



Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (KNAW) KONINKLIJKE NEDERLANDSE AKADEMIE VAN WETENSCHAPPEN

Provenance report regarding Sinkin panjang met schede [Sword]

Shatanawi, Mirjam

2022

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

document license

Unspecified

[Link to publication in KNAW Research Portal](#)

citation for published version (APA)

Shatanawi, M. (2022). *Provenance report regarding Sinkin panjang met schede [Sword]*. (PPROCE provenance reports; No. 16).

General rights

Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the public portal are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the KNAW public portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain.
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the KNAW public portal.

Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

E-mail address:

pure@knaw.nl

Provenance report regarding Sinkin panjang¹ met schede [Sword]

Mirjam Shatanawi

	Custodian	Rijksmuseum Amsterdam
	Current possessor	Dutch State
	Inventory number	NG-2004-47
	Material/technique	Iron, wood, horn, gold, enamelled
	Measurements	Sword 73 x 10.5 x 3.5 cm

Photo: Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Inv.no. NG-2004-47)

Summary of findings

The sword (*sikin panjang*) is from the private weapon collection of Gotfried Coenraad Ernst “Frits” van Daalen (1863-1930), governor of Aceh and commander in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL). The sword ended up in the collection of the Rijksmuseum via Theodorus Adrianus Willem Ruys (1904-1989), who probably purchased it from Van Daalen’s daughter Christine Elisabeth Gerretson-van Daalen (1897-1984). As a KNIL commander, Frits van Daalen had direct access to a large number of captured weapons, but the research showed that he also purchased weapons or commissioned them for his collection. However the research did not reveal when and how this specific *sikin panjang* came into his possession. There is a high likelihood that the weapon was taken as loot.

¹ The Rijksmuseum uses an incorrect name for this object. The correct name is *sikin panjang*.

Reconstruction provenance

After 1884 – before 1930

G.C.E. van Daalen

1930 - 1952

C. E. de Lang Evertsen-van Daalen

Notarial deed regarding the estate of G.C.E. van Daalen, 5 March 1930. NL-HaHGA, 0373-01 Notarial archive of The Hague II, inv.no. 6519 deed number 6047.

1952 – after 1956

Heirs of G.C.E. van Daalen and C. E. de Lang Evertsen-van Daalen

Sale of loan collection of the late lieutenant general G.C.E. van Daalen in the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA) in Breda. Report of F.W. Stammeshaus. Archive of F.W. Stammeshaus, collection of John Klein Nagelvoort, Amersfoort.

1937-1956

Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA), Breda

NL-LdnRMV, Justinus van Nassau archive A16.

From 1956 to 1989

Th.A.W. Ruys

1989-2004

J.J. Ruys-Campagne

Rijksmuseum, object file NG-2004-47.

2004-present

Rijksmuseum

Rijksmuseum, object file NG-2004-47.

Introduction and context

This Acehese sword (*sikin panjang*) ended up in the collection of the Rijksmuseum via the collection of Theodorus A.W. Ruys, a Rotterdam shipowner. The sword is believed to have come from the private collection of Gotfried Coenraad Ernst “Frits” van Daalen (1863-1930). This provenance research is primarily focused on the question of whether the sword indeed came from Van Daalen’s collection and, if so, how he acquired the sword.

Frits van Daalen was governor of Aceh and (ultimately) a general in the Royal Netherlands East Indies Army (KNIL). He served in Aceh for a long time, including with the Marechaussee. Van Daalen is also one of the most controversial military leaders of the Aceh War and was contentious even in his own day on account of his violent actions. In addition to his military reputation Van Daalen is known for the numerous objects he collected, particularly in Aceh. His collections can be found in various museums in both the Netherlands (including the National Museum of World Cultures, Wereldmuseum Rotterdam, and Naturalis) and Indonesia (Museum Nasional Indonesia).

The sikin panjang (literally: “long knife or sword”) was the most common weapon in Aceh.² The use of the sikin panjang was limited to Aceh and the Gayo, Alas and Batak lands. The outbreak of the Aceh War in 1873 sparked large-scale production of sikin panjang sword, in particular in the period before 1879, the year in which the KNIL commenced the disarmament of Aceh. Weapons make up a large proportion of the Acehnese objects held in Dutch museum collections. The influx of weapons from Aceh into Dutch collections is related to the (protracted) Aceh War. The widespread use of the sikin panjang during the war meant that this type of weapon was a popular Acehnese collectors’ item.

Object information

Sikin panjang sword always have a straight blade ending in a point. The blade of this sikin panjang has a groove on either side, what is known as a blood groove, which runs two-thirds of the length of the blade. The blade of this sikin panjang is damascened (featuring *pamor*). The forked hilt is made of horn and features a simple groove pattern. Adjacent to the hilt is a stem ring forged from a single piece with the blade. The stem ring has eight or nine angles (sepals). Above it is a decorative crown (*glupa*) of gold adorned with plant motifs filled in with blue and green enamel. The wooden sheath is decorated on both sides with carved leaf patterns, with one side being more richly decorated than the other. Based on its stylistic features (for example the use of gold and enamel) this sikin panjang can be dated to the period before 1879.

The number 4373 has been written on the sheath in white ink; this is the inventory number of the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA) in Breda.

At the time of research the object was in transit in connection with its transfer to the new Rijksmuseum depot and was therefore unavailable for physical examination. The description is thus based on photographs.

Provenance report

The sikin panjang was bequeathed to the Rijksmuseum in 2004 by Johanna Judith Campagne (1921-2002), widow of Theodorus Adrianus Willem Ruys (1904-1989).³ The bequest consisted, alongside the sword, of a Balinese kris (NG-2004-46) and another object from the Van Daalen collection, a Dutch sabre (NG-2004-48). Ruys, born into a prominent Rotterdam shipping family, spent almost all of his working life working for the family business Wm. Ruys & Zonen, which oversaw the running of Koninklijke Rotterdamsche Lloyd.⁴ After his death on 5 November 1989 the sikin panjang came into the possession of his wife. Two years after her death on 30 September 2002 the Rijksmuseum was approached by Ms. J.G. Braams and Mr. J.B. Groenewegen, who were apparently in charge of settling her estate, and asked whether the museum would be interested in the “*schenking bij beschikking*” [“donation by decree”] of the three weapons by Mr. Ruys.⁵ The file at the Rijksmuseum contains a handwritten, undated note, that appears to have been written by Mr. Ruys and in which he lists possible destinations for the “*generaal van Dalen degen/zwaard*” [“General van Dalen rapier/sword”] (i.e. the sabre and the sword). The first option listed is “*terug naar familie Gerretson?*” [“back to the Gerretson family?”], referring to Christine Elisabeth Gerretson-van Daalen, Frits van Daalen’s daughter. But she had died in 1984. The second option was “*schenking aan de*

² Albert G. van Zonneveld, *Traditional Weapons of the Indonesian Archipelago* (Leiden: C. Zwartenkot Art Books, 2002), 124–25.

³ Rijksmuseum, object file NG-2004-47.

⁴ Wikipedia. “Theodorus Adrianus Willem Ruys.” https://nl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theodorus_Adrianus_Willem_Ruys

⁵ Fax from J.G. Braams and J.B. Groenewegen, 21 June 2004. Rijksmuseum, object file NG-2004-47.

stichting Cultuurgeschiedenis van de Nederlanders Overzee ["donation to the Cultural History of the Dutch Overseas foundation"], which had its administrative office in the Rijksmuseum.

Christine "Toetie" Gerretson-van Daalen (1897-1984) is known to have curated the weapon collection of C.G.E. van Daalen together with her brother Frits (Gotfried Coenraad Ernst, born 1901), on behalf of the heirs (i.e. her mother and two sisters). The collection consisted mainly of Acehnese weapons and also comprised Van Daalen's honorary sword and honorary sabre. The note "*terug naar familie Gerretson?*" ["back to the Gerretson family?"] suggests that Mr. Ruys acquired the sikin panjang from Christine Gerretson-van Daalen. This was probably through purchase, which in that case must have taken place between 1956 and 1984.

History from 1930 to 2004

Following the death of Frits van Daalen on 22 February 1930 his private collection came into the hands of his wife Christine Elisabeth "Betsy" de Lang Evertsen-van Daalen (1870-1952) with usufruct for his four children.⁶ It is noteworthy that the collection is not mentioned on the inventory list of Van Daalen's estate that was drawn up after his death.⁷ In his will of 11 May 1928 Van Daalen appointed his daughter Christine and son Frits as the administrators of his estate.⁸ The archive of conservator and collector of Acehnese objects F.W. (Willem) Stammeshaus (1881-1957) shows that in practice three of the four children concerned themselves with the collection. For example, his daughter Marie contacted Stammeshaus in 1939 with a view to selling her father's coin collection, as did his daughter Christine and son Frits in 1952 to sell the weapon collection.⁹ In 1931 the heirs loaned objects from the collection for the Dutch pavilion at the Colonial Exhibition in Paris.¹⁰

The weapon collection comprising 69 items was loaned by his daughter Christine to the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA) in Breda. At the museum the collection was assigned inventory numbers 4360 to 4428 (inclusive); the sikin panjang was number 4373.¹¹ The inventory book and register include no further details on the sikin panjang. The archive of the Ethnographic Museum of the KMA is in the National Museum of Ethnology in Leiden. The archive contains little correspondence, and I found no correspondence regarding the loan agreement.¹² Neither the KMA nor the Ethnographic Museum of the KMA produced annual reports at that time.¹³ However it is clear from a later letter from conservator Sjoerd Nauta that the loan was agreed to in 1937.¹⁴ Consequently, the collection was part of the permanent display when the museum reopened in 1938. Newspaper *Het Vaderland* wrote that the "*schitterende collectie wapens*" ["splendid collection of weapons"] had been granted on loan to the collection of the KMA museum by Van Daalen's daughter, Mrs. Gerretson-Van Daalen, "*ter nagedachtenis van haar vader*"

⁶ Notarial deed regarding the estate of G.C.E. van Daalen, 5 March 1930. NL-HaHGA, 0373-01 Notarial archive of The Hague II, inv.no. 6519 deed number 6047. <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12124/50A80B6BE55E4F0682FEA650E3FB670E>

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid. Will of G.C.E. van Daalen, 11 May 1928. NL-HaHGA, 0373-01 Notarial archive of The Hague II, inv.nr. 6511 deed number 5348. <https://hdl.handle.net/21.12124/AA3CACF720584BA699ED6694CBBB947A>. The archive does not contain an original copy of the will.

⁹ Sale of loan collection of the late lieutenant general G.C.E. van Daalen in the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy in Breda. Report of F.W. Stammeshaus. Archive of F.W. Stammeshaus, collection of John Klein Nagelvoort, Amersfoort.

¹⁰ "Tentoonstelling Vincennes," *Algemeen Handelsblad*, 27 August 1931, Evening edition, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010661969>. It was the second pavilion, after the first one burnt down.

¹¹ NL-LdnRMV, Justinus van Nassau archive A16, inv. no. 1, register of Museum Justinus van Nassau / Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA).

¹² NL-LdnRMV, Justinus van Nassau archive A16, inv. no. 36, correspondence from Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy.

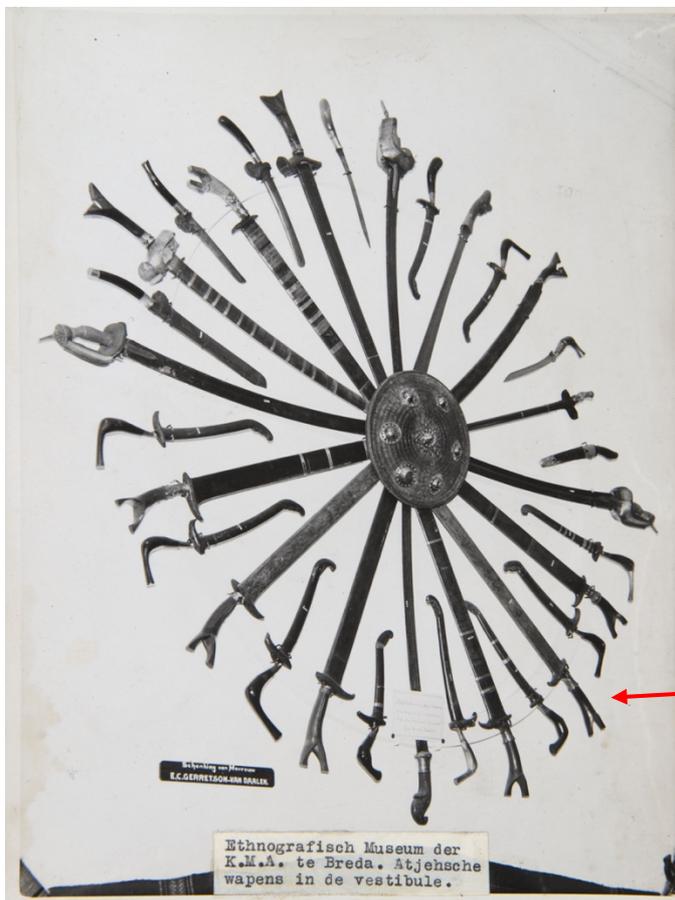
¹³ Verbal statement by Stan Wulffaert, chairman of the Stichting Historische Verzameling KMA foundation, 11 September 2020.

¹⁴ Letter from Sjoerd Nauta to notary W.G. Gramser, 25 February 1956. Unnumbered archive of Justinus van Nassau Museum / Royal Netherlands Military Academy.

["in memory of her father"].¹⁵ The visitor guide to the museum from 1940 describes the display as follows:¹⁶

In de linker vitrine van de vestibule bevindt zich een sierdegen van Luitenant-Generaal G.C.E. van Daalen, die in den Atjeh-oorlog vooral bekendheid verwierf door zijn beroemden tocht door de Gajoe- en Alaslanden. Deze degen werd hem bij zijn vertrek van Atjeh door de Europeesche ingezetenen van het gewest geschonken. De boven de vitrine hangende oorkonde geeft daarover nadere bijzonderheden. De overige in de vitrine aanwezige wapens, alsmede die van het wapenrek boven de rechter vitrine, zijn eveneens afkomstig uit de collectie-Van Daalen [The showcase on the left in the vestibule contains a decorative sword of Lieutenant General G.C.E. van Daalen, who mainly became known in the Aceh War for his famous expedition through the Gayo and Alas Lands. This sword was given to him by the European residents of the region on his departure from Aceh. The document displayed above the showcase provides further details about this. The other weapons in the showcase, as well as those in the weapons rack above the showcase on the right, are also from the Van Daalen collection].

A contemporary photograph shows this arrangement, which also includes the sikin panjang.



Arrangement of the Van Daalen collection in the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA) in Breda, with the sikin panjang in the bottom right-hand quadrant with number 4373, c. 1938. Collection Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen, Coll.no. RV-11996-1. <https://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11840/1358061>

In March 1952 Christine and her brother Frits contacted Willem Stammeshaus.¹⁷ They said that they wished to sell the weapon collection and requested him to make a valuation. The three of them set

¹⁵ "Het Ethnografisch Museum van de K.M.A. Belangrijke Aanwinst Voor de Studie van de Adspirantofficieren van Beide Legers," *Het Vaderland: Staat- En Letterkundig Nieuwsblad*, 26 November 1938, Morning edition, <https://resolver.kb.nl/resolve?urn=ddd:010018150>.

¹⁶ J.M. Somer, *Gids voor den bezoeker van het Ethnografisch Museum te Breda, Kasteelplein 13* (Breda: Ethnografisch Museum, 1940), 6.

¹⁷ Sale of loan collection of the late lieutenant general G.C.E. van Daalen in the Ethnographic Museum of the Royal Netherlands Military Academy in Breda. Report of F.W. Stammeshaus. Archive of F.W. Stammeshaus, collection of John Klein Nagelvoort, Amersfoort.

off for Breda to examine the collection in the museum. Stammeshaus valued the collection at DFL 4,175 (including the honorary sword and document which he valued at DFL 1,000 and DFL 250, respectively). He valued number 4373 "*sikin pandjang met schede*" ["sikin pandjang with sheath"] at DFL 30. Stammeshaus wrote in his report that Frits had indicated that in first instance they wished to sell the weapons to the museum in Breda, in which case they would gift the honorary sword and document. Stammeshaus recommended an asking price of DFL 4,000 for the collection. In the end the sale did not go ahead. The KMA museum had been struggling since Indonesia gained its independence. The KNIL had been dissolved in 1950 and at the Ministry of Defence some were questioning the purpose of the museum now that soldiers were no longer being trained to serve in the 'East.'¹⁸ In light of this the curation of the KMA collection and the museum were transferred to the National Museum of Ethnology in 1956. In the same year the weapon collection was returned to the Van Daalen heirs at their request.¹⁹ In 1958 they subsequently decided to gift a number of items from the collection to the museum: a black lacquered shield from Aceh (now NMvW collection, RV-3600-4360), a kris from Middle Sumatra (probably RV-3600-4359) and later also the honorary sword and document (which are still in the collection of the Stichting Historische Verzameling KMA foundation).²⁰ Buyers were sought for the remaining weapons, one of whom may have been Th.A.W. Ruys.²¹

History from 1884 to 1930

Frits van Daalen was born and raised in Makassar, Sulawesi.²² He trained at the Royal Netherlands Military Academy (KMA). In 1884 he started his military career with the KNIL and was assigned a posting in Aceh.²³ From 1891 to 1894 he trained at the Hoogere Krijgsschool [Higher Military School] in The Hague. Back in the Dutch East Indies he first spent a year working for the General Staff before returning to Aceh in 1896. In 1899 he was posted with the Marechaussee. From 1901 he led various military expeditions, of which the conquest of the Gayo and Alas Lands in 1904 is the most famous. From 1905 to 1908 Van Daalen was governor of Aceh. Subsequently, in 1910, he was appointed commander of the army in the Dutch East Indies. He retired in 1914, having progressed to the rank of lieutenant general.

Frits van Daalen had a long and turbulent military career. In this report I wish to limit myself to his collecting activities, in particular to weapons. There are also a number of publications that discuss his collection methods.²⁴ In addition to these publications a number of archives were consulted for this research: the archive of G.C.E. van Daalen at the IISG, various letters written by Van Daalen in the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library, the correspondence with Van Daalen in the archive of the National Museum of Ethnology, and the archive of the Ethnographic Museum of the KMA. None of these publications or archives were found to contain information about this sikin panjang. Information was found on the various ways in which Van Daalen collected weapons.

¹⁸ Marie-Antoinette Willemsen, *Volkenkunde in Breda: van Indische verzameling tot Rijksmuseum Justinus van Nassau en de Vereniging voor Volkenkunde* (Breda: Bureau Cultureel Erfgoed, Directie Ruimtelijke Ontwikkeling, Gemeente Breda, 2011), 52.

¹⁹ Museum of Ethnology, "Jaarverslag van Het Rijksmuseum Voor Volkenkunde," in *Verslagen Omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen van Geschiedenis En Kunst* (The Hague: Staatsdrukkerij- en uitgeverijbedrijf, 1956), 183.

²⁰ Museum of Ethnology, "Jaarverslag van Het Ethnographic Museum of the Koninklijke Militaire Academie," in *Verslagen Omtrent 's Rijks Verzamelingen van Geschiedenis En Kunst* ('s Gravenhage: Staatsdrukkerij- en uitgeverijbedrijf, 1958), 42.

²¹ Letters from C.E. van Daalen to S. Nauta, 9 May and 8 July 1952. Unnumbered archive of Justinus van Nassau Museum / Royal Netherlands Military Academy.

²² H.L. Zwitzer, "Daalen, Gotfried Coenraad Ernst van (1863-1930)," *Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland*, 1989, <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn3/daalen> [12-11-2013].

²³ NL-HaNA, War / Service records of Royal Dutch Army officers, 2.13.04, inv.no. 631.

²⁴ Harm Stevens, "G.C.E. van Daalen, Military Officer and Ethnological Field Agent," in *Colonial Collections Revisited*, ed. Pieter ter Keurs (Leiden: CNWS Publications, 2007), 115–22; Harm Stevens, "Collecting and 'the Rough Work of Subjugation': Van Daalen, Snouck Hurgronje and the Ethnographic Exploitation of North Sumatra," in *Indonesia: The Discovery of the Past*, ed. Endang Sri Hardiati and Pieter ter Keurs (Amsterdam: KIT Publishers, 2005), 76–84.

The most obvious way in which Van Daalen acquired weapons was as spoils of war; as a KNIL officer who was directly involved in battles he would have had access to many captured weapons. Under informal KNIL rules, captured weapons had to be handed over to the government. That Van Daalen did not always keep to this rule is clear from a number of letters he wrote to his wife Betsy in 1896. For example on 4 July 1896 he wrote:²⁵

Nu een kort verhaal van mijn laatsten tocht, het groote succes van Anagaloeng. Precies middernacht om 12 u v/d 28sten marcheerden wij met 2 bataljons en de marechaussee af naar Lambaroe onder de bevelen van overste v. Heutz en mij als chef staf. Na een kop koffie bij overste Bisschoff te Lambaroe te hebben gedronken, marcheerden wij om half drie af naar Anagaloeng. Het was maneschijn en men had bericht, dat de bezetting van die benteng ± 200 man bedroeg. Onderweg waren 2 bruggen afgebroken, zoodat wij ook daarmee soesah hadden. Enfin tegen half 5 kwamen wij ervoor en om kwart voor 5 viel het eerste schot en begon de bestorming en het gevecht van man tegen man binnen de benteng en om 5 uur was alles afgeloopen. Het was een interessant moment, dat gevecht, alles vrij donker en niets anders hoorend dan geknal v. geweervuur en geschreeuw van inlanders. De Atjehers lieten dan ook 110 lijken in onze handen en 2 levende, lichtgewonde jongetjes van 5 en 6 jaren oud. Natuurlijk werden ettelijke wapens buitgemaakt waarvan ik 3 mooie exemplaren heb. Die kerels waren overal weggekropen; onder de huisjes en zelfs hadden zich er 16 in het water verborgen, onder de kangroeng in de gracht. Zij werden een voor een opgezocht en doodgeschoten. De kinderen worden hier in het hospitaal verpleegd. Tegen 8 u toen wij onze gewonden hadden verbonden en nr huis gestuurd, rukten wij verder op naar Sibreh & Pasar Sibreh om na verwoesting dien streek weer huiswaarts te keren met veel buit. Je begrijpt dat iedereen opgetogen was over ons succes en velen ons feliciteerden [Now a brief account of my last expedition, the great success of Anagalung. At exactly midnight on the 28th two battalions and the Marechaussee marched off to Lambaru under the orders of Colonel V. Heutz with me as chief of staff. After drinking a cup of coffee with Colonel Bisschoff in Lambaroe at half-past two we set off again for Anagalung. The moon was out and we had received reports that around 200 people occupied the benteng [fortress]. Two bridges en route were broken, so that gave us some trouble as well. Anyway, at around half-past four we drew up to the place, the first shot was fired at 4.45 followed by the assault and hand-to-hand combat in the benteng and at 5am it was all over. It was an interesting thing, that battle, all quite dark and no sound other than the cracking of gunfire and the yelling of the natives. Not surprising given that the Acehnese left in our hands 110 bodies and two little boys of five and six years old with minor injuries. Naturally several weapons were captured of which I have three fine specimens. Those chaps had crawled away everywhere; underneath the shacks and 16 of them had even hidden in the water, under the kangrung in the moat. We rooted them out one by one and shot them. The children are being cared for in the hospital here. At around 8am when we had bandaged our wounded and sent them home, we pushed on to Sibreh & Pasar Sibreh, and after destroying that area returned home with lots of loot. As you can imagine everyone was delighted with our success and we received many congratulations].

In positions such as patrol commander and column commander Van Daalen oversaw the collection of captured weapons. That means that such weapons were handed over to him and that he decided what was to be done with them. According to Harko Schmidt (1872-1953), officer with the Marechaussee, Van Daalen frequently availed himself of this entitlement:

In een gevecht onder zijn leiding maakte een luitenant in een handgemeen een lans met gouden schacht buit en vroeg aan Van Daalen of hij dit wapen als herinnering mocht behouden. Van Daalen nam het wapen ijskoud aan, gaf het over aan een achter hem staanden ordonnans en zei: "als er één recht op dit wapen heeft, ben ik het". En de lans ging naar het museum. Bij den troep had de "ijzeren" generaal dan ook den naam dat in zijn oogen alles "goewa poenja" (van mij) was, maar dâar wist men niet en Van Daalen vond het ook onnoodig dat men het wist — dat al dergelijke buit naar de musea werd opgezonden²⁶ [During a battle under his command a

²⁵ Copy of a letter from G.C.E. van Daalen to Christine Elisabeth de Lang Evertsen, 4 July 1896. Special Collections of Leiden University Library/Collection of H.T. Damsté.

²⁶ M. H. du Croo, *Marechaussee in Atjeh: herinneringen en ervaringen van den eersten luitenant en kapitein van het Korps Marechaussee van Atjeh en onderhoorigheden*, H. J. Schmidt van 1902 tot 1918 (Maastricht: Publ. under auspices of 'Oost en West' by Leiter-Nypels, 1943), 65.

lieutenant captured a lance with a gold shaft during a clash and asked Van Daalen whether he could keep the weapon as a memento. Icily Van Daalen took the weapon, passed it to an orderly standing behind him and said: "if anyone has a right to this weapon it is me." And the lance went to the museum. Amongst the troops the 'iron' general was indeed known for taking the view that everything was *'goewa poenja'* (mine), but what they didn't know there — and Van Daalen felt was unnecessary for them to know — was that all such loot was sent off to the museums].

Van Daalen's superiors must have been aware of his numerous gifts to museums; these were reported in newspapers and magazines, and the honorary membership of the Batavian Society awarded to Van Daalen as a major donor was also a matter of public knowledge.

In addition to spoils of war and other 'finds' during military operations Van Daalen also acquired weapons by purchasing them from the Acehnese. Van Daalen's report of the military expedition to Gayo Land in 1901 states on 30 October "*verschillende Gajo's bezochten het bivouak om enkele curiositeiten te verkoopen aan officieren, die gisteren daarnaar hadden gevraagd*"²⁷ ["several Gayos visited the bivouac to sell some curiosities to officers, who had enquired about this yesterday"]. In his correspondence with Islam scholar Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, then president of the Batavian Society, Van Daalen wrote in 1903 that he "*bij toeval in het bezit [is] geraakt van een paar zeer oude voorwerpen van den vroegere Habib Sultan Djeumalôj*".²⁸ *In welk museum zijn die zaken het best op hun plaats?*"²⁹ ["[had] by chance come into the possession of some very ancient items belonging to the former Habib Sultan Djeumalôj. In what museum would these items be best placed?"]. He furthermore hoped to come into the possession of a copy of a rare manuscript entitled *Hikayat Pocut Muhammad*, "*thans in Bankongan bij een der afstammelingen van Djeumalôj*" [currently in Bankongan with one of the descendants of Djeumalôj]. Van Daalen succeeded in obtaining the manuscript and offered further objects to Snouck Hurgronje, which he had purchased from Habib Hasan and Tuan Aja, the aforementioned descendants of the former sultan, including a "*gouden kris met ivoren gevest*"³⁰ ["gold kris with ivory hilt"]. Van Daalen added that further items might be forthcoming, given that various items were in the possession of Teuku Nè and Teuku Padang "*zoodat het moeite zal kosten ze uit hun handen te krijgen*"³¹ ["so that it will require effort to get them out of their hands"]. It is clear from Van Daalen's chosen phrasing that he had trouble persuading owners to sell up, for reasons he does not mention.

Finally the archive research shows that Van Daalen ordered his subordinates to actively search for certain objects for his own personal collection as well as to offer to museums. In 1906, by which time Van Daalen had already been appointed civil and military governor of Aceh, he instructed Major M.W.E. Bloemen Waanders to search for antiquities at the cemetery of the Pasai Sultanate in North Aceh. Bloemen Waanders dug up six gold coins and "*preciosa*," which Van Daalen donated to the Batavian Society.³² The information accompanying a rare type of gliwang (an Acehnese sword) in

²⁷ G.C.E. van Daalen, "Journaal van Den Commandant Der Marechaussee-Colonne Ter Achtervolging van Den Pretendent Sultan in de Gajolanden in 1901," in *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift*, Extra Bijlagen (Batavia: G. Kolff & Co., 1902), 66.

²⁸ This is Sultan Jamal ul-Alam Badr ul-Munir (reigned 1703-1726), see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_ul-Alam_Badr_ul-Munir.

²⁹ Letter from G.C.E. van Daalen to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 24 September 1903. Special Collections of Leiden University Library/Collection of C. Snouck Hurgronje, inv. no. Or. 8952 A: 239.

³⁰ The manuscript is currently in the Special Collections of Leiden University Library, inv. no. Or. 7954. The kris and the other objects were gifted by Van Daalen to the Batavian Society and should now be in the Museum Nasional Indonesia (MNI).

³¹ Letter from G.C.E. van Daalen to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 2 November 1903. Special Collections of Leiden University Library/Collection of C. Snouck Hurgronje, inv. no. Or. 8952 A: 239.

³² Letter from G.C.E. van Daalen to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, 10 October 1906. Special Collections of Leiden University Library/Collection of C. Snouck Hurgronje, inv. no. Or. 8952 A: 240. Van Daalen also had coin collection of his own, which comprised similar Acehnese coins. See J. Hulshoff Pol, "De Gouden Munten (Mas) van Noord-Sumatra," *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 16 (1929): 1–32.

the collection of the Tropenmuseum mentions an anecdote about Van Daalen's weapon collection.³³ The information on the inventory cards is from conservator Willem Stammeshaus and can be found in a different version in his memoirs (these are notes elaborated by him after 1947).³⁴

*In 1908 verzamelde de Kapitein der Marechaussees H.J. Schmidt³⁵ Atjehse wapens om daarmee de collectie van Civ. en Mil. Gouverneur van Atjeh en onderhoorigheden (G.C.E. van Daalen) te kunnen completeren. Aan die verzameling ontbrak o.m. de "gliwang poetjo' meukawét". In alle gampongs liet Schmidt dit wapen opsporen, doch het werd nergens aangetroffen. Toevallig kwam hij eens even een kijkje nemen bij de Atjeh-verzameling van F.W. Stammeshaus te Koeta Radja, alwaar hij de bedoelde gliwang aantrof (thans aanwezig in de verzameling der Afd. Volkenkunde van het Indisch Instituut,³⁶ serie 674-669). Dit exemplaar werd toen geleend teneinde het te laten namaken³⁷ [In 1908 Captain of the Marechaussees H.J. Schmidt was collecting weapons from Aceh to complete the collection of the Civil and Military Governor of Aceh and subordinate territories (G.C.E. van Daalen). One of the items still missing from the collection was the "gliwang poetjo' meukawét". Schmidt ordered a search for the weapon to be undertaken in every *gampong* (village) but none was found. One day he happened to be taking a look at the Aceh collection of F.W. Stammeshaus in Kuta Raja where he found the gliwang he was looking for (now present in the collection of the Dept. of Ethnography of the Indisch Instituut, series 674-669). This specimen was subsequently given on loan so that a copy could be made].*

Stammeshaus' memoirs mention the same anecdote as background to TM-674-669. They also state that Stammeshaus acquired gliwang TM-674-669 in 1913, i.e. five years after he was said to have lent out the gliwang in question, which casts doubt on the overall accuracy of the anecdote.

It is clear from the research that Van Daalen obtained Acehnese weapons in several ways: as spoils of war, by purchasing them from Acehnese dignitaries and locals, and by commissioning them. It furthermore emerged that he attempted to systematically build a weapon collection and actively searched for specific weapons to complete his collection. It was also revealed that in any case by 1896 he was already keeping weapons from loot for himself and by 1908 owned a reasonably extensive weapon collection. Over the years Van Daalen collected dozens of sikin panjang swords. His private collection comprised 13 swords of the sikin panjang type, which all have the same description in the register of the Ethnographic Museum of the KMA. Only a few exceptional items are described in more detail in the documents left by Van Daalen; more often he speaks in general terms such as "*mooie exemplaren*" ["fine specimens"], "*twee geweren en drie klewangs*" ["two rifles and three gliwangs"], or "*sikin pandjang met scheede*" ["sikin pandjang with sheath"].

The sikin panjang which is now in the possession of the Rijksmuseum has no unique appearance or historical characteristics, which makes it more difficult to identify in written sources. Consequently, it is not clear from this research how and when Frits van Daalen acquired this specific weapon. It is clear, however, that the objects that Van Daalen obtained through purchase tended to be unusual and unique pieces. It is therefore more likely that this sikin panjang was obtained as a spoil of war than in any other way.

³³ National Museum of World Cultures, inventory cards TM-1704-11 and TM-674-669, digitalised in TMS. These items are currently believed to be in the possession of the Museum Nasional Indonesia.

³⁴ Memoirs of F.W. Stammeshaus, Stammeshaus archive, collection of Stammeshaus family.

³⁵ This is Harko Johannes Schmidt (1872-1953).

³⁶ In 1945 the Colonial Institute was renamed the Indisch Instituut; in 1950 the name changed to Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen en Tropenmuseum [Royal Tropical Institute-KIT and Tropenmuseum].

³⁷ National Museum of World Cultures, inventory card TM-1704-11, digitalised in TMS.