), ringgit (Spanish dollar) and pung (pound), are given. The note on the left is an addition to this part. The vertical part may be an enumeration of debts of third parties to Panglima Polem. Here, no amounts of money are mentioned, but quantities in kind, possibly cows. Fig. 7.\(^{21}\)

3.7  **Or. 8159, No. 6**

Malay and Arabic. Lined machine-made paper, 24 ff. (one quire of 12 sheets, ff. 22b–24b blank), 11.2 × 7.6 cm. Here and there the Malay and Arabic is mixed with Acehnese. Voorhoeve summarily describes the content as follows (my translation): ‘Notes on islām, ʿīmān, tawḥīd and maʿrifat, Kasim Airlanga, Kasim Pengambil (?). Doa to be recited after the sembahyang. Ḥadīth of Abū Hurayra on the reward for pronouncing a certain ṣalāt formula, the text of which is given. The fate of the soul of a debtor, followed by a doa that gives wealth. Expla-

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\(^{21}\) Dr. Roger Tol in Leiden kindly helped me with the reading and the interpretation of this document.
nation for why one elevates the hands to heaven during the prayer. *Peunjaegang* against jealous co-believers. *Doa for permanis muka. Doa* as an antidote against the stings of centipedes, nettles, etc. Prescription for the *sembahyang*. The *Shahāda* in Arabic, with ‘Acehnese’ translation. Admonition to a certain Putru Raden about the transience of earthly beauty.\(^{22}\)

3.8  **Or. 8159, No. 7**

Malay and Arabic, machine-made paper, 10 ff. (one quire of 5 sheets), ff. 1, 4b–10b are blank, 10.2 × 8.2 cm. Here and there the Malay and Arabic is mixed with Acehnese.

Incomplete version of the same texts as described under No. 6, above, or rather a partial copy of it.\(^{23}\)

3.9  **Additional Material**

- Leaf of paper with short Dutch text on one side only, apparently by a Dutch-Indian administrator: ‘Boekjes enz gevond in een bivak van P. Polem in G. Poelo. Augs 1899’. The first administrative reference to the purse after it had fallen into Dutch hands.
- Added is a leaf of paper on its recto and verso side containing a summary description, in Dutch, in the hand of P. Voorhoeve describing the content of the purse. Parts of this description have been given above in English.
- Label from the old portfolio in the library (the purse is now kept in a newly made box) with indications, in Dutch, in an unidentified hand: ‘Portefeuille | Panglima Pôlem | 1899’. Old number added in pencil ‘89e’; the latter number could refer to a substrate collection of war booty manuscripts.

4  **Conclusions**

It is easy to tell what the purse did not contain. Unlike the prayer book of the Imam Bonjol, the materials in Teuku Panglima Polem’s purse are quite commonplace. Nor were there highlights in Acehnese resistance literature either, although they may have been removed from the purse, after it was captured. What the purse did contain, when it unexpectedly fell into Dutch hands, sheds some light on what a pious Muslim, as Panglima Polem was known to be, would carry on his person during the *Ǧihād*, simple texts, written in three different lan-


\(^{23}\) Ibid.
guages for everyday use. This multilingualism, Acehnese as the local and first language, Malay as the *lingua franca* in Southeast Asia and Arabic as the language of religion, was far from rare among the Acehnese elite, or, *mutatis mutandis*, among other Indonesian elites. It stands in clear contrast to the limited education of many of the colonizers with whom the educated Indonesians had to have their daily dealings. Arranged by language, the contents give the following impression:

- **Acehnese texts**: the Acehnese version by the most famous of the Tiro *ulama* of an Arabic catechism (No. 1); the Acehnese rendering of an Arabic mystical poem (No. 1); notes on religion, prayers, popular medicine and magic (No. 6).
- **Malay texts**: Malay elements in the rendering of an Arabic catechism (No. 1); notes about certain *Āyāt* of the *Qurʾān* (No. 2); prayers, popular medicine, prayer for forgiveness and amulets (No. 2); instructions for *Qurʾān* reciting, talisman (No. 3); list of debtors (No. 5); varied notes on Islamic subjects, prayer texts, instructions for the ritual prayer (No. 6).
- **Arabic texts**: A mystical poem (No. 1) with Acehnese translation; selections of *Āyāt* of the *Qurʾān*, prayers, an amulet, and a prayer for forgiveness (No. 2); an amulet text, popular medicine, a talisman (No. 3); varied notes on Islamic subjects, prayer texts, instructions for the ritual prayer (No. 6).

Nos. 2, 4, and 7 contain complete or partial copies of texts that are otherwise already available in the purse. It is possible that companions of Panglima Polem had been working on the multiplication of some of his texts.

It is striking that all items are recently made. They do not look old. Some of them were copied only the year before they were captured, 1316/1898 (Nos. 2, 3).

At several points, quotations from al-Diyarbī’s *Muğarrabāt* are given. This well-known work of magic and divination may have provided moral support to Panglima Polem and his men in their uncertain condition of being hunted down by the enemy. The same goes for the rudimentary hemerology that is among the papers in the purse (No. 2). Another document of personal relevance is Panglima Polem’s financial balance sheet (No. 5).

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5 Postscript

I presented the first results of my research on Panglima’s Polem’s purse during a conference in Banda Aceh in August 2004. The governor of Aceh, Abdullah Puteh,25 and many officials and academics were among the audience. After I had answered some questions, I sat back. Suddenly, a slender woman’s hand reached out from behind me holding a small piece of paper. I took it and looked around me, but she had disappeared already. I unfolded the paper and the message said: ‘Panglima Polem’s son is in the audience’. Understanding that I was being observed, I nodded and waited. A few minutes later, I made my acquaintance, not with the son but with the grandson, Teuku Zainul Arifin Panglima Polem, an Acehnese business man who was active in the food trade.26 He was elated that I had given so much attention to his family matters, and that I had shown images of members of his family that he himself had never seen before. He survived the tsunami of December 26, 2004, we remained in contact for a while, and then the relationship slowly faded out, as so often happens.

Appendix: War Booty Manuscripts from Aceh in Leiden

The Aceh War is still very much present in the Netherlands, in an abstract sense as part of the collective memory, and also in historiography, journalism and, in a romanticized way, even in Dutch literature.27 Concretely, Acehnese war booty is ubiquitous albeit less conspicuous, both in public and private collections, in libraries, museums, and even in people’s homes. I recall that the Legermuseum (‘Army Museum’), when it was still in Leiden (in 1986 it moved to Delft, and in 2013 to Soesterberg), had a colonial war trophies room with a display of Indonesian weaponry, which may not all have been purchased in the antiques market.


26 He is, together with a number of his brothers, mentioned in the autobiography of his father, Memoires van Teuku Muhammed Ali Panglima Polem, translated by J.H.J. Brendgen, n.p., 1972, p. 51, as having passed in 1968 the exams of the Secondary School for Agriculture in Bogor.

27 Even in youth literature. J.B. Schuil, Rob en de stroper van Tjot-Idi, first published in 1928 as Doodverklaard, and under its current title in 1932, has, if memory serves me well, the horrors of the Aceh War as a remote frame of reference. I first read it in 1956.
In present-day Leiden, the collections of Leiden University Library and of the National Museum of Ethnography house significant amounts of Acehnese war booty. A number of manuscripts in Leiden University Library can be identified as connected to various episodes and localities of the Aceh War.

Over the years, I have prepared a preliminary survey of such captured manuscripts while working on my inventories of the Leiden collections, especially vols. 8 and 9, volumes that, as I write, are still in production.\textsuperscript{28} Reading the acquisition history and assessing further information about the provenances, I came to a list of 74 manuscripts that somehow entered the collections of Leiden University as the result of war activities in Aceh. I would not be surprised if the actual number was considerably higher. I may continue to work on this subject in a not too distant future:

Leiden University Library: Or. 2064, Or. 2222, Or. 2275, Or. 5635, Or. 5841, Or. 6544, Or. 7056, Or. 7072, Or. 7073, Or. 7074, Or. 7094,\textsuperscript{29} Or. 7239, Or. 7241 (a copy), Or. 7242 (copy), Or. 7243, Or. 7252, Or. 7288, Or. 7300, Or. 7603, Or. 7632, Or. 7633, Or. 7634, Or. 7638, Or. 7643, Or. 7644, Or. 7654, Or. 7657, Or. 7738, Or. 7982, Or. 7988, Or. 8011, Or. 8027, Or. 8054, Or. 8065, Or. 8081, Or. 8117, Or. 8122, Or. 8127, Or. 8135, Or. 8142, Or. 8143, Or. 8151, Or. 8154, Or. 8155, Or. 8156, Or. 8157, Or. 8158, Or. 8159, Or. 8160, Or. 8161, Or. 8162, Or. 8163, Or. 8164, Or. 8201, Or. 8216, Or. 8219, Or. 8220, Or. 8221, Or. 8222, Or. 8224, Or. 8231 (2), Or. 8336, Or. 8400 (a list), Or. 8505, Or.

\textsuperscript{28} \url{http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/index.html}. Volume 9 describing MSS Leiden Or. 8001-Or. 9000, will be published first, in early 2019. Volume 8 describing MSS Leiden Or. 7001-Or. 8000, will then follow suit.

\textsuperscript{29} This is a Zaydi manuscript from the Yemen. It has no relationship with Aceh, except that it was somehow captured there. Snouck Hurgronje decided to keep it for himself out of the collection from Keumala that captain K. van der Maaten had given to him and that later went to Batavia/Jakarta. He did so because he thought he might use the second text in the volume, the \textit{Sīrat al-Ḥaymī ʿinda Dawlat al-Ḥabasha}, by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad al-Ḥaymī (d. 1071/1660), GAL G 11, 402 (see Voorhoeve, \textit{Handlist}, p. 340). Working in Kuta Raja in the second half of 1901, he did not know that that text had already been published on the basis of MS Leiden Or. 2600 (by F.E. Peiser, \textit{Der Gesandschaftsbericht des Hasan ben Ahmed El-Haimi}. Berlin 1894 [868 D 17]). Theodor Nöldeke, in a letter dated Strasbourg, January 31, 1902, had told him about Peiser’s work. Nöldeke’s letter is loosely inserted in MS Leiden Or. 7094. It is a response to Snouck Hurgronje’s letter of January 3, 1902, see P.Sj. van Koningsveld, \textit{Orientalism and Islam. The Letters of C. Snouck Hurgronje to Th. Nöldeke, from the Tübingen University Library}. Leiden 1985, pp. 92–94, No. 39. I have not been able to identify the other Yemeni manuscript that Snouck Hurgronje took for himself from the Van der Maaten collection (see C. Snouck Hurgronje, ‘Eene verzameling Arabische, Maleisiche en Atjèhsche handschriften’, p. cxxiii, where it is described (in Dutch) as ‘a highly interesting encyclopaedia of the sciences by a learned and little-partially minded Zaydi author’). Unfortunately, this is not sufficient information for a positive identification.
8506, Or. 8647, Or. 8683 (?), Or. 8689, Or. 8693, Or. 8694, Or. 8708, Or. 8718, Or. 8747 (copy of Or. 8693), Or. 11.027; KITLV Or. 108.

Only P. Voorhoeve has made a dedicated effort to identify manuscripts as Acehnese war booty, and, it should be noted, only those manuscripts with texts in the Acehnese language. A significant number of Malay manuscripts from North Sumatra have been identified by Teuku Iskandar as Acehnese war booty and are mentioned as such in his catalogue of 1999. The Arabic manuscripts that fall into this category (Or. 2064 for example) have not been systematically surveyed in this regard, nor have the printed materials in any of the three languages that were current in Aceh at the time.

Acehnese war papers have caught the attention of several Dutch authors. H.C. Zentgraaff, *Atjeh*. Batavia: De Unie, n.d. [c. 1938], pp. 243–260, has a chapter devoted to these ‘*hikajat prang*’, ‘war story’ booklets. The commonly used euphemism is that these books were ‘found’. H.T. Damsté published, among many other things, ‘Atjèhsche oorlogspapieren’, in *Indische Gids* 34 (1912), pp. 617–633, 776–792, in which he addresses the same subject. Other public institutions in the Netherlands are repositories of Acehnese war booty as well, but to a far lesser extent than the Leiden library.

The above list of 74 items is quite long already, but in fact the number of bibliographical entities is much greater. From the present article it becomes clear that Panglima Polem lost seven distinct texts when his hiding place was raided, and this is the case with many more of the Aceh related items in my survey. In fact we are talking about many hundreds of manuscripts, documents and booklets.

In addition, several Acehnese war booty manuscripts are now in the National Museum of Ethnography in Leiden (Voorhoeve, *Catalogue of Acehnese Manuscripts* (1994), p. 300):30

- Series 163 was acquired in April 1876 from Dr. J. Semmelink, officer of the Dutch East Indies army. No. 163/48 came from Aceh's West Coast (Fischer 1912, p. 200).
- Series 187 was acquired in October 1877 from J.J. Korndörffer, naval officer. A note by the donor in No. 187/4 reads ‘Found in a captured prau in Batoe Poeteh (Batèe Putéh), North Coast of Aceh, June 1876’ (Fischer 1912, p. 201).
- Series 521 was acquired in November 1885 from F. Hammacher, infantry officer. No. 521/1 was from the XXII Mukims (Fischer 1912, p. 204).
- Series 1599 was acquired in June 1907 from Captain Th.J. Veltman, of the Dutch East Indies army (Fischer 1912, p. 201).

Figure 1  Teuku Panglima Polem's purse with content as it was captured on August 10, 1899. MS Leiden, Or. 8159
Photo by the Author
Teuku Panglima Polem just after he had surrendered to the Dutch, Lhokseumawe, Aceh, September 6, 1903. He sits in the centre. To his right sits the commanding officer, Captain Hendrik Colijn, the later Dutch prime minister. To his left hand sits Tuanku Raja Keumala, his brother-in-law. At his far left sits Tuanku Mahmud. Collection Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, Dutch Ministry of Defence, The Hague, No. 2067_003
Figure 3  Teuku Panglima Polem’s signature and seal and that of his two companions (the same as seen in fig. 2) under a letter to C. Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden, dated 2 Ṣafar 1328 (1910). MS Leiden Or. 8952 D: 180–182, detail

Photo by the author
Figure 4 Ownership's note written for Teuku Panglima Polem in one of his manuscripts. MS Leiden Or. 8159, No. 3
Photo by the Author
FIGURE 5  Hemerology, list of days considered to be inauspicious (Naḥis). MS Leiden Or. 8159, No. 2, ff. 9b–10a
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR
**FIGURE 6** Qur'anic quotation (*Qurʾān* 10:80–81) and triangle-shaped amulet drawings, *Fāʾid Mansūr*, amulet ‘supported by God’ or ‘victorious’. MS Leiden, Or. 8159, No. 2, ff. 16b–17a

*Photo by the author*
FIGURE 7  List of Teuku Panglima Polem's debtors and creditors, in Malay. MS Leiden, Or. 8159, No. 5, verso
PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR